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**SCHOOL LEAVERS AND EMPLOYMENT**

**BY**

**GRAHAM JOHN SENIOR, B.A.(ECON.), M.A.(ECON.)**

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE**

**OF Ph.D.**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH**

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**DEDICATION**

**This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father,**

**JOHN SENIOR**

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GJS/3/86

ABSTRACT

This study focuses its attention upon the experiences of a cohort of new entrants into the labour market in a period of mass unemployment. It is based upon information gathered in 1982 and 1983, through the use of both personal interview and postal questionnaires, from a group of young people who left schools, aged 16, in the Motherwell District of Lanarkshire in the Summer of 1982, supplemented where appropriate with data from official sources and that collected by the Motherwell Labour Market Project.

That a study of young people entering the labour market should be undertaken stems mainly from the rising tide of unemployment which has hit most if not all western economies. This recession has particularly affected the young and whilst concern has been shown for all victims of unemployment the young have received most attention, for they are seen not only as innocent victims but also as the most vulnerable group for whom the experience of unemployment is likely to have the most serious and lasting impact.

It is hoped that this study will give some insight into the transition from school to work at time of mass unemployment. A major theme which runs throughout the study is "labour

market information" as we believe that it is people's perceptions about situations which affect behaviour and the accuracy of their information may have implications for labour market success as this could affect their behaviour within the labour market, e.g. job search activity, participation decision at 16.

It is through our analysis of a number of different issues during the transition from school to work that we hope to build up a picture of the transition period in the early 1980's and gain some impression as to the importance of labour market information. The specific areas of analysis are:

- (i) the school leaving decision
- (ii) the local labour market knowledge
- (iii) provision of occupational information
- (iv) job search behaviour
- (v) labour market experiences.

A brief description of our results follows.

Our analysis of the school leaving decision at 16 aimed

to identify factors which would explain why some young people left school at the earliest opportunity. In building our model we reviewed economic theories, economic literature and educational and sociological literature to obtain suggestions as to possible variables to include in our analysis. As expected, the academically able were less likely to leave school at 16 as were those who had a pessimistic view of the unemployment situation facing young people - the discouraged worker effect. An interesting finding was a negative co-efficient attached to the wage variable, possibly indicating a backward bending supply curve of youth labour, or a lack of knowledge of youth wages - we elected to argue for the latter explanation.

Our analysis of young people's knowledge of their local labour market justified the above conclusion. The sample exhibited a considerable degree of ignorance about the youth (and adult) labour market, though their knowledge of the Youth Opportunities Programme was on the whole accurate. The sample consistently under-estimated the level of wages paid to both young people and adults and over-estimated both youth unemployment and adult unemployment rates. In attempting to explain the degree of under/over estimation we argued that possible confusion over the terms "gross pay" and "unemployment rate" may have been partly responsible. Explaining variations between sample members' answers was

less successful - chi-square statistics invariably failed to reach the desired level.

Attempts by schools to impart occupational information and prepare young people for entry into the world of work went largely unnoticed by the sample. Careers Evenings, work-experience courses, careers education classes, did not appear to make any real impression upon the sample, the vast majority of whom felt that their final year at school had been a poor preparation for entry into the world of work. Only one-in-three of the sample had been interviewed by the Careers Service at the time of our initial contact which makes an assessment of their role in preparing young people for entering the labour market somewhat difficult.

A considerable degree of job search activity was undertaken by the sample prior to leaving school and for the first six months after labour market entry. Extensive use was made of the various information channels both in terms of the number of different channels used and the frequency with which they were consulted. Despondancy resulting from lack of success crept in and search intensity declined in 1983. Although over 1300 applications were submitted, only 26 members of the sample contacted in 1983 had secured employment.

Attempting to identify factors which may account for the success of these 26 individuals led us to search theory, and the literature on unemployment duration/re-employment probabilities to suggest variables to include in our model. A number of factors were found to be significant - number of jobs applied for, intensity of search, religious affiliation of school, sex, when began search - though a large degree of the variance was still left unexplained.

Having discussed the many issues outlined above, we are able to offer some insight into the transition from school to work in the early 1980's and assess the important of labour market information in the transition period.

The sample's lack of knowledge of youth wages and youth unemployment would not appear to have had an undesirable effect upon their job search behaviour. Under-estimating wages and over-estimating unemployment could have led to deciding not to search for work - the financial incentive was not there and there were few jobs anyway - but we found evidence of considerable search activity in 1982. Information pertaining to vacancies is obviously vitally important.

For the majority in our sample the transition from school to work did not happen. They were caught up in the

unemployment - Y.O.P. - unemployment circle, with little  
hope of a job in their early years in the labour market.

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CHAPTER ONE.  
AIMS AND METHODS.

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

A study undertaken by Professor L.C. Hunter (Hunter (1978)) for MSC on labour shortages in West Central Scotland concluded inter alia, that a need existed for improved labour market information geared to local requirements. In 1981 Professor Hunter set up the Motherwell Labour Market Project, whose aim was to see whether improvements could be made in the situation by, for example, the establishment of a local information centre, and focussed upon the labour market centred upon Motherwell and Wishaw. In the first few months of the project it was decided that a special study should be undertaken focussing on the informational needs of first time job seekers, who for the purpose of the investigation were defined as minimum aged school-leavers. This chapter seeks to introduce the aims and methods of that study.

That a special study of young people entering the labour market for the first time should be undertaken stems mainly from the rising tide of unemployment from about the mid-to-late 1970's, which was felt by all age groups though an unduly heavy burden fell upon the young. The sustained rise in the level of unemployment has meant that the topic has become a major cause of concern and comment. However while concern has been shown for all who are unemployed, most concern has been for the young. Young people are not just seen as/

/as innocent victims, but they are frequently seen as the most vulnerable and the group for whom the experience of unemployment is likely to have the most serious and lasting impact. In January 1976, 8.5% of young people aged under 18 and 9.5% of young people aged 18-19 were unemployed. By January 1984 these figures had risen to 23% and 27.2% respectively.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted however that unemployment rates for young people fluctuate considerably throughout the year and on occasions have been much higher in July than in January because of the numbers of school-leavers unable to find employment. These figures do not include the young people who were employed on one of the Government's temporary work experience schemes such as the Youth Opportunities Programme. Not only have the levels and rates of unemployment increased considerably since 1976 but the duration of unemployment for the young has also increased - in January 1976 only 4.9% of young people (under 25) had been without work for more than one year, by January 1984, 27.5% had been unemployed for 52 weeks or more.<sup>2</sup> These figures quite clearly show the size of the unemployment problem facing young people and why in recent years "youth in the labour market" has attracted the attention of academic researchers.

The remainder of the introductory chapter is organised along the following lines: In Section Two we present a statement of the problem, giving details of issues to be investigated/

/investigated and the questions to which we seek answers; Section Three will present details of the methodology we have used in our attempt to ascertain the answers to the many questions posed in Section Two; Section Four contains a brief description of the Motherwell labour market, the area in which the study is located, giving details of population, local economy and adult and youth labour markets; Section Five concludes the chapter with a brief outline of the remainder of the thesis.

## 2. A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

This study seeks to investigate the labour market experiences (whether as employed, unemployed or as a participant on the Youth Opportunities Programme) of a group of young people who left schools in the Motherwell area of North Lanarkshire in the summer of 1982. It is also hoped that some insight will be given into the transition from school to work, as well as shedding light on areas such as the school leaving decision (the decision to participate in the labour market), the provision of occupational and other types of labour market information by schools, the Careers Service and the family, and the extent of young people's knowledge of their local labour market. The topic of the transition from school to work has received much attention since the mid-1960's and with the high levels of unemployment and the recent introduction of the Government's Youth Training Scheme (YTS) will continue/

/continue to be a focus of discussion and debate for years to come. Most of the work done on the transition period has come from sociologists although the early work was done by occupational psychologists.<sup>3</sup> Economic studies have tended not to consider the whole transition process and indeed until recently have tended to ignore the youth labour market. The interest of economists in the youth labour market is probably due to the record levels of unemployment among young people and the effect that the novel measures aimed at alleviating youth unemployment have had on the operations of the labour market.

Essentially the study can be divided into three parts: the preparation for entry into work, the search for work and the experience of work, whether in a permanent job or as part of a special scheme for the young unemployed such as the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). A major theme which will run throughout all three sections of the study is 'labour market information' and in particular the informational needs of young people during their transition from school to work. The informational needs of young people during the transition period are many and somewhat different to those of other groups within the labour market. They need information to help with the important decision of career choice, information about the employment opportunities open to them, and about the environment of work in order/

order that the transition from school to work can be as smooth as possible. The process by which this information is acquired is of interest, and in particular what parts do the formal channels of information (schools, Careers Service, Job Centres) play when compared to informal channels (family, friends)? As well as this question the study will attempt to answer a number of other questions pertaining to the transition period, which are outlined below.

A logical starting point for the study, and indeed for a study of any particular group within the labour market, would seem to us to be the actual decision to participate in the labour market. This therefore leads us to a consideration of the school leaving decision (which is the complement to the participation decision for prime age groups) and more specifically within the context of this study to ask, 'what factors influence the decision of young people to leave school at the earliest opportunity'? Educationalists have offered many explanations and have tended to concentrate their attention on what we might term 'social variables' (home background, the school, the child) and have largely ignored "economic variables".<sup>4</sup> It may be that they are quite correct to do this, and we hope to test whether social variables offer the best explanation. One of the economic variables we will be considering is unemployment and will attempt to test the 'added worker'/'discouraged worker' hypotheses/

/hypotheses often associated with the married female participation decision. The 'added worker' hypotheses (within the context of the youth labour market) postulates that if the head of the household is unemployed a young person who would otherwise have remained at school to continue their education will be encouraged to leave in order to boost family income. The 'discouraged worker' hypotheses would postulate that due to the high levels of youth unemployment within the (local) economy a young person who would otherwise have left school at 16 will continue with his/her education, perhaps in the hope that more or higher academic qualifications will improve his/her chances of finding employment.

A person's behaviour is often influenced by what they know (or think they know) about a particular event or situation. A young person's knowledge, however correct, about his/her local labour market may have some influence upon their labour market behaviour. For example, their knowledge/beliefs about the level of youth unemployment in the local economy may be a factor in determining the age at which they enter the labour market. We will therefore be asking, how much did young people know about the Motherwell labour market before they left school, has that knowledge changed since they entered the labour market and what are the factors which may account for any change in beliefs about the labour market? Specifically we will be asking has their knowledge/

/knowledge of the youth labour market changed, and are their different labour market experiences responsible for this change?

The transition from school to work is often seen as a stressful period in a young person's life as a result of often being ill prepared for and ignorant about the environment of work. This raises questions about the role played by the schools and Careers Service in preparing young people for their entry into the labour market. Perhaps the most important part of the preparation will be the dissemination of information, particularly occupational information. In a developed society such as our own in which the division of labour is well established, the number of occupations open to an individual is immense, although having decided to enter the labour market at 16 does reduce the scope somewhat. The choice of career is an important decision as it can be an important determinant of a person's life, and to enable them to make the correct decision young people will need information on the range of occupations open to them and guidance to enable them to match their interests and attributes to a particular career or range of careers. Information will probably come from the school, the home and the Careers Service. Schools can be an important source of labour market information for young people though the type and quality of information will vary across schools. The Careers Service has two main/

/main opportunities to disseminate information; in the 'school talk' (in which a careers officer will give a broad picture of the variety of occupations open to young people) and during the 'school leaving interview' (although perhaps the main function of the interview is to offer vocational guidance). The home is often seen as ill-equipped to advise on the choice of career as parents often lack expert knowledge. However parents can be an important source of labour market information, not only in terms of what jobs involve, such as wages and conditions, but they may also prove a useful channel of information when young people actually come to look for work.

Having made the decision to leave school and enter the labour market at 16 young people are faced with the increasingly difficult task of finding a job. To some extent young people are at a disadvantage compared to adult workers looking for work as they have no previous experiences upon which to draw. This raises questions relating to possible different search methods used by young people as they attempt to find the most useful channel of information in terms of generating vacancies for which they are eligible to apply. Earlier studies of job search methods indicate the importance of informal channels of information (such as family, friends or casual inquiry to firms) in successful job search strategies,<sup>5</sup> although these studies relate to periods of comparatively low levels/

/levels of unemployment and so leads us to question the possible effects that the present record levels of unemployment has had on the relative importance of the formal/informal channels of information. The decision as to when to begin to look for a job may be an important determinant of success; should a young person begin to look for a job while they are still at school or wait until they have actually entered the labour market? Studies of redundant workers have shown that those who begin to look for work before they actually leave the firm tend to experience shorter periods of unemployment than those who delayed their search until they became unemployed.<sup>6</sup>

Job search studies usually relate to job search undertaken by people who are unemployed and little is known about job search undertaken by those in employment. Within the youth labour market there are a number of different labour market states, pupil about to leave school, YOP participant, unemployed and employed. This raises questions about possible different search strategies pursued by these different groups within the youth labour market. The effect that unemployment duration has on the intensity of search is of particular interest. Intensity can be measured in two ways, first, in terms of the number of different channels of information used, and secondly in terms of the use made of a particular channel. Unemployment duration may have the effect of increasing the number of channels used as one becomes more and more/

/more desperate to find a job or alternatively it may reduce the number of channels used as the probability of success is assessed as too low to justify the incurring of any further costs. Unemployment duration could also affect the intensity with which one uses a particular channel; increasing/decreasing the number of times one visits the Careers Service per week or the number of firms contacted on the off-chance that they may have a vacancy. High levels of youth unemployment may also affect the labour market in which young people search for work; are they looking for jobs only in their local labour market or are they willing to travel daily to work or even leave home to secure employment?

In the early months after entry into the labour market a young person is likely to experience one or more of three separate and distinct states - unemployed, YOP participant or employed. For the vast majority of young people 'employed' is a state they are unlikely to experience. Therefore in the light of record levels of unemployment particularly among school-leavers we need to ask why some young people obtain jobs soon after leaving school while others remain unemployed for long periods interrupted only by participation on YOP schemes. We will need to ask whether there are factors which favour some young people more than others? These factors are likely to be personal attributes such as examinations passed, socio-economic background, or behavioural characteristics/

/characteristics such as how early they began searching for work or how intensively search was conducted, or local labour market characteristics such as unemployment rates or the industrial structure.

### 3. THE METHODOLOGY.

Given the questions we would like to answer, as outlined above, it was thought that the most appropriate method of inquiry would be to select a sample of young people who were eligible to leave school for the first time on 31 May 1982 and follow their progress in the labour market through a series of personal interviews and postal questionnaires.

Of critical importance to the study was the need to maintain contact with the young people once they had left school and entered the labour market. It was felt that the best way of achieving this was for the initial contact to be in the form of a personal interview, enabling us to explain the nature of the project, to inform them of what would be required of them, and to answer any questions or allay any fears they might have, for example regarding confidentiality. This interview was to take place before they left school and it was felt that the ideal place in which to conduct the interviews would be in the schools that members of the sample attended./

/attended. The co-operation of the education authorities, both at regional and local level, was sought and obtained, subject to the agreement of the individual headmasters, which was also forthcoming.

It was hoped to conduct the interview as near to the school leaving date as possible, but on the advice of headmasters we elected to have completed all the interviews before the Easter vacation. We were advised that it would prove difficult to contact pupils in their final half-term; pupils who were sitting examinations would be reluctant to interrupt either their subject classes or revision periods and non-certificate pupils may be reluctant to attend school during the last few weeks of their school days. The interviews were therefore held during the last five and a half weeks before the Easter vacation - 1st March to 7th April 1982 inclusive.

Areas covered in the first interview, which were necessarily constrained by the fact that the interview took place before they left school were as follows:-

- (i) Education - type of school, intended school leaving decision, 'O' Grade examinations to be taken.
- (ii) Labour market knowledge - jobs adults do in the Motherwell district, occupations which school-leavers can enter, industrial structure/

/structure of the Motherwell district, local wage levels, unemployment rates, YOP.

- (iii) Labour market information - sources of occupational information, careers service interview.
- (iv) Job search - extent of job search before leaving school, channels of information used, success.
- (v) Personal details - sex, family structure, employment status of household members, social class.

In earlier studies of job search, when considering the effectiveness of job search methods, results on occasions tended to suggest some degree of under reporting of job search methods which were unsuccessful or only briefly used.<sup>7</sup> There are two possible explanations: first retrospective questionnaires may have been used where respondents were asked to think back many months or even one or two years, and reports that people give to such questions are notorious for errors of omission and distortions, and secondly, open ended questions may have been used - 'how did you go about looking for a job?' - rather than asking specifically if a particular method was used or not. In an attempt to overcome these problems it was originally envisaged that the members of the sample would be asked to keep a 'diary' of their job search activities. It was hoped that this would provide data on the intensity of job search and the successful methods used in obtaining/

/obtaining a job. However, problems associated with the operation of a 'diary', not least of which was the feeling that it may prove very difficult to actually get members of the sample to complete one, led us to abandon the idea in favour of short postal questionnaires.

The first job search questionnaire was distributed to all members of the sample during the third week of August 1982. During the third week of December 1982 two further job search questionnaires were sent out: the first was sent to those members of the sample who had left school in the summer of 1982 and the second to those members of the sample who had returned to school to continue with their education.

The three questionnaires each asked specific questions regarding job search activity in two distinct periods. The first questionnaire asked about search activity during the first two weeks of August and then about search activity in the months of June and July. The questions in part one were designed to obtain a comprehensive picture of search activity during a short defined period, whereas in part two the questions were designed to give a more general picture of search activity. The December questionnaire sent to those who left school was designed along very similar lines, with the first part relating to the first two weeks of December and part two to search activity undertaken from the middle of August to the end of November. The only/

/only major difference between the two questionnaires was that the December questionnaire attempted to distinguish between 'Christmas period' employment and employment of a more permanent nature. It was hoped as a result of designing two very similar questionnaires in this way to be able to say something about the effects that unemployment duration has on search activity. The third questionnaire sent to all those who returned to school was also in two parts, part one relating to job search activity during the school summer holidays, with part two asking about job search undertaken since returning to school.

An important consideration was the timing of the distribution of the first job search questionnaire (the second questionnaire being distributed to coincide with the sample's first six months in the labour market). There were two considerations. First, in order to maintain the interest of the sample members it was felt necessary to contact them at regular intervals. Secondly, in recent years the numbers of young people returning to school after the age of 16 unexpectedly (i.e. after having previously indicated an intention to leave school) has been rising, presumably as a result of unsuccessful job search. If this was the case then we would be interested in recording their activities, and this led us to consider distributing a questionnaire during the early weeks of their entry into the labour market. For these reasons and to avoid a clash with/

/with the local holiday period, we decided that the two weeks in which we would attempt to obtain a comprehensive picture of job search activity should be the last two weeks of the school's summer holidays, i.e. the first two weeks of August.

The final contact with those members of the sample who left school and entered the labour market was made through a personal interview which took place between March and May 1983, i.e. approximately one year after the initial contact was made. These interviews took longer to complete than the first interview as a result of them being conducted in the young person's home, usually on an evening after they had finished work or YOP, whereas we had a "captive audience" when conducting the first interview during school hours.

The questionnaire was divided into six main parts:

- (i) Job search - questions similar to those on the postal questionnaire were asked, but these were related to the period since January 1983.
- (ii) Employment - the usual questions were asked about employer, job, wages etc., and also a number of questions concerned with information.
- (iii) YOP - again the usual questions were asked about YOP activities, sponsors but also questions relating to sources of information about YOP participants views on different/

/different aspects of the scheme.

- (iv) Unemployment - registration and duration.
- (v) Labour market knowledge - questions asked to ascertain knowledge of the youth labour market in the light of their own experiences.
- (vi) Personal details - asked in order to identify changes which may influence behaviour.

It is hoped that the methodology adopted and the data collected will enable us to address all the issues raised above.

#### 4. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY - THE MOTHERWELL AREA.

This study is a local labour market study. It is concerned primarily with the labour market experiences of a group of young people entering a specific labour market - the Motherwell labour market. It would seem appropriate therefore to present a brief outline of the characteristics of the Motherwell area, as it was at the beginning of the study, and how it has been affected by the economic recessions the economy has experienced over the past decade.<sup>8</sup>

##### (a). Population.

For the purpose of this study Motherwell is defined as the Motherwell District Council area. In 1981 it had a population of 150,000 (73,000 male, 77,000 female) which made it the/

/the third largest district in the Strathclyde Region . About half of the population live in the main centres of Motherwell and Wishaw, while some 20,000 live in Bellshill. There are smaller centres of population in Holytown and Newmains, and further east at Shotts and Harthill. Between 1971 and 1981 the population decline in Motherwell was the fifth highest amongst Scottish District Council areas - a fall of 5.4% compared with a 2% fall in Scotland as a whole. The population change also affected the age structure of the area. There was an increase of 1% in the main working population (18-59) which was the only declining traditional area in Scotland to experience an increase. There was a 10% reduction in the number of school leavers compared with 1980, though this was much less than in the rest of the Strathclyde Region (20% - 30%). Motherwell's loss of population is partly due to net movements of families and individuals out of the area. About 6000 left the area between 1975 and 1980, and a further 7,500 are expected to move out between 1980 and 1988.

(b) The Local Economy.

Motherwell has a narrow economic base which makes it highly vulnerable to fluctuations in national economic activity. The local economy and its employment base is very much at risk. The British Steel Corporation (BSC) accounted for 15% of all employment in the area in 1981; this after shedding 5000 jobs since 1975. Apart from BSC 17 employers between them accounted for no less than 80% of other manufacturing employment /

/employment in the area in 1981. Most of these firms, many of them engaged in heavy engineering have been severely affected by reductions in capital spending in both private and public sectors. Manufacturing industry in Motherwell is strongly orientated towards the supply of capital rather than consumer goods, particularly to the public sector. There is a tendency for local industries to have a low volume of sales, with each individual unit having a high sales value, to rely on a narrow marketing base (often one single outlet accounts for over half of all sales) and for products to be "custom built" to customer's specification. These products are usually sold in markets where they are very exposed to competitive pressure in terms of both volume and price. Associated with this continuing dominance of the local economy by traditional metal working and engineering activities is Motherwell's weakness in service or consumer orientated industries. Although attempts have been made to offset the decline of the traditional staple industries with the introduction of chemical, electrical and automotive industries, many of the newer firms in the area share the fundamental economic characteristics described above.

(c) The Labour Market.

(i) Adult Labour Market.

Since 1971 when the labour force in Motherwell was some 70,000, the local economy has suffered a net loss of almost/

/almost one job in five. Most of this loss has occurred during the last five years. Between 1971 and 1978 there was a net loss of about 3,000 jobs - a reduction of 4.3% in the labour force during a period when the labour force in Scotland as a whole was growing by over 3%. Since 1978, it has been estimated that there has been a net loss of a further 10,000 jobs, a decline of 15% compared with a 10.4% decline in Scotland as a whole. It can therefore be seen that in terms of employment Motherwell has fared significantly worse over the entire period than Scotland as a whole.

This loss of employment was not evenly spread over the local economy. Between 1971 and 1978 employment in the primary and manufacturing sectors declined, fluctuated in construction without showing any trend, and increased in the service sector. A result of Motherwell having many more workers employed in primary and manufacturing jobs than in service jobs was the decline in the level of employment outlined above. Indeed, between 1978 and 1982 more than 90% of the jobs lost were in manufacturing, which reduced the share of jobs in manufacturing from 47% to 40%.

Over the last decade, unemployment in the Motherwell area has generally been above the average for Scotland and the Strathclyde Region, although it has followed the national trend quite closely. In the present recession unemployment/

/unemployment has climbed dramatically so that more than one in five of the labour force is now out of work. Unusually the female unemployment rate is as high as males, reflecting the relative absence of female job opportunities in the locality. Many female shop assistants or general clerks for example cannot find work. In addition to over 12,000 unemployed in June 1981 some 3,000 workers were kept in employment by the Temporary Short Time Working Compensation Scheme.

The profile of the age of the unemployed and the duration of unemployment were broadly in line with national averages in 1981. About half the registered unemployed had been out of work for between eight and thirty nine weeks, with almost one quarter unemployed for over a year. About 20% of the registered unemployed were over 45; about 26% under 20.

(ii) The Youth Labour Market.

Unemployment in Motherwell, while following national movements, has generally been at a higher rate - in 1971 its unemployment rate was 70% higher than in Great Britain as a whole and by 1981 its relative position had deteriorated further. Those aged 16-17 years had experienced an even greater proportionate increase than did adults. Between 1970 and 1979 unemployment among boys increased by 258% and by 369% among girls./

/girls. Caution should be exercised when commenting upon these increases due to the relatively small numbers who were unemployed in 1970 - but if we examine the proportion of Motherwell's unemployed who were under 18 years of age we see that the phenomenon hinted at by the figures above was in fact genuine, as the under 18's accounted for 9.4% of total unemployed in 1970 and 17.6% in 1979. It should also be recognised that the Youth Opportunities Programme had been in operation since mid-1978 and this undoubtedly would have eased the unemployment situation among this age group somewhat. Information from the Centre for Educational Sociology, based at the University of Edinburgh, suggested that somewhere in the order of 40 - 50% of 1978 Motherwell school-leavers obtained their first work experience through participation upon a YOP scheme.

In Figure 1 we present details of the percentage share of total stock of male unemployment accounted for by 16-17 year old males for Motherwell and Scotland; Figure 2 presents similar results for females.

For both male and females the general picture is as we might have expected - unemployment share is highest in July just after the main school leaving date. As young people are able to leave school on the 31st May of each year this reflects the greater difficulty in the absorption of young people into/

FIGURE 1 - MALES AGED 16 - 17 AS % OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT STOCK.

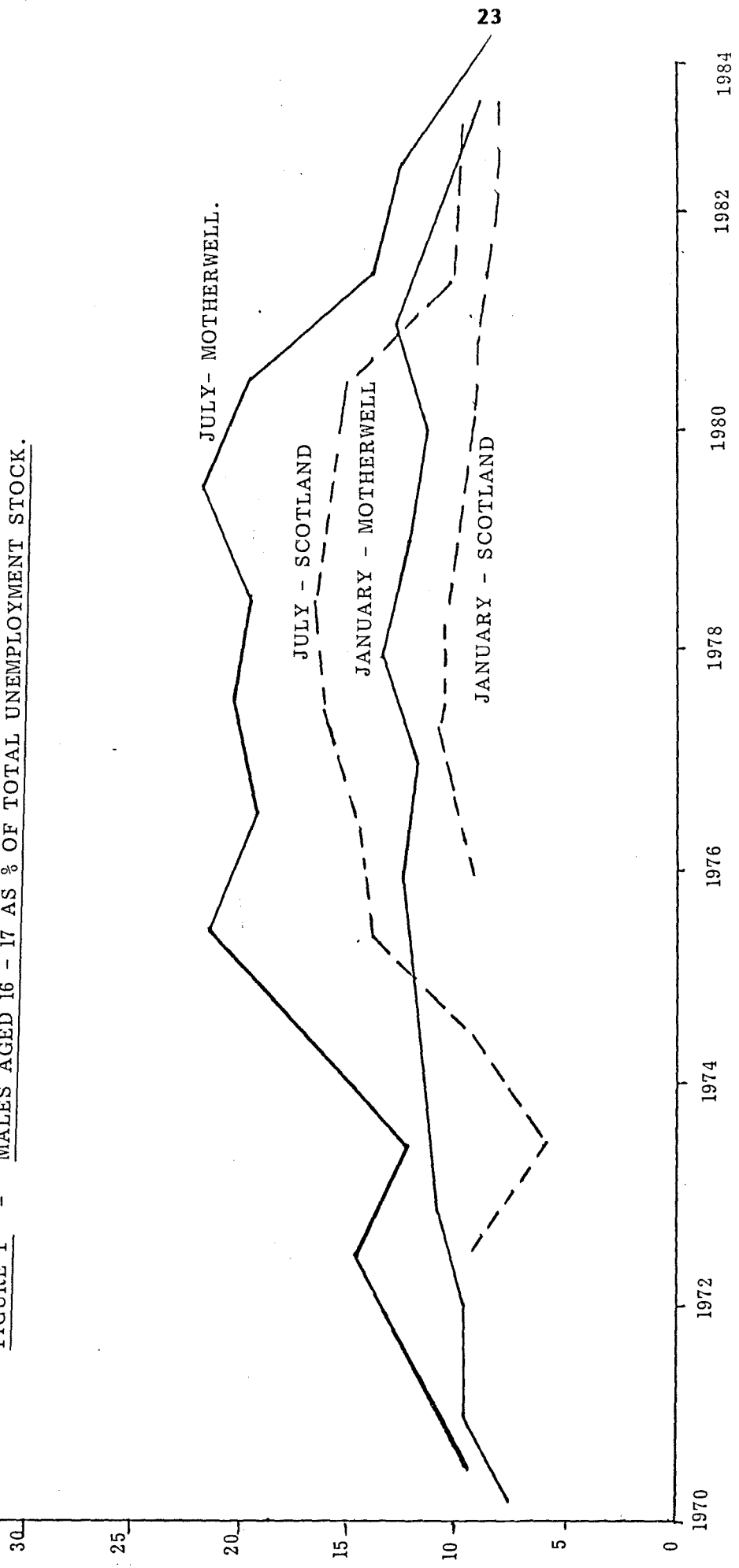
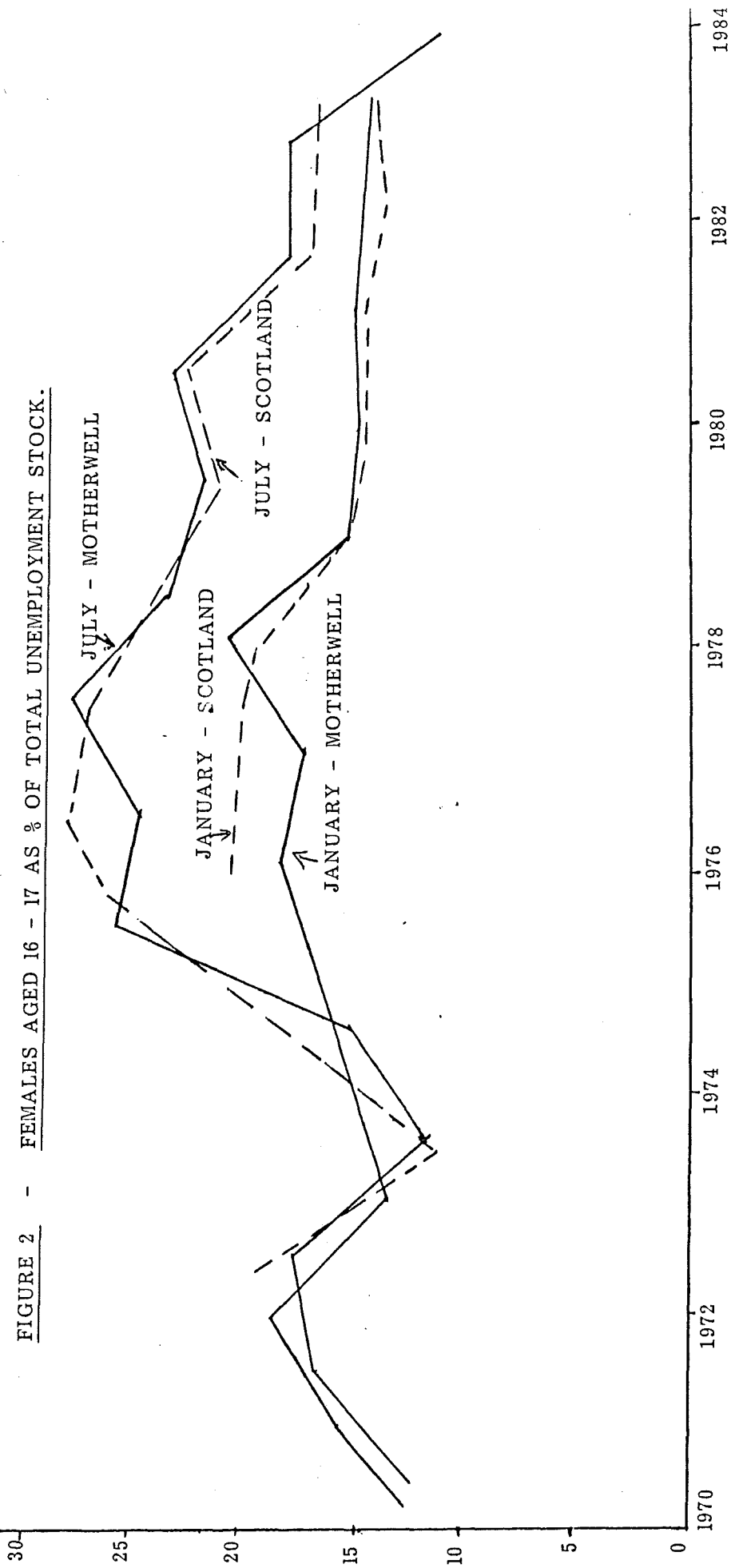


FIGURE 2 - FEMALE'S AGED 16 - 17 AS % OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT STOCK.



/into the labour market during the 1970's. The figures reveal an improved situation since 1980, but this "improvement" since 1980 in both Motherwell and Scotland can be attributed solely to the absorption of the summer peak of school-leavers into Government schemes, YOP up to 1982, YTS from 1983. As we have indicated previously, Motherwell's school-leavers have suffered from unemployment to a greater degree than young people elsewhere in Scotland, and this is borne out in Figure I. There is a much closer relationship between Motherwell and Scottish levels for females, which would seem to indicate that under 18 year old females in Motherwell do not experience the relative disadvantage of their male counterparts.

The share of unemployment of the 18-19 year olds in Motherwell remained fairly constant throughout the 1970's, at 7-9% for males and 10-12% for females.<sup>9</sup> However, in contrast to the 16-17 year olds, the 1980's sees a deterioration in the position of 18-19 year olds - in both Motherwell and Scotland ratios increased, at much the same rate for females, but much sharper for males in Motherwell than Scotland as a whole. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate these statistics for males and females respectively. Danson et al (1983) advance the hypothesis, that the relative improvement brought about by YOP for the 16-17 year olds would have a "knock-on" effect to the disadvantage of the 18-19 year olds. Once youngsters had passed through the scheme, those who had not succeeded/

FIGURE THREE - MALES AGED 18 - 19 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT STOCK.

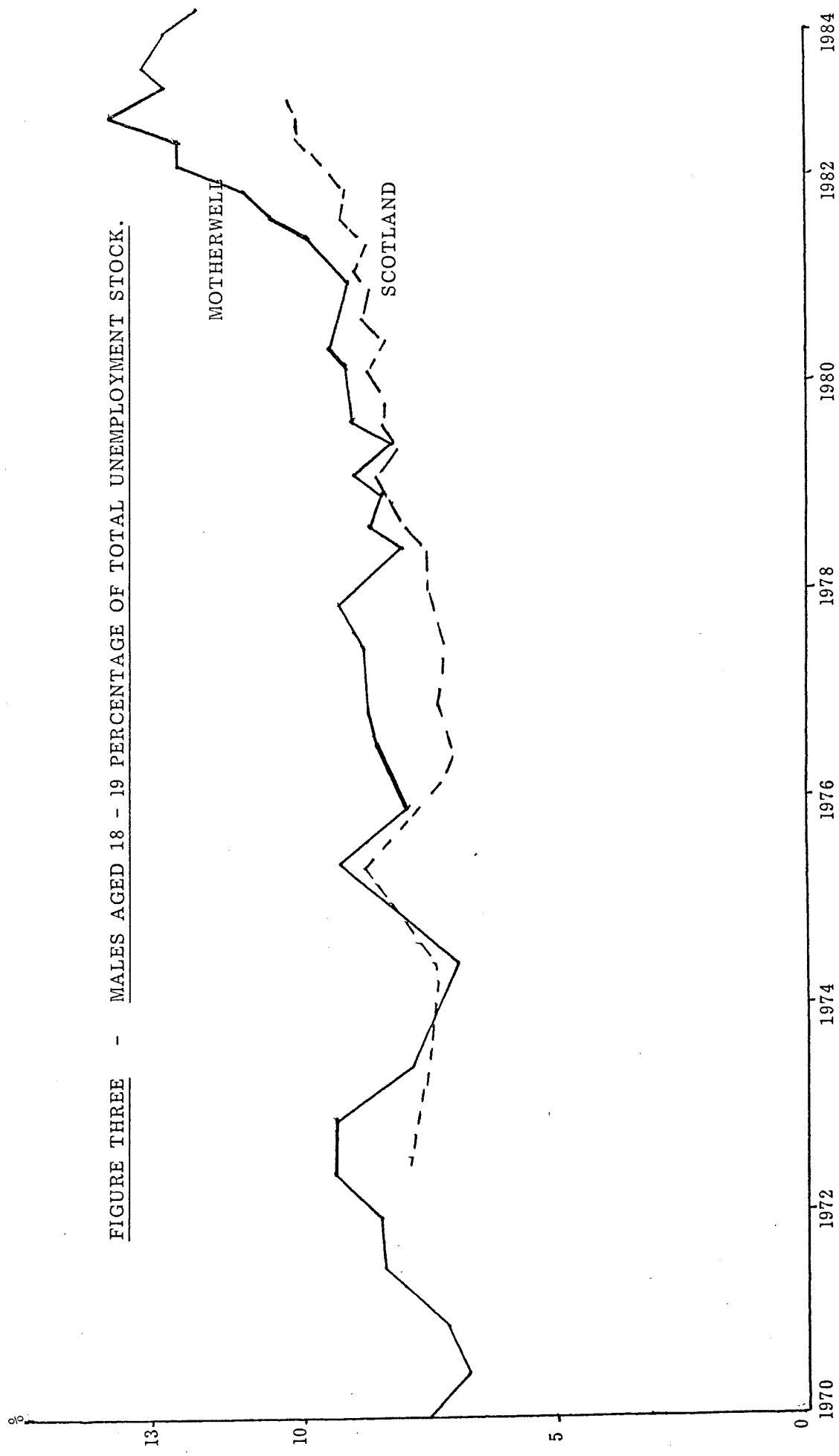
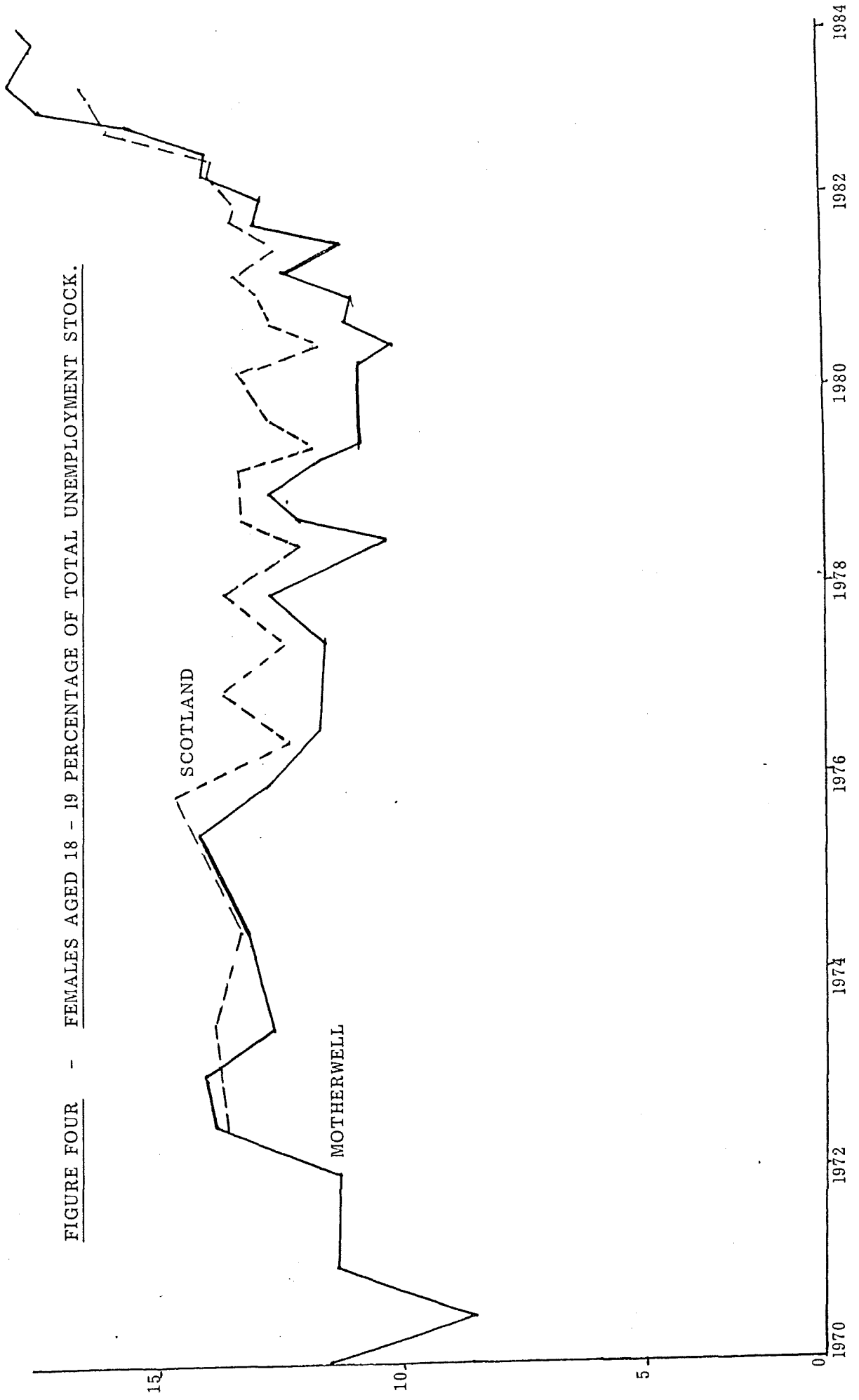


FIGURE FOUR - FEMALES AGED 18 - 19 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT STOCK.



/succeeded in obtaining regular employment (and the proportions finding employment on leaving their scheme fell as the recession deepened)<sup>10</sup> would find themselves in a relatively difficult position when they came to look for a permanent job.

##### 5. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS.

The issues with which we are concerned and the context of the study have been outlined. We begin in Chapter Two with an investigation of factors which influence the decision to leave school at the earliest opportunity - the decision to participate in the labour market at 16. We will attempt to identify the relative explanatory strengths of "economic" variables (unemployment wage levels) compared with "social" variables (social class, family size).

The third chapter will investigate the extent of young people's knowledge of their local labour market and factors (such as different labour market states) which may account for any change in their knowledge. Their knowledge of the labour market will be discussed in terms of wage and unemployment levels, range/types of jobs available to school leavers, the type and range of jobs in which adults are employed, and the importance of certain industries to the area in terms of employment.

In Chapter Four we will be discussing the occupational choice and the preparation of young people for entry into working life. We will primarily be concerned with the sources used to obtain occupational and other types of labour market information. The parts played by the school, home and Careers Service in disseminating information will be discussed.

A number of issues relating to job search will be discussed in Chapter Five. This chapter will be concerned with job search methods rather than with building a theoretical job search model. The use of formal/informal channels of information, the effects of unemployment duration on search methods and intensity of search, and the search methods adopted by different groups within the youth labour market will be investigated.

In Chapter Six we will attempt to explain the differing labour market states - unemployment, YOP participation and permanent employment - of the sample, drawing upon employee and employer job search theories, together with relevant empirical studies to suggest variables to be included in the analysis. Two approaches - a personal characteristic approach to unemployment and a "behavioural model" - will be adopted to explain why some young people are able to obtain permanent employment, while the majority of their contemporaries cannot.

Chapter Seven will present a summary of the main findings of the study, and draw any conclusions to be made.

NOTES.

1. Sources: Employment Gazette - October 1979 p. 1258,  
June 1984 p. 540
2. Sources: Employment Gazette - 1976 p. 129, June 1984  
p.534.
3. see Carter (1962,1966), Maizels (1970), Veness (1962),  
Jahoda (1952), Jahoda and Chalmers (1963a,1963b),  
Wilson (1953a,1953b).
4. see Douglas (1966), Morton-William and Finch (1968).
5. see Rees and Shultz (1970), MacKay et al (1971),  
Reid (1972).
6. see MacKay and Reid (1972).
7. Reid (1972).
8. For a full and detailed analysis of the Motherwell economy  
and labour market over the last decade see Danson et al (1983).  
Much of this section is based on data collected by the  
Motherwell Labour Market Project. I am grateful to  
them for making this data available to me.
9. Lower registration rates among older women and earlier  
retirement for women than men will mean that young  
women account for a higher proportion of the total  
than is the case for men.
10. see O'Connor (1981).

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CHAPTER TWO.

THE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION DECISION

AT 16 - THE SCHOOL LEAVING DECISION.

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

In a study which is concerned with the labour market experiences of a group of young people who have left school at the earliest opportunity<sup>1</sup> (the so called 'early leavers') a logical starting point for any analysis would seem to be an examination of the factors which influence the decision to leave school 'early'. The school leaving decision is the complement to the decision to participate in the labour market for prime age groups. The participation decision for young people at 16 is however likely to be markedly different from those of prime age groups. For the prime age groups the participation decision is either to work or to stay at home (this is particularly true for married females) whereas the decision facing young people is three-fold - to work, to stay at home or to continue with their education. The increase in the participation rate (sometimes called the activity rate) of married females has resulted in a great deal of research into the phenomena. In their studies of married female participation McNabb (1977) and Greenhalgh (1977) both report relatively poor results for the 16 - 19 age group - possibly reflecting the fact that no allowance was made for the different participation decision facing young people.

At this stage it may be useful to explain more precisely what we mean by the notion of economic activity or activity (participation) rate. The economically active population is defined as the number willing to supply labour at some particular time, and the activity (participation) rate is the ratio of this number/

/number to the total population under discussion.<sup>2</sup> The economically active population therefore consists of those who are unemployed, since the unemployed might reasonably be assumed to be actively seeking work, and hence willing to supply labour. In the context of the youth labour market it would presumably also include participants on temporary work schemes such as YOP.

Broadly speaking there are six factors which will determine whether an individual will be economically active and participate in the labour market.

These factors are:-

- (i). Economic Circumstances: Discussion of this factor will be postponed until later when we present a review of the relevant economic theories and empirical research.
- (ii). Personal Characteristics: These include such things as age, sex, marital status, family responsibilities and educational attainment of the individual. Some personal characteristics are mutable, such as educational attainment and family size, whereas others such as age, sex are immutable.
- (iii). Government Legislation: An example of this influence, which is of particular relevance to young people, was the raising of the school leaving age. This reduced the size of the economically active population at a stroke, as would legislation on the retirement age for entitlement to a state or private pension.

(iv). Arbitrary Conventions: This includes a variety of statistical conventions concerning what is to be counted as economically active, and what is not.<sup>3</sup> For example, housework is by convention treated as inactivity as it involves no market transactions. However some would argue that household work is an important component of overall labour supply and to neglect it is seriously misleading (see Gronau (1973)). How unemployment is defined also creates a problem. In the UK many people, particularly married females, do not bother to register as unemployed, although they may be actively seeking work. The data from the Population Census on unemployment are regarded as superior to the Department of Employment's figures as they are based on responses to the questions 'Are you seeking work or waiting to take up a job?' The unemployment rate revealed is about one and a half times as large as the registered unemployed stock, reflecting the non-registered unemployed.<sup>4</sup>

(v). General Health and Mobility: Improvements in medical techniques and standards allow many who would otherwise have been unable to work to be economically active and participate in the labour market.

(vi). Custom and Social Convention: Social conventions exert strong pressures on males of prime age to work. Action may therefore be based on the need to conform to the ethics of the society that an individual finds himself in at a particular time. It is only the strong and unusual personality who/

/who can resist such pressures. Females face a different set of social conventions and customs. It is perfectly acceptable for women to remain at home, even those without family responsibilities and no social ostracism will result. In other societies and in other times social conventions may well dictate a different response.

Economists regard economic circumstances as being the most important and dominant influence upon labour supply, and in Section 2 we will discuss the relevant economic theories - the theory of labour supply and human capital theory - as they relate to the school leaving decision. In Section 3 we will present a brief survey of the relevant literature on participation and the school leaving decision, resulting from the economist's and educationalist's interest in the topic. In Section 4 we describe the variables used in the estimation of our equation, and in Section 5 we present the results of this estimation. We end, in Section 6, with a brief set of conclusions.

## 2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

In this section we will concentrate our attention upon a review of two economic theories which relate to the school leaving decision - the theory of labour supply and human capital theory. The decision to supply labour can be regarded, as argued for example by Becker (1965) as just one element of the more general problem of how consumers allocate their resources. According to this approach the household decides/

/decides on the basis of individual tastes for market work, non-market activities and the consumption of goods and services, how it should allocate each member's time between various alternative uses. The school leaving decision is partly an individual and partly a household decision of which the individual is only one part. The reason for this is that the cost of staying on at school is borne partly by the individual in the form of foregone earnings, and partly by the household in direct schooling costs and the loss of income that the individual could have contributed to household expenses. Also young people are likely to be more strongly influenced by their parents and to the extent that parents will attempt to maximise the utility of the whole household rather than one individual leads us to conclude that the school leaving decision is primarily a household decision.

Education can be treated as a mode of investment and just as any investment decision is made, the decision whether to continue with one's education beyond the age of 16, depends on whether perceived returns from education outweigh its costs. In other words the decision to stay on at school will depend on whether the net present value of education is positive. There are two components in such calculations: expected benefits and expected costs. The former comprises largely of additional lifetime income resulting from the extra years of formal education, plus any social and intellectual amenities gained. Expected costs include foregone earnings (the lost income which could have been earned had the individual/

/individual left school and entered the labour market) plus direct schooling costs. Human capital theory, which is concerned with man/woman investing in himself/herself provides a framework through which the school leaving decision can be analysed.

(i). The Household Model of Labour Supply.

The household model of labour supply which we follow can be found in Ashenfelter and Heckman (1974). The framework is the same as the Hicksian consumer choice problem in which the consumer allocates a given income between commodities in order to maximise a given utility function. In the labour supply model the individual comes to the market with a fixed amount of time to trade which is to be allocated between commodities and leisure. The household is assumed to contain one male and one female member. The emphasis of the model is that the supply decision is jointly determined. The supply decision can therefore be viewed as solving the following constrained maximisation problem:

$$\text{MAX } U = f(L_m, L_f, X) \quad (1)$$

$$\text{SUBJECT TO } W_m(T - L_m) + W_f(T - L_f) + Y = PX \quad (2)$$

$U$  is a twice continuously differentiable household utility function.  $L_m$  and  $L_f$  are the amounts of time spent in leisure, and  $X$  is a Hicksian bundle of all consumption goods./

/goods. Equation (2) gives the time constraint, where  $T$  is the total amount of time that the members of the household have to trade in the period.  $W_m$  and  $W_f$  are the respective wage rates.  $Y$  is unearned income and  $PX$  is the total expenditure on commodities. The budget constraint says that the total earnings of the household from market activity plus unearned income equals total expenditure on commodities.

The model of household labour supply described above is somewhat restrictive:

- (i). the model is static and allows us to say little about labour supply over the life cycle.
- (ii). no distinction is made between household work and leisure.<sup>5</sup>
- (iii). the third restriction is the separability assumption; commodities are grouped together as a composite and relative price changes within this composite have no influence upon labour supply.<sup>6</sup>

There is in effect a two stage maximisation process assumed. In the initial stage the household is viewed as allocating its time between leisure and income, whereas in the second stage the household becomes a Hicksian consumer and allocates its income between various commodities./

/commodities.

In figure one we show the two stage optimisation process. We assume, for illustrative purposes, that the household contains just one person willing to supply labour. In the right hand quadrant we show the allocation between income and leisure. The budget constraint  $FAC$ , shows that  $FA$  is unearned income and that the slope of  $AC$  is equal to the hourly wage rate. The household will then maximise its utility at  $B$ , supplying  $EF$  units of labour in return for total income of  $BE$  ( $ED$  is unearned income). In the left hand quadrant we illustrate the second stage of the optimisation process. We use only two commodities  $x_1$  and  $x_2$ , again for illustrative purposes, whose relative prices are indicated by the slope of the budget constraint  $JK$ . The position of  $N$  on the budget line is determined by total income,  $GK+BE$ . The consumer will then allocate his/her income between  $x_1$  and  $x_2$ , choosing  $GM$  of  $x_1$  and  $GN$  of  $x_2$ . The separability of the decision process is illustrated by the fact that changes in the relative prices of  $x_1$  and  $x_2$ , leaving the real wage unchanged, the household will not alter its allocation between income and leisure.

It is usual and instructive, when considering the household labour supply model to examine the Slutsky decomposition for a wage rate change, splitting it up into separate income and substitution effects.<sup>7</sup> It is usual, for the purpose of/

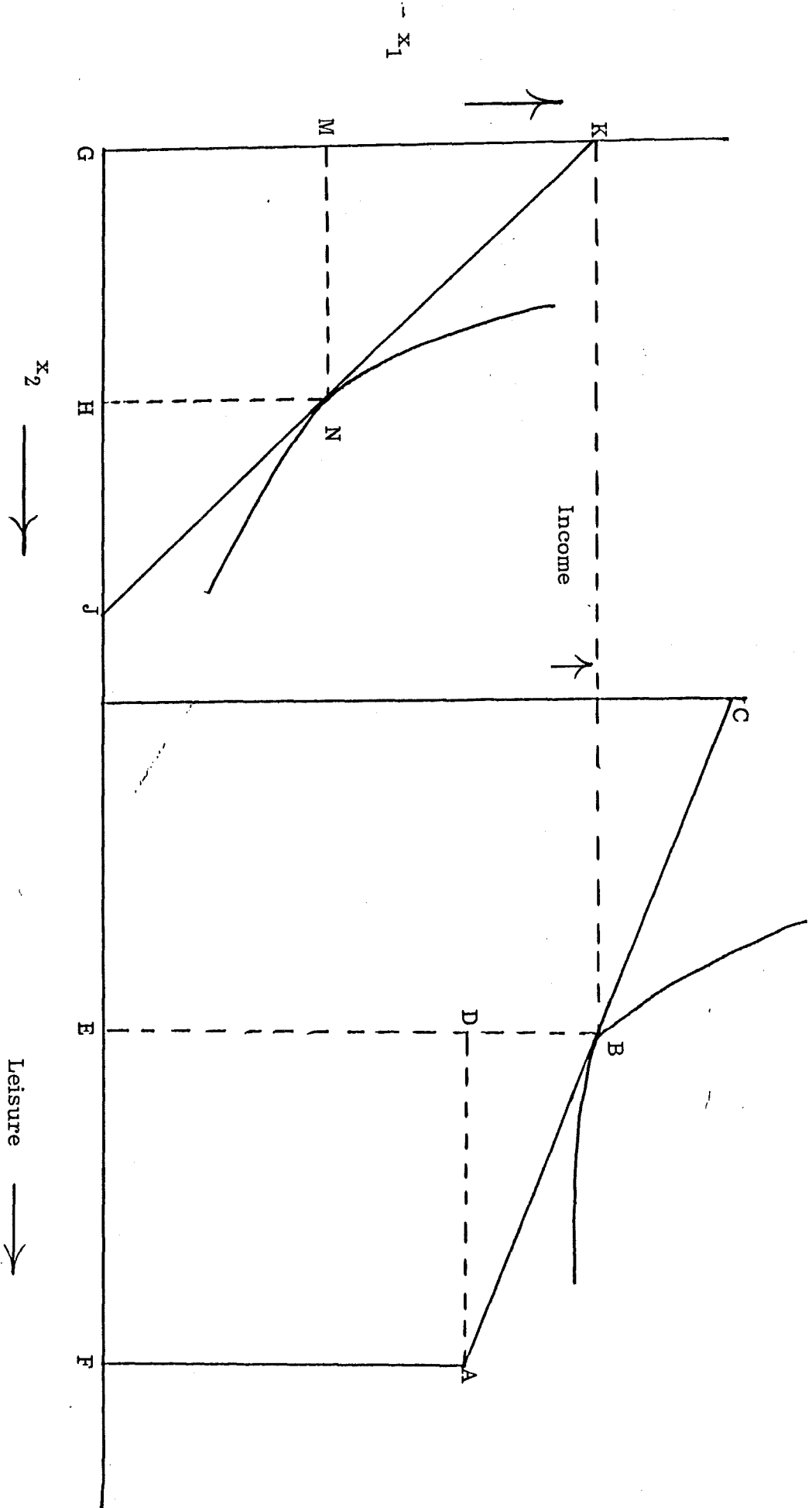


FIGURE ONE

/of illustration, to show the effect for a household containing only one member who is willing to supply labour as the result is easily generalised for larger households. The problem is therefore to:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{MAX} & U = f(L, X) \\ \text{SUBJECT TO} & W(T-L) + Y = PX \end{array} \quad (3)$$

where  $W$  is the wage rate and  $L$  is leisure. The solution to this comparative static problem is:<sup>8</sup>

$$\frac{\partial U}{\partial W} \equiv \frac{\partial U}{\partial W|Y} + \frac{H \partial U}{\partial Y} \quad (4)$$

The Slutsky decomposition tells us that a compensated wage change (the first term on the right hand side of equation (4)) is always positive. This says that if the household's income is held constant and leisure is made more expensive by increasing the wage rate then the household will demand less leisure. The income effect (the second term on the right hand side of equation (4)) is strictly speaking indeterminate in sign but is usually assumed to be negative - leisure is a normal good. This is not an unreasonable assumption as it seems likely that most people would wish to spend at least part of an increase in income on additional leisure. Together the income and substitution effects leads us to the classic indeterminacy of the sign of  $\partial W / \partial H$ .

