

INTRA URBAN VARIATION IN THE EARLY LABOUR MARKET
EXPERIENCE OF MINIMUM AGE SCHOOL LEAVERS: THE ROLE OF
AREA OF RESIDENCE

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SUMMARY

The aim of this thesis was to investigate firstly whether the early labour market experience of minimum age school leavers varied systematically across a section of the urban area of the Glasgow conurbation and secondly, if variation proved to be the case, then the aim was to assess the role of area of residence in this phenomenon. The study looked at 16 year old school leavers in the south east corridor of Glasgow, drawing from schools in areas close to the city centre (the Inner South), a peripheral housing estate (Castlemilk), and a new town (East Kilbride). These three urban environments offered a range of social and economic conditions and most importantly were believed to vary in terms of access to local employment opportunities.

After detailing the various theoretical frameworks that attempt to explain the transition from school to work, we compare and contrast the early labour market experience of various groups in the sample. The early labour market experience of the young people was found to vary along the dimensions of both gender and area of residence. Variation existed in:- the levels of young people moving into employment; the types of employment entered; the rewards obtained in employment, and levels of training in the job and promotion prospects; the levels of young people still on the YTS up to 22 months after leaving school; the proportion of young people moving directly into employment from the YTS; and the levels of all young people with experience of YTS in employment at contact. Not all of these differences, however, proved to be statistically significant.

Multivariate analysis was undertaken to assess the explanatory power of personal, household and area level characteristics in determining

employment status at the time of the survey. For the purposes of the analysis the distinction was made between the employed and the non-employed with both YTS youngsters and the unemployed in this latter category. It was found that the greatest part of the variation in employment chances was due to variations in personal and household characteristics of the young people in the three areas, with educational attainment (at the level of three O' grades and above) and having a father classified as non-manual being particularly important. Experience of part-time employment for females was found to be significant in determining employment chances, and in this respect was more significant than that of academic attainment (at the level of three or more O' grades). This latter observation could be construed as an 'area effect' if the lack of locally available employment opportunities made it particularly difficult for school girls to obtain part-time work. However, it could also be argued that the same personal and household characteristics that were shown to be important for success in the full-time labour market, were also the major determinants of who obtained part-time work and who did not.

Given the results of the multivariate analysis, it is probably the case that variation in personal and household characteristics were largely responsible for the variations observed in early labour market experience between area groups.

There were, however, a number of problems with this analysis. Firstly, the small size of our sample was restrictive and may have led to results being spurious in some instances so caution is exercised in drawing conclusions. A further problem was the lags involved in the fieldwork, which took place over a period of four to five months and the point in time at which we entered the field when a majority of the

group had already been ⁱⁿ the labour market for between 18 to 22 months. It may be that any adverse impact of area of residence is dissipated over that period. Finally, the very wide variation in personal and household characteristics of the sample in the three areas. It is possible that any disadvantage that existed due to residence in a peripheral housing estate say, was completely swamped by the disadvantage associated with stark differences between the groups in terms of educational attainment, and other factors. A more effective test of the impact of residence on employment chances would compare similar individuals (in terms of a range of characteristics) in the three areas. We were unable to do this because of the small size of our sample and the stark variation in characteristics that existed.

Tentative conclusions and policy recommendations then are drawn on the basis of our results. These include a review of the ways in which educational attainment of school leavers in the Castlemilk estate could be improved. This may involve extra resourcing of the schools in the area and devoting more resources to out of school academic support, whether in the form of subject tutors or study units. A large part of the work will, no doubt, be in raising the aspirations of these young people. There also appears to be some legitimacy in providing extra job search support for young people whose fathers are either unskilled, unemployed or absent from the household. Dividends may also be reaped from encouraging young people from the Castlemilk estate to widen their spatial job search, as this did appear to be constrained in comparison to other area groups. In particular, there may be benefits to encouraging this group to seek employment in the nearby new town of East Kilbride as no young people from the estate made job applications here. This would need to be done, however, in

conjunction with the improvement in personal characteristics.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET

The past decade has seen a proliferation of research and publications on different aspects of the youth labour market. This wealth of production has coincided with levels of youth unemployment unprecedented since the 1930's and radical changes in policy towards the education, training and employment of young people. Various texts document the long term upward trend in youth unemployment, which has tended to become higher with each new economic downturn (Makeham, 1980; Wells, 1983; Hart, 1989).

Youth unemployment began to rise notably in the mid to late 1970's and dramatically so in the 1980's. This scenario has been repeated in almost all OECD countries and youth unemployment has been identified as a priority area of social policy in the European Community. Young people have always tended to experience higher levels of unemployment, because of the traditionally higher levels of labour turnover in this section of the labour market, as young people search for a suitable opening. However this was always thought to be a transitory phenomenon. The rise in youth unemployment in the early 1980's though and the accompanying extended duration of the average unemployment spell was a cause for concern. The net increase in youth unemployment in 1980 was greater than the net increase experienced during the whole of the 1970's (Raffe, 1987). During the early 1980's youth unemployment changed from a relatively short term frictional problem to one of much longer duration. Where labour market movements did occur, they tended to be in and out of government schemes rather than in and out of jobs (Raffe, 1987; Jones, 1984; Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986).

One of the worrying features for many commentators has been the growth of long term unemployment among young people. Young people who have been unemployed for some length of time are likely to be discriminated against by employers (Junanker, 1987). Further, unemployed young people tend to be unskilled and cannot trade down the skill ladder in the search for work. In April 1986, 27.7 per cent of young people currently unemployed, had been so for over a year. At the same time the share of youth in long term unemployment was 24.3 per cent (Junanker, 1987; Employment Department Labour Market Quarterly Report).

The suggested explanations for the meteoric rise in youth unemployment have been many and varied. It has been suggested that youth unemployment is:-

- a consequence of a lack of aggregate demand,
- the result of the demographic bulge (an excess supply of young people),
- due to the changing structure of the economy and the decline of youth industries,
- due to the increased competition from other groups entering the labour market (ie. increased participation of women in the labour market, and work increasingly organised on a part time basis which is generally seen as unsuitable for young people),
- caused by an increase in the costs of hiring young people and relatively high youth wages,
- due to allegedly over generous levels of state financial support.

The scale of youth unemployment has raised concern among governments, for a number of reasons. Unemployment in general presents a cost and a waste of resources both to the individual and to the economy. Youth unemployment however is thought to be particularly wasteful given the link which has been established between early labour market experience and later working life. Young people that suffer lengthy periods out of work at this stage are more susceptible to unemployment later (Lynch, 1985; Burchell and Burchell, 1988). Further the first years in the labour market are crucial in establishing the pattern of future work habits and position in a segmented labour market (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1987). For example the great bulk of recruitment to apprenticeship training and subsequently skilled work, takes place at the ages of sixteen and seventeen. Young people missing out at this stage are unlikely to be able to take up such training in later years.

The problem of youth unemployment has brought forth a range of policy responses ranging from employment subsidies, special job creation measures, temporary work experience, such as the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) and now a 'permanent bridge from school to work', in the form of the YTS. The YTS was first introduced in 1983, in the face of increasing unpopularity of the YOP, and continuing high levels of youth unemployment. It was to form part of the government's New *Training* Initiative, aimed at bringing the product of the schools closer to the requirements of industry. The development of the scheme is discussed more fully in Chapter Five.¹

Also at the root of the introduction and the later extension of the

scheme (in 1986), was the recognition that