/  $\partial W/\partial H$ .

This result can easily be generalised. The theory implies that for a household containing two adults the labour supply of each is related to the exogenous variables viz:

$$\begin{aligned} H_m &= f(W_m, W_f, Y, P) \\ H_f &= f(W_m, W_f, Y, P) \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

where  $H_m$  is the supply of hours which the male member of the household is willing to supply, which will depend among other things on the female wage rate, and  $H_f$  is the supply of hours which the female member of the household is willing to supply, which depends amongst other things on the male wage rate.

How can we relate this model to the participation decision of young people at 16? One problem which arises is that the dependent variable will be the activity rate rather than the number of hours supplied. The decision to participate in the labour market will depend roughly upon a similar set of variables as in (5) plus a further set of non-economic variables. Thus for example a typical estimating equation for the participation decision at 16 might be:

$$A_y = f(W_h, U_h, W_y, U_y, Y, Z) \quad (6)$$

where  $W_h$  and  $U_h$  are the wage and unemployment rates of the head of the household.  $W_y$  and  $U_y$  are the wage and unemployment rates of young people and  $Z$  is a vector of other variables controlling for the personal characteristics of the household. A further problem is that the dependent variable, which can be interpreted as the probability of a young person leaving school at 16 given any set of values of the explanatory variables, is constrained to lie between one and zero, and certain values of the explanatory variables may imply a value of the dependent variable outside this range. One method of overcoming this problem would be to express the model in logit form.<sup>9</sup> We will return to this problem when we discuss the form of the equation we wish to estimate.

As we stated above the participation decision facing young people at 16 is markedly different from the participation decision faced by prime age groups - young people have the additional option of continuing with their education. It is therefore possible to analyse the school leaving decision in terms of the demand for further education, where education is seen as a form of investment. This leads us to a consideration of human capital theory, which is concerned with man's investment in himself, of which education is one part (the other being on-the-job training, which can be either general training or firm specific). The model we have outlined above is really only the first component of the labour supply decision/

/decision - the quantity decision ie. over a given period the number of hours an individual is willing to supply. The second component is the quality decision ie. the individual must make a decision about the amount of time he/she must spend to supply labour of a certain quality or efficiency.<sup>10</sup>

It is the quality decision, more often described as the economics of human capital to which we now turn our attention.

(ii). The Economics of Human Capital

We begin by assuming that the individual 16 year old is contemplating staying on at school for one further year.

If the extra year of schooling is taken then earnings in each succeeding period  $t$  will be  $Y_t$ ; alternatively if the decision is to leave school at 16 then earnings in each succeeding period will be  $X_t$ . The cost  $C$  of the extra year of education will be forgone earnings, ie. the earnings in the alternative types of jobs which could have been obtained during the initial year,  $X_0$ . Therefore:

$$C = X_0 \quad (7)$$

The return  $R$  from the extra year at school is the sum of the difference between  $Y$  and  $X$  over the remainder of the working life. This sum can be written as:

$$R = \sum_{t=1}^{49} (Y_t - X_t) \quad (8)$$

EARNINGS  
PER YEAR

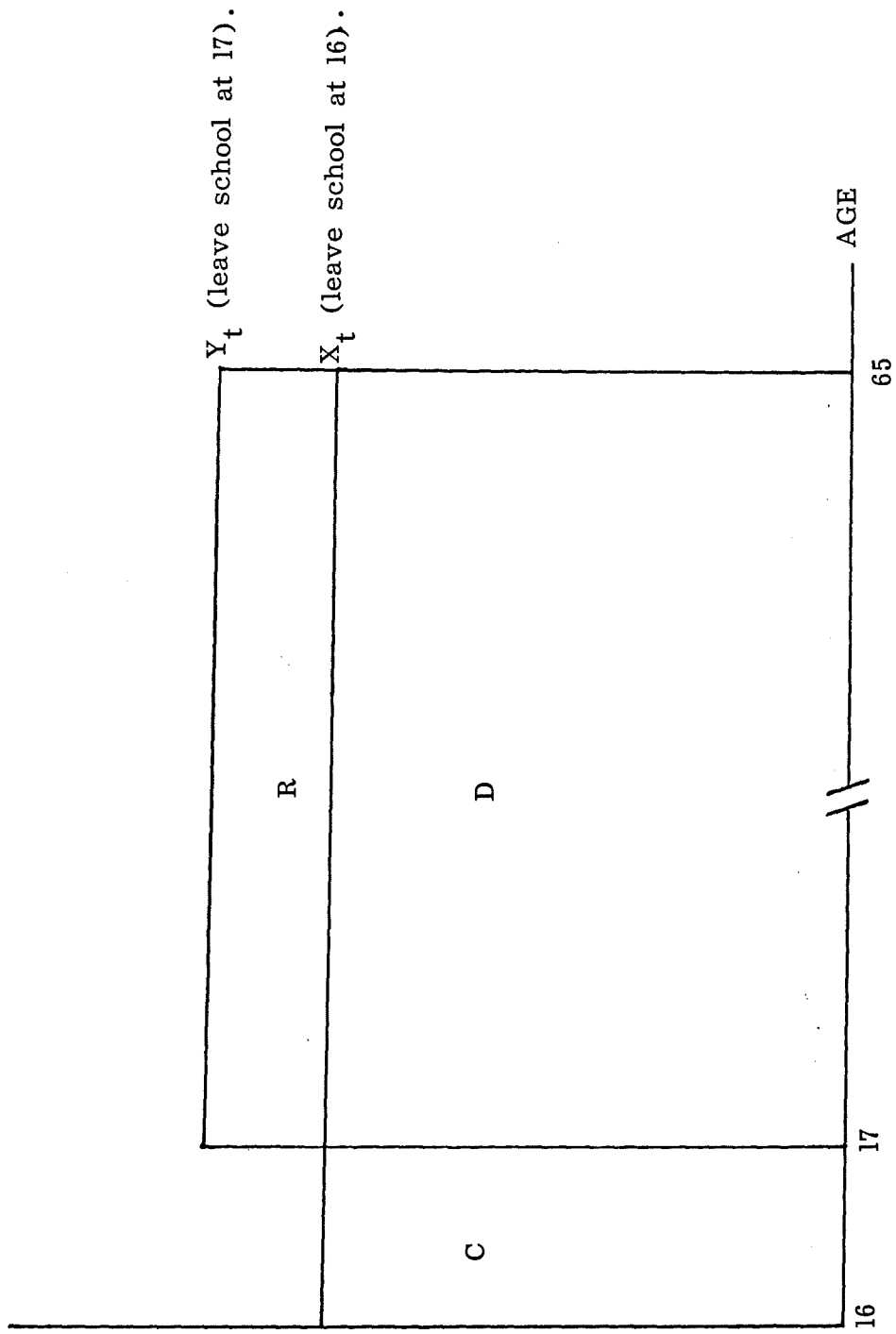


FIGURE TWO

/present value of the two overall earning streams. Our interest would then be focussed on determining which earnings stream has the higher present value from the standpoint of the age at which the decision is made. The earnings stream of those who leave school at 16 consists of the areas C and D in Figure 2. The alternative stream consists of zero earnings to the age of 17 plus the areas D and R. In comparing their streams we can again either evaluate the present values of both streams using the market rate of interest or compute the internal rate of return which equates the present values at age 16 of the two income streams. If the former method is adopted then the option chosen will be the one with the highest present value. If the latter method is chosen then the option of remaining at school for one further year will depend on whether the internal rate of return is higher or lower than the market rate of interest.

Human capital theory, as it relates to the school leaving decision and outlined above, would appear to have everything cut and dried, leaving little if any room for the non-economic "social" variables which attracts much of the attention in the education literature's treatment of the school leaving decision. However it can be argued that the human capital approach is unlikely to give anything more than a rough guide to the decision maker. The primary reason for thinking this is the absence of perfect capital markets. The school/

/school leaving decision as we have seen involves incurring costs in the present in the expectation of future benefits, usually in the form of higher earnings. Piachaud (1975) has estimated that the costs of keeping a child at school beyond the compulsory age was 16% of the income of low income families and 4% of the income of high income families.<sup>12</sup> Clearly then the cost of keeping a child at school after the age of 16, especially for those with large families, is a particular burden for low income groups. In a perfectly competitive situation families in such a position would find it worthwhile to borrow. Low income groups, however, would find it extremely difficult if not impossible to obtain access to capital markets, particularly when the collateral is human capital. As mentioned above it is often difficult to apportion the cost of continuing with education between the child and the family. It might be thought that foregone earnings are borne by the child, but it is the case that in many families where the child works he/she is expected to make a contribution towards the household expenses. Therefore a proportion of the opportunity cost is also borne by the family, in addition to the direct costs of schooling. It can be seen therefore that much of the monetary cost of continuing with education is borne by the family, whereas the monetary gain accrues to the individual. This will make access to capital markets even more difficult since the family can only offer the potential human capital of the child as collateral where he/she has no obligation to pay back the debt./

Our brief examination of the theories of labour supply and human capital, which appear to us to be the most relevant when discussing the school leaving decision, leads us to conclude that economic factors can not fully explain the decision of young people to leave school at 16. In any attempt aimed at determining such factors a number of "intruder" variables, commonly found in the education literature need to be included in the analysis. In the light of this conclusion the equation we estimate in Section (4) will include not only economic variables, such as unemployment and wage rates, but social variables aimed at measuring, for example social class and family size.

In Section (3) we turn our attention towards previous empirical research. We begin by considering the literature on participation rates, which is primarily concerned with the decision to enter the labour market and thus the dependent variable is usually the participation rate, before turning our attention to models which are based on human capital theory, where the dependent variable is usually the school enrolment rate.

### 3. LITERATURE SURVEY

#### (i). Participation Rates.

Much of the literature which deals with the economics of labour force participation has been concerned with attempting to explain the dramatic increase in the participation rates/

/rates of females, or more correctly the increase in participation rates of married females.<sup>13</sup> In contrast little attention has been focussed in the economic literature upon identifying factors which explain the participation decision of young people at 16. A notable exception to this is to be found in the work of Bowen and Finegan (1969) who attempt to explain the effect of various factors on the decision to seek work in the market place as opposed to working in the home, attending school or enjoying leisure. They consider a number of specific population groups and of particular interest to us are the chapters which deal with young males, which for their purposes they define as males aged 14 - 24. McNabb (1977) and Greenhalgh (1977) in their studies of married females present results from the age group 16 - 19 years. Much of the work on youth participation rates has dealt with the cyclical sensitivity of the youth labour force (e.g. Dernberg and Strand (1966), Tella (1964, 1965) and Mincer (1966)) while other studies have examined the added worker and income effects from a cross-sectional standpoint (e.g. Kerbell (1966), Bowen and Finegan (1965) and Cohen et al (1970)).

Bowen and Finegan's basic model is not dissimilar from our equation (6), for although they are mainly concerned with economic factors they do recognise that economic variables cannot fully explain labour force participation of young/

/young people. They also recognise that the participation decision and the enrolment decision are inter-related. They estimate their model for three age groups, 16 - 17, 18 - 19, 20 - 24, and for males in school and males out of school, giving six sub-sets. In four of the six sub-sets they found that high unemployment in the local labour market reduced labour force participation, particularly among the younger males. This sensitivity of the participation rate to local unemployment declined as age increased. One interesting finding from their analysis was a negative coefficient attached to the earnings variable. Although they do not rule out a backward bending supply curve of labour, they think its existence for this group is unlikely. Rather they interpret this finding as evidence that the market for teenage male labour is not in equilibrium - there is excess supply at the prevailing wage rate, with more job seekers than jobs.

Bowen and Finegan's model works reasonably well in explaining the factors which influence young males' participation; however the same cannot be said for McNabb (1977) and Greenhalgh (1977), whose models are also similar to our equation (6). Their models work reasonably well for the prime age female, but they obtain poor results for 16 - 19 year olds. This is not really surprising as they both fail to recognise that the participation decision facing this group has an extra dimension - the possibility of continuing with their education.

There would appear to be far more studies dealing with the cyclical sensitivity of youth participation rates. There seems to be a general agreement that improvements in general employment conditions tend to increase youth participation, though their estimates of the size of these effects differ. The fact that youth participation moves with general employment changes is consistent with the discouraged worker effect having a larger influence than the added worker effect. Cohen et al (1970) find no evidence that poor SMSA employment conditions produce a negative impact on the number of hours supplied, but high SMSA unemployment rates discourage many youths from participating, which implies that poor employment conditions may reduce the total amount of labour supplied.

Other studies have examined added worker and income effects. As calculated by Kerbel (1966) and Bowen and Finegan (1965), who both used the 1/1000 tape of the 1960 US Census, the effects on youth participation of other family income and of the head of family's employment status are weak. Cohen et al found that the added worker effect appears to be largely unimportant, though they did find some evidence that the added worker effect was more important in low income families than high income families.

The participation decision facing young people at 16 includes the additional option of continuing with their education. It/

/It is towards a consideration of the literature, based on human capital theory, which relates to the "enrolment decision" that we now turn our attention.

(ii). The Enrolment Decision.

The literature consists of both time-series and cross-sectional studies. The time-series regressions find in general that the demand for education is influenced by real national income, by the relative starting salaries of graduates and non-graduates, and by tuition costs. The elasticity by which national income influences demand is high often exceeding unity. The tuition cost elasticity is lower, but in most cases not significantly so. Therefore if tuition costs rise in the same proportion as national income, there will be no pronounced trends in the demand for education. The elasticity by which relative starting salaries influence demand is also high, again exceeding unity. The cross-sectional studies are in general *agreement* with these findings but they provide further evidence which cannot be obtained from the time series studies. Important evidence of this kind relates to the influence of socio-economic background, race and sex for education demand. Socio-economic background was found to be important in that father's education was an important influence upon the child's decision to apply to university. In general children from high socio-economic groups were more likely to apply to university and were less responsive to changes in tuition costs. Lower socio-economic/

/economic groups and non-whites were influenced more by employment, tuition costs, and family income. Women tended to be less responsive to economic variables.

The pioneering paper was written by Campbell and Siegel (1967) where the focus of attention was the average tuition costs and average family income as explanatory variables in a time series study of the demand for enrolment places. Income elasticities were  $-0.44$ . They concluded that since 1919 there has been no trend in the ratio of enrolments, and that the fluctuation in the ratio was due to fluctuations in disposable income per family and an index of tuition costs deflated by the consumer price index.

Corawzini et al (1972) focussed their attention mainly on enrolment demand for higher education subject to non-price rationing, by the introduction of a variable measuring academic admissions standards. Tuition costs and father's education were found to be the most important variables. For example a decrease of \$100 in tuition costs at universities was associated with an increase of 2.65% in national enrolment and an increase of one unit in the educational attainment of the father was associated with a 2.84% increase in total enrolment. Low socio-economic group students responded more to foregone earnings and were more likely to be diverted from pursuing education because of this. They were also more constrained by academic admission barriers than their higher socio-economic counterparts.

Edwards (1975, 1976) concerned herself with enrolment demand and retention rates at high schools rather than university. She based her model on Willis' (1973) economic model of fertility. Child services were treated as an argument in the utility function. From a derived demand equation for the number of years schooling (the quality dimension of child services) she obtained a density function and the enrolment ratio was then 1- the density function. The theoretical variables were then replaced by their empirical counterparts (income variables, educational attainment variables of males and females 35 - 54 years, unemployment rate, school expenditure, race variable, population living in rural farm areas). The most significant finding was a large positive and significant expenditure coefficient. An increase of \$100 in average expenditure per pupil decreased non-enrolment rate of 16 year olds by 17%, and of 17 year olds by 16%. In her second paper, the response of school enrolment and retention rate to changes in the business cycle was examined. Enrolment rates and retention rates were correlated with a measure of the overall business conditions: the average rate of unemployment for prime age males (38 - 44 years). The results she obtained suggested a procyclical variation in enrolment and retention rates. In an upswing of the business cycle, the general financial environment at home improved enabling women to attend school instead of staying at home to provide household labour.

Bishop (1977) using a binominal logit model examined the role of thirteen variables and their effects on enrolment demand. The variables fall broadly into three categories: student background, social and economic environment, and policy variables. The background variables were almost always highly significant, and the social and economic environment variables usually had the expected sign and were statistically significant.

The general conclusion of the survey of literature dealing with enrolment rates is that schooling decisions are affected by policy variables, student background variables and the general social and economic environment. The poor and less able are the most constrained by financial considerations and admission requirement constraints.

Having recognised in our discussion of the relevant economic theories that economic variables cannot fully explain the school leaving decision we end this section with a brief review of the education literature.

(iii). The Education Literature.

The sources for this discussion on early school leaving are Douglas (1966) and Morton-Williams and Finch (1968). The explanations offered regarding early school leaving can be grouped under three main headings: /

/headings:

- (i). the child.
- (ii). the family.
- (iii). the school.

Clearly innate ability will affect the school leaving decision. The more able a young person is the less likely is he/she to leave school at the earliest opportunity available to him/her. Those who lack concentration, have a poor disciplinary record (truancy and delinquency) are more likely to leave. Children with poor health records, characterised by long periods of absence from school are also likely to leave early.

Schools characterised by depressing physical surroundings, large class sizes and poor teachers all tend to have poor retention rates. Large schools tend to have better retention rates. The school is able to exploit economies of scale and a sixth form becomes more viable, attracting better teachers by offering the opportunity of sixth form teaching.

It is the family and family circumstances which are thought to be the most important influences on school leaving. Social class is felt to play an important role. Parental encouragement and stimulus is thought to be more prevalent in the middle class home. The higher classes also have greater wealth and are therefore more able to finance their/

/their child's post-compulsory schooling.

The model which we describe in Section 4 and estimate in Section 5 is influenced by the empirical studies described in this literature survey. It is not derived from any rigorous theoretical model, but has rather been suggested by the above discussion.

#### 4. THE MODEL.

The model which we describe in this section and estimate in Section 5 is not derived from any rigorous theoretical model, though it is nonetheless possible to locate the variables we use to explain the school leaving decision firmly within the economic theories and empirical research we reviewed above. Ideally our model would take the general form:

$$S = f(X, Y, Z)$$

where

- S = the school leaving decision
- X = a vector of 'labour force participation' variables
- Y = a vector of 'human capital theory' variables
- Z = a vector of 'socio-economic' variables.

The main difficulty encountered when attempting to actually estimate an equation based upon a model of this type is in replacing the theoretical variables with their empirical counterparts; in our case this is particularly true when considering the vector of human capital theory variables. Relating back/

/back to our discussion of human capital theory in Section 2 (ii) we find that if further education is to be treated as a mode of investment then it is necessary to take into account any expected benefits and costs associated with the 'investment' decision. The types of variables which could be used in modelling this decision in our equation would be, for example, foregone earnings, direct schooling costs (the costs) additional lifetime earnings and any social and intellectual amenities gained (the benefits). Given the nature of our study and our data sources (the response of our sample to a series of questionnaires) we were unable to collect data of this type which would allow us to include in our estimating equation 'human capital theory' variables. We therefore through necessity limit ourselves to include variables which relate to 'labour force participation' and 'socio-economic' variables. The labour force participation variables, which stem from our review of the theory of household labour supply in Section 2 and our review of empirical studies in Section 3, relate to the affect that expected wage rates and existing levels/rates of unemployment may have on the school leaving decision. We include a variable to measure the wage rates paid to young people upon first entering the labour market and variables to take account of the affect that unemployment both for young people and adults, may have on the school leaving decision. The socio-economic variables we include in our model are designed to capture the affect of social class, family size and innate ability of the individual young person, which are identified by the education literature/

/literature as being important determinants of the age at which young people leave school. More detailed descriptions and justification for including these particular variables are given below.

The equation to be estimated is

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{SLD} = & a_0 + a_1 \text{FE} + a_2 \text{PWC} + a_3 \text{US} + a_4 \text{SLUL} \\
 & + a_5 \text{SLUH} + a_6 \text{AF} + a_7 \text{LF} + a_8 \text{LE} \\
 & + a_9 \text{HE} + a_{10} \text{SLW} + a_{11} \text{SEX}
 \end{aligned}
 \tag{10}$$

The equation is estimated for the sample as a whole (EQU 1) and for boys (EQU 2) and girls (EQU 3) separately.

(a). The Dependent Variable.

The dependent variable, SLD is a dummy variable whose value is set to unity if a member of the sample left school in the summer of 1982, zero otherwise. As we noted above one difficulty with a dependent variable which is constrained to lie between zero and one is that certain values of the explanatory variables could imply a value of the dependent variable outside this range. Using ordinary least squares (OLS) to estimate an equation of this form will lead to estimates which, although still unbiased, can no longer be claimed to be efficient. Also the use of the usual formulae to produce t- statistics etc. will not be reliable./

/reliable. A more efficient specification and more reliable significance tests, when compared to OLS, can be obtained by the use of a logistic functional form. However McGregor (1978) Layard et al (1980) and Main and Raffe (1983) have demonstrated that when this is done the resultant estimates and significance tests were found to be very similar to those produced by OLS. Unfortunately this is not always the case, and there would appear to be no means of stating, a priori, circumstances in which OLS gives reasonable answers. Therefore equation (10) is estimated using both OLS and logit.

(b). The Explanatory Variables.

(i). Father Employed (FE).

FE is a dummy variable, taking the value one if at the time of the first interview the young person's father was in employment, zero otherwise. One reason for including this variable is as follows: if the young person's father is unemployed then young people who would otherwise have remained at school beyond the age of 16 may be encouraged to leave school in order to help supplement family income - the added worker effect. This would lead us to expect a negative coefficient to be attached to this variable. An alternative explanation for including this variable could lead us to expect a positive coefficient to be attached to FE. What leads us to contemplate a positive association between the school leaving decision and the fact that a respondent's father is in employment is the fact that previous studies of job/

/job search methods have demonstrated the importance of "informal contacts" in successful job search strategies. Consider the following: a father's ability to learn of a vacancy at the firm where he works, before the firm begins to put into effect its normal recruitment and selection procedure, may be of considerable advantage to his son/daughter, particularly if he/she is able to submit an application before the vacancy's existence is widely known. This should reduce competition and thus increase the likelihood that he/she may be offered the job, which would presumably encourage him/her to leave school and enter the labour market. We might therefore conclude that the sign of FE is indeterminate. However the record levels of unemployment among young people and thus the small number of job opportunities available to them, leads us not to expect the scenario described immediately above to be readily applicable, and we would therefore expect FE to have a negative sign.

(ii). Occupational Classification of Father (PWC, US).

Three categories of classifications are used for father's occupation: professional or white-collar, skilled, and unskilled. This classification relates to the father's occupation at the time of the first interview; however if the father was unemployed when this interview took place then he was classified according to his last previous job. Two dummy variables are used to capture the social level of the father's occupation. If the respondent's father was employed in a professional capacity or in a white-collar job, then the variable PWC is set to unity. If the sample/

/sample member's father was employed in an unskilled job then the variable US was set to unity. Otherwise PWC and US are set to zero. We use these variables as proxies for the socio-economic background of the sample. There are two possible reasons why social class plays a role in the school leaving decision. First parental encouragement is often more prevalent in the middle class home. Middle class parents are likely to be better educated and tend to take a more active interest in their child's progress at school. Secondly the higher social classes tend to have more wealth and can thus better afford to bear the costs of keeping their children at school beyond the school leaving age. In view of this we are led to expect that PWC will have a negative influence and US a positive influence on the school leaving decision.

(iii). School Leaver Unemployment (SLUL, SLUH).

To capture the effect that unemployment among school leavers may have on the school leaving decision, two dummy variables, SLUL and SLUH are incorporated into the model. The unemployment rates we have used in the construction of these two variables are not the official, published rates of unemployment among school leavers in the Motherwell District, but rather the sample's perception of the rate of unemployment among those young people who left school in the summer of 1981 in the Motherwell area. If unemployment does influence the school leaving decision then it is more likely that the perceived rate of unemployment will have a greater effect on behaviour than the/

/the actual rate. SLUL is set to unity if the perceived rate of unemployment was 30% or less, i.e. if they perceived that unemployment was actually below the officially published rate as at April 1982. SLUH takes the value 1 if the perceived rate of unemployment was 60% or higher i.e. the "true" rate of unemployment if those young people taking part in temporary work schemes are included. (This is really a measure of those who do not have a permanent job). We would expect SLUL to have a positive influence on the school leaving decision; the lower the perceived rate of unemployment, and thus the greater the opportunity of employment, the more likely they are to leave school and enter the labour market. Conversely we would expect SLUH to have a negative sign - the discouraged worker effect. Young people seeing the majority of their contemporaries either becoming unemployed or on temporary work schemes are likely to delay their entry into the labour market, preferring to continue with their education in the hope that more or higher academic qualifications will improve their employment prospects.

(iv). Family Size (AF, LF).

To capture the influence which the size of a young person's family may have on the school leaving decision we include two dummy variables, AF, and LF. AF will take the value 1 if the young person comes from a family containing four members or less, which is often regarded as the average size family./

/family. LF will be set to unity if the young person comes from a large family, which for our purposes we define as one which contains seven or more members. Otherwise AF and LF are set to zero. Children from large families tend to be early leavers and the wealth constraint may in part account for this. We would therefore expect, on this reasoning, a positive coefficient to be attached to LF and a negative coefficient attached to AF. However it may be that the young person's position in the family hierarchy is a more important factor than the actual size of the family. For example a young person who has elder brothers and/or sisters who live at home and who are in employment and thus making a contribution to the family's disposable income, may be more likely to stay on at school than if he/she was the eldest child in a large family. If this is the case then we may be unable to predict the sign of the coefficient attached to LF.

(v). Examinations Sat (LE, HE).

Within the education literature a widely held view is that innate ability is an important factor in influencing the school leaving decision, with the more (academically) able young people the most likely to remain at school beyond the age of 16. Innate ability is difficult to measure and the proxy we use, the number of 'O' Grade examinations attempted in April/May 1982, is far from ideal. We use two dummy variables in attempting to measure/

/measure the effect that innate ability has on the school leaving decision. LE is set to unity if a member of the sample attempted one or less 'O' Grade examination in April/May 1982, with HE taking the value 1 if a member of the sample attempted 5 or more 'O' Grade examinations. Both LE and HE are set to zero otherwise. We would expect to find a positive relationship between LE and SLD, and a negative relationship between HE and SLD if we assume that the more academically able sample members are more likely to continue with their education beyond the age of 16. Of concern to at least one Headmaster of a school from which the sample was drawn, was that many highly qualified young people (in 'O' Grade terms) who would benefit from further and higher education were using their school holidays to search for work and if successful were then leaving school, because having observed the state of the labour market for young people they were not prepared to take the risk of entering the labour market at a later date when the situation may have deteriorated even further. If this practise was widespread then HE would have a positive coefficient. However, in view of the high levels of youth unemployment, we would expect this factor to have a small effect, and consequently still expect HE to be negatively related to SLD.

(vi). School Leavers' Wage (SLW).

During the first interview the sample was asked a number of questions relating to wage levels among a number of broad occupational groups within the Motherwell labour market, one/

/one of which was 'school leavers'. In the construction of the wage variable, SLW, it is the samples' perception of what school leavers are paid in their first job which is used rather than officially published wage levels taken from, for example, the New Earnings Survey. The relationship between the decision to leave school and the perceived wage rate for young people will depend on the signs and magnitude of the income and substitution effects. While being formally indeterminate (see Section 2) past cross-sectional studies of labour supply decisions indicate that, other things being equal, a positive relationship between the school leaving decision and the perceived wage rate for school leavers is likely. Therefore we would expect a positive sign to be attached to SLW.

(vii). Sex (SEX).

The variable SEX is a dummy variable, taking the value 1 if the sample is male, zero if female. It is a commonly held view that girls are more likely to remain at school longer than boys, so we would expect SEX to have a positive sign.

Table one presents a summary of the signs we expect to be attached to the variables in the equation, with table two presenting details of mean values.

TABLE ONE: EXPECTED SIGNS.

FE	- (+)*
PWC	-
US	+
SLUL	+
SLUH	-
AF	-
LF	+ (-)*
LE	+
HE	- (+)*
SLW	+ (-)*
SEX	+

\*Our discussion of these variables had led us to contemplate both positive and negative signs to be attached to these variables. However, the sign not in the bracket is the expected one.

TABLE TWO:MEAN VALUES

---

VARIABLES	EQU.1	EQU.2	EQU.3
SLD	0.65	0.69	0.58
FE	0.69	0.69	0.67
PWC	0.19	0.16	0.22
US	0.22	0.22	0.22
SLUL	0.13	0.14	0.12
SLUH	0.46	0.45	0.47
AF	0.46	0.46	0.46
LF	0.20	0.21	0.19
LE	0.28	0.28	0.28
HE	0.43	0.43	0.43
SLW	37.16	39.09	34.37
SEX	0.59	-	-

---

## 5. RESULTS.

As noted above equation (10) was estimated using both OLS and logit; results are presented in tables three and four. It can be readily seen that in terms of significance levels and direction of influence OLS and logit do, in this case, produce similar results. Therefore in our discussion and interpretation of the results we will direct our attention to the OLS estimates.

The vast majority of the variables had the expected sign - the notable exceptions being PWC in EQU 3, significant at the 5% level, and SLW in all cases, significant in EQU 3 at the 10% level.

A negative and highly significant relationship was found to exist between HE and the school leaving decision. This would seem to indicate that, as one might expect, the more able a young person is academically the less likely is he/she to leave school at 16. For boys, the probability that they would continue with their education beyond the age of 16 if they had sat at least 5 'O' Grades was 30 percentage points higher than boys sitting less than this number of examinations; for girls the figure is 52 percentage points. Although the coefficients have the expected signs in all cases, LE performs less well than HE - significant in EQU 1 (5% level) and EQU 2 (10% level) only. For both boys and girls the probability of leaving school at 16 if only one or less 'O' Grades had been sat is 14 percentage/

TABLE THREE:  
REGRESSION RESULTS - OLS

VARIABLES	EQU.1	EQU.2	EQU.3
CONSTANT	0.842	0.851	0.979
FE	-0.031 (0.060)	-0.068 (0.079)	-0.018 (0.090)
PWC	-0.012 (0.728)	-0.184 (0.098)**	0.191 (0.111)**
US	0.038 (0.070)	0.039 (0.094)	0.055 (0.106)
SLUL	0.009 (0.084)	-0.019 (0.107)	0.038 (0.140)
SLUH	-0.074 (0.057)*	-0.069 (0.075)	-0.093 (0.090)
AF	0.034 (0.058)	0.087 (0.077)	-0.025 (0.089)
LF	0.033 (0.758)	0.006 (0.098)	-0.007 (0.121)
LE	0.145 (0.075)**	0.148 (0.098)*	0.141 (0.119)
HE	-0.399 (0.064)***	-0.308 (0.083)***	-0.525 (0.102)***
SLW	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.0004 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)*
SEX	0.126 (0.055)**	-	-
R <sup>2</sup>	0.31	0.29	0.41
FSTAT	9.37***	5.22***	6.08***
n	239	141	98

Standard errors in parenthesis

\*\*\*Significant at 1% level

\*\*Significant at 5% level

\*Significant at 10% level

TABLE FOUR  
REGRESSION RESULTS - LOGIT

VARIABLES	EQU.1	EQU.2	EQU.3
Constant	1.927	1.743	2.422
FE	-0.106 (0.198)	-0.267 (0.248)	-0.094 (0.307)
PWC	-0.008 (0.209)	-0.486 (0.283)**	0.606 (0.362)**
US	0.145 (0.240)	0.112 (0.352)	0.206 (0.376)
SLUL	0.032 (0.261)	-0.135 (0.352)	0.008 (0.427)
SLUH	-0.234 (0.180)*	-0.251 (0.244)	-0.359 (0.314)
AF	0.128 (0.182)	0.276 (0.244)	-0.062 (0.297)
LF	0.106 (0.267)	0.290 (0.306)	-0.040 (0.444)
LE	0.727 (0.313)**	1.033 (0.557)*	0.507 (0.424)
HE	-0.915 (0.187)***	-0.764 (0.249)***	-1.253 (0.321)***
SLW	-0.018 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.022)	-0.043 (0.032)*
SEX	0.403 (0.177)**	-	-

Standard errors in parenthesis

\*\*\* significant at 1% level

\*\* significant at 5% level

\* significant at 10% level

/percentage points higher than for those who sat more than this number.

One interpretation of the coefficients attached to the youth unemployment variables, SLUL and SLUH, is in terms of the added/discouraged worker effect. The coefficients attached to SLUH are negative in all cases as is the coefficient on SLUL in EQU 2, indicating that the discouraged worker effect is present. This would seem to indicate that the record levels of "school leaver"/youth unemployment<sup>14</sup> results in young people electing to continue with their education, possibly with the view that improved or higher educational qualifications will improve their chances of employment when they enter the labour market at a later date. This would appear to hold true even for those boys who under-estimate the true size of the unemployment problem facing young people in Motherwell, perhaps indicating that their view of the labour market was still sufficiently pessimistic to discourage them from entering at the earliest opportunity available to them. Viewing one's likely labour market state upon initial entry at 16 as either unemployed or YOP participation rather than employment will reduce the expected cost element in the educational investment decision - foregone earnings will be at least half the value if unemployed or on YOP rather than if employed - thus increasing the likelihood that expected gains will exceed expected cost, encouraging one to stay on at school. This interpretation of the negative coefficients attached to SLUH stems from our/

/our discussion of human capital theory in Section 2.

It is also possible to interpret the coefficient attached to FE in terms of the added/discouraged worker effect. The negative coefficient attached to this variable indicates an added worker effect - those with unemployed fathers being encouraged to leave school in order to help supplement the family income. Having found both an added and discouraged worker effect, we would argue that if either effect dominates it will be the discouraged worker effect - it is present in SLUH and SLUL, with SLUH being significant at the 10% level in EQU 1, whereas FE is never significant.

The most surprising and interesting result to emerge from the analysis concerns the wage variable. Although the theory of labour supply outlined in Section 2 told us that the sign on the coefficient attached to SLW would depend upon the relative magnitudes of the income and substitution effect, previous empirical studies have led us to expect a positive relationship between SLW and SLD. In fact the coefficient on SLW is negative, though only significant at the 10% level for girls. This result is similar to the one obtained by Bowen and Finegan (1969). Like them we do not propose to infer from this result that where school leavers wages are higher, fewer of them seek employment - we think that a backward bending supply curve of labour for this group is unlikely. Rather we suspect that this result stems from young people in our sample being misinformed/

/misinformed, as to the actual level of wages paid to school-leavers in their first job. The mean value of SLW is only £39.09 for boys, less for girls. A fuller investigation of young people's knowledge of, inter alia, youth wages appears in Chapter Three. This result would seem to suggest that even the wage they think are likely to earn in their first job, which is in fact much less than most of them would actually earn is too low to tempt them into the labour market at 16, possibly thinking that higher academic qualifications would give them higher wages.

The only other variable which was found to exert a significant influence upon the school leaving decision was PWC - significant at the 5% level for both boys and girls, though signed differently. PWC had the expected negative influence upon the school leaving decision for boys - the probability of a boy whose father is employed in a professional or white collar job continuing with his education beyond the age of 16 was 18 percentage points higher than for a similar boy whose father was employed in other types of work. However a positive and equally significant relationship was found to exist between PWC and SLD for girls. An explanation for this positive relationship is not readily apparent and therefore we are only able to speculate. One explanation could be that fathers employed in professional or white collar jobs maybe in a position to gain openings for their daughters into secretarial/office junior type jobs which as we shall see in Chapter Four were popular career choices among the girls in our sample. We put forward an explanation along these lines when discussing likely signs/

/signs to be attached to FE but dismissed that scenario when outlined in Section 4. This influence may however have appeared in PWC.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS.

In this Chapter we have attempted to explain the factors which influence a young person's decision to leave school at 16. This participation decision is different from the participation decision facing prime-age groups as young people have the additional option of continuing with their education. In developing our model we sought guidance from labour supply theory and human capital theory which led us to conclude that non-economic variables should be also included in the analysis. These variables were to be found in the education literature.

Our analysis was concerned to :

- (i) identify factors influencing the school leaving decision.
- (ii) test for the added/discouraged worker effect.
- (iii). test the relative explanatory powers of economic vs non-economic variables.

At best we were only able to explain 41% of the difference in the school leaving decisions, with no equation containing more than four significant variables. Innate ability as proxied by the number of 'O' Grades attempted was the most significant influence upon the school leaving decision - the most able pupils were the least likely to leave school at 16. Perceptions about unemployment levels, youth wages, and socio-economic background were also important influences.

We found evidence of both an added and discouraged worker effect, and concluded that the discouraged worker effect dominates, if only marginally.

The small number of significant variables prevents us from adequately testing the relative explanatory powers of economic and non-economic variables - both types of variables were found to be significant though not in sufficient numbers to enable us to reach any firm conclusions.

NOTES.

1. Since 1972 the compulsory schooling age has been 16; previously it was 15.
2. It does not refer to the number of man hours willing to be supplied, but only to the numbers willing to supply labour.
3. For a thorough review of statistical sources and conventions surrounding British activity rates see Bowers (1975).
4. For a fuller discussion see Hays et al (1971).
5. See Gronau (1973) who develops a model which includes household work as well as leisure.
6. See Blundell and Walker (1980) and Abbot and Ashenfelter (1976) who develop frameworks which relax the separation assumption.
7. See Slutsky (1915).
8. For a full explanation of the mechanics of comparative static analysis see Chiang (1976) pp 135-240.
9. See Kmenta (1974) pp 461-463 for details.
10. For an alternative view, which sees investment in education as not necessarily productivity augmenting see Spence (1973).
11. It should be noted however that this simplification skates over the fact that  $\lambda$  will assume a different value for different people.

12. This was for the year 1966-67.
13. The following Table illustrates this rise in activity rates for married women.

POST-WAR TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION  
RATES FOR MARRIED WOMEN.

AGE	1951	1961	1971
16-19	38.1	41.1	42.4
20-24	36.6	41.4	46.7
25-34	24.4	29.5	38.4
35-44	25.7	36.4	54.5
45-54	23.7	35.3	57.0
55-59	15.6	26.0	45.5
60-64	7.2	12.7	25.2
65+	2.7	3.4	6.5

Source: Department of Employment (1974) - 'Female Activity Rates' Employment Gazette Vol 82 p 10.

14. The official statistics distinguish between 'school leavers' and other unemployed young people (i.e. those under 18). 'School leavers' are those young people who have never had a job since terminating full time education.

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CHAPTER THREE

YOUNG PEOPLE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR  
LOCAL LABOUR MARKET.

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter we will be seeking to establish the extent of young people's knowledge of their local labour market. Our interest in this area is prompted by the idea that people's knowledge of certain situations will affect their behaviour. In our discussion, in the preceding chapter, of the school leaving decision, we advanced the argument that young people's knowledge of the unemployment situation facing school leavers would be an important factor in determining whether they would elect to leave school at 16 and enter the labour market, or decide to stay on at school and continue with their education.

The economics of information and knowledge has emerged as a topic of interest only in the last twenty years or so and analyses the process by which information and knowledge is produced, diffused, stored and used. Stigler (1968) comments upon the fact that for a long time information and knowledge were a neglected area of study:

"One should hardly have to tell academicians that information is a valuable resource: knowledge is power. And yet it occupies a slum dwelling in the town of economics. Mostly it is ignored: the best technology is assumed to be known, the relationship of commodities to consumer preferences is datum. And one of the information - producing industries, advertising, is treated with a hostility that economists normally reserve for tariffs or monopolies".<sup>1</sup>

Microeconomics is concerned with, inter alia, questions of the form "how will an individual act given a certain set of assumptions", one of the assumptions usually being 'perfect knowledge'. Economic theory tends to say that people know the same things about commodities but have different attitudes to them. It is therefore tastes and preference which account for people's different reactions - not different knowledge.

There is a terminological point here which perhaps needs clarifying before we proceed further. This concerns the word "knowledge", which in the English language has a tendency to approach the meaning of "truth". Boulding (1966) argues that we

"..... have no convenient word to describe the contents of the human mind, without regard to the question as to whether this content corresponds to anything outside it".<sup>2</sup>

In an attempt to overcome this problem in earlier work he uses the term "image" but concedes that even this is subject to some misunderstanding.<sup>3</sup> In the context of our study we should perhaps be using the word "beliefs" rather than knowledge, and that a more accurate title for this chapter would be "young people's beliefs about their local labour market". It is therefore necessary to distinguish between "beliefs" and "knowledge".

People may have untrue beliefs - in the past it was a widely held belief that the Earth was flat and that the Sun revolved around the Earth, whereas we now know that the Earth is round, and that it is the Earth that revolves around the Sun. The earlier held views were not knowledge. Boulding quotes the classic bon mot often attributed to Will Rogers, "the trouble isn't what people don't know; it's what they do know that isn't so".<sup>4</sup>

Individual action will therefore be determined by goals and beliefs, and not knowledge. Hayek (1937) argues that economic objects are what people think they are. For example, what constitutes money has little to do with its physical characteristics, and it is beliefs that people hold about the characteristics which will determine how they react to commodities, irrespective of whether they are true or not.

We would argue therefore that in a study of young people's experiences in the labour market it is important to ascertain their "knowledge" of the labour market and in particular their local labour market as we feel that their perception of the state of their local labour market and its industrial structure may have an important influence upon, for example, the school leaving decision, occupational choice, re-actions to Government work schemes etc. It is for this reason that we have an interest in what young people "know" (or think they know) about their local labour market. We would hope to be able to establish the accuracy of their beliefs and how (or whether) these beliefs change over time, as a result perhaps of different labour market states. We should be able to accomplish/

/accomplish this through comparing responses to questions pertaining to a number of aspects of the Motherwell area asked during the 'school' interview (March/April 1982) and the 'labour market' interview (March - May 1983).

Before going on to consider the variables we will use in attempting to establish the extent of young people's "knowledge" of their local labour market, it is perhaps worthwhile devoting a little time to thinking about what we actually mean by a "local labour market".

The labour market is a term which is often used loosely, and which suggests a unity absent in practice. While one can often refer to a country's labour market it should be recognised that what we are in fact dealing with is a multiplicity of sub-markets demarcated by various criteria but linked by mobility. The shape and structure of these sub-markets will be different depending upon the standpoint taken. The principal divisions of the labour market are:

- (i) geographical area
- (ii) occupation
- (iii) industry

which corresponds with the three major forms of labour mobility. In its spatial aspect the market for some higher occupations is international, for others national, and for - manual workers - primarily local. The barriers to, and costs of mobility between different sectors of the labour market led to the term "non-competing groups" being used to describe the different elements in labour/

/labour supply. However short-term and inter-generational mobility tends to suggest that this term as it relates to mobility is less tenable. Labour does move between geographical areas, industries and occupations.

The geographical sub-division of labour markets is due largely to the costs of extensive daily travel to work (both monetary and psychological costs), and similar, but probably greater costs of migration between areas. These costs will sub-divide spatially a labour force which is already stratified occupationally, for by deterring residential movements they tend to restrict labour markets, for lower occupational groups at least, to that which is accessible from a given residence.<sup>5</sup> Thus for this group the labour market has strong, though not fixed, local boundaries. Within these notional boundaries the limits of the market are likely to be set by the information systems which link buyers and sellers in the market. For manual workers this information system is unlikely to extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood, such as the area covered by local newspapers, employment agencies and the geographical area within which friends and acquaintances work.

Cartter (1967) has suggested that the spatial dimension of the labour market concept might be visualised by imagining a map of the country with rings of concentric circles extending outwards from each locality, becoming fainter as one moves further away from the present locality. Within the inner bands a worker is more likely to be responsive to job opportunities since he does not have/

/have to change residence, and is more likely to have access to better information.<sup>6</sup> This descriptive statement lacks a degree of precision, and Cartter, as the following definitions show, is not alone in being less than precise.

Phelps-Brown (1962), views the market as being defined by "potentialities of individual access" and "...more often than not the effective labour market is restricted to one locality, whose bounds lie within a radius of less than a day's journey from where the workers are living".<sup>7</sup> Modern means of transport mean that "less than a day's journey" is an extremely flexible statement. Kerr (1954) suggests that boundaries are largely determined by the ideas in people's minds, and considers a local labour market to be "... merely an area of indistinct geographical and occupational limits within which certain workers customarily seek to offer their services and certain employers to hire them".<sup>8</sup> Hunter and Reid (1968) quote a local labour market definition in the urban context as a "geographical area surrounding a central city (or cities a few miles apart) in which there is a concentration of labour demand, and in which workers can change their jobs without changing their residence".<sup>9</sup> Robinson (1968) when examining a local labour market principally from a single employer's point of view, defines it as "that geographical area containing those members of the labour force, or potential members of the labour force, that a firm can induce to enter its employ under certain conditions, and those other employers with whom the firm is in competition for labour".<sup>10</sup>

From the employer's point of view this should distinguish workers he might be able to attract (i.e. where to look for workers) from the employers who may try to attract his labour (i.e. the sources of external pressure on the firm's ability to retain labour). From the workers' point of view the labour market is probably more limited even than for the employers. It may consist only of those jobs (within or outside his present firm) about which he hears and which meet his preconceptions of his ability to obtain them and retain them.

Within the local labour market the spatial distribution of the demand for labour is expressed by the location of workplaces, and supply by the location of residence. Divergence between these two necessitates travel, i.e. the journey from home to work. Hunter and Reid (1968) consider that "the essential points about a local labour market are that the bulk of the area's population habitually seeks employment there and that local employers recruit most of their labour from that area"<sup>12</sup>. Gunting (1962) suggests that local labour markets can be demarcated by drawing lines:

around the smallest possible areas which simultaneously

a) puts most of the potential labour supply of the enclosed firms within the same boundaries as those firms

and

b) include most of the firms that the enclosed workers think of as excellent substitutes within the same boundaries as those workers.<sup>13</sup>

These definitions need further clarification before being used to establish the boundaries of local labour markets. The words 'most' in Bunting's definition and 'bulk' and 'most' in Hunter and Reid's are vague. 'Most' and 'bulk' could be as little as 51% or as much as 99%.

Attempting to overcome the problems of defining a local labour market in terms of geographical boundaries posed by the imprecise definitions discussed above is no easy matter. Having criticised the studies detailed above we ourselves fall into the same trap - we define the Motherwell local labour market, in which this study is located, as those employers and workers employed (or registered as unemployed) within the Motherwell District Council area. This geographical area will cover the population centres of Motherwell, Wishaw and Bellshill (where the schools from which the sample is drawn are situated) plus the small centres of population of Holytown, Shotts, Newmains and Harthill. Map 1 shows the position of the Motherwell District in relation to the rest of Strathclyde, with Map 2 showing the Motherwell District itself.

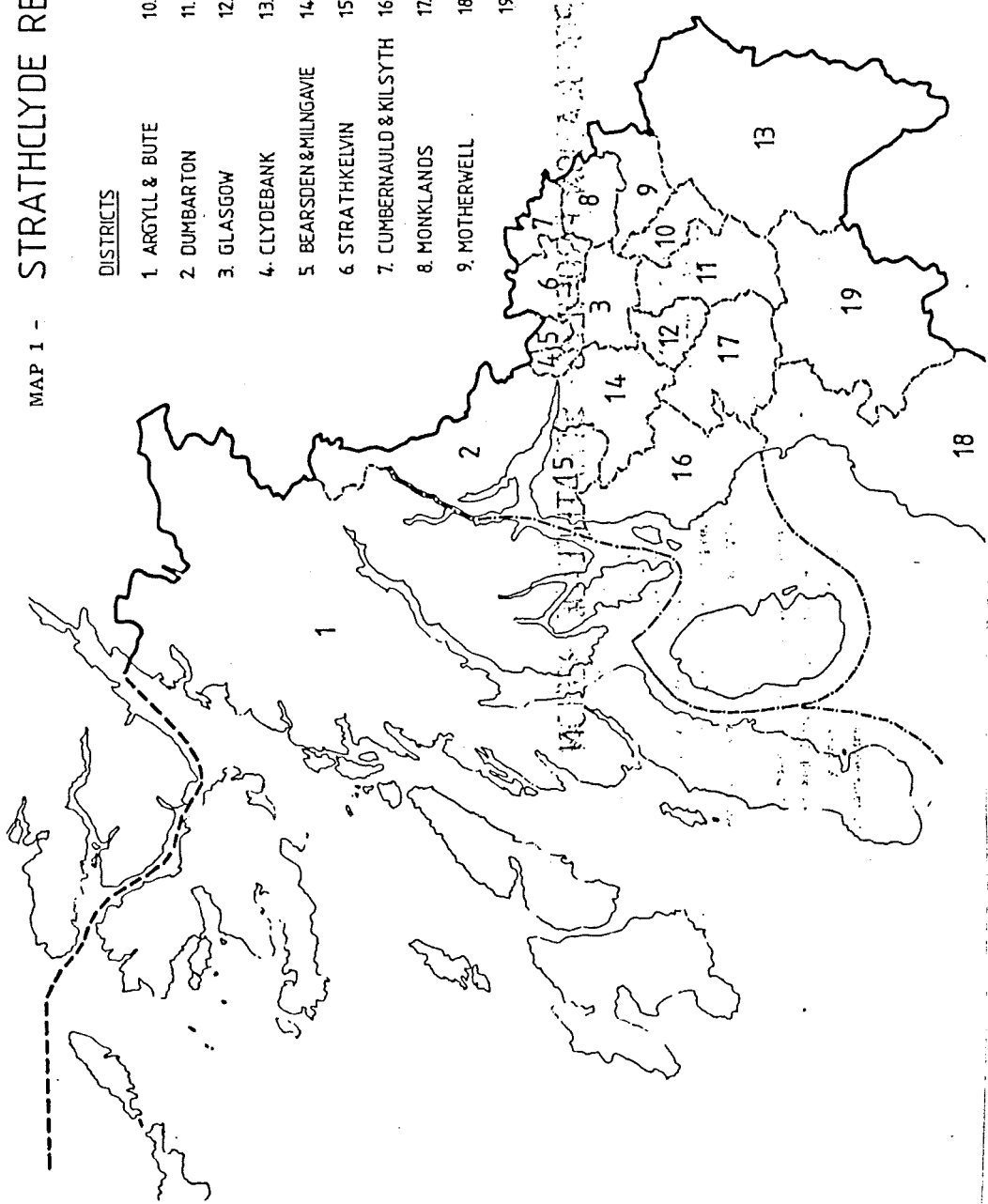
Having identified and attempted to clarify certain definitional problems associated with the title of this chapter, we now turn our attention to a discussion of the nature of the variables which we will be using as we attempt to establish the extent of young people's knowledge of their local labour market - the Motherwell labour market. The variables we use fall into four main categories: /

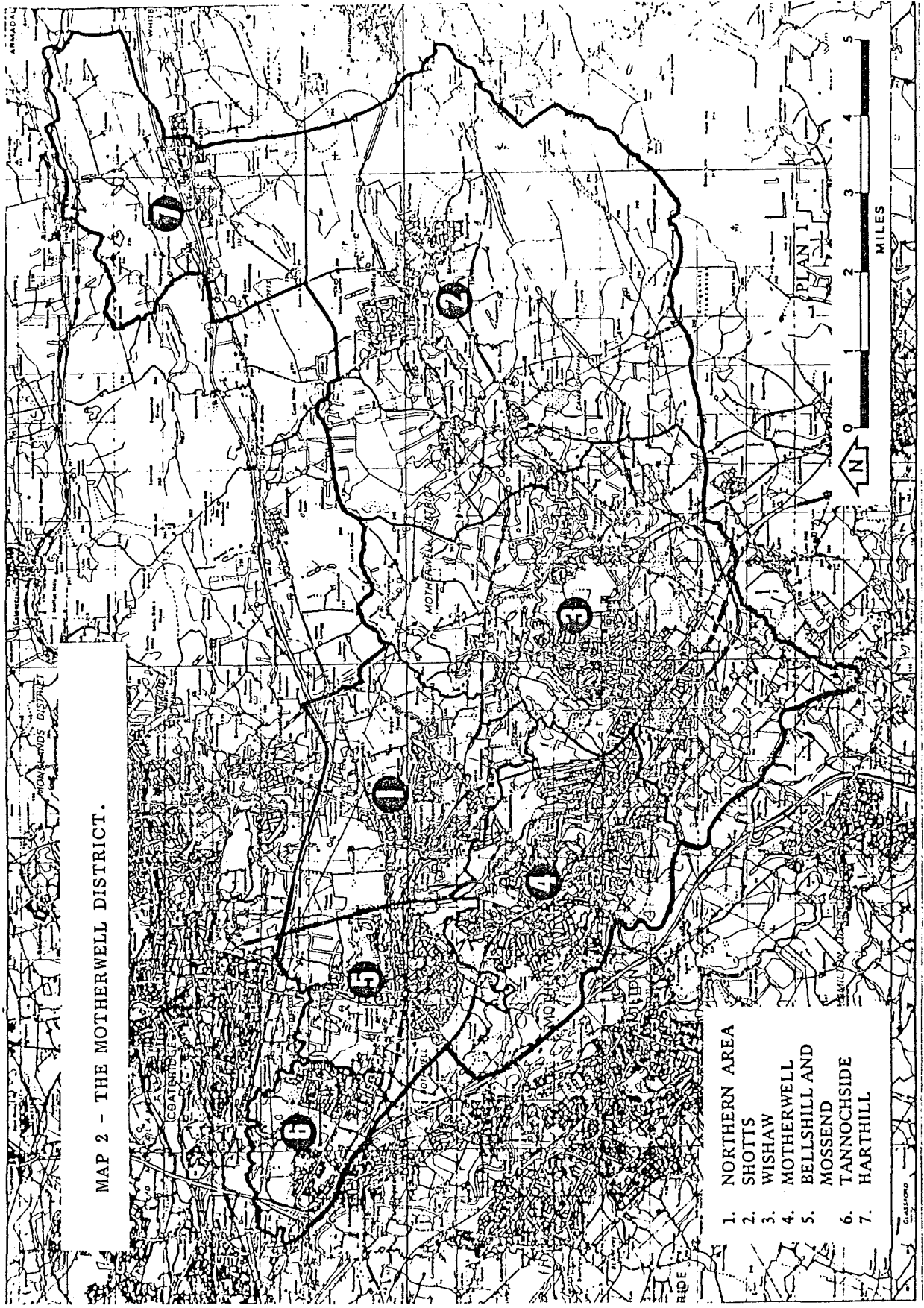
# STRATHCLYDE REGION

MAP 1 -

DISTRICTS

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. ARGYLL & BUTE         | 10. HAMILTON             |
| 2. DUMBARTON             | 11. EAST KILBRIDE        |
| 3. GLASGOW               | 12. EASTWOOD             |
| 4. CLYDEBANK             | 13. CLYDESDALE           |
| 5. BEARSDEN & MILNGAVIE  | 14. RENFREW              |
| 6. STRATHKELVIN          | 15. INVERCLYDE           |
| 7. CUMBERNAULD & KILSYTH | 16. CUNNINGHAME          |
| 8. MONKLANDS             | 17. KILMARNOCK & LOJOUIN |
| 9. MOTHERWELL            | 18. KYLE & CARRICK       |
|                          | 19. CUMNOCK & DOONVALLEY |





MAP 2 - THE MOTHERWELL DISTRICT.

- 1. NORTHERN AREA
- 2. SHOTTS
- 3. WISHAW
- 4. MOTHERWELL
- 5. BELLSHILL AND MOSSEND
- 6. TANNOSHSIDE
- 7. HARTHILL

/categories:

- a). occupations
- b). wage levels
- c). unemployment rates
- d). industrial structure.

In addition a number of questions were asked to determine the sample's knowledge of the Youth Opportunities Programme, which until its replacement by the Youth Training Scheme in September 1983 was an extremely important dimension of the youth labour market.

## 2. THE 'LABOUR MARKET KNOWLEDGE' VARIABLES.

We were afforded the opportunity of gathering data on young people's 'knowledge' of their local labour market during the 'school interview' (which was held during March/April 1982) and the 'labour market' interview (which took place approximately one year after the 'school interview'). We were able to probe their 'knowledge' of the Motherwell labour market through a series of questions relating to people's occupations (both adults and young people), unemployment rates among adults and school leavers wage levels pertaining to a number of broad occupational groups, and the importance of certain industries to the Motherwell economy in terms of employment. The data we were able to collect should enable us to assess the accuracy of young people's knowledge of their local labour market and allow us to comment upon changes in their knowledge of their local labour/

/labour market over time as their labour market status changes. We are seeking not only to establish young people's 'knowledge' of their local labour market per se but we are also particularly interested in their 'knowledge' of the youth labour market in Motherwell.

(i). Occupational Variables.

In terms of the 'occupational variables' we asked two questions during the 'school interview',:

a) "What jobs do people you know do?"

and

b) "What jobs do school leavers do?"

In the 'labour market' interview, where our interest was centred mainly on their 'knowledge' of the youth labour market in Motherwell, we asked,

c) "What jobs are school leavers getting or applying for in the Motherwell area?"

In asking question a) we were seeking to ascertain young people's 'knowledge' of the range of occupations followed by adult workers in the Motherwell labour market. The rationale behind asking this question is that the occupations in which adult workers are employed in the local area may give young people some indication as to possible options open to them at a later date, when they begin to seek employment themselves. Also if they know adults who are employed/

/employed in specific occupations which may appeal to them, then these adults may be an important source of occupational information and/or useful contacts when job search is undertaken.<sup>13</sup>

Given the nature of our study, of much greater interest to us than young people's 'knowledge' of the range of occupations followed by adult workers, is young people's 'knowledge' of the type and range of jobs available to young people and in particular school leavers. Our interest stems from our belief that there is a separate youth sector of the total labour market. In terms of jobs and behaviour we would argue that the youth labour market can be distinguished and may be regarded as a segmented market in the sense that in both supply and demand terms there are distinct limits to competition and substitution between this sector and the adult sector. In particular the range of jobs available to young people is narrower than that for the adult labour force, and we are interested in seeing to what extent young people are aware of these restrictions, which are likely to be most severe in the immediate post-school years. It is likely that as young people begin to search for jobs they will become more aware of the jobs which are available for young people and for this reason we ask questions about school leavers jobs in the 'labour market' interview as well as in the 'school' interview.

(ii). Wage Levels.

In attempting to discern young people's 'knowledge' of the wage levels existing in the Motherwell labour market we asked members/

/members of our sample the following questions in the 'school' interview:

"What do you think is the gross average weekly wage of":

and then listed a number of broad occupational groups:

school leavers	)	
skilled workers	)	
unskilled workers	)	asked of boys
white-collar workers	)	
school leavers	)	
clerical workers	)	
shop assistants	)	asked of girls
factory workers	)	

We justify asking boys to give details of wage levels pertaining to different occupational groups than girls on the ground that in spite of legislation to make discrimination in recruitment on the grounds of sex (with a few exceptions) illegal and supposed attempts by schools and Careers Officers/teachers to enlighten girls about career opportunities where in the past boys were employed as a matter of course, there is still a large degree of job segregation in the labour market and girls still tend to follow traditionally female occupations.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, as we shall see in Chapter 4 when we discuss inter alia occupational choice, girls in our sample, if given/

/given the opportunity, intend to enter "women's jobs". While not necessarily agreeing that there should be jobs for which mainly women are recruited, we felt it necessary to ask girls about different jobs than boys.

In the 'labour market' interview, where our main interest lay in attempting to ascertain how their 'knowledge' of the youth labour market may have changed in the light of their entry into the labour market, we asked

"What do you think is the gross average weekly wage of those school leavers who have found jobs?"

Answers to this questions and to the 'school interview' questions about youth wages should allow us to draw some conclusions regarding the effect that actual entry into the labour market has on the accuracy of labour market 'knowledge'.

(iii). Unemployment Rates.

Unemployment in the Motherwell labour market has risen over the last ten years, and particularly since 1979. Motherwell's unemployment rate has been consistently higher than Scotland as a whole, although Motherwell's unemployment has tended to follow the national trend. While recognising that young people will not be oblivious to the problem of unemployment in Motherwell, particularly if members of their own family are unemployed, we were interested to learn how accurate their perceptions of the unemployment problem actually/

/actually was. We therefore asked (in both the personal interviews),

'What do you think is the rate of unemployment among adult workers in the Motherwell area?'

The growth in unemployment in the last few years has fallen particularly harshly on young people. Like adults, young people in Motherwell have had a similar experience to that of Scotland's youth as a whole, but at a higher rate. To what extent are young people aware of the true nature of the 'youth unemployment problem'? In an attempt to answer this question, we asked two very similar questions of our sample:

a) 'Of the young people who left school in the Motherwell area in May 1981, how many do you think are still unemployed?' ('school interview' question)

and

b) 'What do you think is the rate of unemployment among school leavers in the Motherwell area? ('labour market' interview question).

(iv). Industrial Structure.

An analysis of young people's 'knowledge' of their local labour market would not be complete without some reference to its industrial structure. In formulating the question we would ask in the hope of eliciting sufficient information to enable us to comment on young people's 'knowledge' of the industrial structure of the Motherwell/

/Motherwell labour market, it was necessary to take into account, perhaps in this question more than any other, that we were interviewing minimum aged school leavers and that the question should not be too technical in nature. For example, questions of the form 'describe the industrial structure of the Motherwell labour market' or 'what do you know about the industrial structure of Motherwell?' were likely to have produced a very poor response. We therefore decided to ask the following question:

"In terms of employment what do you think are the  
3 most important industries in the Motherwell area?"

This question would be easily understood by the respondents, and answers to it should give us sufficient data to enable us to make some useful comments about their 'knowledge' of the industrial structure of the Motherwell area.

(v). The Youth Opportunities Programme. (YOP)

In setting out to establish the extent of young people's knowledge of this important feature of the youth labour market we asked the following questions in the 'school interview':

- (i). How much is the YOP allowance paid to trainees?
- (ii). How long does a YOP scheme last?
- (iii). How long do you need to have been unemployed before you can join a YOP scheme?

Having outlined the questions we asked our sample, answers to which we hoped would give us sufficient data to enable us to construct our 'knowledge variables', we now turn our attention to a brief description of the Motherwell labour market as at April 1982 and where appropriate April 1982 (or as near these dates as data from other sources allow) in terms of the variables we will use in assessing the accuracy of young people's knowledge of their local labour market.

### 3. THE MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKET.

In attempting to assess the extent and accuracy of young people's 'knowledge' of their local labour market it is necessary not only to have data on young people's beliefs about their local labour market, but also data on the actual situation pertaining in the local labour market at the time when the young people were questioned about their local labour market. In what follows we do not attempt to give a detailed description or analysis of the various facets of the Motherwell labour market,<sup>15</sup> but rather, we limit ourselves to a brief description of the actual wage levels, unemployment rates, occupational structure and industrial structure in terms of employment which existed at the time of the personal interviews. In other words, what we are attempting to do is provide the 'right answers' to the questions we asked of our sample. As far as possible we use data which relates specifically to the Motherwell labour market, but in a few cases, when we are discussing wage levels it was necessary to use more aggregate data as data which related to Motherwell was either unavailable or unreliable.

(i). Occupational Structure.

Our primary source of data for our discussion of the occupational structure of the Motherwell labour market is the 1981 Census of Population, which is our data source for Table One. In view of the brief outline we presented of the Motherwell economy in Chapter One ('Aims and Methods') in which we highlighted Motherwell's dependence upon steel and heavy engineering industries for employment, the picture which emerges from Table One is one which we might have expected.

We can see that the largest group of workers are the skilled manual workers, who make up almost 25% of the Motherwell labour force: maintenance fitters, production fitters (mechanical), tool makers, tool fitters, skilled welders, electricians, plumbers and auto-mechanics etc. Semi-skilled manual labour accounts for a further 15% of the labour force: machine operators, inspectors and testers, HGV Drivers and store keepers etc. Almost 10% of the Motherwell labour force are employed in an unskilled capacity as, for example, general labourers or 'steel workers - unskilled'. If one also includes 'Foreman and Supervisory - manual' then one can see that over 50% of the Motherwell labour force is employed in manual labour jobs.

The next largest single group of workers after skilled manual are 'junior non-manual' workers who are defined as those 'employees not exercising general planning or supervisory powers, engaged in/

**TABLE ONE:**  
**USUALLY RESIDENT POPULATION IN EMPLOYMENT**

		MOTHERWELL		
		<u>Working</u>		
Socio-Economic Group		Total by SEG		
		Full-Time	Part-Time	Total
		(%)	(%)	(%)
1.	Employers & Managers - large establishments	3.76	3.63	0.13
2.	Employers & Managers - small establishments	3.03	2.85	0.18
3.	Professional Workers - self-employed	0.25	0.25	-
4.	Professional Workers - employees	2.03	2.01	0.02
5.1	Ancillary Workers & Artists	9.51	7.93	1.58
5.2	Foreman & Supervisory - non-manual	0.87	0.85	0.02
6.	Junior non-manual	20.58	16.37	4.21
7.	Personal Service Workers	5.14	2.87	2.27
8.	Foreman & Supervisory - manual	3.07	3.03	0.04
9.	Skilled manual	24.11	23.58	0.53
10.	Semi-skilled manual	14.94	14.05	0.89
11.	Unskilled manual	9.57	6.44	3.12
12.	Own Account - non-professional	1.74	1.62	0.13
13.	Farmers - employers and managers	0.02	0.02	-
14.	Farmers - own account	0.18	0.15	0.04
15.	Agricultural Workers	0.15	0.09	0.05
16.	Armed Forces	0.16	0.16	-
17.	Inadequately Described	0.89	0.76	0.13
	All Persons	100.00	86.68	13.32
	Men	60.37	59.48	0.89
	Women	39.63	27.19	12.43

Source: 1981 Population Census. I am grateful to Mike Danson for providing this table.

/in clerical, sales and non-manual communication occupations excluding those who have additional and formal supervisory powers...'<sup>16</sup>.

We presume that the majority of workers in this group will be female, whereas the majority of workers in the manual occupations outlined above will be male.

In attempting to answer the questions we posed our sample of school leavers which related to the types of jobs for which school leavers are eligible to apply, were applying for, and were successful in obtaining we rely on the information given to us by the sample concerning their own job search activity. We learn that apprenticeships of various types (electrical, plumbing, welding, bricklaying, car mechanics, glazier etc.) were available for young people in Motherwell to apply for as were clerical/office jobs (typing, secretarial and receptionists). Apart from clerical related jobs girls in our sample were also applying for vacancies as shop assistants, trainee/apprentice hairdressers, machinests (clothing manufacture) and waitresses. In addition to applying for apprenticeships boys in our sample applied for vacancies as machine operators, 'steel workers', storemen and van boys. It would seem therefore, as one would expect, that the jobs for which young people were applying are closely related to the types of jobs followed by adults in Motherwell.

(ii). Wage Levels.

A survey of approximately 100 firms in the Motherwell labour market was undertaken in June 1982 by the Motherwell Labour Market Project, /

/Project, based in the Department of Social and Economic Research, University of Glasgow. The survey produced a wealth of data on the Motherwell labour market, and its findings are reported in some detail in Danson et al (1983). Of particular interest to us is the data they collected which related to pay levels in the Motherwell area, and it is on this data source which we rely in our discussion of the wage levels which existed in the Motherwell labour market at the time we were questioning our sample about their labour market 'knowledge'.<sup>17</sup>

They found the pay question to be quite complex, and cite three main factors:

- (i) different firms were paying different rates for similar work
- (ii) the existence of different measures of pay (gross earnings, basic pay which excludes overtime, bonus and shift payments)
- (iii) important differences in the specific jobs done by workers in a common job category e.g. turners, fitters, welders.

For these reasons they focussed attention upon the broad trends of pay in the Motherwell area and provide information about wage levels in only a few selected occupations. The occupations they select to include in their report do not correspond directly with the/

/the occupational groups we featured in our questionnaire. As a result of the problems identified above and the fact that for some occupations only a small number of firms gave details of wage levels, Danson et al (1983) limited their reporting to the following occupational groups:

- (i) engineering and metal working skills
- (ii) 'other skills'
- (iii) semi-skilled
- (iv) secretary
- (v) typist
- (vi) shop assistant
- (vii) nursing staff.

However the survey did produce information about wage levels pertaining to occupational groups which did feature in our questionnaire and are therefore of interest to us. This data is perhaps less reliable than that used in their report but nevertheless should still be sufficiently reliable for us to use in assessing the accuracy of young people's 'knowledge' of wage levels in the Motherwell area.

In Table Two we present details of wage levels paid to the male dominated occupations which featured in the questions we asked of the boys in our sample, and Table Three gives details of wages paid to the female dominated occupations which featured in the questions we asked the girls in our sample.

**TABLE TWO:**  
**WAGE LEVELS OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS WITHIN**  
**THE MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKER (£) - MALES**

Occupations	Maximum	Minimum	Average*
<u>Skilled Workers</u>			
Maintenance Fitters	133	100	116
Production Fitters (Mech.)	120	80	97
Tool Makers. Tool Fitters	127	100	111
Skilled Welder	120	89	111
Electricians	135	99	122
Plumbers	117	86	104
Auto Mechanics	116	85	102
<u>Unskilled Workers</u>			
Labourers	120	55	79
Steel Workers - Unskilled	175	129	157
"Unskilled Workers"	112	44	74
<u>White-Collar Workers</u>			
Draughtsman	149	95	126
Supervisors	250	135	172
Estimators	162	134	144
Quantity Surveyor	230	168	202
Quality Controller	150	115	132

\*Unweighted Average

TABLE THREE:

WAGE LEVELS OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS WITHIN  
THE MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKET (£) - FEMALES

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Occupation	Maximum	Minimum	Average *
<u>Clerical</u>			
Typist	136	67	91
Secretary	96	73	81
"Clerical Workers"	127	42	88
<u>Factory Workers**</u>			
Packers, Bottlers, etc.	-	-	83
Sew Machinest	-	-	71
Footwear Workers	-	-	77
Repetitive Assemblers	-	-	85
Shop Assistant	73	62	65

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Source: Motherwell Labour Market Project's Employer Survey June, 1982 and  
 New Earnings Survey, Department of Employment, April, 1982.

\* Unweighted average for clerical workers and shop assistant

\*\* Figures from New Earnings Survey

The Motherwell Labour Market Project's survey did not collect pay data which specifically related to school leavers and so we have no reliable data source for youth wages in the Motherwell area. The small number of young people in our own surveys who have been successful in obtaining full-time employment prevents us from using this data source. We therefore turn to Wells (1983) and the New Earnings Survey 1983 for our data, which we report in Table Four and Table Five. We include details for 1983 as we are interested in how young people's 'knowledge' of the youth labour market changes over time, and in particular in light of their different labour market experiences.

(iii). Unemployment Rates.

Since 1971 youth unemployment in the Motherwell area has risen roughly three fold when it was already quite high. Young people in Motherwell have had a similar experience to that of Scotland's youth as a whole, but at a much higher rate. During the last two or three years the position of the under 18's has not materially deteriorated, though this is primarily due to the improved opportunities available to them as a result of an expansion of the Government funded temporary work schemes. Having said that, in mid-1982 the rate of unemployment among the under 18's in Motherwell was over 30%.

In Table Six we present details of those 16 and 17 year olds in the Motherwell area who were estimated to be 'truly' unemployed/

**TABLE FOUR:**  
**AVERAGE GROSS WEEKLY EARNINGS BY AGE:**  
**ALL INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES (£) April 1982**

Age at 1st Jan.1982	All Employees		Manual Employees		Non-Manual Employees	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
16	52.1	47.7	52.0	48.3	52.3	47.4
17	62.6	55.9	63.6	55.2	59.2	56.2
18	77.1	66.2	78.0	64.5	74.8	66.7
19	87.7	72.6	89.3	69.0	84.1	73.5

Source: Wells (1983) Table 4 p.16.

**TABLE FIVE:**  
**AVERAGE GROSS WEEKLY EARNINGS BY AGE:**  
**ALL INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES (£) April, 1983**

Age at 1st Jan.1983	All Employees		Manual Employees		Non-Manual Employees	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 18	61.0	55.7	61.7	57.4	58.9	54.9
18-20	95.0	78.2	97.4	74.9	89.9	79.1

Source: New Earnings Survey April 1983 Table 124

**TABLE SIX:**  
**YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE MOTHERWELL**  
**LABOUR MARKET APRIL, 1982**

Local Area	Careers Office		Employment Office		Total Unemployed		On Temp. Schemes		Total Truly Unemployed	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bellshill	333	25.2	66	5.0	399	30.3	507	38.4	906	68.7
Motherwell	171	19.5	128	14.6	299	34.1	320	36.5	619	70.7
Wishaw	320	28.2	52	4.6	372	32.8	285	25.1	657	57.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>1070</b>	<b>32.4</b>	<b>1112</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>2182</b>	<b>65.75</b>

Source: Calderwood (1982)

**TABLE SEVEN:**  
**SCHOOL LEAVER UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS IN THE**  
**MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKET APRIL, 1983**

Employment Office	School Leavers Under 18			School Leavers Aged 18			School Leavers Over 19		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Bellshill	99	58	157	58	30	88	51	22	73
Motherwell	135	109	204	90	78	168	102	58	160
Shotts	83	44	127	53	27	80	30	10	40
Uddingston*	92	70	162	29	29	58	40	9	49
Wishaw	157	95	252	105	66	171	100	62	162
<b>Total</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>376</b>	<b>942</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>565</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>484</b>

Source: MSC - Edinburgh

\*Uddingston's Employment Exchange straddles the boundary between the Motherwell District Council area and the Hamilton District Council area.

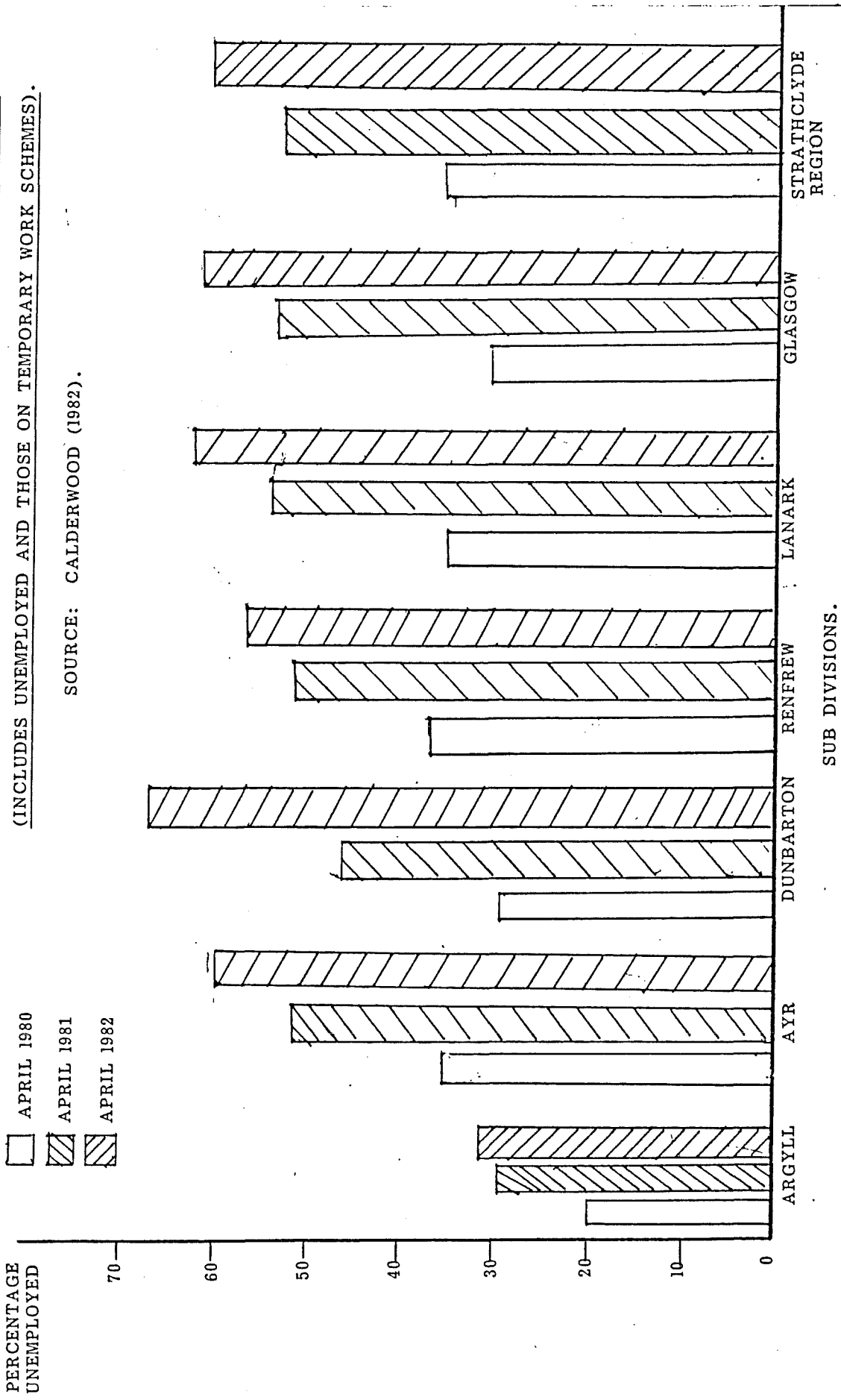
/unemployed i.e. registered as unemployed or on temporary work schemes. The number of 16 and 17 year olds who were unemployed is estimated from the monthly returns made by Careers Offices and quarterly age-duration analysis of the unemployed registered at Job Centres or Unemployment Benefit Offices (referred to as Employment Offices in the table).<sup>18</sup> The Careers Offices returns also gives information on 16 and 17 year olds who are participating in temporary employment programmes and training courses. As at April 1982, it is estimated that 65% of 16 and 17 year olds seeking work were 'truly unemployed'.<sup>19</sup> This figure is really a measure of the proportion who did not have permanent jobs.

Our data relating to school leaver/youth unemployment rates in the Motherwell area in mid-1983 is much less comprehensive than for mid-1982. In fact for 1983 we are only able to report, in Table Seven, details of the number of school leavers who were unemployed on the statistical date of 14 April 1983. These figures however do not tell us the rates of unemployment among school leavers/young people. Strathclyde Regional Council do however provide details of unemployment rates by age for the Strathclyde Region as a whole based on their own estimates of labour supply within the Region. As Figure One shows unemployment rates among young people in the Lanark Division of Strathclyde (within which Motherwell is situated) and the Region as a whole were broadly similar between April 1980 and April 1982. We therefore assume that in April 1983 the unemployment rate among young people in the Motherwell area was once again broadly similar to that in the Strathclyde Region as/

FIGURE ONE: RATES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT - APRIL 1980 - 1982 (STRATHCLYDE REGION).

(INCLUDES UNEMPLOYED AND THOSE ON TEMPORARY WORK SCHEMES).

SOURCE: CALDERWOOD (1982).



/as a whole - a little over one-third of young people aged 16-19 in the labour market were unemployed.<sup>20</sup> One of the drawbacks of not having comparable data for 1982 and 1983 is that we are unable to say anything about how the 'true' rate of unemployment has changed over time. We see that the number of under-18 school leavers has fallen though it would not be unreasonable to assume that this is probably due to increased recruitment to YTS rather than an indication of any improvement in the employment situation for young people, as the unemployment rates in both 1982 and 1983 are roughly equal.

MSC data is also used in constructing Table Eight in which we present details of adult unemployment rates and levels in the Motherwell area on the statistical dates 15 April 1982 and 14 April 1983. In comparing the changes in unemployment between these two dates it should be remembered that April 1983 figures are claimant based following the change in registration rules in October 1982 and that they also exclude those who are over 60 years of age. Estimated re-adjusted figures for April 1983 based on pre-October 1982 methods of calculation would be 13,564.<sup>21</sup> What Table Eight reveals therefore is that over the period unemployment in Motherwell has hovered around the 20% rate which is well above the national average.

(iv). Industrial Structure.

In constructing a variable to measure young people's 'knowledge' of the industrial structure of the Motherwell labour market we chose/

TABLE EIGHT:  
UNEMPLOYMENT IN MOTHERWELL  
APRIL, 1982 AND APRIL, 1983

Local Area	1982			1983		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Bellshill	1488	755	2243	1363	532	1895
Motherwell	2116	1231	3347	2737	1251	3988
Shotts	672	398	1070	849	432	1281
Uddingston*	1052	547	1599	1261	563	1824
Wishaw	2491	1302	3793	2594	1024	3618
<b>Total</b>	<b>7819</b>	<b>4233</b>	<b>12052</b>	<b>8804</b>	<b>3802</b>	<b>12606</b>
<b>Unemployment Rate</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>18.4</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>22.2</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>19.8</b>

Source: MSC Edinburgh

\*Uddingston Employment exchange straddles the boundary between Motherwell District Council area and Hamilton District Council area.

/chose to concentrate our attention upon the employment levels within the various industries in Motherwell. The only comprehensive source of data on employment levels in Motherwell is the Department of Employment's Annual Census of Employment (ACE). Unfortunately the most recent year for which figures are currently available is 1978 (to date the 1981 results have not been published).<sup>22</sup>

However even this data source is deficient in several respects (in particular it excludes the self employed and thus under estimates total employment), it is work-place based and therefore excludes those who live in Motherwell but work outside the area whilst including those who live outside the area but travel in to work in Motherwell. Meager (1982) estimates the total employment in the Motherwell area for mid-1982 and also disaggregates the figures by SIC Order. It is Meager's estimates which we will use when assessing the accuracy of young people's beliefs about the importance of specific industries to the Motherwell economy in terms of employment.

He estimates the total employment level in two ways. The first is to use the ACE data for 1978 and add on to this figures based on information from various sources, including the Motherwell Labour Market Project's own survey of employers. However it must be borne in mind that these figures are for the most part crude 'back-of-the-envelope' calculations. The second method is to use ACE data for Scotland and Motherwell 1971-78 and ascertain the nature of the relationship between Motherwell and Scotland's employment over this period and then use published data for Scotland post 1978 (which are themselves estimates as no post-1978 ACE data was available) to project the Motherwell/

/Motherwell figures forward to 1982. This will necessitate making some assumptions about the relationship between Motherwell and Scotland continuing over the post-1978 period.

In Tables Nine and Ten we reproduce Meager's table's three and four in which he presents estimates of employment in Motherwell for mid-1982. The estimates using the two methods are generally close - the estimate of total employment of 55,161 using method 2 is some 98% of that obtained by method 1. The major differences occur in SIC I and II where because of Motherwell's lack of an oil industry there is no stable relationship between Motherwell's and Scotland's employment. In SIC XVI - XIX Scottish data fails to predict Motherwell's employment level well, which Meager attributes to the heterogenous nature of "other manufacturing" sector. The only sector in which the two methods produce estimates with a difference greater than 10% is SIC XXIII (Distributive Trades) where Motherwell performed rather better than expected in the post-1978 period.

(v). Youth Opportunities Programme.

The YOP allowance paid to trainees at the time of the 'school interview' was £25 per week - it was non-taxable and National Insurance was not deducted. Any travelling expenses over and above £4.00 per week were re-imbursed. It had been increased from £23.50 per week in late 1981 when most welfare benefits were also increased.

TABLE NINE:

EMPLOYMENT IN MOTHERWELL, 1978-1982 (ESTIMATED)

SIC		1978 (ACE)	MID 1982 (ESTIMATED)	
I	: Agriculture, etc	99		80
II	: Mining and Quarrying	230	329 (0.5%)	225 (0.5%)
III	: Food, Drink and Tobacco	2061		1430
IV	: Coal and Petroleum Products	30		25
V	: Chemicals, etc.	194		200
VI	: Metal Manufacture	12,914		9000
VII	: Mechanical Engineering	8901		6750
VIII	: Instrument Engineering	2853	31,422 (47.5%)	1650 22,245 (39.5%)
IX	: Electrical Engineering	399		550
X	: Shipbuilding, etc.	11		-
XI	: Vehicles	274		275
XII	: Metal goods n.e.s.	830		500
XIII	: Textiles	511		40
XIV	: Leather, Leather Goods and Fur	-		-
XV	: Clothing and Footwear	484		800
XVI	: Bricks, Pottery, Glass, etc.	645		350
XVII	: Timber, Furniture, etc.	226		200
XVIII	: Paper, Printing, etc.	452		400
XIX	: Other Manufacturing	637		75
XX	: Construction	6088	(9.2%)	6000 (10.6%)
XXI	: Gas, Electricity, Water	767		750
XXII	: Transport and Communications	4342		4000
XXIII	: Distributive Trades	5822	28,367 (42.8%)	5860 27,860 (49.4%)
XXIV	: Banking and Insurance	1220		1200
XXV	: Professional Services	7799		7800
XXVI	: Miscellaneous Services	5636		5600
XXVII	: Public Admin.	2790		2650

TABLE TEN:  
ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT FOR MOTHERWELL:  
MARCH, 1982 (METHOD 2)

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SIC	EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATE
I + II	453
III	1519
IV + V	200
VI	8923
VII-XII	9002
XIII-XV	903
XVI-XIX	1276
XX	5789
XXI	820
XXII	4271
XXIII	4941
XXIV-XXVI	14,200
XXVII	2864

---

Source: Meager (1982)

**TABLE TEN:**  
**ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT FOR MOTHERWELL:**  
**MARCH, 1982 (METHOD 2)**

---

SIC	EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATE
I + II	453
III	1519
IV + V	200
VI	8923
VII-XII	9002
XIII-XV	903
XVI-XIX	1276
XX	5789
XXI	820
XXII	4271
XXIII	4941
XXIV-XXVI	14,200
XXVII	2864

---

Source: Meager (1982)

The correct answer to the question concerning the length of a YOP scheme is less straight forward than the other questions we asked about YOP. YOP schemes varied in length - Short Training Courses and Work Introduction Courses lasted only 13 weeks, while others had average lengths of between 22 weeks and 37 weeks. This makes establishing the accuracy of the sample's knowledge of this aspect of YOP more difficult. However YOP schemes were widely viewed to last an average of 6 months and we will therefore regard the correct answer to this question as 6 months.

Before a young person was eligible to join a YOP scheme he or she needed to have been continuously registered as unemployed for a period of six weeks.

In the above discussion we have attempted, given our data sources, to give the correct answers to the series of questions we asked of our sample during the two personal interviews which related specifically to their 'knowledge' of the Motherwell labour market, and in particular the youth labour market in Motherwell. In the remainder of this chapter we concentrate our attention upon young people's beliefs about the Motherwell labour market, the accuracy of these beliefs and how (if at all) these beliefs have changed over time.

#### 4. YOUNG PEOPLE'S BELIEFS ABOUT THE MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKET.

Our main aim in this section is to assess the accuracy of our sample's beliefs about the state of the Motherwell labour market which existed at the times of the two personal interviews. However, as the interviews took place approximately one year apart, this affords us an opportunity to discuss how their beliefs have changed over this time period - it should be noted however that the main focus of questioning in the labour market knowledge section of the 'labour market' interview related to the youth labour market and not the Motherwell labour market in general, although one question was asked about adult unemployment rates.

##### 4.1. THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET.

###### A. Occupations.

The most interesting result which emerges from the answers given to questions we asked relating to school leaver's eligibility to apply for jobs is not in fact the range of occupations given in response to this question but the response rates. In the school interview as many as 11% of our sample were unable to name one job for which school leavers were eligible to apply; 64% were unable to name two jobs, 84% three jobs and 95% were unable to name four jobs. In the 'labour market interview' 53% were unable to name two jobs which school leavers were/

/were getting or applying for, 62% were unable to name three and 96% were unable to name four jobs.

Two possible explanations for these results occur to us. The first explanation is simply that these results indicate the extent of young people's ignorance of the world of work. They have not been told by their family, at school, or by the Careers Officer, and neither have they taken the trouble to find out for themselves about the wide range of careers for which young people are theoretically eligible to apply. The second, and more plausible explanation given, as we shall see in Chapter Four, that schools, the Careers Service and families do make efforts to inform young people about the world of work, is that these results reflect the employment situation in Motherwell for young people. In a labour market where the 'true' rate of unemployment among young people is well over 60% (see Table Six) it should come as no surprise to us that young people have difficulty in naming jobs in Motherwell for which they are eligible to apply. This observation is brought home to us more forcibly when we find that the first response in the 'school interview' to the question 'what jobs do school leavers do?' was "YOP" from 50% of respondents. In the 'labour market interview' the first response to the question asking for details of the jobs school leavers were applying for or succeeding in obtaining from 91% of the respondents was also "YOP". Quite clearly therefore these results reflect the fact/

/fact that young people are only too aware of the lack of 'permanent' jobs which one would normally expect to be available for them. These results also reveal that young people recognise that the main channel through which they are likely to gain their first experience of work or awareness of what the world of work is likely to hold for and expect of them will be through participation on a YOP scheme.

How has entry into the labour market affected their knowledge of the range of jobs available for school leavers? It would be quite reasonable to assume that their knowledge would have increased quite considerably. As we shall see in Chapter Five, where we discuss the job search strategies adopted by our sample, job search prior to leaving school was of a fairly limited nature ; it was only after leaving school that any systematic job search behaviour was observed. One could therefore reasonably assume that in undertaking job search they would become much more aware of the type of jobs for which young people are eligible to apply. However, our results seem to suggest that entry into the labour market has had only a marginal affect on increasing their knowledge. The proportions unable to name two or three jobs has fallen, (53% from 64%, 62% from 84% respectively) but the proportion who were unable to name four school leaver jobs was well over 90% in both interviews. What entry into the labour market has achieved, if achieved is the right word, is perhaps to bring home to young people more forcibly the fact that there/

/there are relatively few permanent employment opportunities available for young people in today's labour market. There was a substantial increase in the proportion of the sample whose first response to our school leaver occupation question was "YOP" - from 50% to 90%. Again this result reflects their lack of success in their search for a permanent job.

So far in this section we have concentrated our attention almost exclusively upon those members of our sample who failed to respond to our questions relating to school leaver occupations and we have tended to neglect those members of our sample who did attempt to answer the question. In the main this imbalance is due to the lack of knowledge of school leaver occupations which a large proportion of our sample display, which given the nature of the composition of our sample necessarily attracts our interest. However this imbalance is also a reflection of the quality of our data, which makes simple analysis difficult and generalisation even more so. Our data source for the range and types of jobs available to young people in Motherwell is the actual jobs for which sample members had actually applied, and there is no guarantee that this source is an accurate reflection of the youth segment of the Motherwell labour market. Also the wide range of answers given to our questions allow us to say very little about how knowledgeable our sample is of the youth labour market in Motherwell. In the brief discussion of their responses, which follows, the inadequacy of our data should be kept at the forefront of our minds.

A wide range of jobs were listed, none of which were so outrageous as to be clearly not available for young people - we received no answer, for example, such as doctor, lawyer etc. It was fairly common for respondents to answer car mechanic, welder, electrician etc., when technically these jobs are not available for young people as they require the serving of an apprenticeship. Apprenticeships did feature high on the list of school leavers jobs. In the school interview 15% of the sample simply answered "apprenticeships", with a further 5% being more specific and naming particular types of apprenticeships. This contrasts with the 'labour market interview' when the respondents answering "apprenticeships" all named specific types of apprentices. This possibly reflects young people becoming more aware of the different classifications of occupations through the job titles and descriptions which appear in the job advertisements they encounter during their job search. Shop assistants also feature high on the list of jobs listed in both the interviews - 16% in the school interview and 11½% in the labour market interview. The third main category listed by our sample was 'clerical workers' - 9% in the school interview and 7% in the labour market interview. This category subdivides into secretaries (4%, 1%) office worker (4%, 2%), clerk/clerical trainee (1%, 1%) and typist (3% in the labour market interview only).

Reference to section 3(i) will show that apprenticeships, clerical/office jobs and to a lesser extent shop assistants were the main/

/main categories of jobs for which the sample had submitted applications. As a result of the inadequacy of our data on school leaver occupations we are not in any real position to reach any firm conclusions as to the accuracy or otherwise of young people's knowledge of the occupational section of the youth labour market in Motherwell. Our findings reveal that young people on the whole tend to lack knowledge of the types of jobs available for young people in Motherwell, but this we would argue is more a reflection of the low level of demand for young workers, with YOP being the most likely first experience of working life, rather than a measure of their ignorance.

#### B. Youth Wages.

In the previous chapter in which we consider the labour supply decision facing young people at 16 we found a negative coefficient attached to the variable measuring young people's perception of the wages paid to school leavers. This was a somewhat surprising result as, even though in pure theory terms the sign attached to the wage variable is indeterminate previous empirical research relating to the participation decision of other groups in the labour market had led us to expect a positive relationship between the school leaving decision and the wage variable. Rather than attributing this result to a backward bending supply curve for youth labour, we argued that a more likely explanation was that young people's views about the level of wages paid to school leavers was inaccurate. In what/

/what follows therefore we will attempt to ascertain the validity of this explanation. Further more we will be able to show if entry into the labour market has had any effect of the accuracy of their knowledge.

In Table Eleven we present details of the sample's perceptions of wages paid to young people in their first job after leaving school at 16. In order that we can comment upon how entry into the labour market changes perceptions we restrict the sample to those individuals who were questioned in both the 'school' and 'labour market' interviews - 37 girls, 72 boys.

The results we present in Table Eleven when compared with those reported in Table Four confirm the conclusions we reached in Chapter Two - young people about to leave school consistently underestimate the wages paid to school leavers in their first job. As many as 85% of boys and 92% of girls were of the opinion that school leavers received only £40 per week or less - indeed as many as one-in-three boys and one-in-two girls thought school leavers received £30 or less. The mean values and modes were £37.60 and £40 for boys and £33.35 and £25 for girls respectively. From Table Four we can see that actual wages received by 16 year olds are consistently above these figures. Looking at the "all employees" category (we take this figure as there is little difference between any of the categories for this age group) we see that the mean values of/

TABLE ELEVEN:  
YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH WAGES IN MOTHERWELL,  
APRIL, 1982 - SPRING, 1983

RANGE	BOYS		GIRLS	
	1982 (%)	1983 (%)	1982 (%)	1983 (%)
£40 or less	85	45	92	62
£41-£55	13	55	5	32
£56-£60	1	-	3	6
£61 or more	1	-	-	-
Mean	£37.60	£43.58	£33.35	£39.72
Mode	£40.00	£45.00	£25.00	£40.00
Maximum	£70.00	£60.00	£56.00	£60.00
Minimum	£25.00	£35.00	£25.00	£30.00
Standard Deviation	8.80	4.97	7.92	6.94

/of the sample's responses are in the region of 70% of actual earnings or approximately two standard deviations.

The results in Table Eleven pose two questions:

- (i). why do young people about to leave school underestimate youth wages?
- (ii) how does one account for the variations in the answers given?

Two possible explanations occur in relation to (i), the first concerns the sample's understanding of the question asked and the second explanation is related to developments within the youth labour market.

The question we asked of the sample specifically requested details of gross wages adding that gross wages included income tax and national insurance. When an answer was offered we again stressed that we were interested in gross wages and if they had given net wages we asked them to reconsider their answer and make an adjustment. It was clear when attempts were made to readjust wages upwards to take account of income and national insurance contributions that the sample had problems in knowing the proportionate increase necessary to allow for statutory deductions made to wages - we suspected at the time of the interview that they were underestimating the scale of deductions made to gross earnings. The Centre of Educational/

/Educational Sociology based at Edinburgh University who conduct a biennial survey of Scottish school leavers had encountered similar problems - see Main (1985). The difficulty that the sample had in distinguishing between gross and net wages may account for the underestimation of actual wages paid to school leavers in their first job which we have observed.

The second explanation we offer in attempting to account for the sample under-estimation of youth wages stems from the importance of YOP as a labour market experience for young people and the influence that it may have on young people's perceptions of the youth labour market. As was evident from our discussion of the sample's knowledge of the occupations for which young people are likely to apply, YOP is seen by the sample as their most likely first experience of working life. That so many answer "YOP", when asked about jobs school leavers are obtaining could suggest that they see YOP schemes as much the same thing as full-time jobs which could lead to a confusion between the YOP allowance and wages paid to young people in actual employment - indeed the most popular answer offered by girls in the school interview was £25 which was the value of the YOP allowance. That the allowance paid to YOP trainees is of the order of 50% of actual earnings may condition young people to expect to be paid low wages when (or if) they secure permanent employment, and this could also account for the sample under-estimating youth wages.

We do not offer these explanations on an "either or" basis, but rather we suspect that both factors are responsible for their apparent lack of knowledge of youth wages.

The second question raised by the results presented in Table Eleven relate to an explanation of the variation in answers offered. In the table we present two measures of dispersion or variation - the range and the standard deviation (the range is simply the difference between the maximum and minimum). The range, (for boys 45, for girls 31), has the disadvantage that it is liable to mislead if unrepresentative extreme values occur, and fails to indicate the degree of clustering of the data and is not really suitable for our purposes. A far more important and reliable measure of dispersion is the standard deviation, which is 8.8 for boys and 7.9 for girls - the greater the dispersion the larger the standard deviation. The standard deviations in Table Eleven indicate that girls as a group are no more knowledgeable about wages paid to girls than boys are knowledgeable about wages paid to boys (the coefficients of variance are 23.7 and 23.4 respectively). Unfortunately we are unable to say whether girls have a better understanding of the wages paid to boys than boys have of the wages paid to girls - we simply did not collect this data.

In attempting to account for the variation in the answers offered among our groups of boys and girls (there is little to explain about differences between them) we consider a number of/

/of factors:

- (i) whether or not they had begun to search for work by the time of the school interview
- (ii) the employment status of a brother or sister
- (iii) the accumulated knowledge about potential school leaver occupations.

The rationale behind considering (i) is that if job search had already begun, and applications made, by the time of the "school interview" then it is likely that knowledge of youth wages would have begun to build up. Similarly in accumulating knowledge about particular occupations for which young people are the likely candidates, wage information would also have been collected. School leavers with brothers or sisters in employment may also be more knowledgeable about youth wages. Our expectations are that those who had begun their job search, had a brother or sister in employment or who had accumulated knowledge about school leaver occupations would be relatively more knowledgeable about youth wages.

However our expectations are not fulfilled -  $\chi^2$  tests performed on the contingency tables constructed reflecting the factors outlined above fail to show any significant differences. Therefore we are left to conclude that the differences could easily have arisen by chance - this does not prove that there are no differences only that the figures we have used do not prove there is a/

/a difference.<sup>23</sup>

A further area of interest is to investigate how young people's views about the level of wages paid to young people changed as a result of their entry into the labour market. Although fewer numbers of the sample thought school leavers earned £40 per week or less (with only 2% of girls and no boys thinking that young people earned £30 per week or less) the mean values of their answers were still of the order of 70% of actual earnings of the under-18's in 1983. In the case of boys actual earnings were a little over 3 standard deviations from the mean, for girls a little over 2 standard deviations from the mean. Therefore taking these figures at face value it could be argued that labour market entry had little if any effect upon the accuracy of the sample's knowledge of youth wages. Examining the measures of dispersion in Table Eleven does reveal that labour market entry has had a marked effect on the variation in answers given by boys - the range is only 25 and the standard deviation 4.97 - less so for girls - range 30, standard deviation 6.94. Indeed  $\chi^2$  test on a contingency table constructed to show the different responses between the sexes is significant at the 95% level of confidence. This is the only significant result to emerge - neither labour market status as at the time of the "labour market" interview nor the accumulated knowledge of youth jobs show any significant differences.

How then do we explain the difference between the sexes?

We would attribute a narrowing of measures of dispersion to/

/to knowledge gained by the sample during the process of job search. Through the process of identifying jobs for which school leavers are eligible to apply a knowledge of wage levels would begin to build up, and perhaps the inaccuracy of the sample's beliefs reflects the fact that with only a limited number of employment opportunities open to young people at a time of high levels of unemployment a systematic and comprehensive knowledge of wage levels is difficult to accumulate. In our analysis of job search behaviour in Chapter Five we find that females submit proportionately fewer job applications than males. As females were found to be searching more intensively than males for work, this could reflect the fact that there are relatively fewer employment opportunities available for young female school leavers and therefore they have a greater difficulty in accumulating information about youth wages than boys.

In concluding this analysis of the accuracy of young people's beliefs about the level of wages pertaining to the youth labour market in Motherwell the impression we are left with is that young people have inaccurate beliefs about wages - they consistently under-estimate actual wages paid to young people in jobs. This under-estimation could be a result of a confusion between gross and net wages, and between real jobs and YOP jobs. Entry into the labour market and the acquisition of information gained as a result of job search did little to improve the accuracy of their beliefs, though it did perhaps lead to a few more realistic answers.

C. Youth Unemployment.

In Table Twelve we present details of young people's perceptions of the unemployment rates among young people in the Motherwell area in mid-1982 and mid-1983. We restrict the sample sizes to include only those who gave details for both 1982 and 1983 - 74 boys and 40 girls.

The picture which emerges from Table Twelve is rather depressing. The young people in our sample have a very pessimistic, some may argue realistic, view of the unemployment situation facing young people in the Motherwell labour market, both in 1982 and 1983. For boys entry into the labour market did little to change their views about the unemployment rates, but there would appear to be a marked change in the girls' perception of youth unemployment rates. The proportion of girls who thought that youth unemployment rates were 60% or more had increased from a little over one-in-three to almost two thirds.

The picture which emerges from Table Twelve prompt two questions:

- (i) how accurate are their beliefs about youth unemployment rates?
- (ii) how do we account for the marked change in the perceptions of the girls in the sample?

**TABLE TWELVE:**  
**YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE**  
**IN MOTHERWELL APRIL, 1982 - SPRING, 1983**

RANGE	BOYS		GIRLS	
	1982 (%)	1983 (%)	1982 (%)	1983 (%)
30% or less	13.5	14.9	10.0	7.5
40%-50%	41.9	37.9	55.0	27.5
60% or more	44.6	47.3	35.0	65.0
Mean	51%	52%	52%	57%
Mode	60%	70%	50%	70%
Maximum	70%	70%	70%	70%
Minimum	30%	20%	20%	20%
Standard Deviation	1.25	1.49	1.27	1.4

To assess the accuracy of the sample views of youth unemployment we need to refer back to Tables Six and Seven, which reveal that youth unemployment in Motherwell mid-1982, mid-1983 was in the region of 30%. What clearly emerges from Table Twelve therefore is that the sample grossly over-estimates the actual levels of youth unemployment - the mean is some 20 percentage points above the actual unemployment rate with only 13% of boys and 10% of girls giving the correct answer.

Two possible explanations for this over-estimation occur. The first relates to a possible confusion on the part of the sample as to what we meant by "unemployed". We were asking them to estimate the registered unemployed. The sample may have interpreted "unemployed" to mean those without a permanent job, which would include those registered as unemployed together with those on YOP - the truly unemployed as defined by Calderwood (1982). If this was in fact the case, with a true unemployment rate of around 60%, then the sample's perceptions of the problem young people face in obtaining a permanent job are somewhat more realistic. The second explanation, which relates to the first, is that they may have been basing their perceptions on their own and friends' experiences of the difficulty of finding permanent jobs in Motherwell. Again their perceptions may be related to the "true" rates of unemployment. The nature of the questions we asked, and therefore the data we collected prevents us from reaching any firm conclusions in this respect.

Although only a minority of the sample gave the correct answer some of the answers *are* closer to the correct answer than others. In attempting to explain these differences we consider:

- (i) the employment status of brothers/sisters
- (ii) the area in which they live
- (iii) their ability to answer the "occupations" question
- (iv) labour market status at Spring 1983.

We would expect those with a brother/sister either unemployed or on YOP to perceive youth unemployment at higher rates than those with brothers/sisters who were employed. From Table Six we can see that youth unemployment rates do differ between the three main areas of population (Motherwell, Wishaw, and Bellshill) if only slightly, and would therefore expect young people from Motherwell, which had the highest youth unemployment rate in 1982, to offer answers which are further from the correct answer. When discussing the sample's knowledge of "youth occupations" we argued that their inability to identify youth occupations other than YOP, was more a reflection of the lack of employment opportunities for young people than a measure of their ignorance. It would be reasonable to assume that those who were able to list a number of non-YOP jobs would perhaps have a less pessimistic view of youth unemployment in Motherwell. We would also expect those in employment at/

/at the time of the labour market interview would have a less pessimistic view of youth unemployment than those who were either on YOP or were unemployed.

As in the case of youth wages our expectations are not fulfilled. The contingency tables constructed to test these hypotheses fail to establish any significant difference between the various groups outlined above - the  $\chi^2$  statistic fails to reach the desired value. This again leads us to conclude that the difference in the accuracy of the sample's belief about unemployment among young people are due to chance, or to factors we have been unable to measure.

Our explanation of the fact that almost two-thirds of the females in our sample saw youth unemployment in 1983 at or above 60% is related to the explanation we advanced in relation to the different answers advanced by the sample when questioned about youth wages and evidence which will be presented in more detail in Job Search Behaviour. It is clear in Job Search Behaviour that girls in the sample are submitting fewer job applications than boys in spite of searching for work more intensively than boys. This we would argue is due to relatively fewer employment opportunities for females in the Motherwell labour market. Clearly if a considerable degree of effort is expended in job search activity with little return in terms of job applications then it comes as no surprise if one views the unemployment situation in rather a pessimistic way.

D. The Youth Opportunities Programme.

(i). YOP Allowance.

In contrast to their knowledge of wages paid to school leavers/ young people who were employed in permanent jobs, the sample's knowledge of the YOP allowance was remarkably accurate.

Although only 44% gave the correct answer of £25, 73% of all answers lay between £23 and £25 with a mean of £24.69, and given that the YOP allowance had only recently been increased to £25 we would argue that the answers we received displayed considerable knowledge of the allowance. Although answers ranged from £15 to £50, a positive value attached to the Skewness statistic indicates that the answers were clustered more to the left of the mean, (i.e. towards the £15 which is 60% of the actual YOP allowance) with the more extreme values being to the right (towards the £50, which is double the YOP allowance). In fact all the statistics, mean, mode, median, point towards a conclusion that this feature of YOP is well known to the sample.

That the sample is knowledgeable about the YOP allowance is a little less interesting than would have been the case if they had displayed a similar degree of ignorance when questioned about youth wages, and leaves us little if anything to explain. In an attempt to overcome this we divided the sample into a number of sub-groups/

/sub-groups

- (i) males
- (ii) females
- (iii) school leavers
- (iv) returners

to see if they exhibited significant degrees of knowledge/ignorance. In view of the argument we have continually advanced, that girls are disadvantaged in the Motherwell labour market due to the industrial structure of the area and therefore their most likely first experience of 'work' would be on a YOP scheme, it is possible that they have searched out information about YOP to a greater extent than boys and therefore would be more knowledgeable about the scheme. Similarly those young people who intended to leave school or who had thought about the possibility of leaving school, appreciating that unemployment among school leavers being at, or approaching record levels, would recognise YOP as their most likely first experience of work and would therefore be more inclined to search out information about YOP than their contemporaries who intended to continue with their education beyond the age of 16.

Sub-dividing the sample into these groups did not in fact prove a particularly fruitful exercise - some differences do emerge, but if we analysed each group individually without/

/without making any comparisons between the group we would conclude that they each exhibit a considerable degree of accuracy particularly when compared with their knowledge of youth wages. All groups have mean values of £24+, the Skewness statistic is always positive, the mode is £25 in all cases, the median is £24+ in all cases etc. etc.

The only conclusion therefore which is open to us, is that when it comes to assessing young people's knowledge of the YOP allowance, in the main their answers are largely correct.

(ii). Length of YOP Schemes.

The sample displays an even greater knowledge of the length of YOP schemes than of the YOP allowance - a little over 83% of the sample gave the correct answer to this question. The only other answer which attracts more than 5% of the sample was 12 months. There could be some possible confusion here between YOP and YTS which is scheduled to last 12 months. The MSC produced a consultative document setting out its proposals for a 'new training initiative' (MSC 1981a) and followed this up in December 1981 with an 'agenda for action' (MSC 1981b). Subsequently there was much discussion about the structure, aims and operation of YOP's replacement and this discussion, which featured heavily in the media, may have confused some members of the sample. The mean value of their answers was 6.225 weeks, median 6.003 weeks. Similar results were/

/were obtained when we sub-divided the sample into the groups outlined above - in all groups over 80% gave the correct answer.

The results we have obtained lead us to conclude that, as in the case of the YOP allowance, the sample exhibits considerable knowledge of this particular feature of YOP.

(iii). Unemployment Qualification.

The unemployment qualification is the least known of the features of YOP by the sample. Only 13% of those offering an answer (28% were unable to provide us with any kind of answer) gave the correct number of weeks. As many as 30% were under the impression that a young person was able to join a YOP scheme immediately upon leaving school with no intervening period of unemployment, while a further 18% replied that six months was the qualifying period. The mean value of the answers was more than twice the correct answer at 12.87 weeks. When the sample was divided into the sub-groups we outlined above there was little evidence of a sex difference in the answers, but there is a marked difference in the proportion who gave the correct answer between those who eventually left school and those who elected to continue with their education - although we would still conclude that all four groups exhibit ignorance. The "leavers" in the sample had a mean of 11 weeks, compared with a mean of 15.5 weeks for the "returners", 17% of the leavers gave the correct answers compared with 8% of the "returners". Given that such a small proportion/

/proportion in each group gave the correct answer and that the mean value in each case is markedly different from the correct answer, there seems little point in attempting to explain these differences. In effect we would simply be attempting to explain why one group is marginally more ignorant of this particular feature of YOP than the other group.

The results discussed raise two further questions:

- (i) Why does the sample exhibit considerable knowledge about YOP wages and the length of YOP schemes, but almost total ignorance about the unemployment duration qualification?
- (ii) Why is young people's knowledge about YOP substantially more accurate than their knowledge of other features of the youth labour market?

The features of YOP which would be of paramount interest to potential YOP trainees would be the value of the allowance they were to receive and the length of the scheme. In any attempt to seek out information pertaining YOP search would presumably be directed towards these two areas. In view of the size of the unemployment situation facing young people in Motherwell it is unlikely that the unemployment qualification would be stressed by any of the information channels consulted, whether formal or informal - with the possible exception of/

/of the Careers Officer. It is unlikely that this would prove a barrier to entry as the qualification would easily be achieved. Informal sources of information, such as family members or friends who had been on YOP may even be unaware of this regulation. Questions asked about the length of the unemployment spell prior to YOP entry, reveals that procedures for the selection of YOP trainees for the various schemes were put into operation well before the 'qualification' had been obtained - with reported unemployment durations of 6 weeks from many YOP participants. If this is a general practice, and in view of the unemployment rate among young people we would not be surprised to learn it was, then this regulation would cease to operate effectively, and therefore it is not surprising that the sample is unaware of its exact nature, or for that matter its existence.

That the sample displayed a far greater knowledge of specific features of YOP than aspects of what we might call the primary youth labour market relates to their likely labour market state upon leaving school after an initial period of unemployment - participation on a YOP scheme. Evidence presented earlier in this chapter clearly illustrates that young people are well aware of the limited employment opportunities for young people in Motherwell and that YOP is likely to be their first experience of working life. Therefore we would expect them to be more inclined to seek out and receive information pertaining to YOP.

#### 4.2. THE ADULT LABOUR MARKET.

##### A. Occupation

Although our data source for the occupations of the adult population in Motherwell is far more reliable and comprehensive than for school leaver occupations (the 1981 Census of Population) the response to our question in the school interview pertaining to adult occupations still leaves us with very little to say about young people's knowledge of the occupations followed by adults in Motherwell. Aside from simply describing the responses we received and attempting to compare these answers with details from the 1981 Census which we presented in Table One, there is little else we can do with our data. In retrospect we would conclude that our 'occupation variables' do not work well and are less than successful in attempting to assess young people's knowledge of their local labour market.

In Table Thirteen we present details of the range and types of adult occupations listed by our sample. The occupations were classified according to the Department of Employment's 1972 classification<sup>24</sup>. Although the CODOT classifications are not identical to the Socio-Economic Groups we use in Table One it is possible to make some comparisons. In Table One we identified two main types of occupations prevalent within Motherwell - 'manual' (which included skilled, semi-skilled as well as unskilled) for males, and 'junior non-manual' (which included clerical and selling occupations) for females. We can see from Table Thirteen that the main occupational groups/

TABLE THIRTEEN:

PERCEIVED OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE  
OF THE MOTHERWELL LABOUR MARKET

C.O.D.O.T. CLASSIFICATION		First Response (%)	Second Response (%)	Third Response (%)	Fourth Response (%)
I-II	Managerial occupations (General) Professional Occupatoins supporting Management and Admin.	3.0	2.8	3.9	3.7
III	Professional Occupations in education, welfare and health	8.5	9.9	8.1	12.3
IV	Literary, Artistic and Sports	0.4	-	0.7	-
V	Professional Occupations in Science, Engineering and Technology	9.3	6.1	5.2	5.0
VI	Managerial Occupations (Excl. general Management)	2.2	2.3	3.3	2.5
VII	Clerical and Related Occupations	7.3	8.5	9.1	7.4
VIII	Selling Occupations	6.0	5.6	9.2	7.4
IX	Security and Protective Services	2.5	2.4	1.3	4.9
X	Catering, Cleaning, Hairdressing and other personal services	8.9	7.5	7.8	11.1
XI	Farming, Fishing and related occupations	-	0.9	0.7	-
XII	Material Processing (Excl. Metal)	0.8	4.2	1.3	2.5
XIII	Making and Repairing (Excl. Metal and Electrical)	5.9	5.6	5.3	2.5
XIV	Processing, Making, Repairing (Metal and Electrical)	28.8	24.4	27.4	25.9
XV	Painting, Repetitive Assembly, Product Inspecting, Packaging	3.4	4.3	4.6	3.7
XVI	Construction and Mining	2.6	5.1	2.6	2.5
XVII	Transport operating, materials moving and storing	3.0	4.7	3.3	6.1
XVIII	Miscellaneous	7.3	6.6	4.6	2.5
Valid Cases		233	213	153	81

/groups listed by our sample are 'processing, making and repairing (metal and electrical) which would include most if not all the occupations which could be classified as 'manual', and (if grouped together) 'clerical' and 'selling' which will account for a large proportion of the 'junior non-manual' occupations.

Our sample therefore seems to have a reasonably accurate picture of the main occupational groups within the Motherwell labour market. The nature and adequacy of our data allows us to say little more than that. The 'occupation variable' has not performed as well as we had originally hoped it might, particularly when discussing the youth labour market.

#### B . Wage Levels.

In Table Fourteen we present details of young people's perception of the level of wages paid to adult workers employed in a number of broad occupational groups. The boys in our sample were asked to give details of wage levels for what are regarded as male dominated occupations and the girls for details of wages existing in female dominated occupations. Our initial reaction to the results presented in Table Fourteen is that our sample under-estimates the level of wages paid to adults. Closer and more detailed analysis of the results in Table Fourteen is necessary before any firm conclusions can be reached. In what follows therefore we will discuss each occupational/

**TABLE FOURTEEN:**  
**YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT WAGES**  
**IN MOTHERWELL - APRIL, 1982**

RANGE	<u>BOYS</u>			<u>GIRLS</u>		
	Skilled Work (%)	Unskilled Work (%)	White-Collar Work (%)	Shop Assist. (%)	Clerical Work (%)	Factory Work (%)
£50 or less	3.6	44.8	18.5	84.7	39.1	51.0
£51-£75	16.7	36.7	28.1	9.4	47.3	33.0
£76-£100	52.9	16.9	38.5	3.1	12.4	16.0
£101-£125	14.5	1.5	6.0	-	-	-
£126-£150	8.7	-	7.4	-	1.0	-
£151-£200	3.6	-	1.5	-	-	-
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Mean	96.73	60.95	82.89	43.30	60.67	55.89
Mode	100	50	100	40	50	60
Maximum	190	120	200	80	130	100
Minimum	40	25	35	20	20	25
Standard Deviation	27.68	15.8	27.6	11.28	19.86	17.46
n	138	136	135	97	97	94

/occupational group separately before attempting to draw firmer conclusions about the accuracy of young people's knowledge of adult wages.

(i). Skilled Workers.

More detailed examination of this part of Table Fourteen and comparisons with Table Two leads us to conclude that as a group, the boys in our sample have a reasonably accurate view of the wages paid to skilled workers. The maximum wages paid to skilled workers, as revealed in Table Two, range from £116 (auto-mechanics) to £135 (electricians). Almost one-in-four of the sample said skilled workers were paid between £107 and £150 per week. The minimum wages paid to skilled workers range from £80 (production fitters) to £100 (fitters - tool and maintenance) with over 50% of the sample saying that skilled workers earned between £76 and £100. A mean of £96.73 and a mode of £100 adds further weight to the validity of our conclusion. However there is a considerable degree of variation - a range of 130 and a standard deviation of 27.68.

(ii). Unskilled Workers.

The sample would appear to have a less accurate view of the wages paid to unskilled workers. They do recognise that unskilled workers receive less wages than either skilled or white-collar workers, though the 45% who said unskilled/

/unskilled workers earned £50 or less were overstating the magnitude of this differential. Our data in Table Two is less comprehensive for unskilled workers than for skilled, but we find that the average wage paid to unskilled workers ranges from £74 - £79 (it is necessary to exclude 'steel workers - unskilled' from the analysis as due to shift and bonus payments their earnings are untypical for unskilled workers in the Motherwell labour market). Only 30% of the sample gave an answer to this question which lay within the £70 - £80 range (not shown in Table Fourteen). The mean is only £60 and the mode £50. The variation in the answers given is much less than in the case of skilled workers - range 96, standard deviation 15.8.

(iii). White-Collar Workers.

It is the earnings of white-collar workers that gives the sample real problems. In Table Two we see that the average wages paid in the occupations we list are well over £100 - the lowest £176, the highest £202. Yet only 9% of the sample gave an answer which lay within this range. The degree of variation in the answers is considerable - a range of 165 and a standard deviation of 27.6.

(iv). Shop Assistants.

Comparing the data from the Motherwell Labour Market Project's survey of employers, presented in Table Three, and the/

/the responses from the girls in our sample, we can only conclude that their knowledge of wages paid to shop assistants is inaccurate. As many as 85% said shop assistants earn £50 per week or less, yet the employer's survey revealed a maximum of £73 and a minimum of £62. The degree of under-estimation was between 30% and 40%.

(v). Clerical Workers.

Over 85% of the girls in the sample were of the opinion that clerical workers earned less than £75 per week - the mean was only £60.07 and the mode £50. Table Three reveals that the average for clerical workers was £88, with typists earning a little more at £91 and secretaries a little less at £81. The degree of under-estimation is some 30%.

(vi). Factory Workers.

As in the case of both shop assistants and clerical workers, the sample's knowledge of factory workers' wages is inaccurate. The mean value of their answers was £55.89, with a mode of £60. Data from the 1982 New Earnings Survey reveals that factory workers earned an average of between £71 (sewing machinests) and £85 (repetitive assemblers). The degree of under-estimation ranges from 20% to 35%.

The above analysis raises three questions:

- (i).       how do we account for the sample  
            consistently under-estimating adult wages?
  
- (ii).       why do girls appear to be less "knowledgeable"  
            than boys?
  
- (iii)       why do boys have considerably more  
            difficulty with white-collar workers  
            earnings than either skilled or unskilled  
            workers?

In our discussion of the sample's knowledge of youth wages we argued that a possible explanation for their under-estimation of youth wages stemmed from a confusion over gross and net wages. We advance the same argument in attempting to account for the sample's under-estimation of adult wages. Youngsters are likely to be familiar with the earnings of their parents. But it is likely to be the money which their parents bring home, i.e. net earnings, with which they are familiar. As we argued earlier, the sample had considerable difficulties in calculating the adjustment to be made in converting net wages to gross wages, and this would result in gross wages being consistently under-estimated.

The employment status of their parents may in part be responsible for the differential level of accuracy exhibited between the sexes when questioned about adult wages. Almost three-quarters/

/three-quarters of the boys' fathers were employed, yet only 25% of girls' mothers were employed in a full-time job, with 25% employed on a part-time basis, the remaining 50% were either unemployed or not economically active. In a situation such as this one would expect boys to have a more accurate view of male adult wages, or a less inaccurate view, than girls would have of female wages. It is far more likely that the sample would 'pick up' details of adult wages from these informal sources rather than "accumulate" such data from searching through formal channels.

Two possible explanations occur as to why boys have relatively more problems estimating white-collar worker earnings than the earnings of either skilled or unskilled workers. The occupations for which we have data may be unrepresentative of the majority of white-collar jobs performed by male workers in Motherwell, and as such their rates of pay are much higher than more representative white-collar occupations for which we do not have data. Danson et al (1983) did not include details of white-collar earnings in their report due to a lack of comprehensive data from their survey. The second explanation is that our sample's responses reflect the fact that they have little contact with adults who are employed in white-collar jobs and therefore would have little personal experience of the, for want of better terminology, "life styles" of white-collar workers within the Motherwell area upon which to base their estimations. Less than 20% of the sample had father's employed/

/employed in white-collar or professional jobs. We would not rule out either of these explanations.

C . Unemployment Rates.

In Table Fifteen we present details of young people's perception of unemployment rates among adult workers in mid-1982 and 1983. In contrast to their beliefs about adult wages, as can be seen by comparing Tables Fifteen and Eight, young people over-estimate the unemployment rate in Motherwell in 1982. Only 28% of boys and 15% of girls estimate that the unemployment rate in the Motherwell area was between 20% and 30%. A little over one-in-three girls and 20% of boys see unemployment at 60% or more. When discussing the effect that entry into the labour market had on young people's perceptions of youth unemployment we found that it had little effect upon the accuracy of their beliefs. This turns out not to be the case with adult unemployment - entry into the labour market would appear to have improved the accuracy of their beliefs, 53% of boys and 43% of girls saw unemployment at 20% - 30%. Why this should be the case is not at all clear. However there is still a sizeable proportion of both boys (43%) and girls (57%) who view unemployment at between 40% - 50%, which was in the region of twice the actual rate.

The degree of variation in the sample's perceptions of adult unemployment are markedly larger than the variations in their/

**TABLE 15:**  
**YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT**  
**IN 1982 AND 1983**

RANGE	BOYS		GIRLS	
	1983 (%)	1982 (%)	1983 (%)	1982 (%)
10%	4	3	-	-
20%-30%	53	28	43	15
40%-50%	43	49	57	50
60% +	-	20	-	35
Mean	25%	40%	38%	50%
Mode	30%	40%	30%	50%
Maximum	50%	70%	50%	70%
Minimum	10%	10%	20%	20%
S.D.	14.4	14.9	8.8	13.7

/their perceptions of youth unemployment rates - standard deviations for boys are in the region of 14, for girls 13.7 in 1982 and 8.8 in 1983. How then do we explain these variations?

In the Motherwell labour market there are areas where unemployment rates do approach 40% and 50% - Craigneuk, Thorndean, Viewpark, Central Motherwell (see Danson et al (1984) for further details) - and it is likely that these results reflect certain variations in unemployment rates between communities within the Motherwell area. Attempts in testing this hypothesis did not prove too successful. We do not have sufficient data to enable us to breakdown the area in which sample members live beyond the three main centres of population - Motherwell, Wishaw and Bellshill.  $\chi^2$  tests reveal no significant differences. These tests while not enabling us to accept the hypothesis advanced above do not force us to reject it - the data we have is the main problem.

The labour market status of a sample member's father (more so than their mothers) may affect their perceptions of adult unemployment rates. Those with fathers who are unemployed would be expected to have a much more pessimistic view of adult unemployment than those with fathers who are employed. Again as in previous cases we are unable to prove this -  $\chi^2$  test statistics do not reach the desired level.

#### D. INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE.

In Table nine we presented details of the estimated employment levels in Motherwell by industry for mid-1982. In terms of the number of employees the most important industries to Motherwell (this being the variable used in order to ascertain the extent of young people's knowledge of the industrial structure of the area) is metal manufacture - with the majority of workers being employed by British Steel Corporation (BSC) which, in spite of massive cutbacks and redundancies in recent years in the steel industry is still the largest single employer in the Motherwell area. The importance of BSC to the Motherwell economy is well appreciated by the sample - 80% (both boys and girls) hold the view that "steel" was the largest employer of labour in the Motherwell economy. This result is not surprising. In the last few years the future of BSC's Ravenscraig plant has been very much in the news and its importance to the Motherwell economy frequently stressed in news reports. It would therefore be unlikely that young people would be unaware of the contribution made by BSC to the Motherwell economy.

Engineering was the only other industry which attracted responses from more than 5% of the sample when questioned about the second and third largest employing industries in Motherwell. In fact some 61% of the sample were unable to offer a second answer and 96% were unable to name three industries employing/

/employing labour in the Motherwell area. We therefore conclude that young people know little of the industrial structure of their local labour market. It is not possible to make any assessment regarding the accuracy of their beliefs about Motherwell's industrial structure as we have insufficient data from the sample upon which to draw.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS.

In this chapter we have been interested in the extent of young people's knowledge of their local labour market which for the purposes of this study was defined as the Motherwell District Council area. Their knowledge was tested using a number of variables pertaining to different aspects of the labour market - occupations, wages, unemployment rates and the industrial structure. Young people were questioned not simply about the labour market as a whole but also about the youth segment of the labour market. The accuracy of their knowledge, or more correctly their beliefs, was assessed by using data from a number of sources which related directly to the Motherwell labour market and where this data was insufficient or unavailable, supplemented by official data at a more aggregate level. It was also possible to assess the effect that time and/or entry into the labour market had on young people's perceptions of the youth labour market.

At the end of each piece of analysis of individual variables conclusions were drawn; young people under-estimated the level of wages (with the possible exception of skilled workers), overstated the unemployment problem facing the Motherwell labour force, had little knowledge of the industrial structure of the area (with the exception of an appreciation of the importance of steel to the area) and the occupation variables did not perform well, which was mainly a reflection of the scarcity of jobs for young people in the economy. A considerable degree of knowledge was exhibited about the Youth Opportunities Programme. In the light of these conclusions related to specific aspects of the Motherwell labour market are there any general conclusions which we can draw from our analysis of young people's overall knowledge of the Motherwell labour market?

The results we present above leads us to the general conclusion that young people see the Motherwell labour market, and in particular the youth labour market, in an even more depressed and recession hit situation than it actually is - high unemployment, low wages, no permanent jobs for young people. Entry into the labour market only succeeded in reinforcing the view of Motherwell which they held at school. They see youth/school leaver unemployment rates at considerably higher rates than they actually are. YOP is seen by the majority as the only type of work available for young people leaving school. The wages which those young people who are fortunate enough to obtain permanent employment are paid are thought to be up to one-third below the actual wages paid to 16 year olds.

They also view the adult labour market in a similar light - wages are thought to be much lower than they actually are and unemployment much higher.

NOTES.

1. Stigler (1968) p171
2. Boulding (1966) p1
3. Boulding (1956)
4. Boulding (1966) p1
5. Employers tend to meet the tangible costs of geographical migration for those with higher or particularly scarce occupational skills, but such provision is less common for manual workers.
6. Carrter (1967) p200
7. Phelps Brown (1962) p97
8. Kerr (1954) p93
9. Hunter and Reid (1968) p41 quote the definition in a report to 'War Manpower Commission (US)' cited in Thompson (1956)
10. Robinson (1968) p66
11. Bunting (1962) p15
12. Hunter and Reid (1968) p42
13. The importance of 'informal' channels of information as they relate to occupational information and job search strategies will be discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.
14. We use the word 'supposed' when discussing attempts by schools and Careers Officers/teachers to enlighten girls about traditionally male occupations as Bennett and Carter (1981) illustrate how girls can and are steered away from careers likely to provide day release opportunities which tend to be male dominated occupations.

15. For a useful analysis of the Motherwell economy and labour market see Danson et al (1983)
16. Office of Population and Census Surveys (1980) pxii
17. I am grateful to Ann Carey for making this data available to me.
18. Careers Office areas do not coincide directly with Employment areas, therefore Calderwood attempts to split the Employment Offices between the appropriate Careers Offices. This procedure involves some degree of uncertainty, but should not affect the overall figures for youth unemployment in the Motherwell area.
19. To calculate unemployment rates it is necessary to have estimates of the total number of 16 and 17 year olds who are seeking work. Calderwood derives these from Education Department returns for school leavers. These estimates exclude leavers from non-Education Department establishments and includes young people taking part or intending to take part in full-time further or higher education. Therefore the number seeking work is over-estimated and hence the unemployment rates are under-estimated.
20. Strathclyde Regional Council (1983) Table Six reveals:

Unemployment By Age - Rates

AGE	MALES %	FEMALES %	TOTAL %
16-19	37.3	30.0	33.9
20-24	29.7	21.2	25.6
25-34	19.3	13.0	17.0
35-44	15.1	5.5	11.1
45-54	14.3	5.8	10.5
55-59	17.1	8.1	13.4
60+	10.1	0.2	7.5
Total	19.8	12.1	16.6

21. This figure is arrived at by multiplying 12606 by 1.07.  
I am grateful to Mike Danson for this calculation.
22. Since this chapter was written ACE data for 1981 has become available. Although the numbers employed in each industry are different to those presented in the analysis the figures we present do give a reasonably accurate picture of the Motherwell economy.
23. It should be noted that many of the valid cells in the contingency tables had expected cell frequencies of less than 5. In such cases the  $\chi^2$  test may be innaccurate.
24. See Department of Employment (1972)

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CHAPTER FOUR

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

The transition from school to work of early leavers involves a number of processes which can be analysed as distinct and separate stages in the transitional period, although it may be argued that in the early stages of preparation for entry into the labour market a number of decisions may well be interdependent and jointly determined.. For example the chosen or most preferred occupation may determine the age at which a young person decided to enter the labour market and vice versa - the age at which a young person decides to enter the labour market will determine the range of careers open to him/her. These processes or stages of preparation for entry into the labour market begin whilst young people are still at school, though exactly when these processes begin is often difficult to determine. The most likely first stage will be occupational choice - from an early age most children when asked "what do you want to be when you grow up?" usually have a ready made answer, though in most cases this will not be the job in which they will eventually become employed.

In a developed society such as our own in which the division of labour is well established the number of occupations open to an individual is immense. For most of our sample the decision to leave school at 16 does somewhat reduce the number of occupations open to them, but the scope is still considerable. For the individual the choice of career probably ranks with the choice/

/choice of spouse in terms of its implications for later satisfaction and adjustment. The occupation chosen can therefore be an important determinant of a young person's life. To enable him/her to make the right decision a young person will need information on the range of occupations open to him/her, and guidance to enable him/her to match his/her interests, and attributes to a particular career or range of careers. Young people will receive information and guidance from a number of sources, but primarily from the home, school and Careers Service.

It has long been established that the greatest single influence on the choice of occupation is the home. Its general atmosphere is said to orientate children towards particular levels of employment. But, with a few exceptions, parents are considered to be ill-equipped to advise on the choice of work as they often lack expert knowledge considered essential in career making decisions. Their knowledge is generally confined to jobs which they or other members of the family are doing or have done. Although this knowledge may not be expert enough to enable them to give occupational guidance, parents and/or family members are an important source of labour market information for young people not only in terms of providing information about particular jobs, such as what the job involves, wages and conditions, but (as we shall see in Chapter Five) they also prove to be an important information channel when young people actually come to look for work. The home probably is ill-equipped/

/equipped to offer careers guidance, but its function as a channel of information about particular jobs should not be under-estimated. In this chapter therefore we will be attempting to assess the importance of the home and family as a channel of occupational information.

Schools too can be important sources of labour market and particularly occupational information for young people, though the type and quality of information will vary across schools. In some schools the notion of careers education may simply consist of one corner of the library being reserved for pamphlets and leaflets on specific occupations. In others, careers education may be an integral part of the school curriculum with as much weight being given to careers education as to some other subjects. There are a number of different techniques which can be used in the teaching of careers education ranging from the presentation of information about particular occupations through visits to schools from outside visitors, visits to factories, to work experience schemes on employer's premises arranged for the pupils by the schools. Work experience schemes can be extremely valuable to young people, giving an insight into the mechanics of particular jobs and the new environment of work. Some schools may offer vocational courses usually in conjunction with a local technical college enabling students to get away from purely academic courses and study subjects such as car maintenance, welding or electrical work. As well as deciding what to teach in careers education the question of/

/of when to begin teaching it, and to whom it should be taught, are often thorny problems. Examination-orientated pupils often miss out on this teaching as the subject is frequently taught in the last year at school, which does not really give young people much time to amass the information, digest it, and then make decisions regarding the choice of occupations. It can be seen that the school can play a very important role in preparing young people for entry into the labour market, and we will be attempting to assess just how much of a role the school does in fact play, particularly as a source of occupational information.

The Careers Service has four main responsibilities:

- (i) to disseminate information about jobs
- (ii) to give vocational guidance
- (iii) to help place school leavers in suitable employment
- (iv) to maintain contact with young people until they are 18.

The chief means of disseminating information is in the "school talk" in which a Careers Officer will attempt to give a broad picture of the variety of occupations open to young people, to urge them to think about their real interests and aptitudes and to encourage them to discuss the matter with their parents. The "school leaving interview" which is held during the last/

/last year at school, and often during the final term, provides the Careers Officer with an additional opportunity to disseminate information, though perhaps its primary purpose is to offer vocational guidance. Vocational guidance entails much more than simply supplying information; it is a scientific process whereby objective assessment of abilities, interests and aptitudes are made and the data gathered are related to the demands of particular jobs. Cherry (1974) shows that young people who follow the advice given during vocational guidance "do better" at work than those who take up some other job, though the interpretation of this "better performance" has been a matter of some dispute. The role of the Careers Service as a source of vocational guidance lies beyond the scope of this study, though its role as a disseminator of labour market information is firmly within the boundaries of this research and as such will come under investigation.

Throughout this introduction we have consistently used the term "occupational information" without attempting to give a formal definition or explain what types of information constitute occupational information. Shartle (1965) sees occupational information as "information about the world of work" and that it is "essentially a description of man's work and its related conditions". Hayes and Hopson (1972) quote what Frank Parsons (1909) regards as the second of three broad factors for a wide choice of career, /

/career,

".... a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensations, opportunities and prospects in different lines of work."<sup>1</sup>

Hayes and Hopson define occupational information as,

".... information which facilitates the development of realistic expectations about our occupational role (i.e. a system of work and non-work roles normally associated with an occupation) in terms which will enable an individual to test out its congruency with its self-concept."<sup>2</sup>

Definitions of occupational information can perhaps be grouped into two categories - those which, in the words of Samler (1961)<sup>3</sup> relate to a picture of the economic man and deals with wages, working conditions, induction, training, promotion etc. whereas the second type of definition relates (again to use the words of Samler) to the "psychological man at work", and deals with the individual's role, his self-concept or identity, the exercise of his attitudes and the fulfilment of his values etc. Our interest centres on the provision of the former type of occupational information by the home, the school and the Careers Service. That our interest is centred on the former type of occupational information does not simply reflect the fact that we are attempting/

/attempting to conduct an economic investigation of the labour market experiences of young people, but is also borne out of a conviction that this is the type of occupational information young people about to leave school will be most keen to receive, from their family, their school and the Careers Officer, and wish to seek out for themselves from any of the other sources open to them.

Although "occupational choice" appears in the title of this chapter we will not be attempting to explain the reasons behind the occupations which our sample would, given the opportunity, choose to follow. Our concern is with the provision of occupational information, though we will discuss the occupational choice of our sample and the reasons they give for choosing these particular occupations. In Section Two we will review a number of theories of occupational choice and attempt to draw out of these theories a role for the use and/or provision of occupational information. In Section Three we will present a brief survey of empirical literature relevant to this topic, which will include occupational choice, the role of the Careers Service and the occupational knowledge/information possessed by school leavers. In Section Four we will present a detailed analysis of the provision of occupational information by the home, the school and the Careers Service, drawing heavily upon the responses given by our sample and information obtained from the schools themselves.

## 2. THEORIES OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE.

It is not our intention in this section to present a comprehensive review of the theoretical approaches which have been adopted when the problem of occupational choice has been addressed. Given the particular focus of this chapter it would be inappropriate to do so, and useful reviews of the theoretical studies of occupational choice can be found elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Rather it is our intention to concentrate upon the major theories of occupational choice - we define 'major' to be those theories which have had the most influence upon research and the practice of vocational guidance. Lindley (1982) identifies three early American studies which he argues have influenced much of the sociological literature on occupational choice.<sup>5</sup> The studies he identifies are Ginzberg (1951), Super (1953) and Blau et al (1956). It is these theories and the role of the use and/or provision of occupational information within these theories which will form the basis of our discussion of theories of occupational choice.

Ginzberg and his associates devised a comprehensive theory of how individuals choose to enter particular occupations. The process of occupational choice is seen as a series of development stages:

- a) the fantasy stage
- b) the tentative stage, which can be subdivided into
  - (i) interest/

- i) interest
- ii) capacity
- iii) values
- iv) transition

and

c) the realistic stage, which can be subdivided into

- i) exploratory
- ii) crystalization
- iii) specification

The fantasy stage occurs in childhood, usually before the age of 10 when the child believes he/she can become anything that sounds attractive. These occupations will tend to bear little relation to the real life situation of the child. It is only the lucky few who are able to fulfill their childhood ambitions.

The tentative stage in the development process usually coincides with the period of adolescence. The interest stage is when the individual begins to realise that some activities or ideas are more attractive than others; the capacity stage involves the individual asking questions about his/her competence to carry out a particular choice; the value stage will involve the differentiation of those things in a job which have intrinsic value, job prospects, job satisfaction, income etc.; the transition stage is when the individual integrates all the knowledge he has/

/has gained during the various sub-stages of the development through the tentative period with the reality of the real world.

However the individual has still insufficient information to commit him/herself to a particular career. With the limited knowledge gained from the tentative period the individual will begin to explore the range of occupations that will meet his/her requirements. The crystalization stage occurs when the individual gives up his/her exploration and begins to make plans for the future. The final stage, of specification, occurs when the individual is ready to limit him/her self to a particular career and can no longer be deflected to another area.

Clearly within the tentative and realistic stages of this development the provision of and/or use of occupational information plays an important role. It is in the value stage, where the individual will begin to differentiate those things in the jobs which are felt to be within his/her capabilities, which have intrinsic value such as income, prospects, etc. that the provision and/or use of occupational information first becomes an important dimension of the development of occupation choice. The family, the school and the Careers Service may well be able to offer advice and information at this stage. For example, a member of the individual's family may be employed in one of the jobs for which the individual has concluded is within his/her capabilities and will therefore be able to give information about personal satisfaction offered by the job; the school may be able to arrange visits/

/visits to places of work in which people are employed in these jobs or arrange for visitors to come to the school to talk about the various aspects of the particular jobs the individual has in mind; and the Careers Service will be able to give more detailed information about income, job prospects, likely local employers and provide any necessary literature which the individual may find useful. In the transition stage the individual will then be able to shift his/her attention from these subjective factors to constraints of the real world, which will have partly been brought home to him/her in the accumulation of occupational information in the value stage. As we stated above, although the individual will have gained a good deal of knowledge in the tentative stage, it is insufficient to enable an individual to commit him/herself to a particular career. In the exploration stage the individual will attempt to broaden his/her knowledge and understanding of the occupational world. The individual will direct his/her exploration towards discovering a job in which he/she can find substantial work satisfaction. The role of the Careers Service, not only as a source of information, but as a guidance service will be particularly important in this stage of development.

Therefore although Ginzberg and his associates assign no explicit role in their theory to the provision of occupational information it clearly has an important implicit function as we have identified.

One of the most influential theorists in the field of occupational choice is Donald Super, and in view of our classification of major theories of occupational choice being those which have had the most influence on research and the practice of vocational guidance it is right and proper that we include Super's work in our discussion. Super's theory of vocational development was initially formulated in the early 1950's. It was the early work of Buehler (1933) on the life stages and the problems dealt with in each stage, and the later work of Havighurst (1953) on the development tasks which provided the theoretical base for his theory of vocational development first outlined in Super (1953, 1957). In his earlier paper Super argued that an adequate theory of occupational choice and adjustment should synthesise the results of previous research, take account of the continuity of the development of preferences and explain the processes through which interests, capacities, values and opportunities are compromised. He identifies a number of the main elements of such a theory as they appear in the literature before organising them into a summary statement of a comprehensive theory, which he states in a series of ten propositions:

- (i) people's different interests, abilities and personalities should be considered as important factors in occupational choice
- (ii) people are qualified for more than one occupation
- (iii) occupation ability patterns are present in all of us. A characteristic pattern of ability /

- /ability, interests and personality is more appropriate for some occupations than others
- (iv) vocational preferences and competence change with time and experience, which makes choice and adjustment a continuous process
  - (v) this process can be expressed as a series of life stages - growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline
  - (vi) career patterns, (the level, sequence, frequency and duration of trial and stable jobs) are determined by external (socio-economic background, work opportunities available etc.) and internal (mental abilities, achievements, personality etc.) factors.
  - (vii) progress through life can be guided through counselling
  - (viii) the process of vocational development is essentially that of developing a self-concept, which is a compromise process in which the self-concept is a product of the interactions of inherited aptitudes, the opportunity to play various roles and evaluation of the extent to which the results of the role playing meets with the approval of superiors and fellows
  - (ix) the role playing in (viii) above is a process of compromise between ones self-concept and the realities of external social factors/

/factors

- (x) work is a way of life, and adequate vocational and personal adjustments are more likely when both the nature of the work and the way of life that goes with it are compatible with the aptitudes, interests and values of the individual.

Super therefore includes the whole process of entry into occupations where the development of and modifications of preferences can not be distinguished from the compromises made by the individual when faced with limited opportunities.

Is there a role for occupational information in Super's theory?

The answer is quite clearly yes, and relates to 'development tasks' which individuals need to set themselves at given stages of vocational development as a pre-condition for successful movements to the next. According to Super, amongst other things, high school students will need to search for occupational information and gradually extend their self-knowledge. This will be presumably to aid the development of a self-concept and enable the individual to choose a career which fits in with his/her identity.

"This is the theory that satisfaction in one's work and on one's job depends on the extent to which the work, the job and the way of life that goes with them enable one to play the kind of role that one wants/

/wants to play..... Work satisfactions and life satisfactions depend upon the extent to which an individual finds adequate outlets for his abilities, interests, personality traits and values; they depend upon his establishment in a type of work, a work situation and a way of life in which he can play the kind of role which his growth and exploratory experiences have led him to consider congenial and appropriate."<sup>6</sup>

The provision of occupational information by the family, school and Careers Service will enable the individual to identify a particular career or range of careers which fits in with the individuals self-image.

Lindley (1982), argues that the approach adopted by Balu et al (1956) has more affinity with the treatment of occupational choice provided by economists. Blau et al argue that what they present is not a theory of occupational choice as such, but rather a conceptual framework from which a theory should develop. They begin from the same starting point as Ginzberg and Super in acknowledging that occupational choice is a development process that extends over any years. They argue that as the occupational preferences that finally crystallise through the development process do not directly determine occupational entry, the process of selection must be taken into account in order to explain why people end up in different occupations.

The social structure, which is the institutionalised patterns of activities, interactions, and ideas among various groups, they argue, has a dual significance for occupational choice. First, it influences the personality development of the choosers, and secondly, it defines the socio-economic conditions in which selection takes place. For analytical purposes they divide this two fold effect of the social structure, into 'biological conditions' and 'physical conditions'. The three components of the 'biological conditions' are:

- (i) Personality Development (which relates to educational development, family influences, constraints imposed by available financial resources and the process of socialisation).
- (ii) Socio-psychological Attributes (which include the general level of knowledge, educational abilities, social position and relations, and the orientation to occupational life).
- (iii) Immediate Determinants (which are occupational information, technical qualifications, social role characteristics and reward value hierarchy).

The three components of the "physical conditions" are:

- (i) Historical Change (which includes trends in social mobility, shifts in industrial composition, historical development of social organisations and changes in the level and structure of consumer demand).

- (ii) Socioeconomic Organisation (which includes the occupational distribution and rate of labour turnover, the division of labour, the policies of bodies such as the Government, Trade Unions, etc. and the stage of the business cycle).
- (iii) Immediate Determinants (which relate to the demand for a particular type of labour, the amount and types of rewards).

Within the 'biological conditions' we find a role for occupational information explicitly identified. They argue that one of the factors which influences occupational entry is the information people have about an occupation - they identify information about entrance requirements, wages and the opportunity for promotion as being of particular importance in channelling people into different occupations. The family, school and careers service should be able to supply young people with this kind of information.

Although these theories have had a major influence upon research and the practice of vocational guidance they have not escaped criticism. One of the most vociferous critics of the development approach to occupational choice has been Roberts (1968, 1975, 1977):

'My objection to the development theory is quite simply that it is wrong; that the propositions it contains are inconsistent with the known facts about how individuals enter and respond to their occupations'<sup>7</sup>.

The main problem with the development theory, Roberts argues, is that it treats an individual's occupational choice as an unrealistic central process in the course of vocational development. Individuals do not typically choose their jobs; rather they take what they can get. Therefore the relevant information to use in predicting the career which a young person is likely to follow will be their educational qualifications and the local employment structure.

Roberts (1975) presents what might be called an 'opportunity structure' theory of occupational choice. This theory is the product of combining several bodies of research into aspects of occupational behaviour and attitudes. The first body of research shows that the direction in which a career develops will depend to a great extent upon the opportunities available to the individual concerned. The level at which an individual enters a particular occupation will largely be determined by his/her educational qualifications (with aspirations being of secondary importance)<sup>8</sup>, and subsequent movement up the career ladder being determined by the opportunities their existing careers open up.<sup>9</sup> The second body of research/

/research is concerned with the relationship between education and vocational aspirations. Schooling is found to have a profound influence upon pupil's aspirations, - not so much the curriculum but the level of schooling. Veness (1962) found that secondary modern pupils were expected and expected themselves to enter occupations of a more modest status than grammar school pupils. Ashton (1973) has argued that young people measure their achievements against their peers and as a result school leavers' levels of aspiration become related to the streams through which they have passed within their secondary schools. The third area of research Roberts draws upon concerns the process of occupational socialisation - the way in which an individual's outlook is shaped by the occupation they have entered.

Combining these sources of evidence Roberts argues he has the foundations for an alternative theory of occupational choice with 'opportunity structure' acting as they key concept:

"Careers can be regarded as developing into patterns dictated by the opportunity structures to which individuals are exposed, first in education and subsequently in employment, whilst individuals' ambition in turn, can be treated as reflecting the influences of the structures through which they pass"<sup>10</sup>.

The development theories of occupational choice were influential/

/influential in the practice of careers guidance both in America and Britain. It is in Roberts discussion of the implications of this alternative theory of occupational choice for careers guidance that he identifies a specific role for the provision of occupational information. Guidance, he argues, should be concerned with helping individuals to solve the practical problems facing them. School leavers should be given information about jobs actually open to them rather than global surveys of the occupational structure. Young workers who are dissatisfied with their present job will need information about alternative jobs and realistic advice about what may be the limited satisfaction they can expect to find in the available types of work.

### 3. LITERATURE SURVEY.

The empirical studies which we intend to discuss in our survey of the literature related to the topic under discussion can, for our purposes, be grouped under three main headings:

- (i) studies concerned with the effect of various factors or variables upon occupational choice
- (ii) studies concerned with the role played by the Careers Service in preparing young people for entry into working life
- (iii) studies concerned with young people's sources of occupational information.

### 3.1 Occupational Choice.

The research findings which will be discussed in this section can conveniently be discussed under two broad headings - environmental factors (home background, educational environment) and personal factors (sex, intelligence). More detailed reviews of occupational choice studies can be found in Bulter (1968) and Clarke (1980).

Social class would appear to be an important determinant of the level of occupational choice - children from middle class families will tend to enter white-collar or professional occupations upon leaving school, while children from working-class backgrounds tend to enter manual occupations of one type or another. (Douglas (1971), Thomas and Wetherhall (1974), Routa and Hunt (1975)). Social class is usually defined according to the father's occupation and parental occupation may exert an influence upon occupational choice. Douglas (1971), found that almost 25% of his sample entered work done by a member of their family. Mansfield (1971) found 11% of his sample of Oxford University under-graduates expected to go into the same job as their father and Lawson and Hartley (1967) is a study of pupils at ESN schools, found that almost half of their sample hoped to pursue occupations in the same social class as their father.

The educational environment and its effect on occupational choice has received much attention from researchers in the field of occupational choice and has tended to concentrate upon the type of schooling received by young people. Indeed, Swift (1973) and Liversidge (1967) both conclude that the type of schooling a child receives was more important than social origin. Two types of studies have been undertaken - those which select pupils from different types of schools (Swift (1973), Liversidge (1962), Thomas and Wetherhall (1974), Douglas (1971)) and those who have used pupils from only one type of school (Hill (1965) and Choun (1958) who use grammar school pupils while Wilson (1953) and Jahoda (1952) use secondary modern pupils). The findings of these studies are what we might have expected - children from secondary modern schools aspire to manual and clerical work whilst grammar school pupils look towards middle class careers in business and the professions. These results are similar to those found when looking at social class and occupational choice, not unexpectedly as social class and type of schooling are closely related - children from middle class families were over represented in grammar schools and under represented in secondary schools, with the opposite being the case for children from a working class background. The introduction of comprehensive education may call into question the relevance of these findings though one suspects that middle-class children will predominate in the higher streams and pupils from working class backgrounds in the lower streams of comprehensive schools.

Much of the research of sex-role stereo-typing in occupational choice has been directed at sixth formers and under-graduates. Kelsall et al (1972) found sex to be a more significant factor for women than social class. Women have been found to be more interested than men in jobs which were socially useful or involved contact with people (Mansfield (1971), Hutchings and Clousley (1979), Cherry (1975)).

Intelligence or academic ability will be a factor in occupational choice as many occupations have entrance requirements which will be linked to academic qualifications and will therefore exclude many of the less able young people. However these entrance requirements will only affect aspirations if young people are aware of these restrictions. Wilson (1953) and Lawson and Hartley (1967) found that the more able pupils were more likely to make reasonable choices. Intelligence will also be related to the level of occupation chosen - the more able pupils, those sitting examinations, aiming for university choosing the "higher" occupations (Thomas and Wetherall (1974), Chown (1959)). Interests and success in school subjects were found to be an important factor influencing occupational choice by Wilson (1953), Hill (1956).

In short, social class and the educational environment (which we argued are closely related) appear to exert the strongest influence upon the level of occupational choice.

### 3.2. The Careers Service.

The Careers Service has two contacts with children while they are still at school through the Careers Officer's school talk and the vocational guidance interview. The school talk is intended to be a general introduction to the world of work and is intended to pave the way for the more important vocational guidance interview in which the Careers Officer will attempt to match the interests and abilities of an individual school leaver to a particular career or range of careers.

Jahoda (1952) argues that the school talk fulfills several important functions: it widens the job horizons of young people through giving them some idea as to the range and types of jobs available to them, through supplying information about individual jobs it enables a choice to be made between several alternatives, it discourages fanciful or inappropriate choices, and it focusses attention upon the problems of getting a job.

A large proportion of school leavers do attend the school talk - Carter (1962) found that two thirds of his sample remembered attending, with some of the remaining one third having attended but forgotten about it. Jahoda (1952) found that 86% of his sample had attended the school talk. Although the vast majority of school leavers do attend, the talk appears to be of limited help to school leavers. Carter (1962, 1966)/

/(1966), found that the majority of his sample of Sheffield school leavers could remember little about the talk, while Jahoda (1952) found that his sample could remember only an average of four distinct job categories out of more than twenty mentioned by the Youth Employment Officer. In both studies the recall time was only a few months. Chown (1958) found that only one-quarter of her sample of grammar school pupils found the talk useful. The most common complaint was "we learned nothing new", which was due to the fact that by the time they reached the age when they were eligible to attend the talks they already had a specific career in mind, and therefore needed detailed information rather than general comments about the world of work. It also perhaps points to the need for more talks to be given and at an earlier age than during the final year at school. Having said that, both Carter and Jahoda in their studies find cases where the school talk proved useful.

The school talk can prove useful in helping to direct young people's thinking towards work and what it will involve, but for the majority of young people, usually those who had already made up their mind about a particular career, the school talk proved to be of little value. This would seem to indicate that the school talk should be held much earlier in a young person's school life. It is usually held during the final year at school, (Carter found that in one school it had not been given until the beginning of the last term, /

/term, which is surely too late to have any real influence upon young people's choice of jobs) whereas it would perhaps be more useful from the young person's viewpoint if it was held as early as the third year at secondary school, and perhaps with more than one talk given.

It is the school leaving interview which is the most important contact between the Careers Service and the school leavers (Carter (1962)). Advice given by Careers Officers, if taken, has proved successful in terms of happiness for the individual, stability in jobs and value to the employer (Hunt and Smith (1944), and leads to a lengthier tenure of a young person's first job (Cherry (1974)). However the ability of the Careers Officer to offer adequate guidance will depend first upon the schools having teachers who are competent to administer psychological tests and trained Careers Officers to interpret the results and give guidance accordingly, and secondly, and perhaps most importantly, sufficient time with the school leaver in which this guidance could be given. Frequently Careers Officers are only allocated 10 - 15 minutes (Carter (1962)) in which to give this advice, which is hardly sufficient time for any worthwhile guidance to be accomplished.

It would appear, from the studies by Jahoda and Chalmers (1963b) and Carter (1962), that pupils were not seeking guidance or information about jobs or information about vacancies./

/vacancies. Those young people who criticised the Careers Officer after attending their school leaving interview did so because they had been aiming at occupations which were at a higher level than (in the Careers Officers view) they were capable of, and had to be persuaded to lower their aspirations (Jahoda and Chalmers (1963a)), although in most cases this was not necessary.

In summary, it would appear that in most cases the Youth Employment Service (as the Careers Service was called when these studies were undertaken) had only a limited effect on the vocational preferences of school leavers. Both the school talk and the school leaving interview seem to come too late for most young people who will have already made up their mind about their chosen career before they attend either the school talk or interview. As Rodger has said:

"The point is, as everybody knows, the YEO does too little and he does it too late - usually".<sup>11</sup>

This is a conclusion reached by many studies, though they have stressed that it is not the fault of the YEO, but of the policy which allows him/her so few resources. Even today, with record levels of youth unemployment, the Careers Service does not have the resources to enter the schools earlier to extend their acquaintance with each boy and girl over a longer period and to allot more time to the vocational guidance aspect of their work.

### 3.3. Sources of Occupational Information.

The Careers Service is not the only source of occupational information for young people preparing to leave school as we have frequently pointed out. In this section of our survey, we will be considering studies which present details of young people's sources of occupational information.

Veness (1962) found that members of her sample consulted on average 2.9 different sources of information, indicating a widespread nature of influences. In contrast, Fogelman (1976) found that 44% of the 1958 cohort of the National Child Development Study mentioned only one source of occupational information, 23% mentioned two sources, and only 18% mentioned three.

In Section 3.2. we saw that the Youth Employment Service's (YES) school talk and vocational guidance interview had little effect upon the majority of young people when they were deciding upon what job they would like to do. Studies by Veness (1962), Fogelman (1976), Timperely and Gregory (1971), and Maizels (1970) would seem to indicate a lack of success on the part of the YES in providing information. In all their studies less than 20% of their various samples indicated the YES as a source of information. Maizels did find that boys seeking apprenticeships were more likely than others to consult the YES for information. The most popular sources of information would appear to be parents and schools. In Veness' study/

/study well over 50% of pupils from secondary modern schools, and grammar schools consulted their parents. Girls in Maizels' study were much more likely to receive information from schools (more than one quarter) which Maizels attributes to girls wanting clerical work, and therefore the commercial courses in schools being a useful source of information. Timperly and Gregory (1971) found that careers teachers provided more information in the formal sense of distributing careers literature, though they found that the most influential source of information appeared to be careers convention organised by the school.

As Timperly and Gregory points out, these studies only give details of the quantity of information and make no attempt to assess the quality of information from the different sources used, which would not be a particularly easy task to accomplish. In particular they draw attention to the quality of information offered by parents and relatives given the local and national changes in technology, job skills demanded, etc.

#### 3.4. Summary.

In this survey of the literature we have concentrated our attention upon factors which may influence occupational choice, the role of the Careers Service in preparing young people for work and the sources used most by young people looking for information to help them make the correct choice of occupation./

/occupation. In our review of the occupational choice literature social class stood out as the most important determinant of the level of occupation that a young person will enter. In times of mass unemployment, such as is the case today, one is left wondering how relevant is the term 'occupational choice', and whether in fact young people are able to choose which occupation they enter. Some will be fortunate enough to do so, but we suspect that for the vast majority of young people, always assuming that they can get a job, it will be more a case of taking what they can get. The Careers Service (or Youth Employment Service as it was called when most of the studies reviewed were carried out) was found to be wanting when it came to offering guidance and providing information for young people to aid them in their choice of occupation. This was seen to be the fault of the system (rather than a reflection of the calibre of the careers officers themselves) which fails to attach sufficient importance to the role and function of the careers officers when it comes to the allocation of resources, particularly that scarce resource of time. Parents were seen as by far the most important source of occupational information, though it should be recognised that little investigation had been undertaken into assessing the quality of the information received by young people.

In the remainder of this chapter we will discuss the results obtained from our own survey relating to the sources of occupational information used by our sample when they began/

/began to think about what they might like to do as a job when they leave school. The role of the school in providing, for example, work experience courses or arranging careers evenings will be discussed, along with young people's recollections of their vocational guidance interview with the careers officer. We begin, however, with a brief description of the occupations our sample members would, given the opportunity, most like to follow.

#### 4. OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE.

The full sample, including those who intended staying on at school, were asked "what job would you like to do when you leave school?" Details of their answers are given in Table One. Over 80% of the sample had by this stage in their school career decided upon a particular occupation which they would, if given the opportunity, like to follow. A wide range of careers were given in answer to our question, numbering 75 in all, and for this reason we re-classified their answers according to the C.O.D.O.T. classification of major groups.

By far the most popular major groups for boys was "processing, making, repairing and related occupations (metal and electrical)". Given the nature of the industrial structure of the Motherwell economy (as outlined briefly in two earlier chapters) these results come as little surprise. As Roberts (1975) argues the local employment structure is one of the most relevant pieces of information needed when predicting the career which a young person will follow, and our results would/

**TABLE ONE:**  
**OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE OF RESPONDENTS:**

C.O.D.O.T. Classification *	BOYS		GIRLS		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional & Related Supporting Management	1	0.9	1	1.2	2	0.5
Teaching & Related	4	3.5	9	10.7	13	6.5
Social, Welfare	-	-	2	2.4	2	1.0
Health	1	0.9	11	13.0	12	6.0
Literary, Artistic, Sport	5	4.4	4	4.8	9	4.5
Professional & Related in Science & Engineering	12	10.4	-	-	12	5.0
Managerial Occupations	1	0.9	-	-	1	0.5
Clerical & Related	7	6.0	17	20.2	24	12.0
Selling	2	1.7	3	3.6	5	2.5
Security & Protective Services	11	9.5	4	4.8	15	7.5
Catering, Cleaning & Personal Services	2	1.7	28	33.3	30	15.0
Fishing, Farming, etc.	2	1.7	-	-	2	1.0
Processing, Making & Repairing (not metal or electrical)	10	8.7	3	3.6	13	6.5
Processing, Making & Repairing (metal or electrical)	46	40	1	1.2	47	23.5
Painting and Repetitive Assembly	4	3.5	-	-	4	2.0
Construction & Mining	3	2.6	-	-	3	1.5
Transport Operating Material Moving & Storing, etc.	3	2.6	-	-	3	1.5
Miscellaneous	1	0.9	1	1.2	2	1.0
Valid Cases	115		84		199	

\*See DE (1972)

/would seem to give tentative support to his theory, in as much as the careers chosen by a sizeable proportion of our sample of boys clearly reflect the influence of the industrial structure of their local labour market. The only other major group into which choices from more than 10% of boys fell was 'professional and related occupations in science, engineering technology and similar fields'. The most popular choice in this group was electrical engineer (3.5%) followed by draughtsman (2.6%). The remaining 5% was accounted for by scientists of various types. Almost without exception boys choosing these careers intended to stay on at school and pursue their education, recognising that this would be a necessary condition for entry into these occupations.

In contrast, there are four major occupational groups which account for over 10% of the choices of the girls in our sample. By far the most popular is "catering, cleaning, hairdressing, and other personal service occupations". The two most popular jobs within this group being nursery nurse/nanny (15.5%) and hairdresser (12%). Others include cook and beautician (2.4%) and home help (1.2%). A little over 20% of the girls chose careers in "clerical and related occupations" with secretary and/or shorthand typist accounting for 15.5%. Of the 13% who chose careers in "health diagnosing and treating occupations" over 70% wanted to be nurses. The other major group of occupations which attracted more than 10% of the girls in our sample was "teaching and instructing occupations"/

/occupations" with 6% wishing to pursue careers as community education officers and almost 5% wish to become teachers.

In the previous chapter we attempted to justify our decision to ask the boys and girls in our sample to give details of the wages paid to different groups of workers on the grounds that within the labour market there is occupational segregation on the grounds of sex. The results we produce above could be interpreted as further evidence that our decision to ask about different occupational groups was justified. The majority of girls would like to follow careers which could be described as "women's jobs" in the sense that these jobs are dominated by females. In fact only one girl expressed a desire to follow a career which might be described as a "man's job", again in the sense that this particular job tends to be dominated by men - the job being a plumber.

A study of underlying motives in deciding upon jobs or careers falls well outside the scope of this study, however we did ask why they decided upon a particular career, and for completeness we report their answers.

Following Veness (1962), when presenting details of the reasons given for job preferences we employ a system of classification originally used by Riesman (1950, 1952) to describe different societies and the personality of character types they produce./

/produce. The categories in this system are: "inner-directed" reasons, "other-directed" reasons and "tradition-directed" reasons. We duplicate the use of these categories simply because they seem to fit and describe our results well. "Inner directed" choice is usually made with reference to the individuals own talents or interests, "other directed" choice is one made with primary reference to outside sources of information or advice or to a consideration of prospects, security and position, with "tradition-directed" choice referring to situations in which family or neighbourhood traditions are such that no other choice is seriously considered. Our results are presented in Table Two.

It can be seen that the responses of our sample fall easily, for the most part, into the classification system adopted by Veness from Riesman's categories. In Veness' (1962) and Maizels' (1970) studies and in the present study "inner-directed" reasons for choice were, overall, the most frequently offered, and within this category, the sub-category of "likes some special feature of the job" included most reasons for occupational choice, for both boys and girls. Surprisingly, in the view of the often held opinion that the home and/or family background are the greatest single influence upon young people's lives, only one in ten boys (and a negligible proportion of girls) referred to the fact that members of their family were employed in the same occupation in which they hoped to gain employment and that this was the reason/

TABLE TWO:  
REASONS GIVEN FOR JOB CHOICE

Reasons	M		F		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Inner Directed</u>						
Likes some special feature of the job	40	35	51	61	91	46
Job will give a trade	4	3	1	1	5	2
Good at school subjects associated with job	21	18	16	19	37	18
Done the job part-time and liked it	13	11	8	9	21	10
Sub Total	78	68	76	90	154	77
<u>Other Directed</u>						
Job Prospects	14	12	5	6	20	10
Wages	9	8	1	1	10	5
Sub Total	23	20	6	7	29	14
<u>Tradition Directed</u>						
Family connection	12	10	1	1	13	6
Don't knows	2	1	1	1	3	1
TOTAL	115	-	84	-	199	-

\*Sub totals do not add to 100% due to rounding-up.

/reason for choosing that particular career.

That "inner-directed" choice predominated (68% boys, 90% girls) suggests that the most important factors influencing their job choice was a desire to continue in their working lives to use skills, talents and interests (developed at school) and a liking for things central to the job itself. Of lesser importance was the desire for job advancement or high wages or to follow family patterns.

Having given a brief descriptive account of the occupational choice and the reasons given for that choice, of our sample, we now turn our attention to the role played by the school, careers service and the home, (as reported by the sample) in the provision of occupational information to aid young people in the important and difficult choice of occupation.

##### 5. SOURCES OF OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION.

For a young person thinking about what job they would like to do when they eventually enter the labour market, the first kind of help needed is suggestions as to likely careers which will complement his/her particular abilities and attributes. In a developed society as our own in which the division of labour is well established the number of jobs open to an individual are immense and it is therefore important that specific occupations which are likely to be within a young/

/young person's capability are identified, by themselves through their own efforts and observations, and by others making suggestions to them. It is only when young people have narrowed down the number of occupations in which they could be employed to manageable proportions, that they can begin to seek out information about the various aspects of this range of careers. Only after having gathered all the relevant information about a particular career will a young person be in a position to make a rational choice between various different careers. We therefore concentrated our attention (in the first interview) upon persons who may have made suggestions about particular jobs, and on sources of information consulted when thinking about which particular career they would like to follow.

As can be seen from Tables Three and Four a variety of people suggested possible occupations and an even wider variety of sources of information were consulted in the search for information about prospective careers.

We begin our analysis with a discussion of the role played by the school in the provision of occupational information. For the most part we rely on responses given by the sample, which may not give a complete picture of the information they actually receive, and this should be borne in mind throughout this section.

TABLE THREE:PERSONS SUGGESTING POSSIBLE JOBS

	<u>BOYS</u> (%)	<u>GIRLS</u> (%)
Parents	50	57
Other Family	23	33
Friends	19	17
Teachers	13	20
Careers Officer	29	22
Valid Cases	141	98

TABLE FOUR:SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT POSSIBLE CAREERS

	<u>BOYS</u> (%)	<u>GIRLS</u> (%)
Parents	57	30
Friends	23	19
Library	26	27
Careers Officer	40	43
Writing to firms	24	24
School	8	11
Careers Evening	3	8
Work Experience	1	-
Others	6	7
Valid Cases	141	98

Columns do not sum to 100% reflecting the fact that more than one source was given in answer to each question.

### 5.1. The School.

The traditional approach to careers work in schools could quite reasonably be caricatured by a picture of a pile of leaflets and pamphlets relating to careers laying in one corner of the school library and a twenty minute interview with a careers officer a few weeks before the pupils leave school. While this traditional model may still hold firm in some schools social and (particularly) economic factors have brought it under increasing pressures. Schools have been encouraged to make a more determined effort to help pupils find jobs that will make full use of their skills and attributes. The increasing range of jobs and the diminishing employment opportunities, especially for school leavers at 16, as a result of the current and previous recessions, has meant that more attention is needed to inform young people about jobs rather than sitting back and hoping they will find out about the different opportunities for themselves.

Careers education, a term which has only come into general use since the early 1970's, is now a feature of most, if not all, schools curriculum, though the exact nature and quality of these lessons will naturally vary across schools. Hayes and Hopson (1972) divide the different approaches which may be used in careers education teaching into:

- (i) techniques used in the classroom which include things like project work, group discussions, film/TV/radio shows, outside speaker, presentation of occupational information etc. etc.
  
- (ii) techniques used outside the classroom which includes occupational visits, work experience schemes, use of career library, careers convention etc. etc.

From the response of our sample it is clear that the schools in the Motherwell district do in fact adopt both approaches to the teaching of careers education. However it is not possible to give a detailed account of the type of careers education programme offered in each school - the information was requested, in some cases no response was forthcoming, in others it was felt (by the schools) that the scope and range of this part of the curriculum was too detailed and complex to elaborate upon in a letter (school holidays precluded a formal meeting) and in still others they were unable or unwilling to supply the information we requested. In the analysis below we are only able to report upon the activities of those schools who were able to supply some of the information we requested pertaining to the role of the school as a provider of occupational information.

Careers Conventions.

Careers conventions are organised for a number of reasons:

- (i) to stimulate careers thinking and to widen occupational horizons
- (ii) to focus attention upon particular jobs
- (iii) to create a situation where pupils and their parents can meet employers to discuss the opportunities they offer, as well as meeting careers teachers and officers with whom they can exchange views.

According to our sample, three of the schools were involved in holding careers evenings /conventions for the benefit of their pupils who were about to leave school.

School D held a careers evening which was somewhat different from the normal type of careers convention. The Rotaract Club (the youth section of the Rotary Club) organises a careers evening annually in the spring term at this school. Their members, in their late teens and early twenties, and representing a cross section of local employment, make themselves available one evening in the spring term in order to chat informally with groups of 4th and 5th year pupils. The intention is not simply to give information about wages, entrance requirements etc. but to explain, for example, /

/example, how a bank clerk or plumber, would spend his/her day from 9-5. Over twenty occupations were represented at the 1982 event, and over 100 S4 pupils and their parents attended.

Schools E and F, together with other schools in the area and the local careers service, jointly held a more conventional careers convention though much earlier in the academic year than the one described above. The purpose of the evening was "to advise pupils and parents about careers open to them, the nature of the work, the study required, the promotion prospects and the salary". It was hoped that not only would information be gained about careers in which the pupils were already showing an interest but also careers which they had not yet considered. The programme consisted not simply of a number of "talks" dealing with a number of broad occupational groups, (ranging from banking, electronics, nursing, construction, to working in shops etc.) but also a number of "stalls" manned by local employers and people representing career areas, representatives from colleges, colleges of education and universities.

However, as we can see from Table Four, in spite of all the effort which must have gone into arranging these events, only 3% of boys and 8% of girls reported having received information about possible future careers from these career evenings.

Work Experience Schemes.

There are a number of interpretations as to what is actually meant by the term 'work experience'. They include:

- (i) half day visits to places of work (talk and tour)
- (ii) linked courses (exchanges between school and local technical college)
- (iii) half or full day spent in work situation
- (iv) vocation work
- (v) one week or more in a work situation

For our purposes only (iii) and (v) would count as work experience schemes. Work experience schemes fulfill two purposes:

- (i) as part of a vocational guidance programme they can be used as an aid to the selection of a job or vocation
- (ii) as part of general education they help an individual to understand his/her part in the world about him/her.

Our concern is with the role of work experience schemes as a source of information to aid occupational choice rather than as part of a young person's general education.

Our inquiries revealed that only two of the schools were involved in work experience schemes, schools D and F. In school D, places on the work experience schemes vacated by S5 Christmas leavers were filled by S4 non-certificate pupils, who had indicated their intention to leave school in the summer of 1982. In the main they assisted and worked under the direction of the permanent staff of the various establishments. In January, 35 pupils were involved in schemes, which ranged from 2 hours per day in the school dinner service to three days working in a local biscuit factory. In February, 21 pupils were involved in schemes, ranging from 5 days working in the school's home economics suite to one day's work in a local hospital and nursery school. The work experience in which pupils from school F were involved in were of much longer duration and were all based in local firms, though far fewer pupils were involved - only 21 in total. Thirteen pupils were involved in general retailing for a full week, four were given two weeks of general shop floor experience and one pupil worked for one week with a stationery distributor. All were non-certificate pupils. This school also organised schemes for pupils who would be sitting examinations - one pupil worked for one week in a local bank, and two pupils undertook some kind of workshop training in a local engineering factory for one week.

Although most of these schemes will have given young people a useful insight into the world of work, they do not appear/

/appear to have been particularly useful as a source of information. Only one boy reported to have gained any information about likely future careers. This may be due to pupils being employed on schemes which bore no relation to the types of jobs in which they would hope to be employed.

#### Careers Education In The Classroom.

Although we have no specific details from the schools pertaining to the exact nature of their careers education programmes, we are aware that careers education of some type, did feature in the curriculum of all six schools. From the responses we received to our questions relating to persons who had suggested possible jobs, and sources of occupational information, (see Tables Three and Four) it would appear that the careers education programmes had very little influence upon the occupational choice of young people, both in terms of suggesting possible careers and in supplying information which would aid the decision between different career options. Only 13% of boys and one in five girls reported that teachers had made suggestions about possible careers. Even smaller proportions reported receiving information from school (school talk, visits, notice boards) about possible careers.

We are aware, however of a 'statutory school leavers guidance programme' which was instituted into school C, but after our interview had been completed. This programme consisted/

/consisted of one afternoon each week for ten weeks being devoted to issues felt to be relevant to young people about to leave school. The first five weeks were devoted to issues related to young people's entry into the labour market. It included talks and films about jobs, applying for jobs, pay, "the interview", trade unions, YOP, unemployment, how to claim benefit and visits to a training workshop. It is clear from the itinerary that a great deal of time and effort was given over by the guidance staff in preparing this scheme. Unfortunately it would appear to have had little effect upon its audience. In the labour market interview we were interested to gain an impression of the usefulness of the final year at school as a preparation for entry into working life.<sup>13</sup> A retrospective assessment by the 'consumers' is given in Tables Five and Six. It is quite clear from these tables that they felt the final year at school was poor preparation. In fact only school D had a majority who felt that their final year was a good preparation. The most common complaint was that they had been told very little about the world of work (48%).

The "evidence" presented above points to the "fact" that in spite of all the effort of schools through their careers education programmes, work experience schemes, careers conventions/evenings, they have made little impact upon young people about to leave school in their thinking about future careers. That the words evidence and fact above/

**TABLE FIVE**

**RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF USEFULNESS OF LAST YEAR**  
**AT SCHOOL AS PREPARATION FOR STARTING WORK BY SEX**

Assessment	BOYS (%)	GIRLS (%)
Good preparation	31	37.5
Bad Preparation	69	62.5
Valid Cases	74	40

**TABLE SIX:**

**RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF USEFULNESS OF LAST YEAR**  
**AT SCHOOL AS PREPARATION FOR STARTING WORK BY SCHOOL**

Assessment	School A (%)	School B (%)	School C (%)	School D (%)	School E (%)	School F (%)
Good Preparation	47	24	25	56	22	35
Bad Preparation	53	76	75	44	78	65
Valid Cases	19	21	20	16	18	20

/above are enclosed in quotation marks is related to the fact that we have presented only one side of the argument.

- we have only been able, for a variety of reasons to present the views of the pupils. Their perceptions of what help/suggestions they get and from whom may be quite wrong, and it may be that the careers education programme in schools may be so well integrated into the school curriculum that the youngsters do not even know it is there. However it is clear from our survey that, rightly or wrongly, young people feel let down by their schools in preparing them for the outside world. Many complained that schools concentrated upon the same subjects as in previous years, that their final year at school was little different from any other year

- preparation for examinations was still the order of the day, with little attempt being made to familiarise young people with conditions in the outside world of work. It may be argued that the provision of occupational information is only a small part of the school's function in preparing young people for leaving school and we would not dissent from this view but the evidence from our survey is that in the sample's view, little was done to prepare them for entry into the world of work. If we are not careful here we could find ourselves absorbed in the debate about the function of education. In what ways could and should work done in schools be related to future employment? Should the education system be primarily concerned with ensuring a direct/

/direct supply of appropriately qualified workers for industry, commerce or administration with the curriculum concentrating more upon vocational courses than the more general education which is traditionally followed in schools. We do not however intend to immerse ourselves in this debate, other than by arguing that schools have a role to play in preparing young people for work, through the provision of occupational information and attempting to acclimatise young people to the different environment they will experience when they leave school. Vocational guidance is the province of the Careers Service. In this more limited role, on the basis of the response given by our sample, the school is of limited importance and in many cases has let young people down. Again we must stress that this is the view of the sample, how they perceived the role of the school and the impact which their last year at school made upon them as they prepared to leave school and enter the labour market.

#### 5.2. The Careers Service.

In this section we are concerned with the school leaving interview with the Careers Officer. This interview is normally held during the last term of a young person's final year at school. The interview is not compulsory on the part of the child, though the Careers Service has a legal responsibility to at least arrange interviews for those who make a request. A valuable guide for the interview is the 7 point plan devised/

/devised by Rodger (1968). The object of the plan is to ensure that all the relevant information is noted. The 7 points being physical make-up (including appearance and physical handicaps), attainment, general intelligence, special aptitudes, interests, disposition, and domestic circumstances. Throughout the literature it is widely reported that this interview is of 10 to 15 minutes duration, which would appear to be far too short a time in which to adequately cover all these points, let alone offer vocational guidance and/or disseminate the type of occupational information a school leaver is likely to request from a careers officer. The Careers Service has come under criticism within the literature but this criticism has generally not been directed at careers officers, who are generally looked upon favourably, but rather the criticisms have been focussed on the "powers that be", who have been accused of providing insufficient resources to enable the Careers Service to do their job efficiently. It would seem that one resource the Service is particularly short of is time. Not simply time in which to conduct the school leaving interview adequately, but time in which to begin the process of preparing young people for entry into the labour market well before their final year at school. All too often it seems that all their efforts are crammed into the last few months of a young person's school days. We will return to this below.

Our questioning of the sample's experience of the "school leaving interview" was accomplished during our initial contact with them - Spring 1982, shortly before they were due to leave school, and yet only 36% of the sample said they had seen the careers officer - almost two thirds had yet to be interviewed and offered vocational guidance and provided with information to aid their career choice. This was quite a staggering finding - in our early contact and liaison with local education officials and head-teachers we were advised to complete all of our interviews prior to the Easter vacation as many S4 pupils (the year from which our sample was drawn) were reluctant to attend school regularly in the last few weeks of their school life; non-certificate pupils would see little point in doing so and those sitting 'O' Grade examinations would use the period for private revision at home. There was however considerable variation across the six schools in the proportion who reported having been interviewed; from a high of 80% to a low of 15%. Less than half of those intending to leave school (43%) and only 6% of those intending to proceed to a 5th year said they had seen a careers officer.

In seeking co-operation for this study it was agreed to submit a short report of our findings to the local education authority, schools and the Careers Service, and in this report this finding was included. The Careers Service responded to the report and pointed out that according to their figures almost/

almost 90% of school leavers were in fact seen by the Careers Officer. While this figure is somewhat more encouraging than our own findings it does still point to the fact that many youngsters are not offered the full expertise and guidance of the Service until only a few weeks before they leave school. If the interview is to be of any practicable value to young people, in terms of vocational guidance and disseminating information, we would argue it comes a little late in the day to have any real influence upon young people. As we saw in Section 4, the vast majority of young people at this stage had a career in mind, though we are in no position to comment as to the suitability of that career for the individual making that choice - that is a function of the careers officer. If the choice is inappropriate then the individual does not have a great deal of time in which to accumulate the relevant information related to the career suggested by the careers officer, before entry into the labour market is made. Again this raises the question of allocating sufficient time for the careers officer to offer his/her expert guidance, not simply in terms of a longer interview but also in terms of a longer gap between the 'school leaving interview' and entry into the labour market, with the possibility of subsequent interviews if needed. Again this comes down to the allocation of resources in order that the Service can adequately prepare young people for entry into the labour market.

The primary function of the school leaving interview is to offer vocational guidance, though if time allows, it should/

/should provide the careers officer with an additional opportunity to the 'school talk' to disseminate information. The vocational guidance function of the Careers Service is outside the scope of this study and were therefore concentrated our questioning towards the role of the Service as a source of information.

We asked four questions:

Did the Careers Officer talk about:

- (i) the job you wanted to do?
- (ii) other jobs?
- (iii) work in general?
- (iv) YOP, registering as unemployed?

Over 80% of those interviewed by the careers officer were able to obtain information about their chosen career during their interview, with 70% receiving suggestions about possible future careers. According to our respondents, the careers officer failed to impart information about the world of work in general (things such as hours, pay levels, income tax, national insurance etc.), with only 27% receiving information of this type. With record levels/rates of youth unemployment not concentrating on such issues is to some extent understandable as the vast majority of the careers officers' clients would be unlikely to gain experience of working life from permanent employment and therefore the careers officer may have felt it more worthwhile to spend a considerable/

/considerable amount of his/her limited time with each individual talking about such things as YOP, registering as unemployed etc. However we found that only 58% of those interviewed by the careers officer remembered being given information of this type. Information which could have been given would have related to eligibility for benefit, registration dates, types of YOP schemes. That over 40% of those seen by the careers officer claim to have received no information of this type is truly surprising and is a major criticism which can be levelled at the school leaving interview.

The most damning criticism of the school leaving interview is not however related to the content of the interview, but to the timing. By the end of the second term of their final year at school, over 60% of the sample had still to be interviewed by the careers officer. That almost 90% of school leavers were in fact seen by a careers officer is some consolation, but not much. If the interview is to be of use to young people in helping them with the difficult decision as to what is the 'right' career suitable for their attributes/qualities/interests (and if it is not useful, why bother with them at all) then surely the interview should be held much earlier in a young person's school life, and if necessary repeated once or even twice. Holding these interviews in the second/final term of the final year, for them to be effective, is clearly too late. The earlier the interview is held the earlier the next/

/next process in the transition from school to work can begin - the job search process. The earlier that job search is begun may affect the chances of obtaining a permanent job - we leave this issue, as to whether the earlier search is begun the more effective is job search in the sense that it minimises the period of unemployment, until Chapters Five and Six.

This is not a new line of criticism directed at the Careers Service, and our findings are similar to those of previous studies. Lack of data, i.e. full knowledge as to the content of the school talk/leaving interview prevents us from launching a critique of the careers officers. Given the limitations of our data our main line of criticism concerns the amount of time given by a careers officer to young people preparing to leave school - this is unlikely to be the fault of the individual careers officers, but rather the system which fails to allocate sufficient resources to enable the careers officer to make contact with young people at an earlier date and repeat the exercise regularly until entry into the labour market is made. We have directed our attention to the role of the Careers Service in the schools prior to labour market entry, and yet as is evident from Chapter Five, contact with the Careers Service is maintained by a sizeable majority of young people after they have left school, and consequently the Careers Service will be in a position to carry on offering help and guidance for a period well after the school leaving date.

### 5.3 The Family.

The influence of the family in the process of occupational choice has already been mentioned when we briefly reviewed the literature on occupational choice. With few exceptions, parents, family and friends are probably ill-equipped to give advice on the choice of work - they often have only the experience of the jobs they have done or presently hold. But this is only one part of preparing young people for entry into working life. Parents etc. will have vital experience of working life which they will be able to describe in detail to their off-spring, whereas careers guidance specialist and careers teachers may often have more limited personal experiences to relate. Personal contacts of the youngsters will be able to recount the daily routine of particular jobs for which they have experiences, the highlights, the dull/boring aspects of the job which are unlikely to be included in the glossy literature to be found in careers libraries etc. This type of information should give young people a realistic appreciation of what working life is about, which may be of more use and relevance in the career choice decision.

Lack of data prevents us from giving a full and detailed assessment of the role of the family in the provision of occupational choice. We are in no position to comment upon the quality of information given by parents, nor indeed the quantity, only the direction. The information given may be incorrect/

/incorrect out of date or inappropriate, but unfortunately we have no way of establishing whether this is the case. Our data is limited to two questions: suggestions about careers, information about particular jobs. We have no data from other sources, as in the case, for example, of schools, to supplement our survey data and therefore there is an imbalance between this and other parts of this section.

Results in Table Three and Four demonstrate the influence of family and friends in the process of occupational choice. The results in Table Three suggest that parents were acting directly to influence their children in particular directions - almost 60% of girls and 50% of boys reported having had jobs suggested to them by parents. Unfortunately we neither have the data nor the expertise to assess the appropriateness of these suggestions when matched against the interests/abilities attributes of the child in questions or the industrial/vacancy structure of the Motherwell economy. It could be argued however that it is heartening to see so many parents taking an active interest in the future prospects of their children, whatever the quality of the advice given. For boys, parents were also the major source of information about different aspects of their chosen career; for girls the Careers Service was the most frequently consulted channel of information. This could reflect the influence that the industrial structure of the area had on the occupational choice of the males in our/

/our sample. As we saw in Section Four a large proportion of the males in our sample had chosen to follow careers which would fit in with the local employment structure and therefore it is natural that they would turn to their parents, particularly if they were employed in industries./firms employing this type of labour, for information and advice. For girls the situation maybe somewhat different - a minority of the sample had working mothers and therefore they would turn to other sources for the type of information they were seeking.

We have said on more than one occasion that parents may well be ill-equipped to offer their children vocational guidance as they will lack detailed knowledge about many careers available to young people about to leave school and will lack the expertise to be able to assess the appropriateness of a particular career for their child. However the limited amount of data we do have does reveal that parents attempt to play an active role in the occupational choice process, and whatever the quality of their information, their influence should not be under-estimated.

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

This chapter has been concerned with the role of occupational information in the process of occupational choice. Our discussion of the most important theories of occupational choice (important, being defined in terms of their influence upon research and/

(and the practice of vocational guidance) revealed that the provision of occupational information plays an important part in the process of occupational choice.

Young people have three important sources of occupational information: the school, the home, and the Careers Service. We found evidence of valiant attempts by schools through the organising of careers evenings/conventions, being involved in work experience schemes, plus careers education lessons to prepare young people for entry into working life and provide information about different jobs. Unfortunately, from the schools point of view, the young people in our sample appear to have gained very little from these efforts. The vast majority of those who left school felt that their last year at school was a poor preparation for entry into working life, and only a minority report receiving suggestions about possible jobs and information about specific jobs from school or activities organised by the school.

Only a minority of our sample had been interviewed by Careers Service before their initial involvement in this study. The careers officer proved to be a useful source of occupational information, but appears not to have prepared a sizeable proportion of those interviewed for the prospect of unemployment or participation on YOP.

By far the most important influence upon the choice of career, source of occupational information, and suggestions of possible jobs would seem to be the parents and family of young people. However, we are unable to make an assessment of the quality of information given, as parents and other members of the family are likely to have only knowledge pertaining to jobs they themselves have been employed in, and even this information may not have kept pace with technological developments.

NOTES.

1. Hayes and Hopson (1972) p.37
2. Ibid p.37
3. as quoted in Hayes and Hopson (1972) p.37
4. see Clarke (1980), White (1968)
5. Lindley(1982) finds little economic analysis of occupational choice in Britain. He attributes the small amount of econometric modelling of occupational choice to a lack of data and also a reflection of a tendency for economists interested in empirical labour market research to work either at the disaggregate level stressing the inter-play of market forces and institutional factors or to work at high levels of aggregation, for example modelling wage inflation.
6. Super(1957) p.189 and p.190, quoted in White (1968) p.169.
7. Roberts (1975) p.138.
8. see Central Advisory Council for Education (1959)
9. see Swift (1973)
10. Roberts (1975) p.142.
11. Rodger (1958) quoted by Veness (1962) p.171.
12. The occupations represented were, bank employee, chemist (not pharmacist), community assistant, electrical engineer, electronics engineer, transmitting engineer, hairdresser, journalist, motor mechanic, nurse, plumber/

/plumber, quantity surveyor, receptionist, solicitor  
teacher.

13. Implicit in the asking of this question is an assumption that the respondents would know what a good preparation was in order that they could compare the preparation they received with this ideal.

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CHAPTER FIVE  
JOB SEARCH BEHAVIOUR

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

The typical individual in our sample at this stage in our analysis has reached a decision as to whether to leave school at 16 and has begun to formulate ideas as to the type of job he/she would, if given the opportunity, like to follow as a career. Having made these decisions those electing to leave school at 16 and enter the labour market then have to act to implement these decisions by applying for jobs and making use of the various sources of help available to them at this time. This chapter will therefore be concerned with the methods adopted by young people in their search for work. In view of the record levels of unemployment experienced by young people in general and youth in the Motherwell District in particular, (Danson et al (1983) report that Motherwell's youth have had a very similar experience, in terms of unemployment, to that of Scotland as a whole but at a higher rate) we will be more concerned with how young people go about looking for a job, than with an analysis of successful methods of job search, though of course we will report the methods of job search through which a limited number of our sample found jobs. A number of issues relating to job search will be discussed, but before giving more details about these matters it is perhaps worth spending a little time considering exactly what we mean by 'search', the division of job search methods into 'informal' and 'formal' and the relationship (if any) between theoretical models of job search and our discussion of job search behaviour.

Stigler (1961) in his pioneering work on the economics of information defines search as that activity whereby a seller (or buyer) canvasses various buyers (or sellers) in order to ascertain the most favourable price. In a later study (Stigler (1962)) he turned his attention to the labour market. In the context of the labour market the seller will be the individual worker who attempts to sell his/her labour power to the employer, who is the buyer. The "most favourable price" as far as the worker is concerned, would be the highest wage rate that the worker's skills and abilities could command, and he/she would canvass employers in an attempt to determine this price. Although in his later study Stigler limits his attention to a consideration of the determinants of wage rates he recognises that, as we attempted to highlight in the previous chapter, workers, and we would argue particularly young people about to leave school who have a very limited knowledge of the world of work, need more information than simply the various wage rates that different employers are prepared to pay for a particular skill, but also information about the stability of employment, conditions of employment etc. In situations of mass unemployment, such as young people leaving school today face, perhaps the most important kind of information they require are the names and addresses of employers who are likely to have vacancies which can be filled by school leavers. In this study of job search behaviour of young people, what we mean by "search" is their attempt to ascertain those employers in their local labour/

/labour market, or for that matter in other labour markets, who have vacancies for which they are eligible to apply.

In attempting to ascertain the names and addresses of those employers likely to have vacancies young people will make use of, what has become known in the literature as, 'informal' and 'formal' channels of information about job vacancies. This classification is, as argued by Reid (1972), somewhat imprecise, though some methods of job search do make more use of established (formal) channels of job information than others. Examples of formal channels which may be used by young people will include registering with the local Careers Service, visiting the Job Centre, or answering advertisements placed by employers in newspapers. Informal methods of job search adopted by young people will probably include asking their family or friends if they know of any vacancies and contacting firms themselves, either by letter, telephone or in person, on the off-chance that they may have a vacancy. Job search strategies are likely to include the use of both formal and informal channels of information as young people search for such a scarce resource.

The classification of job search methods as either "formal" or "informal" is only one way of distinguishing between different methods of looking for a job - alternative classifications could include passive/active and high/low cost strategies. Our reasons for sticking with the division of methods of job search into/

/into formal and informal are two fold:

- (i) to facilitate comparisons with previous studies
- (ii) to overcome a possible difficulty in identifying passive/active and high/low cost strategies.

Many of the studies which made the distinction between formal/informal methods of job search were undertaken in the 1960's and early 1970's when levels of unemployment were considerably lower than today, and when it might be argued, particularly in the 1960's, full employment existed in the economy (a review of these studies is presented in Section 2 of this chapter).

One issue which we would hope to be able to address in this study is to assess the effect that high levels of unemployment has on search strategies, and in particular whether the findings of previous studies are valid in situations of mass unemployment. This will necessitate comparing the findings from this study (undertaken at a time of record levels of unemployment particularly among young people) with these earlier studies, and these comparisons will be more meaningful and easier to make if job search methods are classified in the same way.

Our second justification relates to our ability to classify search methods as, for example passive/active, high/low cost.

McGregor (1983), who hints that the division of search methods into formal/informal is not the most appropriate, does make the/

/the distinction between passive and active, but relates this distinction to the use of informal networks. His study is concerned with the disadvantage that high neighbourhood unemployment rates within an urban area may have on the flow of information about job vacancies through informal networks, and therefore this distinction is perhaps more appropriate. Our study on the other hand is concerned with the role of the various information channels in providing young people with information about vacancies. His discussion of the active/passive components of a searcher's use of informal networks of information highlight the problem we would have in distinguishing these different elements from our data which relates to where young people first heard about a vacancy for which they had applied. The active component of search consulting this particular channel of information involves the searcher contacting relevant individuals (friends, relations, acquaintances etc.) to ask them about the existence of current vacancies. The passive element involves the individual receiving information about a vacancy without prior prompting. The nature of our data does not allow us to make this kind of distinction - we would only know from which information channel they had learned of the vacancy.

A similar problem of identification arises if we adopt the low/high cost distinction. The division of information channels into high/low cost may vary between individuals. For example, a visit to the Careers Service/Job Centre may result in expenditure/

/expenditure on transport for one individual, whereas for another individual it may simply involve a short walk incurring no monetary costs. This distinction may be complicated further as we would argue that the monetary costs associated with job search, particularly search undertaken at school, are likely to be borne by parents. Even after young people have left school and entered the labour market their parents are still likely to bear a proportion of the costs involved. For example, the cost of buying local and/or national newspapers in which jobs for young people are likely to be advertised, the costs involved in telephoning or writing to firms about possible vacancies are more likely to be met from the family budget than from a young person's Supplementary Benefit or YOP allowance.

For these reasons, where appropriate in our discussion of the job search behaviour of young people, the distinction will be made between formal and informal channels of information.

In this chapter we will not be attempting to construct a theoretical model of job search behaviour. However, it is perhaps worth spending a little time considering the links (if any) between our discussion of young people's job search behaviour and the theoretical models of job search (for a useful review of such models see Lippman and McCall (1976)). On the face of it there would appear to be very little relationship between the two - search models are applicable, in principle, to the/

/the analysis of unemployment duration as they highlight the conditions under which job search terminates, and make little reference to methods of job search, other than random search (no other method of search is mentioned by Lippman and McCall (1976) in their long survey).

The job search process can, for conceptual purposes, be divided into four stages:

- (i) the decision to search
- (ii) the identification of employers who have or who may have appropriate vacancies
- (iii) the canvassing of those employers
- (iv) the acceptance/rejection of a job/wage offer.

It could be argued that theoretical models of job search begin their analysis at stage three with the canvassing of employers. These models implicitly assume that the individual searcher has in his/her possession details of employers who have vacancies for which he/she would wish to apply. The searcher will then contact these employers over a number of time periods until a job offer at a wage at least equal to the reservation wage is received, when search will cease. No consideration appears to be given to the process whereby information on potential future employers is accumulated. It is at this stage in the job search process (stage 2) that our own work on job/

/job search takes as its starting point. In some situations the investigation of stage 3 may be the most appropriate stage at which to begin an analysis of job search, in others stage 2 will present itself as the more appropriate. The state of the youth labour market in Motherwell determines that our interest and analysis of job search should lie with the process whereby young people acquire information about likely employers, which channels of information are used, how often etc. Job offers at any wage are a scarce commodity in the Motherwell labour market, and to begin our analysis at a later stage in the job search process would prove a relatively fruitless exercise affording us little opportunity to comment upon job search undertaken by young people.

In our discussion of the job search behaviour of our sample the first question to which we will address ourselves is "when did job search begin" and will include an analysis of job search conducted prior to leaving school. MacKay and Reid (1972) found that the earlier engineering workers about to be made redundant began searching for work the more effective was their job search in the sense that they experienced a shorter duration of unemployment. A similarity between these workers and school leavers does exist to the extent that both groups know in advance that they will need to look for work at some date in the not too distant future and therefore it will be of interest to see whether the MacKay and Reid result holds both for younger workers and at a time when unemployment is/

/is considerably higher. A second question to which we turn our attention relates to the effect that unemployment duration has on the intensity of job search. Intensity can be measured in two ways:

- (i) in terms of the number of different information channels used
- (ii) in terms of the use made of a particular channel.

Unemployment duration may have the effect of increasing the number of channels of information used as one becomes more and more desperate to find a job, or alternatively it may reduce the number of channels used as people become despondent and assess the probability of success too low to justify the incurring of any further costs. Unemployment duration could also affect the intensity with which a particular channel is used; increasing/decreasing the number of times one visits the Careers Service or Job Centre each week, or the number of firms contacted on the off-chance that they may have a vacancy. A third issue which we will discuss is the relative importance of the formal and informal channels of information in successful job search strategies. Earlier studies of job search methods (which we will review below) indicate the importance of 'informal' channels of information. These studies relate to periods of comparatively low levels of unemployment and so lead us to question the possible effect that the present record levels of unemployment has had on the relative importance of the formal/informal channels of information. High levels of unemployment/

/unemployment may also affect the labour market in which young people search for work; are they looking for jobs only in their local labour market or are they willing to travel daily to another labour market or even leave home to secure employment? A crucial assumption of much of the new microeconomics of labour markets and inflation is that job search is more effectively conducted when the searcher is unemployed, and yet little evidence is presented to substantiate this assumption.<sup>2</sup> As Tobin (1972) has argued we do not know how many quits and new hires involve the same people, though clearly some of them must, otherwise the mean duration of unemployment would be much less than it in fact is. Within the youth labour market there are a number of different labour market states:

- (i) pupil about to leave school
- (ii) unemployed
- (iii) YOP participant
- (iv) employed

and this raises questions about possible different search strategies pursued by these different groups within the youth labour market.

In summary this chapter dealing with the job search behaviour of our sample will investigate:

- (i) job search undertaken at school
- (ii) the intensity with which search is pursued
- (iii) the relative importance of formal and informal channels of information
- (iv) spatial aspects of job search
- (v) job search undertaken by young people enjoying different labour market status.

The remainder of this chapter is organised along the following lines: in Section 2 we will present a survey of the empirical literature dealing with methods of job search. Section 3 will contain our analysis of the job search behaviour and strategies adopted by our sample. We end in Section 4 with a brief set of conclusions.

## 2. LITERATURE SURVEY.

Previous research has found that informal methods of job search are widely used by both employers wishing to hire workers and employees wishing to be hired. In the US labour market Rees and Shultz (1970) estimate that informal sources of information accounted for more than 80% of all blue collar hires within an eight occupation sample (ignoring re-hires). Bradshaw (1973) also concludes that informal channels are important, accounting for approximately 55% of all job search methods. British labour market studies also find that informal channels/

/channels of information are equally important; Daniel (1974) in a nationwide study of the unemployed found that the most successful method of finding a job was through personal contacts, family, friends and acquaintances. MacKay et al (1971) in a study of two local labour markets confirm these findings. They found that friends, relatives and casual applications accounted for 53% of hires in Glasgow and 66% in Birmingham.

Young people leaving school are to some extent at a disadvantage when compared to adult workers looking for work, as they have no previous job seeking experiences upon which to draw. An adult would presumably, at least initially, use the job finding methods which had proved successful in the past. This raises the question, "do young people exhibit different search patterns from adults?"

Maizels (1965) found that in the three years covered by her study (October 1960 to September 1963) 45% of young people who left school in the Willsden borough of London, were placed in their first job by the Youth Employment Service (YES). She found that these figures were not too different from corresponding figures for the whole of England.<sup>3</sup> A follow up study (Maizels 1967) of a cohort of secondary modern boys, showed that the majority of known job changers had obtained their first job through the YES, and that the job placing service of the YES was more frequently in demand by job changers than first time job/

/job seekers. Willsden's school leavers tended to use the services of the YES more than school leavers in Sheffield<sup>4</sup>, Lanarkshire<sup>5</sup> and a Midlands town<sup>6</sup>, who were the subject of similar studies undertaken at about the same time as Maizel's investigation. In the Sheffield survey, more than one in three of the first jobs were obtained through the help of families or friends, and in the Lanarkshire study the proportion was just over one in five. Carter (1966) refers to an unpublished study by Marsh and Willcocks, who concluded on the basis of interviews with 2000 girls aged 15-20 that formal channels of information functioned far less often than the informal and personal contacts of the girls, their relatives and friends. Carter (1966) has suggested that there is some doubt as to the precise proportion of leavers placed by the YES, as the criteria for classification varies from one area to another. He argues that a not inconsiderable number of young people who found jobs by other means and then inform the YES are counted as having been placed by the service. His own study in Sheffield suggests that no more than just over one in four boys and girls were placed in their first job by the official service, while the figures for Lanarkshire were just under one in three.

From the late 1960's to the mid 1970's the entry of young people into the labour market appears to have attracted much less attention in the literature. However from the mid to late 1970's/

/1970's onwards interest has been rekindled, probably as a result of the dramatic increase in the level of unemployment among young people. The studies cited above were undertaken when it could be argued that full employment was present in the economy. As the prospect of finding a job upon leaving school has diminished dramatically in recent years it is of interest to see if these higher levels of unemployment have had any discernable influence upon the patterns of job search among young people.

Casson (1979) using statistical evidence on youth unemployment provided by the EEC Labour Force Surveys of 1973 and 1975 examines job search undertaken by young people in West Germany, Italy and the UK. In West Germany and Italy, where public agencies are the major agencies of job search for all workers, young people make below average use of them, while in the UK, where public employment agencies are less used and more emphasis is placed on personal contacts and direct enquiry, young people's search behaviour resembled that of other groups. However, the role of public agencies increased in the UK between 1973 and 1975, particularly among the young, and Casson puts forward two possible explanations. He argues this change could be due to the shortage of vacancies for young people, or it could reflect the changing image of the employment agencies associated with the opening of high street Job Centres. However, first time job seekers, who are in the main young people, still rely more on informal methods of job search. In a survey/

/survey undertaken by MSC to update information on youth (un)employment for its Working Party on Young People and Work (MSC (1978)) the Careers Service was found to be the single most important method by which young people heard about their first job, and was a particularly useful source of information for non-manual, craft and general labouring jobs. Advertisements in newspapers were almost equally important for those entering non-manual jobs, while personal contacts (especially through the family) and contacting the employer direct, were the main methods through which they heard about their first jobs.

Raffe (1982) confirms the findings of Casson and MSC, which suggests that informal networks still play an important role in finding jobs for young people. Raffe's sample is drawn from schools in the Fife, Lothian, Strathclyde and Tayside regions of Scotland, which contains almost 75% of the Scottish population. Raffe discovered that only a minority of jobs were first heard of from public agencies. The use of Job Centres varied between regions, with substantially more leavers being placed by Job Centres and fewer by Careers Services in Strathclyde than in other regions. A few school leavers found jobs through teachers, and about one in eight from newspapers. There was some evidence that placement methods varied with the time when a job was arranged. Those who had arranged jobs before leaving school were twice as likely to rely on informal contacts than public agencies. For those/

/those who obtained employment only after they had left school, informal contacts and public agencies each accounted for similar number of placements.

Dex (1982) provides an analysis of the job finding methods used by both white and West Indian school leavers who left school in Birmingham and London in 1971. She found a different search strategy used by the two groups; male West Indians relied heavily upon the YES much more than male white youths who appeared to draw heavily upon contacts and information from family and friends to secure jobs. Those West Indian males who changed their jobs also began to change their methods of search, relying more on advertisements and contacts. White males rarely used the YES for later jobs. The job finding methods of the females in the sample also showed a marked white-West Indian differential. West Indian females, like West Indian males, relied heavily upon the YES to find their first job, whereas for white females replying to advertisements was the predominant job finding method.

Livock (1983) found that information about a vacancy can come from a variety of sources. He found that newspaper advertisements, Careers Office and off-chance approaches to employers were mentioned most by his sample of young workers. Some variation was found according to the different occupational categories, with those in skilled manual jobs having most frequently relied upon someone else making an enquiry on their behalf, for non-manual/

/non-manual jobs a written enquiry was most used and for other manual jobs a personal enquiry was most used.

The picture of job finding methods of young people which has emerged from the above discussion is very similar to that which emerged from our brief discussion of adult job search behaviour. Informal channels of information relating to job opportunities play an important part in the job search behaviour of both adults and school leavers. Increasing levels of unemployment among young people seems to have had little impact upon the search strategies adopted by young people. The exception to this rule are West Indian youths, both male and female, who tend to rely much more heavily upon the placement services offered by the YES.

The literature dealing with job search methods we have outlined above does not however provide us with a good insight into the job search behaviour of young people searching for work. It mainly deals with only one aspect of their job search strategy (though for the individual concerned this will no doubt be the most important aspect) - the final outcome. The studies tend to simply relate the number or proportions of young people who first hear of their job from a particular channel of information rather than also giving information about how young people actually go about searching for work. They do not deal with the action element involved in job search, but only the final outcome. Those studies which do look at job search intensity/

/intensity tend to concentrate almost exclusively upon the number of information channels used by the searcher. This information may not be as complete as we might think as searchers may not report little used or unsuccessful channels of information (Reid (1972)). Little attention is paid to how intensively a job seeker uses a particular channel. A searcher may consult both formal and informal channels of information but the intensity of use may vary considerably; he/she may contact firms on the off-chance of a job once a month, whilst visiting the Job Centre or Careers Service everyday. Clearly, the searcher in this case is using formal channels much more intensively than informal. The literature does not enable us to make this distinction when discussing job search intensity.

Having reviewed the literature pertaining to the job search methods used by young people in obtaining employment, we now turn our attention towards the job search strategies/behaviour of our sample of young people. Our discussion will centre upon the five issues we outlined in Section 1.

### 3. JOB SEARCH METHODS.

#### 3.1. The Decision to Search.

The first question to which we address ourselves in the analysis of our sample's job search behaviour is "when did job search begin?" As noted above, MacKay and Reid (1972) found that/

/that the earlier engineering workers about to be made redundant began searching for work the more effective was their job search in the sense that they suffered less unemployment. In view of the record levels of unemployment which young people have experienced in recent years it will be of interest to see if early job search - and by early job search we mean job search undertaken prior to leaving school - will give school leavers an advantage over their contemporaries who delay search until after they have left school and entered the labour market.

Our results show that only 37% of the total sample had begun to look for a job when questioned about their job search activity during the school interview ( March/April 1982). Two, somewhat opposite reactions to this low figure are possible: surprise, and understanding. One might be surprised that with the record levels of youth unemployment and the fact, as demonstrated in Chapter 3 that our sample members are more than well aware of the unemployment problem facing school leavers, that they are not "shocked" into action and begin to search out the limited number of jobs for which they are eligible to apply, well before they actually enter the labour market. On the other hand it is quite understandable that school leavers, seeing most young people in the Motherwell District either unemployed or on a YOP scheme, reach the conclusion that given the small probability of success it is just not worth the/

/the effort entailed in looking for a job, at least not until they have left school and they are confronted with the unemployment situation.

Almost one in ten of the sample had begun to look for a job as early as late 1981 - a full six months before they were eligible to leave school. A further 25% began their job search in January 1982 with the remaining 16% beginning to look for a job in February 1982. Girls who intended to leave school at 16 appear to have begun their search earlier than boys, with as many as 18% beginning to search for work before the end of the Christmas period of 1981, compared with 13% of boys who expressed an intention to leave school at 16. In January 1982 a further 15% of girls intending to leave school began their job search, compared with 21% of boys, the figures for February being 28% girls, 24% boys. Overall 61% of girls who intended to leave school had begun their job search, compared with 58% of boys. When those who intended continuing with their formal education beyond the age of 16 (and the don't knows) are excluded from the analysis there is a much greater degree of job search activity that at first appeared.

In Table One we present details of when job search first began, and we can see that 60% of the total sample had begun to look for a job before leaving school. There would appear to be some confusion in the minds of some members of the sample/

**TABLE ONE:**  
**WHEN JOB SEARCH BEGAN**

When Search began	N	%
Before Easter	95	40
Final School Term	47	20
School Summer Vacation	13	5
End of School Vacation	3	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>MISSING CASES*</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>34</b>

\*The majority of missing cases will be those members of the sample who returned to school and entered S5. They do not account for all the returners as some did engage in job search activity.

/sample when asked to recollect when they actually first began to look for a job. A little over 9% of the total sample indicated that they had first begun to look for a job in April 1982. Yet over 70% of this group had given details, in the school interview, of job search activity. Similarly a further 15% of the sample gave May 1982 as the month in which they first began to look for a job, and yet 25% of this group had indicated some job search activity prior to this date. Of the 11% who said they began to look for work in June 1982, 46% had indicated in the school interview some job search activity, and one in three of those beginning their search in July 1982 (6%) had also been involved in search activity prior to this date. There was also some inconsistency in responses for the months of August and September, but the numbers were small.

How can we account for this inconsistency? How do we account for someone saying they had begun to look for a job before Christmas 1982, in one interview, and in answer to a postal questionnaire give a time period several months later than their first answer? The answer to these questions is that these inconsistencies are probably due to a problem often associated with the gathering of retrospective information; namely that of relying upon quirks of memory and selective recall. Another explanation, which is perhaps more satisfactory from our point of view, which is nevertheless linked to the one above, is that unsuccessful search undertaken a few months previously/

/previously may have simply been forgotten. Search for young people at school may not, particularly in the early stages, be a continuous ongoing process, and therefore previous spells of (unsuccessful) search of limited duration followed by periods of inactivity may simply be forgotten. When confronted with a question in a personal interview one may possibly be inclined to think more carefully and probe one's memory more than when faced with a written questionnaire, and therefore one's recall may be more accurate.

Our interest in the question "when did search begin" was stimulated by one of the findings of the study of redundant engineering workers undertaken by MacKay and Reid (1972) - that unemployment duration was shorter for those workers who began their search for a new job before leaving the firm than for those workers who delayed search until after they became unemployed. Does the same result hold for school leavers? Do school leavers who begin their job search before they leave school and enter the labour market experience a shorter spell of unemployment than those who delay their job search until they have actually entered the labour market? Of those members of our sample who did in fact leave school (64%) only 21% of this group were known to have obtained a permanent job by March - May 1983. Details of when job search began was available for all but 2 cases. 67% of this group of young people who had obtained a job began their job search before Easter 1982, at least three months before/

/before they were eligible to leave school. A further 30% began their job search during the last term of their final year at school, and the remaining 3% began to search only after they had left school. It would seem therefore that MacKay and Reid's findings hold true for young people. Two points are worth mentioning here. First, because of the small numbers involved caution should be exercised when generalising these results. Secondly, when a school leaver began to look for a job may have very little if any influence upon the duration of unemployment experienced. Other factors, such as qualifications, socio-economic background etc. may play a far more important role in determining whether a school leaver is successful in obtaining permanent employment and therefore the above results should not be interpreted as providing evidence that what determines school leaver success in the labour market is when they first begin to search. We will return to the question as to what factors are important in determining why some school leavers obtain a permanent job, while many others experience only YOP or unemployment, in Chapter 6.

How did young people search for work whilst they were still at school? Our data pertaining to search undertaken at school relates only to search undertaken prior to the 'school' interview (March/April 1982). In attempting to ascertain the methods used in the search for work one can ask specifically whether or not particular methods are used or one can ask an open/

/open question - "how did you look for a job?" - noting the answers and probing for all methods used. This latter approach is likely to pick up the most important methods of job search, those which are used for long periods, but there is also the danger that there will be under-reporting and that job search methods which were unsuccessful or only briefly used will not be reported (Reid 1972). To overcome the problem of under-reporting we adopted the former method in all our questionnaires. In Table Two we present details of the channels of information consulted by the sample members searching for work whilst still at school. The column percentages sum to more than 100%, reflecting the use of more than one channel of information.

The picture which emerges from Table Two is very much what we might have expected in the light of the discussion of previous research in Section 3. As many as 80% of boys engaged in job search and 73% of girls had consulted members of their families or friends about possible vacancies. It is quite natural and understandable that young people looking for work should turn to their parents and family for help and guidance. Equally, one would expect limited use to be made of the placement services of the Careers Service and Job Centres by young people still at school. Although careers officers will visit schools and come into contact with potential school leavers, this contact will primarily be via the "school talk" whose main function is to present a broad picture of the variety of occupations open to young people, and during the "school leaving interview",/

**TABLE TWO:**  
**INFORMATION CHANNELS CONSULTED**

Information Channel	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
Personal Contacts	80	73
Careers Service	27	21
Contacting Firms	66	52
Job Centre	23	58
Newspapers	54	58
n	56	33

/interview", whose main function is probably to offer vocational guidance, and therefore the opportunity to discuss possible vacancies will be limited. Contact with the careers officer and Job Centre staff will be even more limited outside school hours as their offices are usually closed at times when pupils are able to visit them, such as after school and at weekends. We are therefore a little surprised to find that as many as 58% of girls engaged in job search were able to visit a Job Centre on at least one occasion. The "situations vacant" columns of newspapers were consulted by well over 50% of the boys and nearly 60% of girls. However one must be wary of reading too much into this finding. It is quite likely that most, if not all, members of the sample will look at a newspaper at least once a week and therefore little extra effort would be required to look through the job advertisements. This finding would perhaps be more significant if newspapers were consulted with the prime purpose of looking for a job, but unfortunately our data does not allow us to make this distinction. Well over 60% of the boys and more than 50% of girls had contacted one or more employers to ask whether they had any vacancies or were likely to have any vacancies for summer school leavers.

We can see therefore, that even at this early stage of job search "informal" channels of information play an important role in search strategies.

The results of this job search activity was a total of 217 job applications, from 57 pupils, 38 boys and 19 girls. Table Three presents a summary.

It can readily be seen that job search undertaken by boys was far more productive, in terms of generating information about vacancies for which young people are able to apply, than the job search undertaken by girls: 170 of the 217 job applications were made by boys, an average of over 3 job applications each compared with an average of 1.5 job applications per girl. Two possible explanations occur: first boys were searching more *intensively* than girls and therefore we would expect a higher return; and second, (and more likely) the fewer applications from girls could reflect a greater shortage of employment opportunities for girls about to leave school than for boys.

Although there was a surprisingly large number of job applications these applications resulted in only 14 interviews and 7 job offers, 6 of which were accepted. This allows us to say something, though of a very limited nature about successful methods of job search. Results are presented in Table Four.

What emerges from Table Four is that although girls were less successful at generating information about possible vacancies, they were more successful in actually securing employment/

**TABLE THREE:**  
**NUMBER OF JOBS APPLIED FOR**

<b>Job Applications</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Girls</b>
0	18	14
1	15	11
2	5	2
3	6	0
4-10	6	6
11-15	3	0
16-20	3	0
n	56	33

**TABLE FOUR:**  
**WHERE FIRST HEARD OF JOB OFFERED**

Information Channel	Boys	Girls
Parent	2	0
Friend	1	1
Working Part-Time	0	1
Relative	0	1
School	0	1

/employment - 12% of girls who had begun to search for work before leaving school had obtained a permanent job compared with only 5% of boys. Even more striking is the role played by the "informal" channels of information - all but one of the school leavers offered a job first heard about the vacancy through an informal channel of information. It is of course not possible to generalise from these results as we are dealing with such small numbers, but they do perhaps give some indication that "informal" methods of job search are likely to continue to play an important role.

In seeking to draw conclusion from our analysis of job search undertaken prior to entry into the labour market extreme caution must be exercised in view of the small numbers of young people providing us with data upon which this analysis is based. Having said that, we find that in the early stages of job search, informal channels of information are being used quite extensively as part of their search strategies prior to labour market entry. Formal methods of job search, such as the facilities offered by the Careers Service and the Job Centre are in the main little used though it is possible that this may change after actual entry into the labour market has been made and their facilities become more accessible.

### 3.2. Intensity of Job Search

One of the criticisms we levelled at the previous studies of the job finding methods used by young people was their failure to deal adequately (if at all) with the intensity with which young people set about looking for work. There are two possible measures of intensity:

- (i) the number of different information channels used in job search strategy
- (ii) the number of times a searcher consults a particular information channel.

The longitudinal nature of our data allows us not only to discuss job search intensity at one particular point in time, but enables us to comment upon how intensity of search varies over time. Our data relating to job search activity, upon which this section is based, is derived from two postal questionnaires and questions asked in the "labour market" interview. The first job search questionnaire was distributed to all members of the sample during the third week of August 1982, and the second during the third week of December to those members of the sample who left school and entered the labour market. The questionnaires both asked specific questions regarding job search activity in two distinct periods. The first questionnaire asked about search activity during the first two weeks of August, and then about search activity during the months of June and July. The questions in part one were designed to obtain a/

/a comprehensive picture of search activity during a short defined period, whereas in part two the questions were designed to give a more general picture of search activity. The December questionnaire was designed along very similar lines, with the first part relating to the first two weeks of December and part two, to search undertaken from mid-August to the end of November. The job search questions in the labour market interview were similar to those asked in the second part of the two postal questionnaires, with these questions relating to the period from January 1983 to the date of the interview.

In Table Five we present details of how intensively school leavers search for work in the three distinct (longer) time periods outlined above. For this part of the analysis we use the first, and somewhat more limited measure of intensity, the number of different information channels consulted. In attempting to analyse the changes in intensity of job search behaviour over time a simple comparison of the responses given in the various questionnaires distributed to the sample could lead us into reaching invalid conclusions. We did not achieve 100% response rate on any postal questionnaire or in the labour market interview, nor did everyone who responded to the August questionnaire do so in December (and vice versa) or were contacted in the labour market interview. Therefore to compare the job search behaviour of the respondents at each of the three time periods outlined could be misleading as/

**TABLE FIVE:**  
**INFORMATION CHANNELS CONSULTED BY SCHOOL LEAVERS**

Information Channel Consulted	June-July %	Aug-Nov %	Jan-March-May %
Careers Service	83	61	29
Job Centre	63	50	26
Personal Contacts	78	76	54
Local Newspapers	67	70	39
National Newspapers	46	46	37
Contacting firms	61	46	26
n	46	46	46

/as we would not be comparing like with like. To overcome this problem it is therefore necessary to select out those individuals who responded to all three questionnaires and answered all the relevant questions. This procedure reduces the sample size to 46, and therefore our conclusions will be suggestive rather than definitive.

The interesting result which emerges from Table Five is that the intensity of job search undertaken immediately upon leaving school, as measured by the number of channels consulted, was largely maintained for approximately six months after entry into the labour market and then fell dramatically by the time of the labour market interview. In the first column we can see that 83% paid at least one visit to the Careers Service during the school holidays, this figure falling to 61% for the period mid-August to the end of November. However during the period January to March/May 1983 only 29% reported visiting the Careers Service. A similar though in most instances a less dramatic fall emerges when one considers the remaining sources of information used. The only channel consulted by less than half of the sample in the period immediately after leaving school was national newspapers - this result is not unexpected as one would consider it unlikely that "school leavers" jobs would be advertised. This result does however demonstrate that, contrary to the school of thought which argues that young people are content and happy with the increased income/

/income they enjoy as members of the unemployed compared with their income as school pupils and therefore do not really look for work, young people are prepared to explore any avenue however unlikely in the search for work.

By far the most important source of information consulted was personal contacts - the only source of information consulted by more than half the respondents in all three time periods. In view of the results reported in the literature review in Section 2 this result comes as little surprise - informal channels of information were seen to be very important in successful job search strategies, and in particular personal contacts.

We would argue that the results presented in Table Five tell only part of the story. They do not tell, for example, the frequency with which the Careers Service and Job Centres are visited in the different time periods. To present a complete and comprehensive analysis of job search intensity it is necessary to also use the second of the two measure of intensity we defined. Our data allows us to comment upon intensity during two short time periods - the first two weeks of August and December - in addition to the three longer time periods previously discussed. We begin with a discussion of these longer time periods. Results are presented in Table Six.

Our argument for analysing intensity of job search from two angles was that viewing intensity simply in terms of the number/

**TABLE 6 - THE INTENSITY OF SCHOOL LEAVERS JOB SEARCH -  
SELECTED RESPONDENTS**

<u>JUNE/JULY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>	<u>ONCE A FORTNIGHT</u>	<u>ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>NEVER</u>
Information					
Channel	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Careers Service	30	32	6	13	17
Job Centre	11	22	24	6	37
Personal Contacts	39	20	13	6	22
Local Newspapers	63	2	-	2	33
National Newspapers	35	9	-	2	54
Contact Employers	6	17	24	13	39
<u>MID.AUG./NOV.</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>	<u>ONCE A FORTNIGHT</u>	<u>ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>NEVER</u>
Information					
Channel	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Careers Service	26	24	4	6	39
Job Centre	28	11	11	-	50
Personal Contacts	35	15	13	13	24
Local Newspaper	63	2	2	2	30
National Newspaper	33	11	2	-	54
Contact Employers	9	9	11	17	54
<u>JAN./MARCH/MAY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>	<u>ONCE A FORTNIGHT</u>	<u>ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH</u>	<u>NEVER</u>
Information					
Channel	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Careers Service	9	9	6	4	71
Job Centre	15	4	4	2	74
Personal Contacts	13	6	15	20	46
Local Newspaper	39	-	-	-	61
National Newspaper	35	-	2	-	63
Contact Employers	-	4	11	11	74

/number of information channels consulted can often present a misleading picture as to the reality of job search intensity. This view is borne out by the evidence presented in Table Six. It can be seen that although 83% of the sample had visited the Careers Service in the period immediately upon leaving school compared with 78% who had approached personal contacts there was a difference in the intensity of use of these particular channels of information - almost 40% of the respondents reported approaching friends/relatives/parents etc. weekly in their search for work compared with less than one in three who visited the Careers Service.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the distinction between the two measures of job search intensity we have used, and why we view the second definition of intensity as the more reliable indication of search intensity is brought home when we look at the use made of local newspapers. Although the proportion of respondents consulting local newspapers as part of their job search strategy is less than the proportion consulting the Careers Service or personal contacts, the intensity with which this channel of information is consulted is much greater - almost two thirds of the respondents consulted the "situations vacant" section of one or more of their local newspapers at least once a week. Again we must introduce the caveat that young people are quite likely to read a newspaper in any event and little extra effort would be required to consult the job ads. Although the question was framed in such a way as to make it clear that we were interested only in the frequency/

/frequency with which they consulted newspapers specifically to look for jobs, we are unable to say with any degree of confidence that the answers we received were the answers our questions were designed to elicit.

When coding the answers given to the questions posed concerning frequency of consultation of the various sources of information about possible jobs we used the following coding scheme:

once a week	=	1
once a fortnight	=	2
once a month	=	3
less than once a month	=	4
never	=	5

This coding scheme then allowed us to calculate a "mean" of the frequency of contacts. Results are presented in Table Seven.

As stated earlier our data allows us to compare and contrast the intensity of job searching during two much shorter periods - the first two weeks of August and December 1982 - which gives us more precise details about the respondents job search intensity. The mean values presented in Table Eight refer to the actual number of visits/contacts.

The results we have presented in Tables Six to Eight reinforce/

**TABLE SEVEN:**  
**THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH INFORMATION CHANNELS**  
**ARE CONTACTED - "MEAN VALUES"**

Information Channel	June-July "Mean"	Mid Aug-Nov "Mean"	Jan-March-May "Mean"
Careers Service	2.5	3.1	4.2
Job Centre	3.4	3.3	4.1
Personal Contacts	2.5	2.8	3.8
Local Newspapers	2.4	2.3	3.4
National Newspaper	3.3	3.3	3.5
Contact Employers	3.6	4.0	4.5
n	46	46	46

**TABLE EIGHT:**  
**JOB SEARCH INTENSITY: AUGUST AND DECEMBER, 1982**

Information Channel	August		December	
	%	Mean	%	Mean
Careers Service	65	3.8	37	1.9
Job Centre	54	1.7	44	1.8
Personal Contacts	76	-	54	-
Local Newspaper	63	-	46	-
National Newspaper	39	-	30	-
Contact Employers	46	2.7	33	2.6
n		46		46

/reinforce the conclusion we drew earlier - that intensity of job search declines over time. The most dramatic decline relates to the use of the Careers Service and personal contacts. In the two months immediately after leaving school the school leavers were using these services, on average about once a fortnight, whereas by the time of the labour market interview the frequency of use had fallen, on average to "less than once a month". In the first two weeks of August the sample was making on average almost two visits a week to the Careers Service but by the first two weeks of December this had fallen to just less than one a week. In examining these results two questions pose themselves:

- (i) are there any systematic differences between those members of the sample who use a particular information channel every week, and those who use it less frequently or not at all?
- (ii) how do we explain the dramatic decline in job search intensity after the first six months of entry into the labour market?

In attempting to answer these two questions we concentrate our attention upon a number of personal characteristics which enable us to identify possible explanations. The personal characteristics we concentrate upon are:

- a) sex
- b) level of educational qualifications
- c) labour market status.

We also consider the intensity of use of the information channel identified by school leavers themselves as the source from which they are likely to hear of possible employment opportunities.

### Sex

When analysing, in Section 3.1 job search undertaken prior to leaving school, we found that boys engaged in search were submitting on average twice as many job applications. One explanation we advanced in an attempt to understand this difference was that boys were searching more intensively than girls and were therefore more likely to identify jobs for which young people leaving school are eligible to apply.

Our data from the two postal questionnaires and the labour market interview allows us to identify a difference in the intensity of job search between the sexes, and in fact calls into question the validity of our earlier conclusion. We find that girls consistently search more intensively than boys in all three time periods and over all six information channels identified (an exception to this had been that a smaller proportion of girls had contacted employers on the off-chance of a vacancy existing on a weekly basis but a larger proportion of girls/

/girls have used this channel than boys). In Table Nine we present a summary of the frequency of visits/use made of the various information channels. Attention is focussed on:

- (i) proportions using a channel on a weekly basis
- (ii) proportions never using a particular channel.

When the Chi-square test was performed on the eighteen more detailed tables from which the data in Table Nine is drawn only three were found to be statistically significant.

In attempting to account for these differences we relate back to Section 3.1 and in particular to the explanation advanced to account for the fact that boys who had begun to search for work well before they were due to leave school were on average submitting two job applications for every one submitted by girls who had begun their job search early. We advanced two explanations, with the more likely being that the fewer applications reflected a greater shortage of employment opportunities for girls in the Motherwell area than for boys. In attempting to explain the difference in the degree of search intensity between the sexes we offer the same explanation. In earlier Chapters ("Aims and Methods" and "Young People's Knowledge of their Local Labour Market") it was noted that the Motherwell economy is dominated by iron and steel manufacture and mechanical engineering. In analysing young people's knowledge of the Motherwell labour market it was discovered that whilst their/

TABLE 9 - INTENSITY OF JOB SEARCH - BY SEX

<u>JUNE/JULY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>		<u>NEVER</u>	
	M. (%)	F. (%)	M. (%)	F. (%)
Information Channel				
Careers Service	24	41	21	12
Job Centre	10	12	45	23
Personal Contacts	31	53	28	12
Local Newspaper	55	77	38	23
National Newspaper	28	47	62	41
Contact Employers	7	6	41	35

<u>MID.AUG./NOV.</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>		<u>NEVER</u>	
	M. (%)	F. (%)	M. (%)	F. (%)
Information Channel				
Careers Service	17	47	59	35
Job Centre	24	30	41	35
Personal Contacts	24	53	31	12
Local Newspapers	52	82	38	18
National Newspapers	28	41	59	47
Contact Employers	10	6	62	41

<u>JAN/MARCH/MAY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>		<u>NEVER</u>	
	M. (%)	F. (%)	M. (%)	F. (%)
Information Channel				
Careers Service	7	12	72	70
Job Centre	10	24	83	59
Personal Contacts	7	24	52	35
Local Newspaper	31	53	69	47
National Newspaper	24	53	72	47
Contact Employers	-	-	79	65

n = 29 (Males)  
 = 17 (Females)

/their knowledge was on the whole poor they were aware of the importance of these industries to the local economy. Given the occupational segregation by sex which exists in today's labour market it is therefore clear that the majority of jobs available for school leavers in these industries are likely to be taken up by boys - in Occupational Choice and Occupational Information' we saw, when discussing occupational choice, that there was a clear division along the traditional occupational patterns with boys hoping to obtain "men's jobs" and girls "women's jobs". We therefore have a situation where the girls in our sample seek jobs traditionally held by women in a labour market dominated by industries which are dominated by traditionally "men's jobs", and the girls are to some extent aware of this fact. Therefore girls entering the labour market are at a greater disadvantage than boys in searching for work. There are two possible responses to this:

- (i) in an attempt to compensate for the disadvantage the girls may search more intensively
- (ii) recognising the disadvantage, and the lower probability of success they may in fact search less.

It would appear from the results in Table Nine that the girls in our sample are adopting the former strategy - they attempted to compensate for their relative disadvantage by searching/

/searching more intensively for work than boys.

### Qualifications

In attempting to explain the differences in the intensity with which young people search for work as a result of their different levels of educational attainment we devise three categories:

- (i) the unqualified
- (ii) those with one to three 'O' Grade passes at A-C
- (iii) those with four or more 'O' Grade passes at A-C.

The unqualified will probably consist of three types of individuals (our data does not allow us to adequately distinguish between these groups):

- (i) those who sat no 'O' Grade examinations
- (ii) those who sat at least one 'O' Grade examination but failed to gain a pass of any description
- (iii) those who sat at least one 'O' Grade and achieved a pass at grades D or E.

Although 'O' Grade passes at D or E are colloquially but unofficially regarded as fails, they have been shown (Gray et al (1983) Main and Raffe (1983)) to be strongly associated with success in the labour market. It is worth noting therefore/

/therefore that our "unqualified" are not as homogeneous a group as one might have thought. Unfortunately our data does not allow us to take account of this in our analysis.

In confining the analysis of job search behaviour to those individuals who have provided information in all three time periods under consideration we limit ourselves to a sample size of only 46, which reduces our ability to generalise our results and also because of the small numbers involved tends to mask any differences which may become apparent in a larger sample. In an attempt to overcome this problem Table Ten presents results for those respondents who provided us with information in the first postal questionnaire and the labour market interview, increasing the sample size to 86. One problem encountered when increasing the sample size in this way is that we exclude from our analysis any consideration of the job search undertaken from mid-August to November 1982. However as job search intensity was maintained at roughly the same level during the first six months after entry into the labour market was made this should not prove too much of a handicap. Table Ten is based on a series of twelve tables of which only two were found to be statistically significant - visits to the Careers Service (90% level) and contacting employers (99.5% level) in the first period under consideration.

From Table Ten there would appear to be a difference in the intensity with which they search for work - as only 7 individuals/

TABLE 10 - INTENSITY OF JOB SEARCH BY "0" GRADE QUALIFICATION

<u>JUNE/JULY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	No passes (%)	1-3 Passes (%)	4+Passes (%)	No Passes (%)	1-3 Passes (%)	4+Passes (%)
Careers Service	32	17	14	15	-	43
Job Centre	19	4	14	39	42	71
Personal Contacts	43	29	29	18	8	27
Local Newspapers	63	50	57	25	38	29
National Newspapers	38	21	43	47	79	57
Contact Employers	29	27	-	51	36	100

<u>JAN./MARCH/MAY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	No passes (%)	1-3 Passes (%)	4+Passes (%)	No Passes (%)	1-3 Passes (%)	4+Passes (%)
Career Service	7	4	-	67	62	86
Job Centre	13	21	-	76	71	86
Personal Contacts	14	12	-	54	46	86
Local Newspapers	30	50	-	65	46	100
National Newspapers	27	25	-	67	71	100
Contact Employers	-	4	-	78	70	86

n = (No passes) = 55  
 = (1-3 passes) = 24  
 = (4+passes) = 7

/individuals had gained 4 or more 'O' Grades they will be excluded from the analysis - though the differences in the main are not statistically significant. The unqualified, who account for the largest proportion of the school leavers about whom we have information for this period appear to be searching more intensively than the qualified.

How then do we account for the fact that the unqualified do appear to be searching more intensively for work than their qualified contemporaries? An explanation which occurs - and is similar to the explanation advanced when attempting to account for the finding that females search more intensively than males - is that the unqualified are attempting to compensate for their relative disadvantaged position within the labour market. They recognise that as a result of leaving school with no academic qualifications they are at a disadvantage compared with their contemporaries who have some qualifications, and therefore to compensate for this they invest more time and effort into their job search. MSC (1978) in a survey carried out on behalf of the Manpower Services Commission Working Party on Young People and Work found that over 50% of those young people aged 16-18 who were unemployed had no qualifications, and that a majority of the remainder had left school with CSE's of lower grades than grade one.<sup>8</sup> The unqualified were found to stay unemployed longest and suffer unemployment more frequently. We do not argue that the young people in our sample who left school with no 'O' Grade passes (Grades A-C) were/

/were aware of these and similar findings from other studies, but we would argue that throughout most of their school life they would have been made fully aware that "failure" in academic terms at school would increase the difficulty of obtaining a "good job", whatever the state of the labour market. The prospect of a (good) job after leaving school has been the "carrot" held out in front of school children to encourage them to work at their studies. Similar encouragement would have also come from parents and family. No doubt as unemployment among school leavers grew young people would be encouraged to study harder as the few jobs which were available would go to the better qualified. Therefore the net result of all this encouragement and advice would be that young people leaving school with no educational qualifications would be well aware of their disadvantage in the labour market. Rather than merely accept this and resign themselves to longer periods of unemployment an attempt was made to compensate for this disadvantage through increased search activity.

#### Labour Market States

Within the labour market there are a number of different labour market states or situations - employed (full-time or part-time), unemployed and looking for work, unemployed and not looking for work and (in the case of the youth labour market) participant on a YOP scheme. In our analysis we confine our attention to:

- (i) employed

- (ii) unemployed
- (iii) participant on a YOP scheme

Our data does not allow us to make a distinction between full time and part time employment nor between the unemployed who are looking for work and those not looking for work. Given the nature of our data we can approach the analysis from two angles:

- (i) given the labour market status of sample members, we can look at the job search patterns in the previous few months in an attempt to establish and account for different search intensities - for example we know the labour market status of the sample as at August 1982, and can then analyse the search intensity during June and July 1982 to see if this intensity has any effect upon subsequent labour market status.
- (ii) following on from the example cited above, we have data on labour market status as at August 1982 and on job search intensity in the following few months, until the end of November 1982. This allows us to say something about the intensity of search of young people enjoying different labour market status.

Similar analysis can be undertaken using labour market status as at December 1982 and intensity of search between January/

/January and March/May 1983.

Tables Eleven and Twelve present the results of this exercise.

As with Table Ten, Tables Eleven and Twelve are based on a series of 18 and 12 tables respectively - one for each channel of information. Differences were found in all tables, though not always statistically significant differences. Differences in the use of personal contacts in job search were statistically significant in all three time periods illustrated in Table Eleven (at or above the 90% level) and in both time periods illustrated in Table Twelve (again at or above the 90% level). In addition differences between the use of the Careers Service by employment status were also statistically significant at the 95% level in the period January to March/May in Table Eleven, in the frequency with which employers were approached on the off-chance that they might have a job in the August to November period illustrated in Table Eleven at the 95% level, and in the frequency of visits to the Job Centre in the January to March/May period in Table Twelve, at the 99.5% level.

The discerning of a consistently more intensive job search strategy employed by the different groups in Table Eleven is not as clear cut as when we were looking at sex differences or qualification differences. Close examination of the table does reveal that the unemployed were searching marginally more intensively than those on YOP (we leave aside any consideration/

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TABLE 11 - JOB SEARCH INTENSITY - BY LABOUR MARKET STATUS

AT END OF PERIOD

<u>JUNE/JULY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)		Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)	
Information Channel						
Careers Service	7	36	27	33	24	-
Job Centre	-	16	7	67	40	20
Personal Contacts	33	52	20	50	28	-
Local Newspaper	33	56	87	50	40	13
National Newspaper	33	32	40	66	60	40
Contact Employers	16	8	-	17	56	20

<u>AUGUST/NOVEMBER</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)		Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)	
Information Channel						
Careers Service	27	39	20	57	31	40
Job Centre	-	23	36	100	38	44
Personal Contacts	29	39	32	71	7	20
Local Newspaper	29	77	64	71	15	28
National Newspaper	14	30	36	86	46	52
Contact Employers	14	8	8	57	39	64

<u>JAN/MARCH/MAY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)		Employed (%)	Unemployed YOP (%)	
Information Channel						
Careers Service	-	22	7	100	22	79
Job Centre	-	22	17	100	56	71
Personal Contacts	-	11	18	89	-	46
Local Newspaper	11	67	39	89	33	61
National Newspaper	11	33	43	89	67	54
Contact Employers	-	-	-	89	56	75

<u>Sample sizes:</u>	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Y.O.P.</u>
August	6	25	15
December	7	13	25
March/May	9	9	28

**TABLE 12 - JOB SEARCH INTENSITY BY LABOUR MARKET STATUS****AT BEGINNING OF PERIOD**

<u>AUG./NOV.</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	YOP (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	YOP (%)
Careers Service	17	30	23	67	33	47
Job Centre	-	30	31	100	48	38
Personal Contacts	17	44	23	83	22	6
Local Newspaper	17	56	82	83	33	-
National Newspaper	17	30	35	83	56	47
Contact Employers	17	8	6	67	59	47

<u>JAN./MARCH/MAY</u>	<u>ONCE A WEEK</u>			<u>NEVER</u>		
	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	YOP (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	YOP (%)
Careers Service	-	7	7	100	64	71
Job Centre	-	14	18	100	71	75
Personal Contacts	-	7	14	100	36	43
Local Newspaper	-	43	39	100	57	57
National Newspaper	-	50	29	100	50	68
Contact Employer	-	-	-	100	64	79

<u>Sample Sizes:</u>	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Y.O.P.</u>
AUGUST	6	27	17
DECEMBER	7	14	28

/consideration of the employed as the cell size was at most 9 individuals). We base this conclusion not only on the proportions consulting particular channels on a weekly basis but also on the proportions who never consulted a particular channel.

We would expect the unemployed to search more intensively than those on YOP or in employment for two reasons:

- (i) we would expect young people to be unhappy about their labour market situation and will therefore be all the more keen to engage in activities likely to bring about a change in their situation i.e. the search for work.
- (ii) the unemployed simply have more time than other groups in the labour market in which to undertake search.

There are a number of reasons why unemployed school leavers would be anxious to change their labour market state:

- (i) financial - supplementary benefit, the only benefit for which unemployed young people are eligible, is considerably lower than average earnings for young people (see Chapter 3 - Young People's Knowledge of their Local Labour Market for details of youth wages) and the £25 per week YOP allowance.

- (ii) boredom - for many young people being unemployed means they have nothing or very little to do with themselves for much of the day. Many young people who expressed a negative opinion regarding the benefits of YOP participation and/or about the scheme in general, nevertheless were prepared to join the scheme - the reasons given, "it gives us something to do", "its better than hanging about the streets" etc.
- (iii) cultural and family pressures - even today when we are experiencing unemployment on a massive scale the work ethic is still a powerful influence upon people's way of thinking. People reaching a certain age are expected by society and consequently expect of themselves, to find work to provide the necessities of life for themselves. There is still a stigma attached to being unemployed - the unemployed in some quarters are looked upon as second class citizens, scroungers off the state etc. These prejudices, the cultural values, are bound to have some effect on the thinking of the young unemployed. They are bound to feel the pressures exerted upon them to go out and find work. Family pressures to find work are likely to be of a more practical nature - financial and domestic. The cost of job search is likely to be borne by an unemployed/

/unemployed school leaver's family, who will be more able to finance search activity than the individual concerned, but not indefinitely. Also it is likely that the family will be subsidising the school leaver's unemployment in terms of housing costs, food, clothing, etc. Indeed, the DHSS assumes that families do, and should, help to subsidise the young unemployed, and this reasoning was partly behind the recent cut in benefit for the under 18's living at home with their parents. Parents would, in general prefer their children to be working than hanging around the home all day.

The very fact that a young person is unemployed means that he/she has far more time in which to engage in job search than a participant on a YOP scheme. It is quite likely that YOP participants will at some stage begin to search for a permanent job - if not throughout the whole of their time on YOP then certainly as their schemes nears the end. But the fact that they are working, in a training workshop or an employer's premises could deny them access to some job search channels, for example they may not finish work until after the Job Centre or Careers Service has closed. The unemployed face no such restrictions, and for this reason we would expect them to engage in a greater degree of job search.

### Most Likely Source of Information

In the postal questionnaire sent out in August 1982 we asked the following question:

"Which method of looking for a job do you think is most likely to lead to you getting a job?"

The question was not open ended - the five sources of information we have identified (local and national newspapers were grouped together) were listed, though space was provided for them to write in an answer which was not included in the question. The question was not repeated in any other questionnaire.

The channel of information which was perceived as the most effective was the Careers Service - 34% of school leavers thought that they would find a job vacancy from the Careers Service. This was closely followed by contacting firms on the off chance that they may have a vacancy (28%) and personal contacts (26%). The newspapers (2%) and Job Centre (11%) were thought to be the least effective information channels. It would be reasonable therefore to hypothesise that school leavers would be using the information channel they thought would be the most effective more intensively than any other sources. The evidence to support this hypothesis is not as clear cut as one might have expected.

Between June and July 1982 41% of those school leavers visiting the Careers Service on a weekly basis thought that the Careers/

/Careers Service was the place where they were most likely to find a job. Yet less than one in three of those who thought the Careers Service was likely to be the most effective information channel visited weekly - 3% never visited. A similar picture emerges when one considers the other information channels - only in the case of direct approach to employers do we find at least 50% of those making weekly contacts belonging to the group that thought this was the most effective method of finding a job. In all cases less than 40% of those belonging to the group that felt the use of a particular information channel was the most effective method of job search were consulting that source on a regular basis.

In the periods August to November, and January to March/May 1983 similar pictures emerge, though the proportions are somewhat lower. This may be a little misleading as their views about the most effective job search method may have changed as a result of experience and therefore a different search strategy adopted. Our data does not allow us, due to the question being asked on only one questionnaire, to monitor how their views about the most effective method of job search had changed over time.

The foregoing analysis has concentrated upon answering only the first question we posed above, namely "do any systematic differences exist between different sub-groups within the sample", and has made no reference to the second question, "how do/

/do we explain the dramatic decline in job search intensity after the first six months after entry into the labour market". It is to a consideration of this problem to which we now turn our attention.

The first explanation we advance to account for this finding is concerned with the effect that prolonged unsuccessful job search will have on an individual's motivation. Evidence which we have cited above demonstrates quite clearly that the young people in our sample were keen to get a job - they were not content to enjoy the increased income/leisure that leaving school had afforded them. We will see in Section 3.4. that the sample made almost 1400 job applications, but received only 28 job offers. The amount of job search undertaken together with the magnitude of this "success rate" will lead to a reduction in the intensity (using either of the measures we have used in our analysis) for two reasons:

- (i) the amount of job search undertaken will have been a learning exercise - if the sample were not aware of the scarceness of "school leavers" jobs in the Motherwell area (and evidence presented in 'Young People's Knowledge of their Local Labour Market' would suggest they are fully aware) then their experience of job search would bring this fact home to them more fully and consequently they would reduce/cease job search. Having/

/Having searched the market extensively and found nothing (except perhaps YOP) this is a rational decision to take.

- (ii) following on from above unsuccessful job search six to nine months after labour market entry is likely to lead to a degree of despondency setting in - the feeling that if one has not found a job after all this time then one is never going to find one so why bother to look at all. This again can be seen to be a rational decision - there is a cost involved in undertaking job search (monetary costs may be met in full or part by parents, but there are other costs, e.g. time, psychological costs, which will be borne in full by the searcher) and the low probability of success which six months of unsuccessful search would convey to the searcher is likely to lead to a decision to reduce/cease search.

A further, though not necessarily competing, explanation of the dramatic decline in job search activity observed in the third time period we have looked at, relates to the labour market states of the sample members during this period. When contacted in the labour market interview 23% were employed, 55% on YOP and 21% unemployed. The corresponding figures for those members of the sample who provided information in all three time periods were 20% employed, 60% on YOP and/

/and 20% unemployed. Those members of the sample on YOP and in employment would not have the same opportunities to engage in job search nor would they necessarily have the same motivation to engage in job search as those who were unemployed. Certain information channels would not be as accessible to them, for example, the Careers Service or Job Centre may close before they themselves finish work, while the unemployed who, if so inclined, could visit at any time during the day.

### 3.3. Spatial Aspects of Job Search

The hypothesis which we would like to test in this section is that as unemployment duration increases, or perhaps more accurately given the temporary nature of much of youth employment on YOP scheme, as time without a permanent job increases young people will begin to search further away from their homes in different local and national labour markets. This may affect the number of contacts they are able to make. Seater (1978) presents a spatial argument for decreasing returns to search intensity. He argues that if firms are located uniformly across space and are equally likely to make a wage offer, then diminishing returns will follow from the observation that as more firms are contacted the individual requires a greater time to contact one or more firms since it is a greater distance from the starting point. Barron and Gilley (1981) attempt to test this proposition using data from a special survey of/

/of the unemployed undertaken by the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics in co-operation with the Census Bureau in 1976<sup>9</sup>. They find support for the proposition of diminishing returns to search, though they do reject Seater's prediction that the co-efficient on the hours of search variable will be two-thirds, estimating the co-efficient to be 0.45. The relevance of this spatial aspect of job search to young people is not clear, for it depends upon the assumption that firms are contacted through travelling rather than through writing letters or telephoning; while we have no direct evidence from our sample informal conversations with them do indicate that calling on firms at the factory gate played a very limited if non-existent role in their job search strategy, and that firms are generally contacted by post, or telephone.

We began our investigation into spatial aspects of job search in the first interview asking the question:

'Are you prepared to work:

- (i) only in the Motherwell District
- (ii) outside the District but within daily travelling distance
- (iii) elsewhere in Scotland
- (iv) elsewhere in Great Britain
- (v) abroad.'

The question was asked of all members of the sample. Only 5% of the sample were unprepared to work outside the Motherwell area. 41% would prefer to work within daily travelling distance of their home. This result is somewhat surprising as it suggests that well over 50% of the sample would be prepared to leave home in order to secure their first job. We would have thought that young people at 16 would be reluctant to uproot themselves at such a young age to obtain employment. There are two possible explanations for this finding. The first relates to the composition of the sample answering this question. We have reported the answers given by all members of the sample, including those who elected to return to school and continue with their education. It is quite likely therefore that they would be looking to enter jobs which require a high degree of educational attainment, perhaps necessitating university or other forms of higher education, which is likely to entail them leaving the area, and so quite naturally they envisage themselves working away from home. The second explanation relates to the unemployment facing young people in Motherwell. Although youth/school leaver unemployment is a national phenomena, young people in Motherwell have had a similar experience to that of Scotland's youth as a whole, but at a higher rate (see Danson et al (1983)). The scale of the unemployment problem in Motherwell will therefore encourage young people to search in any labour market from which they can gain information about job vacancies, and if an application is successful they will accept the offer. Indeed when conducting the labour market/

/market interviews we were unable to contact 5 individuals because they had obtained employment which necessitated them living away from home. This represents 15% of the school leavers known to have found employment. To test which of these two explanations is the more likely, we select out of the analysis those members of the sample who did not leave school, and then compare the results of this exercise. If the results are broadly similar then we would lean more towards accepting the second of our explanations; if the results show that school leavers were predominant among those members of the sample who were not prepared to leave home then we would lean more towards the first explanation we advanced.

In fact the results of this exercise are broadly similar to those pertaining to the sample as a whole. A little over 6% of school leavers were prepared to work only in the Motherwell District, compared with 5% of the whole sample, and 39% of school leavers compared with 41% of the whole sample, were prepared to travel outside the Motherwell area to work. This means that well over 50% of school leavers would be prepared to leave home to secure employment, which is approximately the same proportion as in the analysis of the whole sample. We therefore conclude that this reflects the willingness of young people, facing severe unemployment problems in their local labour market, to, in the words of Norman Tebbit, the then Secretary of State for Employment, "get on their bikes" to look for and accept work away from home.

In breaking these results down by sex we find a difference between the sexes, with boys more likely to be willing to work away from home than we might have expected. 54% of the school leavers were willing to work away from home; 70% of these being boys. However boys accounted for only 65% of the sample. Conversely 46% of the sample were not prepared to leave home to secure their first job, 41% of these being girls, but girls only accounted for 35% of the sample. This result is somewhat surprising. Above we have argued that girls were searching more intensively than boys because they recognised that the employment structure within the Motherwell economy was heavily biased towards "male jobs" and therefore girls needed to put more effort into their job search strategies in order to find the relatively fewer employment opportunities. We would therefore have expected girls to be searching outside their immediate neighbourhood and be willing to leave home. But our results do not allow us to fulfill our expectations. How then might we explain this? One answer which occurs is that girls, much more than boys, at this early age are more attached to their families and are thus more reluctant to leave home, girls traditionally being more likely to remain at home until they marry. This ties in with the femininity and domesticity ethos associated with the role of women in our society. Boys on the other hand are under more pressure to get a job, to be the breadwinner and therefore would be more likely to search further afield than girls.

In the August and December postal questionnaires we were interested to ascertain whether a willingness to work away from home was matched by an attempt to find work away from home. It is one thing to say you are prepared to work away from home, and another to actually attempt to make that a reality through direct action.

In the first two months after their initial entry into the labour market we find very little evidence of search activity in labour markets that would entail leaving home if search was successful. Only 8% (5 boys and 4 girls) were searching in labour markets elsewhere in Scotland, only 2 girls were searching in other parts of Britain and 1 boy abroad. Consequently, the lion's share of search activity was concentrated within the Motherwell area or areas nearby which could be reached easily on a daily basis. Given that we are dealing here with first time job seekers, who would have little if any previous experience of job search it is quite logical that they had not yet enlarged the area of their search to include other labour markets. In their first few months in the labour market they would simply be acclimatising themselves with the information channels available to them within their own locality rather than extending their search further afield. These first few months could be characterised as a learning period, when they begin to familiarise themselves with the relative merit of the sources of information they could use. It is quite natural particularly at 16, that they should be reluctant to leave home and would consequently search out/

/out their local area initially, before venturing into other more distant labour markets. If our hypothesis is correct then we would expect to find in the period mid-August to November 1982 evidence of increased search activity outwith the Motherwell area.

However the data obtained from the December postal questionnaire provides us with little if any evidence in support of our hypothesis. Whilst search within the Motherwell area and labour markets reachable on a daily basis declined during the latter months of 1982, there was no compensatory increase in search activity further afield. We are therefore in no position to accept our hypothesis - but this does not necessarily mean that the hypothesis has to be rejected. It could simply be that the time periods for which we have data are too short to pick up the effect that increased duration of unemployment (including YOP employment) has on the spatial aspect of job search.

Having identified the labour markets in which young people are searching for work, and the intensity with which they are searching, we now turn our attention to a consideration of the results of all this job search - in terms of job applications, and successful methods of job search. Specifically we are interested in the relative importance of 'formal' and 'informal' methods of search, in generating applications and securing first employment.

### 3.4. Informal vs Formal Methods of Job Search

In the studies of job search we reviewed in Section 2, for both adults and young people, it is apparent, that informal methods of job search (personal contacts, direct approach to employers) were relatively more important in terms of job search success than formal methods (use of Careers Service, Job Centres or Newspaper/Journal advertisements). The criteria upon which success was judged related to where the individual first heard about the vacancy for which he/she had successfully applied. Record levels of youth unemployment and the fact that only a small proportion of our sample had, to our knowledge, obtained permanent employment leads us to the adoption of a different criteria for assessing the importance of informal vs formal methods of job search. The criteria we adopt relates to their role as channels of information - we judge the usefulness of the channels of information according to the information given to young people regarding vacancies for which they are eligible to apply. This is perhaps not the most ideal criterion to use as a number of factors may affect the number of vacancies a young person learns of from particular channels. It is possible that the unemployed living in areas of high unemployment are less likely to hear of vacancies through personal contacts than the unemployed living in areas of relatively low unemployment. The intensity with which an individual uses a particular channel could affect the number of vacancies he/she comes to hear/

/hear of - a person visiting, say the Careers Service on a daily basis is more likely to hear of a vacancy from this source than someone who visits only once a month. However, we would still argue that this is a far more acceptable and appropriate criterion by which to judge an information channel than purely according to whether an individual, who is successful in securing employment, first heard of the vacancy from that particular channel.

During the first two months after labour market entry our school leavers applied for a total of 472 jobs; with a mean value of 4.37 jobs. A little over 25% of the sample had been unable to find any jobs for which they wished to apply, and yet one individual claimed to have submitted 50 applications. Information about these vacancies was obtained from the following sources:

Careers Service	138 vacancies
Job Centre	68 vacancies
Personal Contacts	121 vacancies
Newspapers	32 vacancies
Direct Approach to Employers	91 vacancies

That these figures do not total 472, but only 450 is due to some respondents providing us with information pertaining to the number of jobs for which they had submitted applications but no information about the sources of information from which/

/which they learned of these vacancies. Similar discrepancies appear in other time periods for which we have data.

In the first two weeks of August we find a surprisingly large number of job applications being made - 320 in all. As in the case of the period June to July, the Careers Service is the major source of information about job vacancies (116 jobs) followed by personal contacts (78 jobs). Contacting employers directly on the off chance that a vacancy existed also proved to be a fruitful exercise with 62 applications resulting. Visits to the Job Centre and searching the "situations vacant" section of newspapers appeared to be less fruitful experiences with only 16 and 20 job applications respectively. The number of school leavers submitting no applications had by this time risen to 35%.

Between August and November there was only a slight increase in the proportion of school leavers failing to submit any applications (though a somewhat smaller number due to the smaller response rate to the December postal questionnaire: the valid cases for the August questionnaire were 108, for the December questionnaire 72) to 36%. However given that during the first two weeks of December 50% submitted no applications, and between January to March/May 1983 no fewer than 73% of a much large sample (n = 113) submitted no applications, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of applications would have been submitted in the/

/the early weeks of this three and a half month period. This assumption is also based on the fact that employers would gear their recruitment drives for young people to fit in with the time of the school year - aiming to recruit mid-August - September, and perhaps the early part of each new year to coincide with the Christmas leaving date.

Between August and November a further 324 job applications were submitted, followed by 170 during the first two weeks of December. The rankings of the various information channels changed somewhat; between August and November contacting employers directly lead to 109 job applications, followed by the Careers Service (76) and personal contacts (63). Again in the first two weeks of December contacting employers proved the most fruitful method of job search, giving 46 applications, 44 applications made as a result of personal contacts and 27 resulting from visits to the Careers Service. Although 73% of those interviewed in the labour market interview submitted no job applications, the remaining 27% totalled 113 applications, with direct contact of employers again leading to the most applications, though only marginally ahead of visits to the Job Centre.

In total for the period June 1982 to March/May 1983 a total of 1399 job applications were submitted, for which we have information pertaining to the sources of information for 1329 of/

/of these jobs. The figures are:

Careers Service	378	(28%)
Job Centre	147	(11%) ✓
Personal Contacts	320	(24%)
Newspapers	150	(11%)
Direct approach to employers	334	(25%)

If we then aggregate these figures according to whether the information channel can be classified as either 'formal' or 'informal', we find that 51% of the job applications resulted from receiving information from formal channels of information, 49% from informal channels. It would appear therefore that in terms of generating information about job vacancies search using formal methods of job search are equally as important as search using informal methods of job search.

In our analysis of job search intensity and spatial aspects of job search we found clear differences between the behaviour of boys and girls - girls searching more intensively and boys being less likely to search in their own local labour market than girls. Given these findings it is perhaps worth pursuing the sex difference analysis further to see if there are differences between the information channels regarding supplying information about jobs which either one sex or the other are more likely to apply for.

Given the argument we advanced when attempting to explain why the girls in our sample were searching more intensively than boys, namely that there were relatively fewer employment opportunities for girls in the Motherwell labour market as the economy was dominated by steel making and heavy engineering which are traditionally male dominated industries and therefore girls would need to put more effort into their job search in order to seek out the limited opportunities for which they were likely to want to apply, it comes as little surprise to us to find that girls on the whole were submitting less job applications than we would have expected. In all they submitted 378 applications out of a total of 1399. This accounts for a little over one quarter of all applications, whereas girls account for one - third the sample in all time periods.

Disaggregating these applications by information channels we find that only in the case of newspapers (39%) and direct approach to employers (34%) does the proportion of girls submitting applications match the proportion of girls in the sample. Grouping the information channels under the collective headings of 'formal' and 'informal' we find a small difference - formal channels of information were the source of 52% of the applications from girls, 48% from informal sources.

In concluding this section, for completeness, we present details of "successful methods" of job search. This data, from the labour/

/labour market interview relates to 28 individuals who were successful in their search for a permanent job. Results are presented in Table Thirteen.

It can readily be seen that personal contacts proved to be the most important source from which successful job seekers first heard of the vacancy. Our results therefore confirm previous studies of job search, which were undertaken when the unemployment problem facing young people was less acute than today. Unemployment therefore would seem to have little effect regarding successful search strategies.

We conclude the analytical section of this chapter with a brief examination of the job search undertaken by sample members after they had secured permanent employment or while they were participating on a YOP scheme.

### 3.5. Job Search of the Employed and YOP Participants

The new microeconomics of labour markets and inflation assume that job search is more effectively and efficiently conducted when the searcher is unemployed. The theory would advise individuals who are dissatisfied with their present job and who wish to work elsewhere to quit their job, become unemployed and then begin their search. Given the present state of the labour market an individual would be ill-advised to follow such/

**TABLE THIRTEEN:****SUCCESSFUL METHODS OF JOB SEARCH**

<b>Job Search Method</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Careers Service	8	28
Personal Contacts	14	50
Job Centre	2	7
Contact Employers	1	3
Other	3	11

/such advice. In our analysis of job search undertaken by the employed, we find only two cases, out of 26, who were searching for other work. The vast majority of those in employment are quite content with their job. Carter (1962, 1966) and Maizels (1970) both found that although most school leavers did not in fact obtain their most preferred job they were on the whole content with the one they did obtain. Those members of our sample who were looking for another job, were doing so in order to find more secure employment (having been laid-off on two occasions) or to find a job which more suited their qualifications. In view of such small numbers their methods of job search will not be reported.

Far more job search activity was undertaken by YOP participants which, in view of the temporary nature of the schemes, is what we might have expected - as many as 72% of YOP participants undertook some job search whilst on their scheme. The most frequently used channel of information was newspapers, followed by personal contacts and the Careers Service. The intensity with which YOP participants searched for work has been discussed elsewhere. Their job search however was not very productive: on leaving their scheme 75% registered as unemployed, 8% began another YOP scheme, 8% were taken on on a permanent basis by their YOP sponsor, and only 8% were able to obtain employment with another employer. However we would argue that this is not evidence to support the views of Phelps et al (1970) that/

/that job search is less effective if employed, and presumably if on a YOP scheme, than if unemployed, but rather reflects the depressed state of the labour market.

## 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

In this chapter we have sought to investigate a number of issues relating to the job search activity of our sample of school leavers:

- (i) whether the earlier search was begun had any effect upon job search success,
- (ii) the intensity with which job search was undertaken and whether this varied through time,
- (iii) whether as unemployment duration increased search was undertaken outwith the local labour market,
- (iv) whether informal methods of job search were still relatively more important in job search success than formal methods,
- (v) whether the different groups within the youth labour market adopted different search strategies.

We found a considerable degree of job search activity among those members of the sample who intended leaving school prior to their actual entry into the labour market. In view of the results from previous studies the finding that our sample/

/sample was relying heavily upon personal contacts and contacting firms directly in their job search was as we might have expected. Although we found that all but 3% of those members of our sample known to have obtained a permanent job began to search before leaving school the small numbers involved prevent us from drawing any firm conclusions. We are therefore unable to say whether the conclusions drawn by MacKay and Reid (1972) regarding redundant engineering workers who searched before leaving their firm are applicable to young people leaving school. The evidence we have obtained does prevent us from rejecting this hypothesis, but is not sufficiently strong for us to accept it.

We found that entry into the labour market was accompanied by a large degree of job search. Our sample were searching for work intensively - in the sense that they were consulting more than one channel of information and were consulting them on a fairly regular basis. This intensity was maintained for up to six months when it declined dramatically. This could be due to despondency creeping in, with individuals seeing little prospect of success and therefore putting less effort into looking for work, and/or due to young people moving out of unemployment into YOP where they would have less time in which to conduct search. It was found that girls were searching more intensively than boys and the unqualified more than those with 'O' Grade passes. This we argued was due/

/due to them recognising that they were more disadvantaged in the labour market, in general for the unqualified and the Motherwell labour market in particular for girls. In general the unemployed searched more intensively than those on YOP, possibly due to having more time on their hands, but also due to an awareness that they were unemployed and all the social stigmata attached to this state, even in today's labour market when 4m people are either registered as unemployed, unregistered but looking for work, or with a temporary job on a work experience scheme. The same stigma is not attached to YOP, and many young people on YOP may in fact see themselves as being employed, if only for six months.

Our results did not support our hypothesis that as unemployment duration increased we would observe search being undertaken in labour markets outwith Motherwell. We found evidence of a willingness to work outside the local labour market, but on the whole this was not backed up with actual search being undertaken in other labour markets. However, we would argue that we are not, in view of the fact that our contact with the sample ended when they had been in the labour market for less than one year, able to reject the hypothesis. We are unable to accept it, but reserve judgement as to whether we should reject it.

In assessing the relative importance of 'formal' and 'informal' methods of job search we adopted a different criteria upon which to base our assessment - we would judge their effectiveness in terms of the provision of information about vacancies. Using this criteria we find only a marginal difference - formal channels providing information pertaining to 51% of the vacancies applied for, and informal channels 49%. If we adopt the usual criteria used when assessing the effectiveness of job search, where a successful job seeker first heard of the vacancy which he/she applied for and obtained, personal contacts are still the most important source of information - accounting for 50% of the jobs obtained.

We found little evidence of job search being undertaken by the employed members of our sample after they had obtained a job, as they were on the whole content with their job. The majority of people on YOP schemes looked for work whilst participating on the scheme, but with little success. This reflects more the state of the labour market than evidence for the hypothesis that search is more effective and efficient when the searcher is unemployed.

NOTES.

1. Pissarides (1979) does develop a model in which workers are allowed to vary their methods of search, using more intensive methods when they want to reduce their duration of search (unemployment) and less intensive methods when they want to extend it. Search in his model is not for high paying jobs but for vacancies.
2. see Phelps (1970)
3. see National Youth Employment Council (1962)
4. see Carter (1962)
5. see Jahoda and Chalmers (1963)
6. see Marsh and Willcocks (no date) quoted in Carter (1966)  
p. 142
7. It should be borne in mind that the Careers Service recruits for YOP and that some visits may be for the purpose of obtaining information and/or placement on YOP rather than in the search for permanent employment. Our data unfortunately does not allow us to make this distinction.
8. A CSE grade one is recognised as being equivalent to a pass at O level or O grade ( at grade C).
9. A detailed description of the survey can be found in Rosenfeld (1977)

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CHAPTER SIX  
LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCES

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

A feature of the youth labour market over many years has been the large numbers of young people who have had more than one spell of unemployment. This was often attributed to voluntary job changing. In the early part of this century Rowntree and Lasker (1911) found that most of the youths in their study changed jobs frequently, favouring short periods of work in "dead-end jobs" with intervening periods of unemployment. A more up to date analysis of job changing and youth unemployment can be found in Baxter (1975, 1977). Experience of unemployment for large numbers of young people in the early months/years after entry into the labour market is by no means a new experience. However in the last decade or so high unemployment has been a feature of most if not all Western economies and an unduly heavy burden has fallen upon the young; the gap between unemployment rates for adults and young workers has widened.<sup>1</sup> This has led to widespread concern being expressed over the employment opportunities available for young people:

"Every young person leaving school needs a chance of a job, not only the bright, the qualified, the able and those of good appearance, but everyone of them, not only those who leave in a boom but also those who leave in a recession."<sup>2</sup>

"Perhaps the most damaging aspect of unemployment is that affecting young people. For them both the cyclical and structural aspects are magnified. The effect of a long period without a job lasts longer for young people leaving school and anxious to work, who then feel rejected by society."<sup>3</sup>

Anxieties expressed about the worsening of job prospects of school leavers has taken the form of a twin concern for a waste of the nation's resources and the demoralisation of youth, potentially leading to a variety of anti-social behaviour.<sup>4</sup> This concern has been translated into positive discrimination in favour of young people in much of the Government's response to unemployment. The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) has grown enormously since its establishment in 1974, particularly in the area of providing special temporary measures to combat unemployment, many of which have been directed at young people. The most important of these special measures, until its replacement by the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) in September 1983, both in terms of participants and resources allocated, was the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). YOP grew out of the recommendations of the Holland Committee (MSC (1977)) which recommended the restructuring of the work creation programme. YOP came into being on 1 April 1978 providing work experience or work preparation for 162,000 young people in 1978/9<sup>5</sup>, 216,000 in 1979/80<sup>6</sup>, and over 400,000 in/

/in 1981/2 and was expected to cater for over 650,000 in its last year of operation.<sup>7</sup> YOP therefore became an important stepping stone for young people in the transition from school to work. Unfortunately as the recession deepened less and less YOP graduates were gaining employment upon leaving their scheme, (O'Connor (1981)) and consequently more and more were beginning a further period of unemployment. Therefore the pattern which has been observed in the youth labour market for many years - young people experiencing more than one period of unemployment - still emerges at times of mass unemployment; though it could be argued for different reasons. Unemployment spells are not being interrupted by periods spent in "dead end jobs" but by periods spent on YOP schemes. Early labour market experiences for the majority of young people from the late 1970's to the present day can be characterised as spells of unemployment interrupted only by work experience/preparation schemes.

Although the picture presented above is of a very difficult transition period from school to work for the majority of school leavers, nonetheless a sizeable proportion of young people do find the transition from school to work a relatively smooth passage. Within a matter of a few weeks/months after entering the labour market they have been able to secure permanent employment though over the past 10 years the proportion of 16-18 year olds in employment has declined considerably/

/considerably - in 1974 over 70% of young people were in employment but by 1984 this had declined to just over 40% (with corresponding increases in unemployment and youth training schemes, such as YOP and YTS).<sup>8</sup>

The picture we have described above of the likely labour market experiences of school leavers in the early months/years after first entering the labour market poses a number of questions which we would hope to be able to answer in this chapter. Do those young people who are successful in obtaining a permanent job possess a number of personal characteristics or engage in different types of behaviour which mark them out from the rest of their contemporaries who would appear to have little prospect of a job as part of their early labour market experiences? Is it personal characteristics - qualifications, sex, family background etc. - which are the main determinants of employment success, or is it the behavioural aspects of job search - the use of formal vs informal channels of information, intensity of use, use of networks etc. - which account for the differential labour market experiences of the sample?

## 2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The relevant economic theory to be discussed in relation to our interest in factors associated with determining unemployment duration would seem to be job search theory. Search models are applicable in principle to the analysis of unemployment duration/

/duration as they highlight the conditions under which job search terminates. A crucial assumption of much of the new microeconomics of labour markets and inflation is that job search is more effectively conducted when the searcher is unemployed,<sup>9</sup> and therefore the terms 'duration of search' and 'duration of unemployment' can be considered synonymous with each other.

Search, as defined by Stigler (1962), involves an individual worker canvassing employers in an attempt to determine the highest wage that his/her skills and abilities can command in the market. However, as search is a costly exercise (both in terms of monetary expenditure and time) the greater the cost of search the less search will be undertaken. Therefore the question much of the theoretical literature addressess itself to is 'when should a searcher cease searching and accept a wage offer'?

The elementary search model, found for example in Lippman and McCall (1976), for individual workers is the foundation upon which the vast literature on the economics of job search is based. The model is a sequential decision model with a number of (restrictive) assumptions:

- (i) the searcher has an infinite time horizon
- (ii) there is no discounting

- (iii) the searcher knows the time invariant wage offer distribution
- (iv) the searcher is risk neutral.

The job seeker is assumed to search each and every day until a job offer is accepted. Each day's canvassing of employers results in the receipt of one job offer (the theory permits an employer to offer zero wages to allow for the possibility that some days no offer will be forthcoming). The cost of generating each job offer is assumed to be a constant. No limit is placed on the number of job offers a searcher receives, but it is assumed that when an offer is accepted all search ceases.

Each searcher will have a number of skills and attributes which will be of interest to employers. Different employers will value these skills and attributes differently and will therefore offer the searcher different wage rates. To incorporate this phenomenon into the model it is assumed that there is a probability distribution of wages which governs the offers made. This distribution is known to the searcher and is assumed to be invariant over time.

The optimal policy for the searcher is to reject all wage offers below a single critical value, called the 'reservation wage', and accept any offer which is above (or equal to) this wage./

/wage. The reservation wage is assumed to be constant over time, and the lower the cost of search the higher the reservation wage and consequently the longer the (expected) period of unemployment; the higher the reservation wage the more likely is the searcher to reject a given wage offer.

More formally the model can be written as follows. Through efforts in looking for work an individual will receive a job offer  $X_i$  per period, where  $X_i$  is a random variable with a cumulative distribution function  $F(\cdot)$ , with  $E(X_i) < \infty$  with all  $X_i$ s being mutually independent. The searcher will retain the highest job offer, returns from search ending after the  $n$ th search are given by:

$$Y_n = \max (X_1, \dots, X_n) - nc \quad (1)$$

where  $c$  is the cost per period of search. The objective is to find a stopping rule which maximises  $E(Y_n)$ , the random stopping time. If  $\epsilon$  is the expected gain from searching (i.e. the reservation wage) then for any wage offer  $X$ , the optimal stopping policy takes this form:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{accept job if} & X \geq \epsilon \\ \text{reject job if} & X < \epsilon \end{array} \quad (2)$$

The expected return is then;

$$E \max (\epsilon, X_1) - c \quad (3)$$

The reservation wage associated with the optimal stopping rule is chosen to equate the marginal cost of obtaining one more job offer with the expected marginal return from one more observation. The probability of entering employment and unemployment coming to an end is composed of two elements - the probability of receiving a job offer and the probability that this offer dominates the reservation wage.

The rationale behind reviewing economic theories which may appear relevant to our discussion of factors associated with determining labour market experiences is in the hope that theory would suggest variables to be included in our empirical analysis. Our review of employee job search theory reveals two such variables - the reservation wage, and search costs. However it is perhaps worth noting that in the case of school leavers search theory may over estimate the importance of these two factors in determining the duration of search. Evidence presented in Chapter Three suggests that prior to leaving school young people are not well informed as to the level of youth wages - they consistently under-estimated the true level of youth pay, the mean value of the sample's answers was only 60% of actual wages. If a young person's reservation wage is based on his/her "knowledge" of youth wages then it could be the case that his/her reservation wage could be so low in relation to any likely wage offer as to diminish its role in determining the duration of search. The/

/The monetary costs associated with job search may also not prove to be as important as search theory implies. For example search undertaken at school may well be financed by parents as they recognise the importance of their son/daughter finding work. Any newspapers which are consulted in the search for appropriate job vacancies may already be delivered to the home or bought by another member of the household thus saving the searcher this item of expenditure. The cost of telephone calls to prospective employers may simply be met from the family budget if made from the home rather than a call box. We have no direct evidence on any of these possibilities as we failed to include questions related to search costs in any of the questionnaires used in gathering our data. These examples have more of an intuitive appeal rather than being based on concrete evidence gathered from the sample, though informal conversations with some parents did reveal that they were prepared to help their offspring with items such as bus fares into town for visits to the Careers Service. However this type of conversation was not entered into with all parents.

At the same time that workers are involved in searching for work employers are searching for workers to fill vacancies. Workers are faced with a probability distribution of wage rates and accept employment when a wage offer exceeds some critical point on this distribution. For given wage offers, employers searching for new employees face a distribution of/

/of marginal products. The productivity of a job searcher is difficult to determine, but elementary theory of employer search assumes that employers can perform tests and/or acquire information which will reveal the true value of employee's marginal product. These tests however are costly, both in time and money, and it is these costs which limit employers' search. The model of employers' search is a variant on the elementary search model outlined above, with marginal products replacing wages. An employer will accept an applicant if his/her marginal product is equal to or greater than some minimal acceptable productivity - "reservation productivity".

That employers search for information about employee characteristics positively correlated with job productivity provides an incentive for individuals to devote resources to improving these characteristics even though job productivity may not be enhanced (Spence (1973)). One way school leavers may attempt to do this is through obtaining 'O' Grade passes prior to leaving school. This gives a further variable to include in our analysis.

Our discussion of theoretical models of job search (employee and employer) has identified a number of variables which we would hope to be able to include in our attempt to explain the differing labour market experiences of the sample. However in themselves these variables would prove inadequate in offering a full explanation and therefore we turn our attention to previous empirical studies to suggest further variables for our analysis.

### 3. LITERATURE SURVEY.

The probability that an individual will be in employment at some date will be a function (inter alia) of

- (i) the receiving of a job offer
- (ii) the acceptance of that offer.

Our review of the economic theories of job search (employer and employee) identified three variables which we would hope to be able to include in our analysis - search costs, reservation wage (which will affect the decision to accept/reject the offer) and academic qualifications (which may lead to the offer being made). In an attempt to identify other variables which are also likely to influence (i) and (ii) above, we turn our attention to previous empirical studies of unemployment duration, re-employment probabilities and studies which have identified factors important in employment success.

Job search theory predicts that anything reducing the cost of job search will, ceteris paribus, increase unemployment duration and the level of unemployment. Gujerati (1972) attributed the upward movement in the U-V curve from about 1964<sub>4</sub> to 1968<sub>3</sub> to changes in Social Security payments brought about by the Redundancy Payments Act 1964 and National Insurance Act 1966, which gave employees dismissed through redundancy a lump sum payment, and increased the level of unemployment/

/unemployment compensation. This legislation, Gujerati felt, eased the financial pressure on an unemployed individual allowing him/her to devote time to job search. Although this study attracted much criticism<sup>10</sup> a number of studies were undertaken to investigate the hypothesis that increased unemployment compensation increases unemployment, both in Britain and the U.S.

MacKay and Reid (1972) in a study of redundant engineering workers found a significant relationship between unemployment and unemployment benefit, suggesting that a £1 increase in benefits would increase unemployment duration by  $\frac{1}{2}$  week. No significant relationship was found to exist between redundancy payments and unemployment benefits. Maki and Spindler (1975) in a much criticised study produce results which suggested that the effect of ERS was to increase overall and male unemployment by 30% and 33% respectively. Atkinson (1981) focussed on three major problems with their study - the specification of the unemployment equation, its interpretation as a reduced form equation and the appropriateness of the aggregate benefit/earnings ratio - which call into question the reliability of their results. Nickell (1979) attributes the introduction of ERS with increasing unemployment by 10%, which would seem a more realistic figure than the one suggested by Maki and Spindler. In the U.S. Ehrenberg and Oaxaca (1976), Berges/

/Berges and Kingston (1976), Classen (1977), Holen (1977) all find evidence to support the hypothesis that increases in unemployment benefit leads to longer duration of unemployment. For young males and females Ehrenberg and Oaxaca find that unemployment benefit influences the unemployment duration but not post-unemployment wages, which is used as an index of productivity gains that may be attributable to job search. They suggest that increases in unemployment benefit serves only to subsidise unproductive job search or increased leisure time.

As soon as unemployment in general begins to rise a body of opinion will always claim that at least part of the increase is caused by people who do not want to work and the studies cited above will provide some ammunition as they fight their case. There is a school of thought, which includes members of the present Government,<sup>11</sup> who believe that young people are content with the increased income they "enjoy" as members of the unemployed compared with their income as school pupils, and so do not bother to search for work i.e. supplementary benefit is used to finance increased leisure. Our own work on job search found that young people do in fact engage in a considerable amount of search activity, if unsuccessfully, and Lynch (1983) using a job search framework and survey data on both completed and uncompleted spells of unemployment concludes that unemployment income is an insignificant determinant/

/determinant of the duration of unemployment for young people. The conclusion reached by Lynch adds to a growing literature which questions not only how large the effect of unemployment income is on the duration of unemployment, but whether it is even a significant explanatory variable. Junankar (1981) states quite clearly that increases in unemployment in Britain since the mid-1960's was not caused by increases in unemployment benefit. Saywer (1979) presents evidence to suggest that increases in unemployment were not caused by the introduction of ERS,<sup>12</sup> and Stern (1984) finds no evidence to support the hypothesis that the real level of unemployment benefits increased the probability of repeat spells of unemployment. Lynch attributes this trend in the literature on the effects of benefits on the duration of unemployment not simply to more accurate data becoming available but also to the impact of the worsening economic climate - as unemployment levels rise and the number of vacancies decline it seems quite likely that unemployment benefit will be used less to subsidise prolonged job search/leisure, and more to alleviate hardships resulting from unemployment.

Unemployment benefit/insurance is seen in the literature as only one determinant of unemployment duration - other studies have identified certain personal characteristics which will be important factors in determining the length of time an individual remains unemployed:

".....it must also be remembered that time spent on the register depends too on sex, age, and a number of personal characteristics".<sup>13</sup>

Age has frequently been seen as an important determinant of unemployment duration (Fowler (1968)) MacKay and Reid (1972), Cripps and Tarling (1974), McGregor (1977, 1978)). Fowler (1968) found that the expected duration for females 55-60 years of age was four times that of females under 25; for males 55-60 expected duration was five times that of males under 25. Cripps and Tarling (1974) found that young people (18-24) were much more likely to come on to the register than older groups, but the average duration was much shorter.

The health of an individual has also been shown to be an important determinant of unemployment duration (Ministry of Labour Gazette (1964) Cripps and Tarling (1974), Metcalfe and Nickell (1977)) with individuals suffering from ill-health experiencing longer periods of unemployment than their more healthier colleagues.

The level of skill an individual possesses has also been found to be an important determinant of unemployment duration (MacKay and Reid (1972), McGregor (1977, 1978)). The skilled job seeker tends to experience shorter spells of unemployment than/

/than his/her unskilled counterpart. This could be due to generally more favourable market conditions for skilled workers - even in times of high unemployment there still exists skill shortages - or that skilled workers can compete for jobs requiring lower skills, whereas the reverse is not generally possible. In addition the benefit-income ratio for skilled workers is likely to be lower, encouraging them to search more intensively for work.

Family status has also been found to be significant in determining unemployment duration (MacKay and Reid (1972), Metcalfe and Nickell (1977) Nickell (1980)). Married men tend to experience shorter unemployment durations than single men. The simple explanation is that the married group are under greater financial pressures to return to work quickly. It may also reflect a preference for married men over single men on the part of employers (Nichols and Beynon (1977)). However MacKay and Reid (1972) found that married men with more than two children (along with single men) were under least financial pressure to gain employment.

It has long been believed that the attainment of academic qualifications plays a part in determining employment success (Banks (1976), Dore (1976)). Marshall (1963) argued that there had been a "tightening bond" between educational qualifications and occupational attainment. This tightening could manifest itself/

/manifest itself in two ways. First employers may increase the level of qualifications necessary for entry into particular occupations - this has been used particularly by professional associations. Secondly employers could use educational qualifications as a screening mechanism to reduce the number of applicants to manageable numbers - this could be particularly important in times of mass unemployment. Gray et al (1983) and Main and Raffe (1983) all show that even the sitting of 'O' Grade examinations is associated with labour market success. Surveys of employers (MSC (1978), Hunt and Small (1981) and Ashton et al (1982), all agree that employers do use qualifications as a criteria in occupational selection of young people, though the extent of their use is a matter of debate. These surveys show that qualifications are used most at the stage of screening applicants prior to the drawing up of a short list to be interviewed.

Main and Raffe (1983) and Richardson (1981) both find that employment prospects of young people are clearly and significantly related to having done part-time work whilst at school. The most obvious explanation which occurs for this relates to the importance of informal channels of information in job search success. MacLennan (1980) reports that the employment of children is not simply restricted to newspaper delivery or baby sitting - children perform a wide range of jobs, which although are unskilled very rarely rely exclusively upon child labour. Young people employed in these jobs are likely to hear/

/hear of full-time vacancies before they are officially advertised. Also employers will have had an opportunity to observe them in a work situation, and will therefore have had additional information on which to base an assessment of their likely productivity. A reference from an employer is also likely to confer advantages in job applications. Davis (1972) found that pupils who spend most of their out-of-school time in employment tend to be less industrious and attend school less regularly - all factors which may exert a negative influence upon employment success.

A rational employer will employ those workers he/she hopes will give the best return for the wages paid. However other influences have been found to be at work when the choice is made, and certain groups within the labour market are discriminated against (e.g. women, ethnic minorities) forcing them into lower paid and less attractive jobs. In certain areas, the West of Scotland being one, religious affiliation has also been used to discriminate against particular groups of workers. For discrimination to occur within a competitive market it is sufficient that certain groups within society exhibit a taste for discrimination. Becker (1971) has developed a theory predicated on tastes, though his approach does beg the question as to what determines these tastes. Weir and Nolan (1977) found some association between being the son of a Catholic family and being disadvantaged in terms of employment, with/

/with Payne and Ford (1977) finding that Catholic schooled Scots were less successful in the labour market than were non-Catholics with similar educational and social backgrounds.

#### 4. LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCES.

The previous two sections have identified a number of likely factors which may prove important in determining the labour market success of school leavers. As noted in section one young people leaving school are likely to experience more than one period of unemployment resulting perhaps more from the introduction of YOP than from job changing as in the past. Before we attempt to explain the differing labour market experience of the sample we present a brief description of the labour market states of the sample during their first year in the labour market. We are restricted for this part of the analysis to a sample of only 50 individuals (though we will be dealing with a much larger sample in our multivariate analysis below). The sample size for this piece of analysis is restricted to 50 due to differing response rates and responders to the questionnaires - only 50 individuals answered the relevant questions about their labour market states at each of three points in time:

- (i) August 1982
- (ii) December 1982
- (iii) Spring 1983.

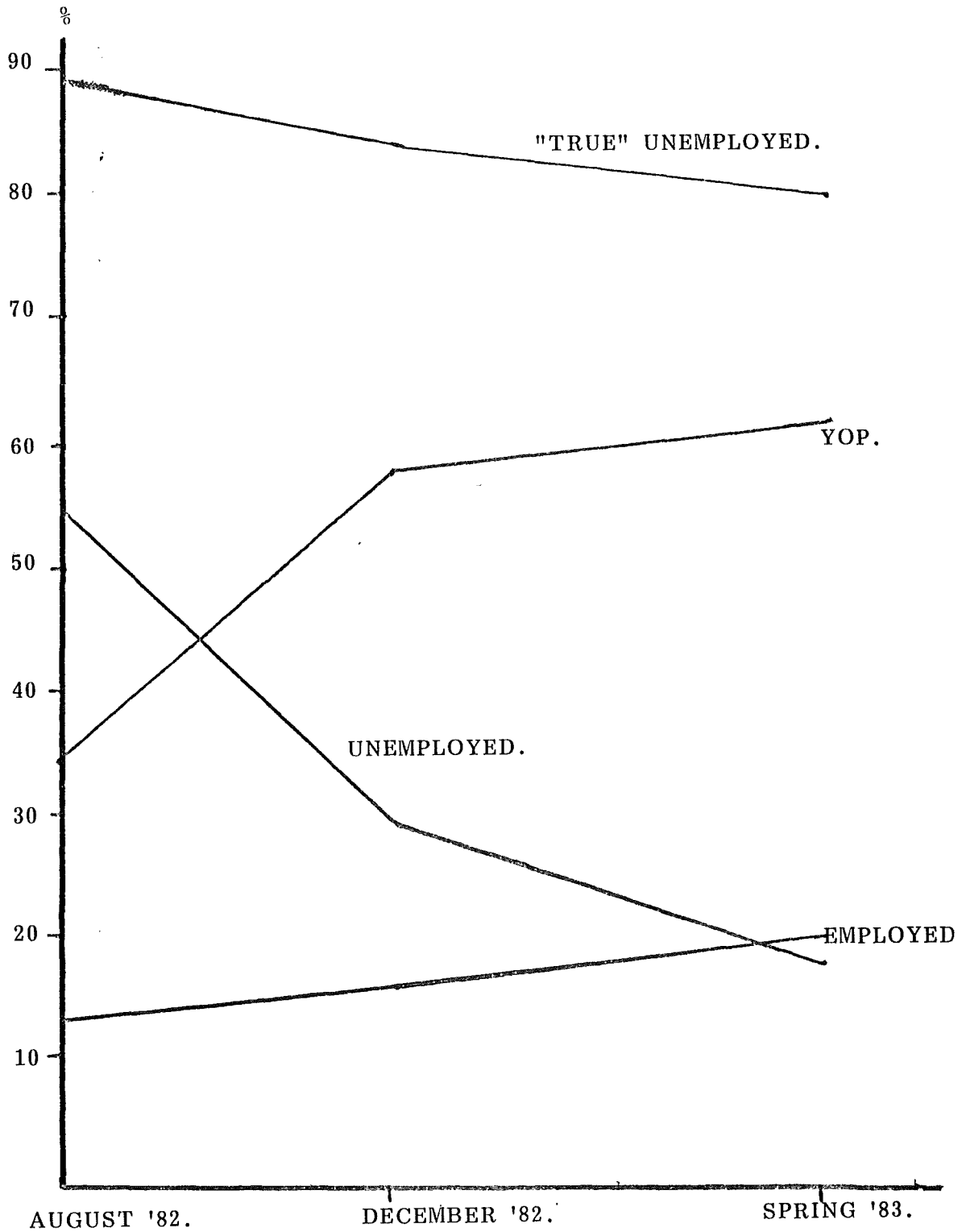
The "problem" questionnaire was December 1982 and no data is used from that questionnaire in our more substantive analysis below, which accounts for the much larger sample.

In Figure One we present a graphic description of the changing labour market states of this "mini sample". Although the unemployment rate fell dramatically over the period from 54% to 18%, there was no corresponding increase in the employment rate - it climbed slowly from 12% to only 20%. The difference is accounted for by the massive increase in YOP participation - from 34% to 62%. The "true" rate of unemployment (unemployment and YOP) which is perhaps a more accurate reflection of the changing fortunes of the sample in terms of labour market success falls slightly over the whole period, 88% to 80%.

These figures clearly illustrate the size of the unemployment problem facing young people in Motherwell - for the vast majority early labour market experience meant "employment" on YOP or unemployment, with only the fortunate few enjoying employment in a permanent job. The situation facing young people elsewhere in Britain, whilst not necessarily being as severe as in Motherwell will follow a similar pattern - employment for a few, unemployment interrupted only by short periods on temporary work schemes for the rest.

Having briefly examined the labour market experiences of our "mini sample" we now turn our attention towards attempting/

FIGURE ONE: CHANGING LABOUR MARKET STATES.





/replacing theoretical variables with their empirical counterparts, and in that particular analysis we experienced considerable difficulty with human capital theory variables. In this analysis we have problems with search theory and personal characteristics variables.

The elementary model of job search theory predicts that the two most important determinants of search (unemployment) duration are the reservation wage and costs involved in conducting search. Two problems arise when attempting to quantify search costs; first 'costs' do not simply include monetary expenditure upon items such as postage, telephone calls, travel expenses, but also time and effort; second, it is quite likely that household income will largely finance school leavers job search, particularly that undertaken at school and for the first few months after labour market entry when school leavers are ineligible for Supplementary Benefit. As we have no data on search costs incurred by the sample we are forced to exclude this "theoretical" variable from the analysis.

Problems are also encountered when considering income variables to include in the equation. In the light of our survey of the literature we would wish to include an "unemployment income" variable. Our information pertaining to the amount of unemployment income enjoyed by members of the sample is/

/is restricted to the fact that the Supplementary Benefit rate was £15.80 at the time of the labour market interview, which presents us with two problems. First, this is likely to under-estimate their true unemployment income for two reasons - some members of the sample may have been involved in "black economy" activities or received an additional allowance from their parents, and as all members of the sample were still living at home with their parents they would have been in receipt of "free" or at least subsidised housing, food and possibly clothing. The second problem we face is that to simply include the Supplementary Benefit rate in our equation would be a fruitless exercise as it would act as a constant and offer no explanation of the variation in their labour market experiences.

Our literature survey presented us with a host of possible variables to include in our analysis. Unfortunately as a result of our study being of young people many of the suggested variables are not applicable to our sample. For example, age was found to be an important determinant but the individuals in our sample are all the same age, skill level was also seen to be important, but having only very recently left school the sample would have had no opportunity to acquire a skill. Therefore the personal characteristics which we are able to include in our analysis are somewhat restricted.

Bearing in mind these difficulties and limitations the equation we wish to estimate takes the form:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{EMP} = & a_0 + a_1 \text{ RESWAGE} + a_2 \text{ QUALIF} + a_3 \text{ BENY} \\
 & + a_4 \text{ SEX} + a_5 \text{ AREA} + a_6 \text{ AREA 1} \\
 & + a_7 \text{ SCH} + a_8 \text{ PTJOB} + a_9 \text{ YOP} \\
 & + a_{10} \text{ FAMSIZE} + a_{11} \text{ FEMP} + a_{12} \text{ FJOB} \\
 & + a_{13} \text{ SCHJS} + a_{14} \text{ AREAJS} + a_{15} \text{ APPLYJOB} \\
 & + a_{16} \text{ CHAN} + a_{17} \text{ INT.}
 \end{aligned} \tag{5}$$

#### Dependent Variable - EMP

We use a dichotomous variable, EMP, as our dependent variable, which takes the value 1 if at the time of the labour market interview the individual sample member was in employment (23% of the sample), zero otherwise. "Otherwise" includes the unemployed and those on YOP. In our analysis of the school leaving decision in Chapter Two we found the ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates and logit estimates (the most appropriate estimating technique for a dependent variable of this type) produced similar results. However we did recognise/

/recognise that this may not always be the case, and therefore we estimate equation (5) using OLS and logit.

Independent Variables.

1. Search Theory Variables.

(i) Reservation Wage - RESWAGE

In theoretical models of job search the optimal policy for the searcher is to reject all wage offers below some critical value called the reservation wage. The sample was therefore asked:

"What is the lowest wage (before tax and National Insurance is taken off) that you would be prepared to work for?"

We took the answer to this question to be their reservation wage. The mean value was £29.88.

Job search theory predicts that the higher the reservation wage the longer the (expected) period of unemployment, the higher the reservation wage the more likely is a searcher to reject a given wage offer - RESWAGE is therefore expected to be negatively signed.

(ii) Replacement Ratio - BENY

The replacement (benefit-income) ratio, the ratio of unemployment income to expected earnings, which we adopt in our estimation/

/estimation is somewhat cruder and less sophisticated than the one used by, for example, Nickell (1979). The Supplementary Benefit rate for 16 year olds in November 1982 was £15.80 per week and we use this figure for the numerator (though recognising that this is likely to be an under-estimation of their unemployment income for the reasons noted above). In the 'labour market' interview the sample was asked to give details of the earnings of school leavers. The answers to this question we use as a proxy for the earnings they themselves expect to earn and this figure is used as the denominator in the ratio. The higher the value of this ratio the longer the expected duration of unemployment as the difference between their income when unemployed and what they expect to earn if they found work is smaller. We would expect BENY to be negatively signed.

(iii) Education Attainment - QUALIF

Employers searching for employees will employ those workers whose marginal product exceeds some minimum level - "reservation productivity". Transmitting to employers the level of their productivity is more difficult for workers than is the transmitting of wage offers to workers by employers. Therefore employers will need to rely on proxies to suggest a worker's productivity. One proxy which they use, as we saw in our review of empirical studies, is educational attainment, which is itself proxied by the possession of academic qualifications. We therefore/

/therefore introduce a dummy variable into the equation, QUALIF, which is set to unity if the school leaver achieved one or more "O" Grade passes at A - C, (39% of the sample), zero otherwise.

It has long been believed that the attainment of academic qualifications play an important part in employment success. As we saw in our survey of the literature, employers, to some degree and usually at the stage of screening applicants, use academic qualifications as a criteria in occupational selection of young people. Gray et al (1983) and Main and Raffe (1983) show that the sitting of 'O' Grades, even if "failed", is associated with employment success. The "otherwise" group will include those who "passed" at grades D or E, those who failed and those who did not sit any 'O' Grade examinations, which may affect the explanatory power of QUALIF. We would however expect QUALIF to be positively signed.

## 2. Personal Characteristics Variables

### (i) Sex Differences - SEX

In earlier chapters we have advanced the idea that the Motherwell economy is structured in such a way as to be biased in favour of male employment, and therefore against female employment. The dominance of iron and steel manufacture and mechanical engineering has led to a predominance of "male jobs"/

/jobs" within the area. We would therefore expect this factor to be evident when discussing employment success. In our equation we therefore include a dummy variable SEX, taking the value 1 for males (67% of the sample), zero for females. Danson et al (1983, 1984), point to a Motherwell economy undergoing severe structural change with a permanent decline in its core industries, while the industries which are expanding tend to provide low paid, low skilled jobs, many being part-time and mainly performed by females which may therefore increase the employment opportunities for young females entering the labour market. Therefore it may be the structure of vacancies which is the important determinant of employment success rather than the industrial structure, which could point favourably in the direction of the females in our sample. However two points still lead us to expect SEX to be positively signed. First, in spite of searching more intensively for work than the males in our sample (see Chapter Five) females submitted proportionately fewer applications reflecting the probability that there were fewer vacancies for which girls were likely to apply (other factors may have discouraged them from submitting applications - e.g. wages too low) and second, the expanding industries within the Motherwell economy were expanding slowly and only accounted for some 2000 jobs in total. <sup>14</sup>

(ii) Area of Residence - AREA, AREA 1.

To take account of any affect that living in a particular area of the Motherwell district may have on the employment chances of an individual we include two dummy variables in our equation. AREA takes the value 1 if a member of the sample lived in Wishaw (35% of the sample) with AREA 1 being set to unity if an individual lived in Motherwell (one in three of the sample). Otherwise AREA and AREA 1 are set to zero. The omitted group are those individuals living in Bellshill. Lee and Wrench (1983) suggest that some employers do not consider applicants from outside the local area, though to what extent this factor is important within a local labour market the size of Motherwell with the three distinct large areas of population identified above is difficult to determine and therefore the signs attached to AREA and AREA1 are an empirical matter.

(iii) Religious Affilitation of School - SCH

In certain areas, the West of Scotland being one, religious affiliation has been used to discriminate against particular groups of workers. Within a competitive market, for discrimination to occur it is sufficient that certain groups within society exhibit a taste for discrimination.<sup>15</sup> In the West of Scotland many thousands of people identify with a particular football club endorsing what they see as its anti-Catholic stance.<sup>16</sup>

Such a situation existing openly raises the question as to what happens behind the scenes when school-leavers apply for jobs? It could be the case that for some applicants the name of their school on their application form results in the form being destined for the wastepaper bin. Discrimination of this type can of course work both ways but there are probably more anti-Catholic employers/personnel managers one might speculate that Catholics would tend to do worse out of a two-way discrimination. SCH a dummy variable is included in the equation to try and capture this effect, being given the value 1 for those respondents who attended Catholic schools (33% of the sample) and zero for those attending non-denominational schools. A negative sign is expected to be attached to its coefficient.

(iv) Part-Time Job Whilst at School - PTJOB

If a respondent held a part-time job during term time in their last year at school (43% of the sample) then the variable PTJOB was set to unity, otherwise it was to zero. This figure is somewhat higher than we might have expected. The Low Pay Unit (MacLennan (1980)) estimate that somewhere between one-quarter and one-third of all British children between the ages of 13 and 16 have some kind of paid employment, and these jobs are not simply restricted to baby-sitting or newspaper delivery. However it is difficult to arrive at anything like an exact estimate of employment as there are/

/are few sources of information available and illegal employment is for obvious reasons difficult to quantify. We expect PTJOB to be positively signed. Young people employed in part-time jobs are likely to hear of (or be offered) full-time vacancies before they are officially advertised. Employers will have had an opportunity to observe them in a work situation and will therefore have increased information about their productivity and appropriateness for the job. Also a reference from an employer is likely to be an advantage in job applications. These factors all point to those who have had a part-time job having an advantage over their contemporaries who have not worked whilst at school, in the search for work.

(v) Participation upon a Youth Opportunities Programme - YOP

Over 80% of the sample had at some stage since leaving school joined a Youth Opportunities Programme scheme. The term Youth Opportunities Programme embraced a number of different work experience and work preparation schemes, and it is possible that with such a high participation rate for the Programme among our sample, that the type of scheme entered is more likely to affect a young person's employment chances than merely having participated in the Programme. YOP, a dummy variable was therefore included in the equation, being assigned the value 1 if a member of the sample was placed on a Work Experience on Employers Premises (WEEP) scheme, (47% of the sample), zero otherwise. "Otherwise" will include those who had been on Training Workshop schemes, the New Training/

/Training Initiative pilot scheme, Community Industry, as well as those who had not been on any scheme. Our expectation is that YOP will be positively signed. WEEP placed trainees directly with employers, and therefore following the argument we used in our discussion of the likely sign attached to PTJOB, WEEP trainees will be more likely to hear of full-time vacancies with their sponsors and/or have the advantage that an employer would have been able to observe them in a work situation thus increasing his/her knowledge of their productivity which at best will give the trainee an advantage over applicants for a vacancy with his/her sponsor and at worst enable the employer to include such information in a reference. In addition young people recruited to WEEP underwent a similar selection procedure as those recruited to permanent jobs and therefore the "better quality" young people would tend to get WEEP places.

(vi) Size of Family - FAMSIZE

The size of a school leavers family was determined from questions asking the number of brothers, sisters and parents the respondents had living at home. If the family contained four or less members, which approximates to the average size family, FAMSIZE was set to unity (37% of the total sample), zero otherwise. Ferguson and Cunnison (1951) found that boys from large families experienced more unemployment than those from smaller families, though the position within the family may have been the more important/

/important determinant - the disadvantage usually falling upon the younger members of large families. The influence of family size upon employment success occurs through its effect upon other factors associated with success - e.g. boys from large families were found to achieve less in academic terms than boys from smaller families, and academic success was found to be positively related to employment success. The Ferguson and Cunnison study's results leads us to expect FAMSIZE to be positively signed. In addition smaller families may be more able to subsidise search costs to a greater degree than large families where the household income would need to stretch further.

(vii) Employment Status of Father - FEMP

If at the time of the "labour market" interview the respondent's father was in employment (59% of the sample) then FEMP, a dummy variable was given the value 1, zero otherwise (deceased, unemployed, not living at home). Ferguson and Cunnison (1951) in their study of Glasgow boys found that unemployment among their sample was associated with a poor employment record of their father, and Main (1985) finds that having a father who is unemployed severely inhibits the probability of a school leaver being employed. We would therefore expect FEMP to be positively signed. Aside from these findings the reasoning which brought us to this expectation is related to the importance of informal channels of information in job search/

/search success. A father who is employed is likely to be in a position to gain advance information about possible job vacancies at his place of work thus giving his child an opportunity to submit an application or express an interest before the job is officially advertised - indeed if a suitable candidate emerges through this informal method the firm may decide not to go to the expense of officially advertising the job (expenses will include not only monetary outlay on placing the advertisement, but time and effort involved in the selection procedures which firms adopt when recruiting). In addition the ability of the family to subsidise search costs will be enhanced if the father is employed.

(viii) Parental Occupation - FJOB

This variable is a crude attempt to capture the social level of the father's occupation. Father's occupation was classified as either manual or non-manual - occupations given the CODOT classification number 360.00 or above were classified as manual, with those being classified as non-manual (professional, managerial, clerical) taking a CODOT classification number below this value (McGregor (1978) uses the same cut off point). If the individual's father was unemployed then they were classified according to their last job, if the individual had no father they were classified as non-manual. This variable attempts to measure the influences associated with a good socio-economic background, which is often related to success/

/success in the labour market. MSC (1978) report that unemployed teenagers tended to have fathers in the less skilled occupations. PARJOB takes the value 1 if a young person's father was employed in a non-manual job (13% of the sample), zero if employed in a manual job. We would expect PARJOB to be positively signed.

### 3. Behavioural Variables

#### (i) Job Search While at School - SCHJS

MacKay and Reid (1972) in their study of redundant engineering workers found that those workers who began to look for a new job before they left their old firm suffered shorter spells of unemployment than their colleagues who delayed their job search until they actually became unemployed. A similarity exists between these workers and school leavers to the extent that both groups know in advance that they will need to look for work in the not too distant future. If the MacKay and Reid results holds for school leavers we would expect SCHJS to be positively signed. In constructing SCHJS we were faced with the same problem we encountered in Job Search Behaviour when discussing the "decision to search" - for some individuals the response given in postal questionnaires distributed after entry into the labour market had been made did not tally with the answers given in the "school interview". As in that discussion we take the interview response to be the/

/the more accurate and therefore "job search while at school" relates only to job search undertaken prior to the "school interview". SCHJS is therefore given the value 1 if when questioned in the school interview they indicated that they had already begun their search for work (46% of the sample). In all other cases SCHJS was assigned a value of zero. SCHJS will under-estimate the degree of job search undertaken prior to labour market entry.

(ii) Areas in Which Search Conducted - AREAJS

The state of demand for young workers in the Motherwell labour market is at such a low level, as measured by youth unemployment/YOP participation rates, as to suggest that young people may benefit in terms of employment success by looking for work outside their local area. AREAJS is incorporated into the model in an attempt to capture this effect. The hypothesis is that the wider the net a school leaver is prepared to cast in their search for work the greater the probability of them finding work. In the 'school interview' the sample was asked "in which areas are you prepared to work?" We take answers to this question, which ranged from "within the Motherwell District" to "abroad", as a proxy for the areas in which they would conduct their job search. AREAJS is set to unity if a respondent was prepared to leave home in order to take up the offer of a job i.e. Scotland (outside/

/(outside Motherwell or within daily travel from their home) the rest of Britain or abroad (50% of the sample), zero otherwise (i.e. the Motherwell district or within daily travel). A positive sign is expected.

(iii) Number of Jobs Applied For - APPLYJOB

One might reasonably expect that the more jobs a person applies for the greater chance that he/she will be made an offer (of course whether such an offer is accepted will depend upon a number of factors). APPLYJOB is an attempt to capture this effect. We have details of the job applications submitted by the sample prior to labour market entry, and after entry into the labour market has been made. However in constructing this variable we include only those jobs applied for whilst at school, and reported in the August postal questionnaire. Data on the number of jobs applied for from the December postal questionnaire is incomplete and unreliable and is therefore excluded. In the labour market interview we found that those who were in employment were not searching for work in the period covered by that questionnaire and therefore to use that data would produce unreliable results. Therefore APPLYJOBS is likely to understate the actual number of jobs applied for but is the most reliable measure we can obtain given our data. The mean value of this variable is 7 jobs, and the range is considerable 0 to 61. The number of jobs a young person applies for will be a function of many factors - career/

/ career flexibility, use of particular channels, intensity of search, labour markets in which search is conducted etc. and therefore when interpreting the results of including this variable in the equation these factors should be borne in mind.

(iv) Information Channel Used in Search - CHAN

Previous studies of job search success have highlighted the fact that informal methods of job search are a particularly important source of information about job vacancies.<sup>18</sup> However it may be that as unemployment increases formal channels will become the most important source of information particularly if a young person's personal contacts are themselves unemployed, and therefore less likely to hear of vacancies than if they were in employment. The information channels used in a young person's job search strategy may have an important influence on their chances of employment. In the August postal questionnaire the sample was asked from which information channel they thought they were most likely to hear of a job. It is not unreasonable to assume that the information channel given in answer to this question will be the information channel predominantly used in their job search strategy. CHAN is a dummy variable taking the value 1 if a formal channel of information (Careers Service, Job Centre, newspaper) was given in answer to the question on the August postal questionnaire (33% of the sample), zero if an informal channel of information was named.

(v) Intensity of Job Search - INT

The intensity with which job search is undertaken is likely to have an effect upon a young person's employment chances - the more intensively job search is pursued the more likely is a young person to find a job. To capture this effect we include one variable in our equation. We have data on the frequency of use of each of six information channels (Careers Service, Job Centre, personal contacts, local and national newspapers, direct approach to employers). A coding system was introduced which allowed us to establish a "mean value" of use of all channels (1 - once a week, 2 - fortnightly, 3 - monthly, 4 - less than once a month, 5 - never). INT was assigned the value 1 if the mean value was less than 3, (40% of the sample), zero if greater than 3. Scotland's main school leaving date each year is 31 May and employers looking to recruit young people are likely to gear their recruitment drive to coincide with this date. Therefore young people who engage in a high degree of search activity around this period are more likely to find jobs for which they can apply. We would therefore expect INT to be positively signed.

5. RESULTS.

The equation was estimated for the sample as a whole and for boys and girls separately. Results are presented in Tables One (OLS) and Two (logit). Unlike our analysis of the school leaving decision when we also estimated an equation using/

TABLE ONE:  
REGRESSION RESULTS: OLS

VARIABLES	WHOLE SAMPLE	MALES	FEMALES
CONSTANT	0.245	-0.163	1.617
RESWAGE	-0.005 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.035 (0.014)**
QUALIF	0.069 (0.089)	0.117 (0.099)	-0.207 (0.225)
BENY	0.491 (0.378)**	0.180 (0.439)	0.083 (0.725)
SEX	-0.213 (0.094)**	-	-
AREA	-0.003 (0.106)	-0.045 (0.118)	-0.425 (0.248)**
AREA 1	0.085 (0.109)	-0.029 (0.120)	0.113 (0.233)
SCH	0.108 (0.105)	-0.052 (0.119)	0.430 (0.237)**
PTJOB	-0.084 (0.088)	-0.077 (0.098)	0.148 (0.207)
YOP	-0.013 (0.088)	-0.042 (0.100)	0.124 (0.170)
FAMSIZE	-0.016 (0.093)	-0.129 (0.109)	-0.096 (0.182)
FEMP	-0.001 (0.099)	0.028 (0.119)	-0.117 (0.201)
FJOB	0.083 (0.131)	0.140 (0.153)	0.086 (0.233)
SCHJS	0.026 (0.091)	0.132 (0.098)*	-0.385 (0.201)**
AREAJS	0.027 (0.082)	0.058 (0.093)	-0.012 (0.165)
APPLYJOB	0.013 (0.004)***	0.012 (0.004)***	0.017 (0.024)
CHAN	0.041 (0.091)	0.094 (0.105)	-0.214 (0.186)
INT	-0.221 (0.095)**	-0.122 (0.115)	-0.311 (0.226)*
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.35	0.46
FSTAT	1.36	1.90	1.22
n	114	74	40

Standard errors in parenthesis.

\*\*\*Significant at 1% level

\*\*Significant at 5% level

\*Significant at 10% level

No equation is significant.

TABLE TWO:  
REGRESSION RESULTS - LOGIT

VARIABLES	WHOLE-SAMPLE	MALES	FEMALES
CONSTANT	-2.58	-17.528	17.19
RESWAGE	-0.023 (0.039)	-0.064 (0.074)	-0.631 (0.303)**
QUALIF	0.342 (0.371)	0.797 (0.669)	-0.472 (1.002)
BENY	4.678 (3.249)*	23.156 (17.4)*	-1.913 (7.766)
SEX	-0.836 (0.338)***	-	-
AREA	-0.0331 (0.348)	-0.358 (0.656)	-1.465 (1.464)
AREA 1	0.344 (0.371)	-0.713 (0.766)	1.633 (1.301)
SCH	-0.623 (0.393)*	0.239 (0.912)	2.207 (1.163)**
PTJOB	-0.431 (0.305)*	-0.275 (0.581)	1.853 (1.268)*
YOP	-0.120 (0.296)	-0.627 (0.694)	1.440 (0.911)*
FAMSIZE	-0.069 (0.303)	-1.348 (0.780)**	-1.268 (1.020)
FEMP	-0.015 (0.319)	1.018 (0.890)	0.057 (1.172)
FJOB	0.216 (0.407)	-0.401 (0.826)	-0.195 (0.442)
SCHJS	0.278 (0.308)	1.845 (0.910)**	-3.061 (1.524)**
AREAJS	0.092 (0.268)	0.818 (0.772)	-0.824 (0.897)
APPLYJOBS	0.089 (0.033)**	0.189 (0.091)**	-0.115 (0.281)
CHAN	0.266 (0.306)	1.122 (0.852)*	-2.328 (1.497)*
INT	-0.943 (0.371)***	-2.544 (1.312)**	-0.147 (1.156)
n	114	74	40

Standard errors in parenthesis

\*\*\*Significant at 1% level

\*\*Significant at 5% level

\*Significant at 10% level

/using OLS and logit, the different estimating techniques in this instance do not produce similar results. The logit estimation, which is the more appropriate estimation procedure, provides us with an increase in the number of significant variables and in some cases increased significant levels. Therefore in our discussion we will concentrate our attention upon the logit estimates.

### Discussion

The results we present in Table Two do not enable us to offer a full explanation of the differing labour market experiences of the sample, though we are able to identify a number of variables which are significant. No variable is significant in all three equations and only one third of the variables in any one equation are statistically significant, many only at the 10% level. Overall the model suggests that personal characteristics together with aspects of search behaviour cannot account for the distribution of employment/unemployment among our sample.

The personal characteristic variable which is statistically highly significant for the sample as a whole is SEX. The co-efficient attached to this variable does not however have the expected sign. Why should this be given that the industrial structure of the Motherwell economy is heavily biased towards male employment? Danson et al (1983, 1984) point to a contraction/

/contraction in the core industries of the Motherwell economy, where one would expect little recruitment to be taking place, least of all in jobs for which young people would be likely to be considered e.g. apprenticeships/traineeships. This would affect the employment prospects for young males - more important than the industrial structure of the local economy for the employment of young people will be the growth areas in the economy, the firms who have vacancies. Data made available by the Motherwell Labour Market Project suggests that the growth industries within the Motherwell economy are more likely to have vacancies for which females, rather than males, are likely to apply. (However it should be recognised that vacancies will still occur in stagnant or moderately declining industries which would also attract females e.g. retailing). This factor could therefore account for SEX having a negative co-efficient. In addition service industries may be more likely to fill vacancies than heavy manufacturing industries, and hence a better chance of employment for females.

A significant 'behavioural' variable in our model is APPLYJOB, significant at the 1% level for the sample as a whole and for boys at the 5% level, but not for girls. As noted above the number of jobs applied for could well be a function of search intensity, use of particular information channels etc. and APPLYJOB may in-fact be picking up these influences. As an exercise we regressed the other behavioural variables in our model on APPLYJOB, results being presented in Table/

/Table Three. This analysis shows that the earlier search is begun (i.e. whilst at school), the more intensively search is pursued and the wider (geographically) one is prepared to search for work the greater the number of vacancies one is able to identify for which applications can be submitted.

INT is another variable found to be significant for the sample as a whole, and also for boys though it has the "wrong" sign. Our expectation was that those who engaged intensively in search in the summer of 1982 when employers recruiting youth labour would gear their recruitment drive would be more likely to be in employment than those who did not search intensively for a job in this period. One possible explanation for the reverse sign attached to INT could be that those in employment at the time of the labour market interview had arranged employment prior to entry into the labour market and were therefore not engaged in search activity in the period covered by INT. However it turns out that less than half of those who were in employment at the time of the labour market interview were also in employment at the end of the period covered by INT. This means that more than half of those who were employed gained employment post - the August 1982 postal questionnaire. We could therefore interpret the co-efficient attached to INT as indicating that the intensity with which search is undertaken is not important in determining employment success.

**TABLE THREE:**  
**REGRESSION RESULTS:**  
**NUMBER OF JOBS APPLIED FOR**

<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>CO-EFFICIENTS</u>
Constant	1.051
SCHJS	5.577 (1.814)***
INT	7.989 (1.827)***
CHAN	3.553 (1.911)**
AREAJS	2.739 (1.770)*
<hr/>	
R <sup>2</sup>	0.28
F.Stat	10.59***
n	114
<hr/>	

Standard errors in parenthesis

\*\*\*significant at 1% level

\*\*Significant at 5% level

\*Significant at 10% level

"Personal characteristic" variables which appear important in determining employment success are SCH, PTJOB for the sample as a whole and for girls, and YOP for girls only. SCH was included in the analysis to capture any effect that religious discrimination may have had on the employability of the sample. The co-efficient attached to SCH however has the unexpected sign. The religious affiliation of the Motherwell area is not as easily discernable as for example the nearby towns of Coatbridge (Catholic) or Larkhall (Protestant) as some areas within the district are thought traditionally to be predominantly Catholic areas (Carfin, Craigneuk) with others predominantly Protestant (Wishaw). This probably explains the "wrong" sign being attached to SCH - within the Motherwell area there may be a predominance of Catholic employers/personnel managers and therefore any discrimination may in fact work to the advantage of those school leavers who left Catholic schools. Alternatively young people leaving Catholic schools may be more successful in labour markets outwith Motherwell such as Coatbridge, where the name of their school would confer an advantage. A third explanation could be that religious bigotry does not manifest itself in the employment decision of most employers. However we have no concrete evidence to support any of these explanations, which at best are speculative.

PTJOB is significant at the 10% level for the sample as a whole and for girls, though signed differently. The sign attached/

/attached to PTJOB when the equation was estimated for girls has the expected positive sign. This may indicate that having had a part-time job at school may be seen by employers as an indicator of motivation and a measure of experience in good "working habits" such as punctuality etc. In some cases a part-time job may have led directly to a full-time job with their employer or have indicated contacts with potential employers. The non-significance of PTJOB for boys and the negative co-efficient attached to this variable when estimated for the whole sample and boys separately may indicate that the part-time jobs held by the boys in the sample were of the type unlikely to lead to full-time jobs e.g. paper rounds, milk delivery.

Participation upon a WEEP scheme as indicated by YOP had a positive and significant influence upon employment success for girls, though in other cases the influence was not significant and negative. A number of possible explanations for this occur. First, employers "employing" female trainees may have been using the scheme as a screening mechanism - taking on a number of trainees in order to gain a more complete assessment of their suitability/productivity before filling their limited number of vacancies. Those sponsors "employing" female trainees may be offering training of the kind that was in demand in the Motherwell labour market at that time, whereas sponsors employing male trainees offering training in engineering skills were offering training for which there/

/there was low demand.

One of the most surprising results to emerge from Table Two is the non-significance of QUALIF. QUALIF was expected to be a powerful determinant of employment success, yet it was not significant in any equation and for girls it was found to exert a negative influence upon employment success. Of the other variables suggested by search theory/literature, BENY and RESWAGE, their influence is somewhat inconsistent - BENY significant for the sample as a whole and boys, RESWAGE, for girls. One might reasonably expect a high degree of correlation between RESWAGE and BENY as BENY will only vary because of variations in the expected earnings component and we would expect their reservation wage to be based to some degree on what they might expect to earn if they found a job - but in fact this is not the case. The correlation co-efficient at the maximum (females) is only 0.23, and at the minimum (whole sample) -0.13. A possible explanation for this could be that the reservation wage data was obtained in the "school interview", where as we saw in Chapter Three, a considerable degree of under-estimation of youth wages was evident, whereas the expected earnings data were obtained from the "labour market" interview when a slightly more realistic appreciation of youth pay was evident. Therefore RESWAGE is likely to be based on the less realistic view and BENY the more realistic view of youth wages.

The "behavioural" variables appear to have performed well, though not in all cases. APPLYJOB and INT have already been discussed and therefore we will deal here with SCHJS and CHAN, - AREAJS was not significant. The timing of job search appears to have differing influences upon the employment success of boys and girls, as does the preferred information channel. For boys beginning search well before leaving school confers an advantage, the opposite being true for girls. Boys preferring to utilise the service of formal channels of information were more successful than boys who preferred informal channels, again the opposite being the case for girls.

With the exception of FAMSIZE which was significant at the 5% level for boys the family background variables as we measured them, did not have any discernable effect upon the sample's employment chances.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS.

The thrust of this Chapter has been an attempt to explain the differing labour market experiences of the sample. Reviews of empirical studies of unemployment duration and re-employment probabilities together with economic theories of employee and employer job search were utilised to suggest variables which would explain the different labour market experience of the sample. On the whole our attempts were not too successful/

/successful - few statistically significant variables.

Two reasons for this 'failure' occur. The first relates to possible weaknesses in the measures we used when constructing our variables. The nature of our sample effectively controls for a number of factors which influence employment success - age, skill level, qualifications etc. The income variables we used were far from ideal. The benefit-income ratio is the least satisfactory of the two - the numerator is likely to under-estimate the true level of unemployment income, and as the only data we possess relating to their unemployment income was the current level of Supplementary Benefit, the only variations in this variable would be due to variations in the expected earnings component, which itself was based on inaccurate information about youth wages. The sample consistently under-estimated the level of wages paid to young people in their first job which would not only affect BENY but also RESWAGE. Their reservation wage will presumably be based to some extent upon their perception of wages paid to young people and if their perceptions are inaccurate (as we found in Chapter Three) this will have implications for the value and usefulness of their reservation wage in the job acceptance decision. The weakness in the behavioural variables included in our analysis stem from the fact that the data were not collected in a form which facilitated a sophisticated nor indeed comprehensive set of variables to be incorporated into the model. The notion that behaviour may have an important influence upon employment success originated from the failure/

/failure of a piece of analysis which looked only at personal characteristics to adequately explain differing labour market experiences of the sample and therefore we sought a more comprehensive set of explanatory variables.

The second explanation for the poor performance of our model relates to the possible influences of "unmeasurables". With so few jobs available for young people in the Motherwell area the deciding factor in determining who gets the available jobs could well be unmeasurable - luck, being in the right place at the right time eg. visiting the Careers Service at the precise moment a vacancy is notified to them, or having the right contacts who can alert a job seeker to a vacancy before it is widely advertised and/or put in a "good word" for them with an employer. The very fact that such factors can never be adequately measured means that they can never be ruled out, for even if a particular variable is found to significantly improve a young person's chances of gaining employment it is always possible that another variable not included in the analysis may have accounted for its effect.

This second "explanation" given the relatively few jobs available for young people in Motherwell may be the more plausible, but given the difficulty in quantifying these factors we are unable to firmly offer it as an explanation nor for that matter rule it out.

NOTES.

## 1. Ratio of youth to adult unemployment rates.

	1976	1979	1980	1981	1982
Australia	3.3	3.4	3.8	2.9	2.9
Canada	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.2
Finland	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.9
France	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.7
Germany	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8 <sup>a</sup>
Italy	8.7	6.6	7.2	6.9	7.0 <sup>a</sup>
Japan	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1
Norway	6.7	6.0	5.4	4.8	-
Portugal	3.6	4.5	4.4	3.6	-
Spain	3.1	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.3
Sweden	3.1	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.4
U.K.	2.6	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.3
U.S.A.	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6
7 Major Countries	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.6

a - OECD Secretariat estimate.

Source: OECD (1983)

2. Speech made by the Secretary of State for Employment,  
Albert Booth MP, in the House of Commons 24 May  
1977. Hansard p. 1232
3. Speech made by Mr. Hayhoe MP in the same debate.  
Hansard p. 1321

4. Many people expressed the view that unemployment was a major factor in the riots which hit the inner cities of London, Manchester and Liverpool in the summer of 1981.
5. MSC (1978a)
6. MSC (1980)
7. MSC (1982)
8. Department of Education and Science (1985)
9. see Phelps (1970). Tobin (1972) does however question the validity of this assumption.
10. Foster's (1973) criticisms relate both to the specification of the U-V curve and the statistical results, and the economic interpretation of these results. Finding evidence of serial correlation Foster suggests that Gujerati's model had been mis-specified. He argues that vacancies are not only related to the level of unemployment but to the rate of change of unemployment and in re-specifying the model to take account of this improves the model - all the variables are well determined, the  $R^2$  increased and the Durbin-Watson statistic does not register serial correlation. Although Gujerati suggests that changes in Social Security legislation is responsible for the shift in the U-V curve he in fact does not test this hypothesis. Foster argues that to find out how much influence the Social Security legislation has on the U-V curve shift will require detailed investigation of all plausible explanations, eliminating those/

/those that are obviously inappropriate and analysing the mechanics of causation of those that remain plausible. Gujerati does not do this. Bowers et al (1970) do attempt such an investigation as do Department of Employment (1976). Taylor (1972) argues that Gujerati in neglecting the demand side fails to recognise "the most significant explanation of the upward shift in unemployment". Taylor argues that the increase in unemployment was due to a shake-out of hoarded labour.

11. Other members of the Government see youth wages as being the main problem - young people have priced themselves out of a job (see the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons 27 July 1981, Hansard cols. 835-836).
12. ERS was abolished in 1982. There would appear to have been no dramatic fall in unemployment as a result.
13. Fowler (1968) p 4.
14. Motherwell Labour Market Project estimate.
15. see Becker (1971) who develops a theory of discrimination predicated on tastes.
16. see Murray (1984).
17. see Chapter 5 for a review of such studies.

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CHAPTER SEVEN.  
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

This study has focussed its attention upon the experiences of a cohort of new entrants into the labour market in a period of very high levels/rates of unemployment. It is based on information collected in 1982 and 1983, through the use of both personal interviews and postal questionnaires, from a group of young people aged 16 who were eligible to leave school for the first time in the summer of 1982 and who resided in the Motherwell area of North Lanarkshire. The aims of this study were analytical and explanatory rather than descriptive, though it is perhaps inevitable in a study of this kind that a certain degree of description creeps in. The chief intention of this chapter is to draw together the various conclusions reached in the course of our analysis and to consider how far these constitute answers to the formal aims of the inquiry which were laid out in Chapter One.

Our intention was that the study should give some insight into the transition from school to work at a time of mass unemployment through the analysis of:

- (i) the school leaving decision
- (ii) young people's knowledge of their local labour market
- (iii) the provision of occupational and other types of labour market information

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- (iv) job search behaviour
- (v) differing labour market experiences.

A major theme which was to run throughout the study was 'labour market information' and in this chapter we would hope to be able to offer an assessment of the importance of labour market information to young people in the transition from school to work.

We will first summarise the findings of the study in relation to the five issues outlined above which provide a convenient framework for an itemised, rather than an integrated, summary of the conclusions. Having successfully accomplished this task an overall view of the transition period will be given together with an assessment of the importance of labour market information to young people.

## 2. THE AIMS AND THEIR ANSWERS.

### (i) The School Leaving Decision.

Our aims in discussing the school leaving decision - the decision to participate in the labour market were three fold:

- A) to identify a set of factors which influence the decision to leave school and enter the labour market at the earliest opportunity

- B) to test the relative powers of the added/discouraged worker hypothesis
- C) to test whether "economic" or "social" variables offer the best explanation.

A).

That our model was able, at best, to explain only 41% of the variance indicated that we are only able to offer a partial explanation for the decision to leave school at 16. Other influences are clearly at work and we were unable to include them in our analysis:

- (i) we did not collect the necessary data - this is particularly true of human capital theory variables such as "foregone earnings" "direct schooling costs", "additional life time earnings"
- (ii) it is difficult if not impossible to gain a measure - again human capital theory variables fall into this category; e.g. social and/or intellectual amenities gained from continued education.

In addition our ability to offer a fuller explanation of the school leaving decision may have been hindered by weaknesses in the measurement of some of the factors which we were able to include in the analysis - for example, our proxies for innate ability (examinations sat) and social class (level of father's occupation). Refining the construction of certain/

/certain variables may have improved the explanatory power of the model.

From our analysis the most important influence upon the school leaving decision was innate ability - a not unexpected result. The finding that those who perceived unemployment among school leavers to be approximately twice the official rate were more likely to stay on at school and continue with their education is of particular interest as this result can be interpreted both within the framework of human capital theory and the discouraged worker hypothesis. Human capital theory treats education as a mode of investment and therefore the decision to undertake education will depend upon whether perceived returns exceed costs. Expected costs largely include foregone earnings - the lost income which would have been earned had the individual left school and entered the labour market. If young people see their likely labour market status upon leaving school at 16 as being either unemployed (and receiving Supplementary Benefit, £15.80 in 1982) or as a participant on YOP (and receiving £25 per week allowance) - evidence presented in Chapter Three would suggest that many young people in fact held this view - then foregone earnings for the year or two extra at school may be negligible when compared to lost earnings if they saw their likely labour market status upon leaving school as being employed. It is therefore more likely that expected benefits will exceed expected costs, if only because expected costs will be so low, and therefore the/

/the net present value of education will be positive and labour market entry may not then be made at 16.

The discouraged worker hypothesis would argue that the high level of youth unemployment has discouraged young people from entering the labour market at 16 as the probability of gaining employment will be low. Therefore young people will prefer to continue with their education, and two possible, though not necessarily competing, reasons for this occur.

First, to continue with one's education for one, maybe two, years delays the date of entry into the labour market and the hope would be that the demand for youth labour would pick-up during that period. In addition further education is likely to improve a young person's human capital through increasing the quantity and/or quality of his/her educational qualifications and the hope being that this would improve their chances of gaining employment when entry into the labour market is eventually made.

The second factor which was found to exert a significant influence upon the school leaving decision was innate ability as proxied by examinations sat - those who sat more than one 'O' Grade examination were less likely to leave school. This result is not a surprising finding. Post-16 education is traditionally geared towards examinations, either re-sits of 'O' Grades or Highers, and therefore the more able (academically)/

/(academically) are likely to benefit more from continued education and be encouraged, other things being equal, by their parents and teachers to remain at school.

B).

Attempts to test the relative merits of the discouraged/added worker hypothesis were made through the inclusion in the model of variables to measure the effect that youth unemployment and parental unemployment would have on the school leaving decision. If youth unemployment was high then school leavers would delay entry into the labour market as they would perceive their chances of employment being low (discouraged worker effect), whereas if their father was unemployed they would be more likely to leave school at 16 in order to bolster family income (added worker effect). We in-fact found evidence of both effects - both youth unemployment variables (measures of the sample's perception of youth unemployment in the area) had negative co-efficients indicating the discouraged worker effect and the parental employment status variable (whether father was employed) had a negative sign, the added worker effect.

Although both effects are visible in our analysis we would argue that the discouraged worker effect dominates, if only marginally - the effect is indicated in both the youth unemployment variables, SLUH significant at the 10% level, whereas the parental employment status variable is never significant.

C).

Educationalists have offered many explanations for early school leaving and have tended to ignore economic variables preferring to concentrate upon what might be termed 'social variables' - home background, the school, the child. In considering the school leaving decision we included both economic and social variables, so we should ideally be in a position to test whether it is the economic or social variables which exert the greater influence upon the school leaving decision. However as noted above the model adopted does not offer a full explanation of the school-leaving decision with some variables being statistically significant in only a few cases, with still others being significant in no cases. In-fact only two variables are significant in all cases - a qualification variable and a sex variable (which is present in only one of three equations estimated). This prevents us from reaching any firm conclusions as to the relative power of social and economic variables in explaining the school leaving decision.

To what extent therefore have the aims we set ourselves in discussing the school leaving decision be realised as a result of our analysis? In only one case with any degree of confidence can we say that our analysis achieved its goal - the testing of relative merits of the added/discouraged worker hypotheses. Our failure to include sufficient variables which exerted a significant influence upon the school leaving decision - no equation contained more than four out of eleven/

/eleven statistically significant variables - prevents us from claiming to have identified factors which fully explain the decision to leave school at 16 and enter the labour market, nor to comment upon the relative explanatory powers of economic vs social variables.

(ii) Local Labour Market Knowledge.

Our interest in young people's knowledge of their local labour market was prompted by the idea that what people know (or think they know) about a situation may affect their behaviour - for example, we found a discouraged worker effect in our analysis of the school leaving decision based on beliefs about unemployment rates in the Motherwell area. In the analysis of young people's knowledge our aims were:

- A). to test the accuracy of young people's knowledge of their local labour market
- B) to see whether this knowledge changed over time
- C). to determine those factors which account for differing perceptions.

A).

Our ability to test the accuracy of young people's knowledge of their local labour market was determined not only by our ability to gather data on the "knowledge variables" we identified/

/identified as being of particular importance (occupations, wage levels, unemployment rates, industrial structure, YOP) but our ability to ascertain the correct answers ourselves. This was accomplished through a variety of sources, both at the local (Motherwell Labour Market Project data, Local Authority level data) and national (ACE data, New Earnings Survey data) level. The cohort of potential school-leavers were questioned as to their knowledge of both the adult and youth labour markets.

In assessing the accuracy of their perceptions/beliefs about the youth labour market it is perhaps useful to distinguish between the youth labour market and work experience schemes such as YOP. The young people in our sample clearly, in all aspects upon which they were examined, displayed a lack of knowledge of the youth labour market. When questioned as to the occupations for which school-leavers were eligible to submit an application and secure, the most popular answer in many cases was "YOP", in others "don't know" appeared. When their attention was directed towards the wages paid to young people in employment the answers they offered generally fell well short of the correct figures - the mean value of their answers were some 60-70% of the actual wages paid to young people aged 16. A similar degree of ignorance, though in the opposite direction, was exhibited when questioned as to the magnitude of the unemployment situation facing young/

/young people in Motherwell - youth unemployment rates were consistently over-estimated. The mean values of their answers are some 20 percentage points above the actual unemployment rates pertaining at the time of questioning, with only 13% of boys and 10% of girls giving answers which approximated to the correct answer. In contrast the sample's knowledge of the Youth Opportunities Programme is far more accurate; the main problem areas being YOP occupations which ties in with the sample's ignorance of school-leaver occupations and the unemployment duration qualification (which is only a minor feature of the scheme). As YOP is likely to be the major channel through which experience of working life will be acquired - and the sample is very much aware of this as answers to the school-leavers occupations questions clearly indicate - any attempt by young people to accumulate information/knowledge of the youth labour market will be directed towards the secondary youth labour market, into which the vast majority will enter at some stage after leaving school. Therefore it is to be expected that their perceptions of specific features of YOP are likely to be more accurate than other aspects of the youth labour market.

Given the results of our investigation of the sample's knowledge of the youth labour market it should come as no surprise to find that a similar picture emerges when questioned about the adult labour market in Motherwell - low wages, high unemployment rates. The boys and girls in the sample were questioned as/

/as to the level of wages paid to different occupational groups, justifying this approach on the grounds that in spite of legislation and attempts by Careers Officers/teachers to enlighten girls about career opportunities which in the past have been the preserve of males there is still a large degree of occupational segregation in the labour market based on sex. With the possible exception of skilled workers the sample consistently under-estimated the level of wages paid to adult workers. Problems distinguishing between gross and net wages (with which they are likely to be more familiar) may in part be responsible for this under-estimation. Only 28% of boys and 15% of girls estimated adult unemployment at a rate approximating to the actual rate, at a little over 20%, with as many as one-in-three girls and 20% of boys believing adult unemployment to be 60% or more. An attempt was made to gain some impression of the sample's knowledge of the industrial structure of the Motherwell economy in terms of employment. This attempt was not too successful as the sample by and large were unable to name industries within the local economy beyond iron and steel manufacture, and to a much lesser extent engineering.

This picture of the Motherwell labour market which emerges from our analysis of the sample's knowledge of their local economy is depressing and pessimistic. Motherwell is seen as an area of high unemployment and low wages, where the only prospect of gaining experience of working life available/

/available for young people is through participation on YOP. Although we found inaccuracies in all aspects of the sample's knowledge of the Motherwell economy, with the exception of YOP, the picture which they paint of Motherwell does have a grain of truth to it - but the picture is not quite as black as they make it out to be.

B).

We are afforded the opportunity to question the sample about a number of labour market indicators during the school interview (Spring 1982) and the labour market interview (Spring 1983) which gave us a longitudinal element to our analysis of youth labour market perceptions. We were therefore in a position to test whether actual exposure to the labour market had a discernable effect upon the accuracy of their perceptions about the youth labour market in Motherwell. Our expectations were that through their job search activity a systematic and comprehensive knowledge of youth wages and occupations would be built up. However our expectations were not fulfilled.

In our analysis of how the sample's perceptions of youth wages changed over time we found that the mean value of their answers in 1983 was still in the region of 70% of actual values which would indicate no significant improvement in the accuracy of their beliefs. However the fact that fewer members of the sample estimated youth wages at £40 per week or less/

/less and a considerable fall in the range and standard deviations does indicate that a learning process was at work and is a small degree of evidence in favour of our expectation that exposure to the labour market would improve their knowledge. The problem is, on the basis of this result, that this learning process is obviously very slow and it therefore takes a considerable amount of time to build up a comprehensive knowledge of youth wages. The likely causal factor is that with so few vacancies available for young people in the Motherwell District such knowledge is difficult to accumulate (data from the Careers Service, Lanark Division which includes Motherwell, reveals that for every vacancy notified to them over the period November 1983 to July 1985 there were at least 100, at times over 300, young persons either unemployed, on YTS or Community Industry).

Entry into the labour market had only a marginal effect upon increasing the sample's knowledge of school leaver occupations. The proportions unable to name two or three jobs had fallen but those unable to name four jobs was still over 90% in the labour market interview. YOP was still the most popular answer.

Entry into the labour market had little effect upon the male members of the sample's perceptions of unemployment rates, but there was a marked change in the girls beliefs about youth/

/youth unemployment. Rather than improve their knowledge of unemployment rates, the proportion of girls who thought that youth unemployment was 60% or more had almost doubled to 65%.

Overall it can be said that entry into the labour market had little effect upon the sample's perceptions of the youth labour market in Motherwell - in both 1982 and 1983 the youth labour market was viewed as having low wages, high unemployment and few prospects for young people to obtain a permanent job.

C).

In attempting to determine factors responsible for the answers we received to our labour market knowledge questions attention is directed towards

- (i) the degree of inaccuracy
- (ii) the degree of variation in the answers given.

We were able to offer a number of explanations for the degree of inaccuracy of the sample's perceptions. In terms of youth occupations we argued that this is more a reflection of the lack of employment opportunities for young people in the Motherwell economy and that for the vast majority of young people YOP is their likely labour market state apart from unemployment. The under-estimation of youth wages relates to a possible confusion between gross and net wages, and the/

/the influence of YOP. We specifically asked the sample for details of gross wages and explicitly explained what we meant by the term gross wages. Responders were asked to re-estimate both youth and adult wages if their first answer was in-fact net of income tax, National Insurance etc. It was clear when attempts were made to re-adjust estimates upwards to take account of deductions that the sample had difficulty in calculating the proportionate increase necessary to convert net into gross, under-estimating the scale of deductions made from gross earnings. As was evident from our discussion of the school-leaver occupations when many answered "YOP", YOP is seen by many as their likely first labour market status (other than unemployed) and they may see YOP schemes as much the same thing as a full-time job which could lead young people to expect low wages when or if they secure employment and this may also account for the sample under-estimating youth wages.

A confusion in the minds of the sample over what was meant by the term "unemployed" may account for the over-estimation of youth unemployment rates. We were interested in registered unemployment but it is possible that the sample interpreted "unemployed" to mean those without a permanent job i.e. unemployed and YOP. If this was the case then their answers were largely correct, though this does not apply to adult unemployment.

Offering "explanations" for the degree of over/under-estimation or the inability to offer an answer came much easier than offering an explanation for the variations in the answers given to the various questions asked. A number of plausible hypotheses were advanced to account for the (in some cases) wide degree of variation - labour market status, family composition, sex, area of residence, job search behaviour etc. However the  $\chi^2$  statistic invariably failed to reach the desired value for us to proceed with our explanation. We were left to conclude that either the sample members were equally ignorant/knowledgeable about the Motherwell labour market and that it was just chance that some guessed answers which were nearer to the correct answer than others, or that the data/information needed to test the hypotheses we advanced was not available or that we were not advancing the correct hypotheses.

To what extent therefore have the aims we set ourselves in discussing the sample's knowledge of the youth labour market been achieved as a result of our analysis? Clearly we were more successful in this chapter than in the previous chapter. The data collected did enable us to measure the accuracy of young people's beliefs about their local labour market and to see whether this knowledge changed over time. A number of interesting results emerged from this analysis - over-estimation of unemployment rates, under-estimation of wages, lack of knowledge of school leavers jobs, exposure to the labour market has little effect upon changing perceptions./

/perceptions. We were less successful however in identifying factors which could account for the variations in the answers given though we were able to offer some explanations for the general over/under-estimations.

(iii). Occupational Choice and Occupational Information.

This part of the study was perhaps the most descriptive and least economic - we did not for example attempt a detailed explanation of occupational choice, merely reporting the sample's chosen occupation and the reasons they gave for choosing that particular line of work, analysing these reasons in a framework used by Veness (1962) in her sociological study of school-leavers. Our main objective in this chapter was simply to assess the respective roles played by the home, the school and the Careers Service in preparing young people for entry into working life through the provision of occupational information. Our review of occupational choice theories clearly illustrated the importance of the provision of occupational information to young people to aid them in the choosing of a career best suited to their abilities and interests.

Within the overall objective of the analysis in this chapter our aim was also to:

- A). identify the chosen careers of the sample and the reasons given for that choice

- B). Assess the role of the home, school and Careers Service in the provision of occupational information
- C) Assess young people's views of their final year at school as preparation for entry into working life.

A).

As noted above we did not attempt any detailed sophisticated analysis of occupational choice - we simply reported the answers given to the question "what job would you like to do when you leave school?" asked in the school interview. Leaving aside the issue as to whether in fact young people choose a career to follow or simply take what they can get, the occupations chosen by the male members of our sample clearly reflect the influence of the industrial structure of the local labour market. By far the most popular major group of occupations chosen were "processing, making, repairing and related occupations (metal and electrical)" which as we saw in Chapter Three mirrors the occupational structure of male employment in the area. We found clear differences between the sexes, with the female members of the sample hoping to follow careers which could be described as "women's jobs" in the sense that women traditionally tend to dominate in these occupations - nursery nurse/nanny, secretary, typist etc. This result justifies our decision to ask boys and girls in the sample about different occupational groups when discussing labour market knowledge in Chapter Three.

In analysing the reasons given by the sample for choosing a particular career we adopted a system of classification used by Veness (1962). We found that "inner directed" choice predominated (68% boys, 90% girls) which suggested that the most important factors influencing their job choice was a desire to continue in their working lives to use skills, talents and interests developed at school and a liking for things central to the job itself. Of much lesser importance was the desire for job advancement or high wages or to follow family patterns.

B).

We found considerable evidence that schools were at least attempting to prepare young people for entry into working life. Careers conventions, in which pupils and parents are afforded the opportunity to meet employers to discuss the opportunities they offer, were held by three of the schools from which our sample was drawn. Two of the schools were involved in work experience schemes (not to be confused with the work experience schemes offered under YOP), which for our purposes were defined as situations where pupils were involved in half or full days spent in a work situation each week, or when one week or more was spent in a work situation. Although we had no specific details as to the nature of the careers education programmes in the individual schools it was clear from our conversations with members of the sample that careers education of some type did feature in the curriculum/

/curriculum of all six schools. However it would appear that the careers education programmes had little influence upon the occupational choice of the sample, both in terms of suggesting possible careers and in supplying information which would aid the decision between different career options.

Parents were found to be acting directly to influence their children in particular directions, More than half of the sample reported that parents had suggested particular careers to them, and for boys parents proved to be the chief source of occupational information.

The vast majority of those interviewed by the Careers Service were able to obtain information about their chosen career, with many having alternative careers suggested to them. Few of those interviewed by the careers officer received information about the world of work in general - hours, pay, income tax, national insurance, etc. - and only just over half received information about YOP or unemployment.

It would appear therefore that the sample received information from all three sources, with the family being the major source of career suggestions, and for boys occupational information. Schools quite clearly made valiant attempts to provide occupational information using a variety of options, though it is less clear how effective their attempts proved to be. The careers officer provided information about chosen careers, even suggesting/

/suggesting other careers, but neglected other more general issues, such as hours of work, income tax and national insurance etc. though it could be argued that this is more a function of either the schools' careers education programme or the "school talk" given by the Careers Officer, rather than the "school leaving interview".

C).

In the labour market interview we were afforded the opportunity to ask the sample to assess their final year at school as a means of preparing them for entry into the world of work. Accepting that our assumption that they themselves know what a good preparation should entail (in order that they can make the comparison) is a rather weak assumption, we nonetheless felt that this would be a useful exercise. The overwhelming majority of responders to this question gave their final year the thumbs down as a means of preparing them for work - in only one school did a majority vote their final year a useful preparation, and of the other five schools in only one did less than two-thirds view their last year as a bad preparation for working life. The most common complaint being that they were simply told nothing about work, and that the focus of their final year was little different to other years - examinations were still the main priority as far as schools were concerned. These findings, in view of evidence we found of considerable effort on the part of schools to prepare their pupils for working life, are somewhat/

/somewhat surprising but we are constrained in that we can only reproduce what our sample tells us. It may be the case that their perceptions of what they get and from whom may be quite wrong. The careers education programme in schools may be so well integrated into the school curriculum that the youngsters do not even know it is there.

To what extent has our analysis been able to satisfy the aims we set our investigation? Given the limited goal we set ourselves in discussing occupational choice our ability to accomplish our aim was never in much doubt. However in attempting to assess the role played by the home, school and Careers Service in the provision of occupational information we were less successful. The main problem with assessing the role played by the family relates to our inability to assess the quality of information given - it may well have been inaccurate and/or out-of-date. Families do however have vital experience of working life which they can describe in detail and our evidence does reveal that they play an important part in career choice and are a useful source of occupational information. Although in most cases they will be ill-equipped to offer advice on choice of work due to their limited personal experiences their influence and importance should not be under-estimated. The problem we face in judging the effectiveness of schools relates to the sample's experiences and views of their final year in school. We found considerable evidence of valiant attempts by schools from which our sample was drawn, to impart/

/impart information about jobs and work to their pupils - careers conventions, work experience schemes, guidance programmes, visitors from outside, visits to places of work etc. etc. However it would appear, for the most part, to have been in vain. Few members of the sample report receiving suggestions about possible careers or other types of occupational information from schools, and the vast majority felt their final year was of little or no use in preparing them for entry into work. Clearly our assessment of the role played by the school is vastly different from the sample's - we would argue that the evidence we collected suggests that schools do play an important role in providing information to their pupils. The sample's view is almost the opposite. Which is the more accurate view - the observer or the participant - is always difficult to determine. We were only able to offer a partial assessment of the role played by the Careers Service in imparting labour market/occupational information due to the fact that only about one-third of the sample had, at the time we interviewed them, been seen by the Careers Officer. For those who had been seen, most reported receiving specific occupational information, few, more general information about the world of work. That two-thirds of the sample had still to see the careers officer a little over two months before they entered the labour market (contact with the Careers Service revealed that 90% of Motherwell's statutory school leavers were in fact interviewed) leads us to conclude that the Careers Service, at least during term time offer too little too late to have any/

/any real influence upon the career choice of young people. An interview of 15-20 minutes a few weeks before entering the labour market is unlikely to have any real impact upon the career choice of the vast majority of young people, many of whom would have already begun their job search by the time of their interview - in Chapter Five we found that over 60% of the total sample had begun to look for work before leaving school, with two-thirds of this group searching well before the Easter vacation. The role of the Careers Service as a recruiter for YOP is a different issue as we saw in our analysis of the sample's job search behaviour, the topic to which we now turn our attention.

(iv). Job Search Behaviour.

In discussing the sample's job search behaviour our interest centred upon the methods adopted in their search for work, which would then allow us to answer the following questions:

- A). does the timing of job search have a significant effect upon search success?
- B). does search intensity vary over time?
- C). does increased unemployment duration lead to search outwith the local labour market?
- D). are informal methods of search still relatively more important in a successful search strategy?

E). do different groups within the youth labour market adopt differing search strategies?

A).

School-leavers know that they will need to look for a job at some stage in the not too distant future and may therefore decide to begin searching for work before entering the labour market. MacKay and Reid (1972) found that engineering workers about to be made redundant who began their job search prior to leaving their firm experienced less unemployment than those workers who delayed their search until after they had left the firm. It is this finding which prompted us to investigate "early job search" - search undertaken prior to leaving school. Of those members of the sample who had obtained permanent employment when the final contact was made in the Spring of 1983, two thirds of them had begun their job search before the Easter of 1982, some three months before entering the labour market, 30% had begun to search for work in their final term at school, and only 3% of those with jobs did not begin to look for a job until after they had left school. On the face of it this evidence would seem to support the findings of MacKay and Reid (1972). However it must be stressed that other factors, as we saw in Chapter Six, will play important roles in determining job search success and on the basis of this simple analysis we are only able to offer tentative support for the hypothesis that the earlier a person about to leave school begins to look for a job the greater is the/

/the probability of success.

B).

Two measures of search intensity were discussed - the number of information channels consulted, and the frequency of contact with a particular information channel - in our investigation of the intensity with which search is pursued. The longitudinal nature of our study allows us to comment upon the degree to which search varies over time. Two possibilities emerge - first, as unemployment duration lengthens search intensifies as desperation creeps in, or second, as unemployment duration lengthens despondency will creep in and search intensity will decline. Our evidence would seem to support the latter of these hypotheses, irrespective of the search intensity measure adopted. A high degree of search intensity was observed in the period immediately after entry into the labour market had been made, and this was largely maintained for about six months. After six months in the labour market search declined dramatically. It could be argued that such a decision is rational. The amount of job search undertaken will have brought home to the sample, if it needed bringing home, that jobs in Motherwell for young people are a scarce commodity. As search is a costly exercise, (not simply in monetary terms) the low probability of success, which six months of unsuccessful search would convey to the individual, would then lead to a curtailment of search activity.

C).

The data collected on search activity outwith the Motherwell labour market is insufficient to enable us to accept the hypothesis advanced that lengthening unemployment duration would lead to search being undertaken in different local and/or national labour markets. In the 'school' interview more than half of the sample indicated that they would be prepared to leave home in order to secure permanent employment. However a willingness to work away from home was not matched by an attempt to find some work away from home. It would appear that it is one thing to say you are prepared to work away from home, but quite another to actually attempt to make that a reality through direct action. In the early months after labour market entry the lion's share of search activity was concentrated in the Motherwell area or areas nearby which could be reached easily on a daily basis. This pattern of search activity was maintained throughout the period in which we were in contact with the sample. Although the evidence points in the opposite direction to our hypothesis we are not inclined to reject it - we would argue that the time periods for which we have data are simply too short for this effect to be picked up, and that a lengthier study of the job search behaviour of school leavers is necessary before any rejection/acceptance of this hypothesis can confidently be made.

D).

In assessing the relative importance of formal vs informal methods of job search it was necessary to adopt a diferent/

/different criterion than is usually found in the literature.

Due to the small numbers of young people in our sample who had pursued a successful search strategy we judged the importance of job search methods in terms of their role as information channels - i.e. providing information about vacancies for which young people could apply. Assessing the importance of information channels in this manner leads us to conclude that in terms of generating information about job vacancies, search using formal methods is equally as important as search using informal methods - 51% of all job applications resulted from receiving information from formal channels, 49% from informal.

One of the aims of our investigation of the search strategies of school leavers was to determine the extent to which the findings of earlier studies were relevant, given that they were undertaken in periods of relatively low unemployment. That so few of our sample were able to secure employment thwarted any detailed analysis of this question and indeed changed the focus of our analysis - however the results we do have pertaining to successful search strategies (which due to such low numbers can only be suggestive rather than definitive) again highlights the importance of personal contacts in a successful search strategy, with 50% of those in employment first hearing of the vacancy to which they were appointed to fill through informal sources. Our "evidence" would suggest that increased unemployment had had little effect/

/effect upon successful search strategies.

E).

This was the least successful of our investigations into the job search behaviour of our sample. Those in employment were on the whole satisfied with their present job and with the exception of two individuals did not engage in search activity. Those on YOP tended to engage in search activity - almost three quarters reported engaging in some search activity whilst being "employed" on their scheme, but with little success, with 75% of YOP participants registering as unemployed upon leaving their scheme.

How successful were we in being able to answer the questions we set ourselves in discussing job search behaviour? Overall we would argue this discussion was successful and fruitful. A number of interesting findings emerged from our analysis, and though in all cases we were unable to provide definitive answers to our questions we were at least able to offer partial solutions. Our investigation into early job search did at least indicate that search success may be aided by searching for work prior to labour market entry. We presented clear evidence that search intensity declined as unemployment duration lengthened, which we argued was due primarily to despondency and evaluating the probability of success to be too low to justify the incurring of further search costs. That our contact with the sample ended within one year of entry into the labour/

/ labour market could explain why the sample were still searching for work within the Motherwell area, or areas within daily travel from home. Lack of sufficient numbers from our sample who had been successful in their job search led us to adopt a different criterion in assessing the importance of formal/informal channels - they were judged on their function of providing vacancy information, with no real differences emerging. The search of different groups within the youth labour market, employed, unemployed, YOP participant, was not a fruitful exercise.

(v). Labour Market Experiences.

In contrast to other parts of this study in which our analysis had sought answers to a number of questions, our aim in Chapter Six was simply to explain the differing labour market experiences of the sample. Our analysis of job search behaviour revealed that, although the vast majority of our sample experienced considerable problems in finding a permanent job - the only respite from unemployment for this group was participation on a YOP scheme - a sizeable proportion of young people did find the transition from school to work a relatively smooth passage. Within a matter of a few weeks/months after entering the labour market they were able to secure permanent employment.

This prompted us to ask whether those young people who were successful in obtaining a permanent job possessed a number/

/number of personal characteristics (qualifications, family background etc.) or engaged in different types of behaviour (job search at school, job search outside the Motherwell area, intensity of search etc.) which marked them out from the rest of their contemporaries who appeared to have little prospect of a job in their early labour market experience. We turned to job search theory (employer and employee) plus relevant empirical studies of unemployment duration and re-employment probabilities in order to identify factors which could prove useful in our attempt to explain the differing labour market experiences of the sample.

A number of approaches to this problem were used with varying degrees of success, and although in the final analysis we felt unable to offer a full explanation for the differing labour market experiences of the sample we were nonetheless able to identify a number of significant factors.

Behavioural variables seemed particularly important - the number of jobs applied for, early search activity, intensity of search, type of information channel preferred - all having significant influences upon search success. A number of personal characteristic variables - sex, religious affiliation of school, having had a part-time job in term-time, participation upon a WEEP scheme - were also found, in some cases if not all, to be important in determining the distribution of employment/unemployment among the sample.

A number of possible reasons for our inability to fully explain the variation in labour market experiences occur - the non-collection of relevant (collectable) information, the weakness of measurement of a number of variables, the inability to measure important influences, such as luck, being in the right place at the right time, knowing the right people etc. This latter explanation, given the relatively few jobs available for young people in the Motherwell area (with upwards of 100 unemployed or YOP participants for every vacancy notified to the Careers Service) may be the more plausible explanation for the difficulty we encountered in attempting to explain differing labour market experiences, though problems which would be encountered in attempting to quantify these factors means we are only able to tentatively offer this as an explanation.

### 3. THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK.

Through investigating the many issues discussed above it was hoped that a clear picture of the transition from school to work of minimum aged school leavers, entering a labour market in which there exists high levels/rates of youth and adult unemployment, would emerge. In this section of our concluding chapter our aim is first, to attempt an assessment of the role that labour market information plays in the transition period, and second, to give an over-view of the transition from school to work in the early 1980's.

(i). The Role of Labour Market Information.

Preparation for the transition from school to work begins well before actual entry into the labour market is made. Clearly, as we saw in Chapters Three, Four and Five, the provision and accumulation of information (accurate or otherwise) relating to the labour market, through the efforts of schools, Careers Service, personal contacts and young people's own initiative and effort also begins well before entry into the labour market is made. In Chapter One we indicated a number of areas in which young people contemplating entering the labour market would require labour market information (this list is by no means exhaustive):

- (i) to help with career choice
- (ii) to help in their search for work
- (iii) to facilitate a smooth transition period.

It is not our intention here to expand on each of these themes - this is to be found elsewhere in the study - but rather to discuss the possible implications for labour market behaviour which arise as a result of labour market participants, in our case school leavers, possessing inaccurate (or no) information about labour market indicators.

In Chapter Three we found considerable evidence of young people possessing inaccurate and/or no information about a number/

/number of youth labour market indicators - a consistent under-estimation of wages, a consistent over-estimation of youth unemployment rates, and an almost total ignorance of the types and range of jobs for which young people are eligible to apply other than YOP. This ignorance of the true value of wages and unemployment rates could have serious implications for labour market behaviour in the transition from school to work of young people, particularly youth job search behaviour - incorrect "knowledge" in the direction exhibited by our sample could discourage young people from engaging in job search behaviour, thus lengthening their experience of unemployment and intensifying any feelings of alienation from and rejection of society.

Take first the case of youth wages. Our review of the literature pertaining to unemployment duration/re-employment probabilities in Chapter Six, revealed a concern among some researchers that increases in unemployment compensation may have induced higher levels of unemployment - the gap between unemployment income and (expected) income from employment having narrowed meant there was less of a financial incentive to seek work. Unemployment benefits were seen to be financing leisure or lengthier job search. Much of this argument rests upon the actual difference between unemployment and employment income, whereas our argument concerning the possible disincentive effect of inaccurate labour market information relates to perceived/

/perceived differences between unemployment and employment income. The narrowing of the differential between employment income and unemployment income stems not in this case from any increases in unemployment benefit but rather from a perception of low employment income. If young people hold the view that youth wages are, say, £30 per week gross (and a sizeable proportion of the sample did hold this view in the "school interview") then the perceived difference between their unemployment income and their own expectations of income from employment will be small, possibly too small to justify incurring search costs (monetary, time etc.). They will therefore lack the incentive to search.

Clearly in the case of our sample this disincentive to seek work resulting from inaccurate information about youth wages did not manifest itself - we have a substantial amount of evidence that for at least the first six months after labour market entry (and for some six months before labour market entry) our sample was engaged in a considerable amount of search activity. This evidence suggests that the sample's "knowledge" of youth wages did not have any serious implications for job search behaviour and did not lead them to not engage in seeking work - the decline in search activity observed in 1983 stems mainly from despondency creeping in as a result of lack of success. This evidence suggests that purely financial considerations are not the primary motive for young people when they come to decide whether or not to engage in search activity.

An interesting aside to the evidence we have found regarding young people's perceptions as to the level of youth wages and search activity concerns one of the present Conservative Government's "theories" as to the cause of much of the unemployment among the young in Britain today - "young people have priced themselves out of a job." The basis of this argument rests upon the idea that young people are not prepared to work for the wages that employers can afford to pay, and are content to enjoy leisure rather than search for work. Our evidence on perceptions of youth wages and job search activity (for the Motherwell area at least) belies this view. If young people generally hold similar beliefs about wages paid to young people as do our sample then they are unlikely to reject the offer of a job simply on the grounds that it does not pay enough - more than likely the job will pay more than they expected. Not one single member of our sample rejected the offer of a job, for any reason - only a handful as we saw in Chapter Five were lucky enough to receive a job offer. Our evidence suggests that young people are not content to enjoy leisure when they are unemployed - they search intensively for work utilising the services of a number of different information channels, and it is only consistent failure to be selected for the job for which they apply which leads to the decline in search activity we observed in 1983.

What effect can incorrect perceptions about youth unemployment figures have on labour market behaviour? In our analysis of the school leaving decision we saw that those who thought/

/thought youth unemployment was 60% or above were much more likely to continue with their education than those who viewed youth unemployment at lower levels. In our discussion of perceptions of youth unemployment rates in the Motherwell area our sample consistently and substantially over-estimated the size of the problem and this could again have a disincentive effect upon search activity. If the unemployment rate among young people is estimated at say 50% or more (and a sizeable proportion of our sample did make such estimates), if friends, brothers, sisters etc. are unemployed and/or on YOP then it would not be unreasonable to assume that a young person about to leave school would estimate his/her own probability of obtaining employment to be rather on the low side. Consequently the effort and costs involved in undertaking search would be deemed too high relative to the probability of success to justify the expense. Therefore search if undertaken at all would be of a very limited nature.

Again as in the case of possible effects of under-estimating youth wages this disincentive factor does not manifest itself in our sample - a high degree of search activity was observed. A possible explanation for this relates to young people attempting to compensate for their relative disadvantage in the labour market through searching more intensively for a job. As we saw in Chapter Five the females in our sample, who possibly perceived themselves as being disadvantaged in the Motherwell/

/Motherwell area relative to males in view of the industrial structure of the area, and the unqualified, who would see themselves as being disadvantaged relative to their more qualified contemporaries, were in fact searching more intensively for work than males and the qualified respectively. Therefore the unemployed young, well aware of the unemployment problem facing themselves and others (even though for many the problem is not as great as they imagine it to be) attempt to compensate by increasing the degree of job search activity in which they engage. Inaccurate information in the direction exhibited by our sample does not have an undesirable effect upon labour market behaviour - in fact quite the opposite.

How important is the result we found when discussing the sample's "knowledge" of youth jobs? How important in terms of labour market behaviour is the finding that the sample has little idea as to the range of occupations open to young people? In a sense a young person's inability to list a number of school-leavers jobs is of little importance if that individual has already decided upon a career which they would like to follow after leaving school. Far more important than the quantity of youth jobs they can list is the quality of information they possess about their chosen career. That the vast majority of the sample saw YOP as being their first experience of working life was not a sign of their ignorance but a sign that their labour market expectations were of a realistic nature - YOP was the first experience of working life for well over/

/over 80% of our sample of school-leavers. We would therefore argue that this gap in their knowledge of itself will not have any serious effect upon labour market behaviour nor have any detrimental impact upon their transition from school. This information gap is of little importance.

What conclusion can be reached regarding the role of information in the transition from school to work? The inaccurate information possessed by our sample was not seen to seriously affect job search behaviour, though had the accuracy been in the other direction, i.e. over-estimating wages, under-estimating unemployment rates, a different situation may have occurred. Their job search behaviour was consistent with what we might have expected had their knowledge of the labour market indicators been accurate - we would have expected them to initially engage in a high degree of search activity, enthusiastically looking for their first job, but as their quest for employment was not met with job offers (no member of the sample refused the offer of a job) then we would expect search activity to decline. This is in fact what happened to our sample even though their knowledge of important labour market indicators was inaccurate. This is not to say labour market information is unimportant in the transition from school to work - far from it - information about job vacancies is vitally important to young people when they come to look for work, they need to know where to look and the information channels through which they are likely to hear of the type of vacancy they are/

/are looking for. Rather this analysis suggests that some types of labour market information/knowledge is less important than others and if individuals have wrong perceptions about certain labour market indicators this does not necessarily have an undesirable effect upon their behaviour in the labour market.

(ii). The Transition from School to Work: An Over-View.

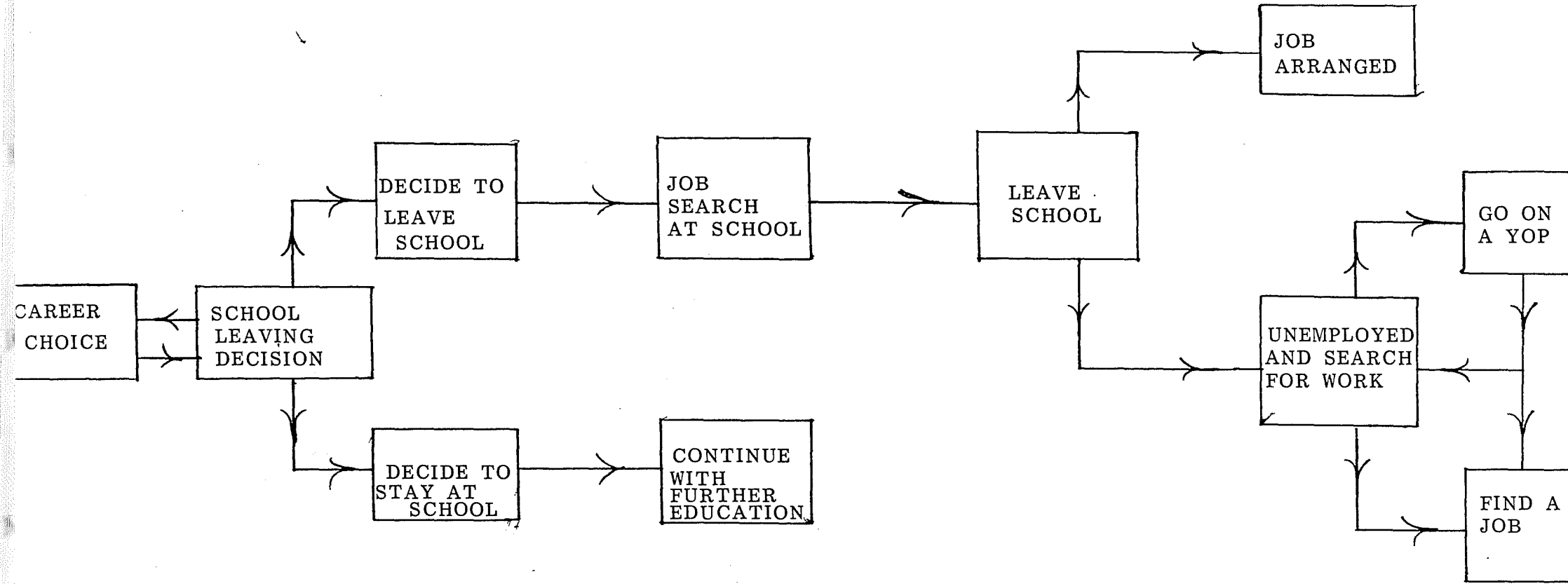
The transition from school to work of early leavers involves a number of processes, which can be analysed as distinct and separate stages in the transitional period, although it may be argued in the early stages of preparation for entry into the labour market a number of decisions may well be inter-dependent and jointly determined. For example the chosen or most preferred occupation may determine the age at which a young person decides to enter the labour market and vice versa; the age at which a young person decides to enter the labour market will determine the range of careers open to him/her. These processes or stages of preparation for entry into the labour market begin whilst young people are still at school, though exactly when they begin is often difficult to determine. The most likely first stage will be occupational choice - from an early age most people asked "what do you want to be when you grow up?" have a ready made answer, though in most cases this will not be the job in which they will eventually become employed. As young people near the end of their compulsory school days the question/

/question of when to terminate their formal education will present itself - the participation decision. As inferred above this may be inter-dependent with occupational choice. For those who decide to leave school at 16 and enter the labour market the next stage in the process is the search for work - the job search process which may begin whilst the young person is still at school. The final stage in the transition from school to work is the actual experience of work resulting from a successful job search strategy which leads to the obtaining of a permanent job. The above scenario describes the transition from school to work experienced by the vast majority of young people in the 1960's (see Carter (1962, 1966), Maizels (1970)) and the early 1970's. It does not describe the transition of the vast majority of young people who have left school from the mid-1970's to the present day. Only a lucky few of today's school leavers experience such a smooth journey from school to work. In recent years many young people have experienced long periods of unsuccessful search, as during the recessions of 1970's and 1980's young people have tended to suffer disproportionately as unemployment has risen to record levels, for both adults and especially young people. This prompts us to consider the differences that high levels/rates of youth unemployment in the economy have made to the transition from school to work of young people.

For the majority of young people the transition from school to work simply does not take place - they do not gain experience of work through a permanent job. For many their only respite from unemployment was six months or so as a participant on a Government financed temporary work experience scheme such as YOP. Work experience gained from a "real job" was alien to the majority of young people leaving school in the early 1980's. Figure One presents a diagrammatical exposition of the transition period experienced by our sample of 1982 school leavers. Many became caught up in the vicious circle of unemployment - YOP - unemployment, with only the lucky few able to break that circle through gaining employment and even less managing never to enter the circle, through successful job search whilst still at school.

Young people leaving school in 1982 were faced with an alternative to unemployment, an option which was not available to school leavers in the 1960's or early 1970's - participation on a YOP scheme - and aside from lengthier expected unemployment duration upon leaving school and entering the labour market this is the major difference in the transition process between 1982 school leavers and the school leavers studied by Carter (1962, 1966) and Maizels (1970). Ideally YOP should have been a stepping stone in the transition from school to work - school leavers would, after a few weeks/months of unemployment, join a YOP scheme, gain a degree of work experience which would/

FIGURE ONE:      THE TRANSITION PROCESS.



/go some way to breaking the vicious circle of no experience  
- no job - no experience, and then find a permanent job.

If this had been the case for the vast majority of school leavers then YOP would have been seen as a legitimate stepping stone in the transition from school to work. As it turned out as the scheme progressed smaller proportions of ex-YOP trainees were leaving their schemes for employment, with a majority when the scheme was coming to an end (to be replaced by YTS in September 1983) rejoining the ranks of the unemployed. YOP was therefore not a stepping stone from school to work but rather a stage in the transition from school to work beyond which a sizeable proportion of young people never progressed. They became entrenched in the circle of unemployment - YOP - unemployment.

The transition from school to work for the vast majority of our sample of school leavers was not a smooth, happy journey, the majority simply did not reach their destination - their chosen (or for that matter any) career. Months of frustration resulting from unemployment during which a considerable degree of time, money and energy was expended in the search for work, was interrupted only by periods on a temporary work scheme such as YOP which would appear to have done little to enhance their chances of employment.

Two years after this study was begun a major new development took place within the youth labour market which may have/

/have implications for the validity of our description of the transition period for early leavers. In September 1983 MSC replaced YOP with YTS which grew out of a consultative document (MSC (1981)) and a Government White Paper (A New Training Initiative). YTS attempts to combine work experience, skill training and vocational education and lasts for one year. YTS, unlike YOP, is to be a permanent feature of the youth labour market and is seen as a legitimate stepping stone in the transition from school to work. How then will YTS's introduction affect the validity of our analysis of the transition period for our sample; unemployment - YOP - unemployment. Two questions immediately present themselves.

- (i). does the above scenario apply only to those who left school in 1982 or before - i.e. is it a 'YOP finding'
- (ii). does the above scenario only apply to those who left schools in the particular labour market in which this study was located - i.e. is it a 'Motherwell finding'.

The timing of our own study prevented us from also including a cohort of 1983 school leavers into the analysis thus enabling us to compare and contrast the operation of YOP and YTS. However the Motherwell Labour Market Project (MLMP) adopting the methodology used in this study together with many of the questions asked of our sample, did conduct a survey of/

/of 1983 leavers. While their analysis is less complete and detailed than our own it is still possible to at least partially answer the two questions posed above.

In Chapter Six we presented a brief description of the changing labour market states of our sample, where we found only a marginal improvement in the "true" rate of unemployment - 88% in August 1982, 80% in Spring 1983. A similar exercise was undertaken by the MLMP for the 1983 cohort (see Danson et al (1986) for full details). The situation for this group was less bleak - the true unemployment rate in September 1983 was 83%, but only 54% in December 1984. It is necessary to consider a longer time span between the two dates as YTS was scheduled to last one year. The 1982 cohort was in fact contacted on two occasions by the MLMP, in September 1983 (see Danson et al (1984)) and in December 1984, when their progress in the labour market had changed little. It could therefore be argued on the basis of this evidence that the transition period we described above is largely a "YOP finding" and that the introduction of YTS will improve the situation for school leavers somewhat. However the analysis upon which this conclusion is based is of a rather simple nature and therefore a more detailed analysis of the 1983 cohort's experiences would need to be undertaken before one could offer this conclusion with any degree of confidence.

Although our view is that the transition period "enjoyed" by our sample is largely a "YOP finding" and that we would expect the introduction of YTS, on the basis of the 1983 cohort's experiences, to improve the situations somewhat it is still possible to conclude that the finding may be a "Motherwell finding".

The deepening of the recession in the late 1970's/early 1980 increased the demand for YOP places and less ex-YOP trainees were finding employment - almost 70% in September 1979, but only about 40% in May 1981. However our survey revealed that 15% of YOP participants gained employment upon leaving their first YOP scheme - 75% rejoined the ranks of the unemployed, 8% began a further YOP scheme and 2% elected to go to a College of Further Education. This would seem to point to the fact that young people in Motherwell are faced with a bleaker employment situation than young people in general though of course there may be areas where the situation is equally as bleak. The YTS graduates followed by the MLMP would also appear to have fared worse than the national average in terms of employment upon leaving YTS. The often quoted official figure is that around 60% of young people leaving YTS gain employment, (either with the YTS sponsor or some other employer) or seek further education or training (though these numbers are thought to be low), whereas the Motherwell figure is below this - of those who joined YTS in September 1983, only 45% were in employment in December 1984. Again we should stress that this analysis has been/

/ been conducted at a rather superficial level, but does nonetheless indicate that young people in Motherwell do face a greater problem in finding employment than youngsters from many other areas of the country.

#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This final chapter had had two basic aims:

- (i). to assess the degree to which we have been successful in our analysis in answering the many questions posed in Chapter One
- (ii) to comment upon the role of information in the transition from school to work and give an over-view of the transition period.

On the whole our analysis was largely successful in answering the questions we posed - in particular young people's knowledge of their local labour market, and their job search activity.

In other aspects of the study we were not able to provide a complete range of answers but nonetheless we did find a number of interesting results - particularly in our analysis of the school leaving decision. Our attempt to explain the differing labour market experience of our sample, despite adopting a number of different approaches, was largely unsuccessful - a small number of significant variables leading us to conclude/

/conclude that either we were measuring the wrong influences or the important influences were largely unmeasurable.

We found little evidence of inaccurate information pertaining to certain labour market indicators having undesirable effects upon job search behaviour, though obviously information relating to possible vacancies would be vitally important in any job search strategy. The role of information in the transition from school to work was seen to be important in at most two areas - career choice, when the quality of information about the preferred career was seen to be more important than an ability to list numerous "school leaver" jobs, and job search activity. We also saw that for the majority of our sample the transition from school to work did not happen - they were caught up in the vicious circle of unemployment - YOP - unemployment.

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**APPENDIX****THE QUESTIONNAIRES****I. SCHOOL-LEAVING QUESTIONNAIRE - MARCH-APRIL, 1982**

1. Name of School -
2. Do you intend to leave school?
  1. Yes
  2. No
  8. Don't know
3. Are you taking exams in April/May, 1982?
  1. Yes
  2. No.
  8. Don't know
4. In what Subject?
  - Maths
  - English
  - History
  - Physics
  - Chemistry
  - Biology
  - Classical Studies
  - Woodwork
  - Metalwork
  - Geography
  - Geology
  - Home Economics
  - Music
  - French
  - Spanish
  - German
  - Latin
  - Accounting
  - Anat., Physiol. and Hygiene

**Secretarial Studies**

**Tech. Drawing**

**Art**

**Economics**

**Eng. Science**

**Modern Studies**

**Arithmetic**

**Food and Nutrition**

**Fabric and Fashion**

5. What jobs do people you know do?
6. Do you know what the 3 most important industries in terms of employment are in the Motherwell District?
7. What jobs are available for school leavers?
8. Have you done any work whilst at school?
- Holiday/spare time job - 1. Yes 2. No
- Work Exp. arranged by School - 1. Yes 2. No
- Voluntary Work - 1. Yes 2. No

9. What did this job involve?
10. What do you think is the average weekly wage, and by weekly wage, I mean before tax and National Insurance is taken off, for -  
**BOYS**

School leavers  
Skilled workers  
Unskilled workers  
Office workers

**GIRLS**

School leavers  
Office Workers  
Factory Workers  
Shop Workers

11. Is there a wage below which you would not accept a job?

12. Are you prepared to work

1. Only in Motherwell District
2. Outside, but within daily travelling distance.
3. Anywhere in Scotland.
4. Anywhere in Great Britain
5. Anywhere in the World

13. Have you heard of Y.O.P?

1. YES
2. NO

14. Do you know -
- (a) What allowance is paid?
  - (b) How long scheme?
  - (c) How long you have to have been unemployed before you can join Y.O.P?
  - (d) What jobs do people on Y.O.P. do?
15. Do you think Y.O.P. is -
1. A good thing.
  2. A bad thing.
16. Why do you think this?
17. Would you be prepared to join Y.O.P. if you fail to find a job immediately after leaving school?
1. Yes
  2. No
18. Of the people who left school in the Motherwell area in May, 1981, how many do you think are still unemployed?
1. 1 in 10
  2. 2 in 10
  3. 3 in 10
  4. 4 in 10
  5. 5 in 10
  6. 6 in 10
  7. 7 in 10

19. Do you expect the situation regarding unemployed school leavers to –
1. Get worse
  2. Stay the same
  3. Get better.
20. What do you think is the rate of unemployment among male/female workers in the Motherwell area?
1. 1 in 10
  2. 2 in 10
  3. 3 in 10
  4. 4 in 10
  5. 5 in 10
  6. 6 in 10
  7. 7 in 10
  8. 8 in 10
21. Do you know what job you would like to do when you leave school?
1. Yes
  2. No
22. What is this job?
23. What is it that attracts you to this job?
24. Have any of the following made suggestions about which job you should do?
- Parent
- Family
- Friends
- Teachers
- Careers Officer
- Other

25. Have you had an interview with the Careers Officer?
1. Yes
  2. No
26. Did the Careers Officer –
- (a) Talk about the job you want to do, telling you about wages, where to apply, etc?
1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.
- (b) Suggest jobs to you?
1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.
- (c) Talk about work in general?
1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.
- (d) Talk about Y.O.P., registering as unemployed?
1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.
27. When you were thinking about which job you would like to do, did you find information about the job, such as wages, what the jobs involved, likely employers from –
- |   |        |       |
|---|--------|-------|
| Parent/family                               | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| Friends                                     | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| Local or School Library                     | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| Careers Officer                             | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| Writing to firms for leaflets/<br>brochures | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| Other                                       |        |       |
28. Have you thought about applying for an apprenticeship?
1. Yes
  2. No

29. Which kind?
30. Do you think the chances of a school leaver in Motherwell of getting an apprenticeship are –
1. Very good
  2. Fairly good.
  3. Not very good.
  4. Poor
  5. Very poor
31. When did you begin to look for work?
1. Before Christmas
  2. January
  3. February
  4. Haven't started yet.
32. How did you look? Did you –
- (a) Ask parents/family/friends if they knew of any jobs
1. Yes. 2. No. 9. N.A.
- (b) Contact Careers Officer
1. Yes. 2. No. 9. N.A.
- (c) Write or call at firm on the off-chance of a job.
1. Yes. 2. No. 9 N.A.
- (d) Look in Job Centre
1. Yes. 2. No. 9 N.A.
- (e) Look in a Newspaper
1. Yes. 2. No. 9. N.A.
33. How many jobs have you applied for?

34. What are the 3 main types?

35. How many interviews have you had?

36. Have you had any job offers?

1. Yes

2. No.

37. Have you accepted one?

1. Yes

2. No.

9. N.A.

38. What is it?

Occupation

Firm

Weekly Wage

39. Where did you first hear of this job?

40. Did you apply for it by approaching the firm?

1. Yourself

2. Someone you know who works there

3. Careers Officer or Job Centre

4. Other

9. N.A.

41. What was the first job you turned down?

Occupation

Firm

Wage

42. What was the best, in terms of wages, you turned down?

Occupation

Firm

Wage

43. Sex

1. Male

2. Female

44. Can you tell me who lives at home with you?

Father - 1. Yes. 2. No.

Mother - 1. Yes 2. No.

Number of Brothers

Number of Sisters

45. What is your father's occupation?

Who does he work for?

How long in weeks unemployed?

46. What is your mother's occupation?

Who does she work for?

Is she -

1. Full time

2. Part Time

47. How many brothers have you?

(a) Under 16

(b) Over 16 receiving education

48. How many brothers have you -

(a) Employed

(b) On Y.O.P.

(c) Unemployed

49. How many sisters have you -  
(a) Under 16  
(b) Over 16 receiving education
50. How many sisters have you -  
(a) Employed  
(b) On Y.O.P.  
(c) Unemployed
51. What jobs do your brothers do?
52. What jobs do your sisters do?
53. What type of house do you live in?
1. Council
  2. Owner-Occupier
  3. Rented (Private)
  4. Other

54. Do you know at what age your father left school?

1. 14
2. 15
3. 16
4. 17
5. 18
6. After University
8. Don't know.
9. Not applicable

55. Do you know at what age your mother left school?

1. 14
2. 15
3. 16
4. 17
5. 18
6. After University
8. Don't know
9. Not applicable

**2. FIRST JOB SEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE - AUGUST, 1982**

1. At the moment are you:

- (i) Employed (NOT Y.O.P.)
  - (ii) Unemployed with a job (not Y.O.P.) to go to
  - (iii) Unemployed
  - (iv) On a Y.O.P. scheme
  - (v) In full-time education
  - (vi) Other (Please write in)
- 

**These questions are about what you have done to try to find a job in the first two weeks of August.**

2. In the last 2 weeks have you looked for work?

(Looking for work means doing anything that may help you get a job)

YES NO

3. How many times have you been to -

- (i) Career Service
- (ii) Job Centre

4. Have you asked your family, or friends if they know where there are any jobs.

YES NO

5. Have you looked in a newspaper for a job

Local Paper	National Paper
-------------	----------------

YES	YES
-----	-----

NO	NO
----	----

6. Have you got in touch with any firms on your own to ask if they have any jobs.

7. Has anyone been in touch with you about a job (not Y.O.P.)
- (1) Family
  - (2) Friends
  - (3) Careers Officer
  - (4) Job Centre
  - (5) Other (Please write in)
- 
- 

8. Have you looked for a job -
- (i) In the Motherwell District
  - (ii) Within daily travel of Motherwell District
  - (iii) Elsewhere in Scotland
  - (iv) Elsewhere in Britain
  - (v) Abroad

9. How many jobs have you applied for?

10. Where did you first learn about the jobs you have applied for:
- (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Officer
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By getting in touch with a firm yourself
  - (vi) Other (Please write in)
- 

11. How many jobs (not Y.O.P.) have you been firmly offered?

12. Have you accepted one?  
YES NO

13. If you answered YES to Q.12, please write in:  
Your Employer \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Your Job \_\_\_\_\_  
Your weekly wage (Before any Income Tax or  
National Insurance  
Is taken off) \_\_\_\_\_
14. Where did you first hear of this job (Please write in;  
leave blank if you answered NO to Q.12.) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been firmly offered?
16. Have you accepted one?  
YES      NO
17. If you have answered YES to Q.16 please write in:  
Your employer \_\_\_\_\_  
Your job \_\_\_\_\_  
  
\_\_\_\_\_

**These next questions are about what you have done to try and find  
a job between leaving school and end of July**

18. When did you begin to look for work.
- (i) Before Easter
  - (ii) In April
  - (iii) In May
  - (iv) In June
  - (v) In July
  - (vi) Not started yet.

19. Have you visited -

**JOB CENTRE      CAREERS SERVICE**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

20. Have you asked your family or friends if they know where there are any jobs going:

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

21. Have you looked in a newspaper for a job -

**LOCAL                  NATIONAL**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

22. Have you got in touch with any firms yourself to ask if they have any jobs:

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

23. How many firms have you been in touch with:

24. How many jobs have you applied for:

25. Where did you first learn of the jobs you have applied for: (Against Job Centre write in the number of jobs you have found through looking in the Job Centre. Do the same for the rest of the list)

- (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Officer
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By getting in touch with a firm yourself
  - (vi) Other (Please write in)
- 

26. How many jobs (Not Y.O.P.) have you been firmly offered?

27. Have you accepted one: YES NO

28. If you answered YES to Q.27 please write in:

Your Employer \_\_\_\_\_

Your job \_\_\_\_\_

Your weekly wage before Tax and National Insurance is  
Taken off \_\_\_\_\_

29. Where did you first learn of this job (Please write in)

\_\_\_\_\_

30. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been firmly offered:

Have you accepted one? YES NO

32. If you answered YES to Q.31 please write in:

Your employer \_\_\_\_\_

Your job \_\_\_\_\_

33. Which method of looking for a job do you think is most likely to lead to you getting a job:

- (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Service
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) Getting in touch with firms yourself
  - (vi) Other (Please write in)
- 

34. How many 'O' Grade Exams did you pass?

- (i) Grade C or above
- (ii) Grade D or below

**3. JOB SEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEAVERS -**  
**DECEMBER, 1982**

1. At the moment are you -
- (i) employed in a permanent job
  - (ii) employed in a "Christmas period" job
  - (iii) unemployed
  - (iv) on a Y.O.P. scheme
  - (v) other (please write in) \_\_\_\_\_

**These questions are about what you may have done to try and find a PERMANENT job during the FIRST TWO WEEKS OF DECEMBER ONLY**

2. During the first 2 weeks of December have you -
- (i) tried to find a permanent job
  - (ii) tried to find a "Christmas period" job
  - (iii) not tried to find any kind of job
3. How many times have you visited the Careers Service or Job Centre to look for a permanent job?
- Careers Service  
Job Centre
4. Have you asked your family or friends if they know where there are any permanent jobs?
- YES NO
5. Have you looked in a newspaper for a permanet job?
- |             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| LOCAL PAPER | NATIONAL PAPER |
| YES         | YES            |
| NO          | NO             |
6. How many employers have you been in touch with yourself to ask if they have any permanent jobs?

7. Has anyone been in touch with you about a permanent job?

- (i) Family
  - (ii) Friends
  - (iii) Careers Officer
  - (iv) Job Centre
  - (v) Other (Please write in)
- 

8. Have you been looking for a permanent job in:

- (i) The Motherwell District
- (ii) Within daily travel of the  
Motherwell District
- (iii) Elsewhere in Scotland
- (iv) Elsewhere in Britain
- (v) Abroad

9. How many permanent jobs have you applied for?

10. Where did you learn about the jobs you have applied for?  
(Against Job Centre write in the number of jobs you found  
by looking in the Job Centre. Do the same for the rest  
of the list)

- (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Service
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By getting in touch with employers  
yourself
  - (vi) Other (please write in)
- 

11. How many permanent jobs have you been firmly offered?

12. Have you accepted one?

YES NO

13. If you answered YES to Question 12, please write in:
- (i) Your Employer\_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Your job\_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) Your weekly wage (before Income Tax and National Insurance is taken off)\_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) Starting Date\_\_\_\_\_
14. **Where** did you first hear of this job? (Please write in)
- \_\_\_\_\_
15. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been firmly offered in the **first 2 weeks of December?**
16. Have you accepted the offer of a place on a Y.O.P. scheme?  
YES      NO
17. If you answered YES to Q.16 please give details of:
- (i) Your employer\_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Your job\_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) Your starting date\_\_\_\_\_
18. If you have accepted a "Christmas period" job, please give details of your:
- (i) Employer\_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Job\_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) Weekly Wage (before Income Tax and National Insurance is taken off)\_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) Starting date\_\_\_\_\_
  - (v) Finishing Date\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

**These next questions are about what you have done to try and find a PERMANENT JOB between the MIDDLE OF AUGUST AND THE END OF NOVEMBER**

19. Have you visited -

**JOB CENTRE      CAREERS SERVICE**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) One a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

20. Have you asked your family or friends if they know where there are any jobs going?

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than a month
- (v) never

21. Have you looked in a newspaper for a job?

**LOCAL PAPER      NATIONAL PAPER**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

22. Have you been in touch with any employers yourself to ask if they have any jobs?

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

23. How many employers have you been in touch with?

24. How many **permanent** jobs have you applied for?
25. Where did you first learn of the jobs you have applied for? (Against JOB CENTRE write in the number of jobs you found through looking in the Job Centre.  
Do the same for the rest of the list)
- (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Officer
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By getting in touch with an employer yourself
  - (vi) Other (please write in)  
\_\_\_\_\_
26. How many **permanent** jobs have you been offered?
27. Have you accepted one?
- YES      NO
28. If you answered YES to Q.27 please write in:
- (i) Your Employer \_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Your Job \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) Your weekly wage (before Income Tax or National Insurance is taken off) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) Your starting date \_\_\_\_\_
29. **Where** did you first learn of this job (please write in)  
\_\_\_\_\_
30. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been firmly offered?
31. Have you accepted one?
- YES      NO

32. If you answered YES to Q.31, please write in:

- (i) Your employer \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) Your job \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Your starting date \_\_\_\_\_

33. If you have accepted "Christmas period" job, please write in:

- (i) Your employer \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) Your job \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Your wage (before Income Tax and National Insurance is taken off) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) Your starting date \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) Your Finishing Date \_\_\_\_\_

34. What is the **lowest weekly wage** (before any Income Tax or National Insurance is taken off) that you would accept if offered a job?

(Please write in) \_\_\_\_\_

35. When did you begin to look for a permanent job?

- (i) Before August
- (ii) In August
- (iii) In September
- (iv) In October
- (v) In November
- (vi) In December
- (vii) NOT YET

**4. JOB SEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RETURNERS -**  
**DECEMBER, 1982**

**This first set of questions is about what you may have done to try and find a permanent job during the school summer holidays**

1. During the summer holidays did you make any attempt to try and find a permanent job?  
YES NO
  
2. How did you look for a job? Did you:
  - (i) Look in the Job Centre
  - (ii) Go to the Careers Service
  - (iii) Ask your family/friends if they know where there are any jobs
  - (iv) Look in a newspaper
  - (v) Get in touch with any employers yourself to see if they had a job
  
  - (vi) Other (please write in)  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Did you apply for any permanent jobs?  
YES NO
  
4. How many?
  
5. **Where** did you first learn of these jobs?  
(Against Job Centre write in the number of jobs you found through looking in the Job Centre. Do the same for the rest of the list.)
  - (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Service
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By getting in touch with employers yourself to ask if they had a job
  
  - (vi) Other\_\_\_\_\_

6. Were you firmly offered any of these jobs?

YES NO

7. How many?

8. Were you offered a place on a Y.O.P. scheme?

YES NO

9. How many?

10. Did you:

(i) Look hard for a permanent job and only went back to school because you could not find a job  
**OR**

(ii) Intend to go back to school but would have left if you could have found the right job

(iii) Make no attempt to find a job at all.

**This next set of questions is about what you may have done to try to find a permanent job since going back to school.**

11. Since going back to school have you made any attempt to try and find a permanent job?

YES NO

12. When did you begin to look for a job?

(i) Started during school holidays and continued since

(ii) Started in last two weeks of August.

(iii) Started in September

(iv) Started in October

(v) Started in November

(vi) Started in December

(vii) Not started yet

13. Have you visited the Job Centre or Careers Service?

**JOB CENTRE      CAREERS SERVICE**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

14. Have you asked your family or friends if they know where there are any jobs?

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

15. Have you looked in a local or national newspaper for a job?

**LOCAL PAPER      NATIONAL PAPER**

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

16. Have you been in touch with any employers yourself to ask if they have any jobs?

- (i) At least once a week
- (ii) Once a fortnight
- (iii) Once a month
- (iv) Less than once a month
- (v) Never

17. How many employers have you been in touch with?

18. How many jobs have you applied for?

19. Where did you first learn of these jobs?

(Against Job Centre write in the **number** of jobs you have found by looking in the Job Centre. Do the same for the rest of the list.

(i) Job Centre

(ii) Careers Service

(iii) Family/friends

(iv) Newspaper

(v) By getting in touch with employers yourself.

(vi) Other (Please write in)

\_\_\_\_\_

20. How many jobs have you been firmly offered?

21. Have you accepted one?

YES NO

22. If you answered YES to Q.21, please write in:

(i) Your Employers\_\_\_\_\_

(ii) Your Job\_\_\_\_\_

(iii) Your weekly wage before Income Tax or National Insurance is taken off\_\_\_\_\_

23. What is the **lowest weekly wage** (before any Income Tax or National Insurance is taken off) that you would accept if offered a job?

(please write in)\_\_\_\_\_

**5. LABOUR MARKET INTERVIEW -**  
**SPRING, 1983**

1. At the moment are you:
  1. Employed
  2. On Y.O.P.
  3. Unemployed
  4. Other

**JOB SEARCH**

2. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you visited the Careers Service?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight
  3. Once a month
  4. Less than once a month
  5. Never
3. How often did you visit the Job Centre?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight
  3. Once a month
  4. Less than once a month
  5. Never
4. How often did you ask your family or friends if they know of any job vacancies?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight
  3. Once a month.
  4. Less than once a month.
  5. Never

5. How often did you look in a local newspaper for a job?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight.
  3. Once a month
  4. Less than once a month
  5. Never
  
6. How often did you look in a national newspaper for a job?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight
  3. Once a month
  4. Less than once a month
  5. Never
  
7. How often did you directly get in touch with employers to ask if they had any jobs?
  1. Once a week
  2. Once a fortnight
  3. Once a month
  4. Less than once a month
  5. Never
  
8. How many employers did you get in touch with?
  
9. How many jobs have you applied for?
  
10. Where did you first hear of these jobs?
  - (i) Job Centre
  - (ii) Careers Service
  - (iii) Family/friends
  - (iv) Newspaper
  - (v) By contacting firms
  - (vi) Other

**EMPLOYMENT**

11. Since you left school have you had any full time jobs?

1. YES
2. NO

12. How many?

13. Have you refused any jobs offered to you?

1. YES
2. NO

14. How many?

15. Why did you refuse them?

16. What is your present job?

- (i) Employer
- (ii) Job
- (iii) Gross wage
- (iv) Net wage

17. What was the first job you had?

- (i) Employer
- (ii) Job
- (iii) Gross wage
- (iv) Net wage
- (v) Why left

18. What was the last job you had?

- (i) Employer
- (ii) Job
- (iii) Gross wage
- (iv) Net wage
- (v) Why left

19. How long were you unemployed before you started your (last or) present job?
20. Where did you first hear about your (last or) present job?
21. How were you selected for your (last or) present job?  
Did you have -
- |       |                  |        |        |
|-------|------------------|--------|--------|
| (i)   | An interview     | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| (ii)  | a written test   | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (iii) | a practical test | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
22. Is (was) there any training given in the job?
1. Yes
  2. No
23. How long was it due to last?
24. Is (was) the training
1. On the job
  2. Off the job
  3. Both
25. Did your employer give a formal induction programme?
1. Yes
  2. No
26. Were you told about
- |        |   |        |        |
|--------|---|--------|--------|
| (i)    | your job                                    | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (ii)   | your work group                             | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (iii)  | the firm                                    | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (iv)   | the part your job plays in the work process | 1. Yes | 2.. No |
| (v)    | training                                    | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (vi)   | job prospects                               | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (vii)  | hours of work and time keeping              | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (viii) | pay   | 1. Yes | 2. No  |
| (ix)   | rules and regulations                       | 1. Yes | 2. No  |

27. Was the information given about:
- |        |  |  |
|--------|--|--|
| (i)    | your job                                       | 1. Too much 2. Enough<br>3. too little |
| (ii)   | your work group                                | 1. Too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (iii)  | the firm                                       | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (iv)   | the part your job plays in the work<br>process | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (v)    | training                                       | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (vi)   | job prospects                                  | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. to little  |
| (vii)  | hours of work                                  | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (viii) | pay  | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
| (iv)   | rules and regulation                           | 1. too much 2. enough<br>3. too little |
28. Do you think the information you received before you started your (last or) present job was -
1. too much
  2. enough
  3. too little
29. Is there anything you wished you had known before you started work, which you didn't learn until afterwards?
30. From whom do you think you received the best information about the job, before you started?

31. While you are (were) working, are (were) you looking for another job?

1. Yes
2. No

32. Why was this?

33. How are (were) you looking? Did you use -

- |       |                      |        |       |
|-------|----------------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | Job Centre           | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Family/friends       | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | Newspapers           | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | Contacting employers | 1. Yes | 2. No |

**Y.O.P.**

34. Since you left school have you been on any kind of Y.O.P. Scheme?

1. Yes
2. No

**(If answer is NO, go to Q.62)**

35. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been on?

- |     |       |      |        |       |
|-----|-------|------|--------|-------|
| 36. | (i)   | WEEP | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (ii)  | PBWE | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (iii) | TW   | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (iv)  | CS   | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (v)   | STC  | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (vi)  | WIC  | 1. Yes | 2. No |
|     | (vii) | CP   | 1. Yes | 2. No |

37. How long had you been unemployed before you joined your
- (i) first Y.O.P. scheme
  - (ii) present (or last) Y.O.P. scheme
38. How many Y.O.P. scheme places have you been offered which you turned down?
39. Why did you turn them down?
40. Where you told that Y.O.P. would give you work experience by:
- |       |                 |        |       |
|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service | 1. Yes | 2.No  |
| (ii)  | Job Centre      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Family          | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | Friends         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | others          |        |       |
41. Where you told that Y.O.P. would give you some useful training by
- |       |                 |        |       |
|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | Job Centre      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Family          | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | Friends         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | Others          |        |       |
42. Were you told that Y.O.P. would improve your chances of getting a job by -
- |       |                 |        |       |
|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | Job Centre      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Family          | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | Friends         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | Others          |        |       |

43. Were you told that Y.O.P. would be like doing a real job by -
- |       |                 |        |       |
|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | Job Centre      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Family          | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | Friends         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | Others          |        |       |
44. What activities did you do in your scheme?
45. Is there an activity which you would like to do as a job?
1. Yes
  2. No
46. What is it?
47. Did any of the tasks teach you
- |       |                              |        |       |
|-------|------------------------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | a particular job             | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | about machines and equipment | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | about materials and tools    | 1. Yes | 2. No |
48. Were you give any training in -
- |       |                               |        |       |
|-------|-------------------------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | how to look for a job         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | how to write letters for jobs | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | what to do at interviews      | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | maths/arithmetic              | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | English                       | 1. Yes | 2. No |
49. Do you think the Y.O.P. allowance is
1. Too much
  2. About right
  3. Too little

50. Do you think the amount of training you are given in particular jobs is -
1. Too much
  2. About right
  3. Too little
51. Do you think the training you are given in how to go about finding a job is
1. Too much
  2. About right
  3. Too little
52. Do you think the length of the scheme is -
1. Too long
  2. About right
  3. Too short
53. Who do you think will benefit most from the scheme?
1. the trainee
  2. the employer
  3. both about equal
54. In what ways do you think the trainee benefits from being on a Y.O.P. scheme?
55. In what ways do you think the employer benefits from Y.O.P.?
56. While you were on a Y.O.P. scheme did you continue looking for a job?
1. Yes
  2. No

57. How did you look, did you use:
- |       |                    |        |       |
|-------|--------------------|--------|-------|
| (i)   | Careers Service    | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (ii)  | Job Centre         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iii) | Ask family/friends | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (iv)  | newspapers         | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (v)   | contact employers  | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (vi)  | Others             |        |       |
58. Have you left a Y.O.P. scheme before it officially ended?
1. Yes
  2. No
59. Why did you leave?
60. How long were you on the scheme before you left?
61. On leaving a Y.O.P. scheme did you:-
1. Re-Register as unemployed
  2. Go on another scheme
  3. Gain employment with your Y.O.P. employer
  4. Gain employment with another employer
  5. Other

### UNEMPLOYMENT

62. Since you left school have you every been unemployed?
1. Yes
  2. No

**(If NO, go to Q.76)**

63. Have you had more than one period of unemployment?
1. Yes
  2. No

64. How many periods of unemployment have you had?
65. How long was your longest period of unemployment?
66. How long was your shortest?
67. Have you ever registered as unemployed?
1. Yes
  2. No
68. When did you first register as unemployed?
1. As soon as you left school
  2. Sometime during the school summer holiday.
  3. Sometime after the end of the school summer holiday.
  9. Not applicable
69. Why did you not register as soon as you left school?
70. Did you know you would be unable to receive any benefit until the beginning of the new school year, even if you registered before?
1. Yes
  2. No
71. Can you remember who told you this, or where you found out about it?
72. Did you register before the end of the school holidays in order to qualify for Y.O.P. sooner?
1. Yes
  2. No
  9. Not applicable
73. Why have you never registered as unemployed?
99. Not applicable

74. Have you registered as unemployed each time you have been unemployed?

1. Yes
2. No

75. Why have you registered sometimes, and not others?

99. Not applicable

### LABOUR MARKET KNOWLEDGE

76. Do you know what types of jobs school leavers are getting or applying for in the Motherwell District?

77. What do you think is the average gross weekly wage of school leavers who have found a job?

78. What do you think is the rate of unemployment among school leavers in the Motherwell area?

1. 1 in 10
2. 2 in 10
3. 3 in 10
4. 4 in 10
5. 5 in 10
6. 6 in 10
7. 7 in 10
8. 8 in 10

79. Do you think the situation for unemployed school leavers will:

1. Improve
2. Remain about the same
3. Get worse

80. What do you think is the rate of unemployment among adults in the Motherwell area?
1. 1 in 10
  2. 2 in 10
  3. 3 in 10
  4. 4 in 10
  5. 5 in 10

**PERSONAL DETAILS**

81. Is your father employed?
1. Yes
  2. No
  9. Not applicable
82. What is -
- (i) His job
  - (ii) His employer
83. How long has he been unemployed?
84. Is your mother employed?
1. Full-time
  2. Part-time
  3. No.
  9. Not applicable
85. What is -
- (i) her job
  - (ii) her employer
86. How many 'O' Grade exams did you pass?
- (i) grade C or above
  - (ii) Grade D or below

**GENERAL QUESTIONS**

87. Do you think your last year at school was a good preparation for starting work?

1. Yes

2. No

88. In what way?

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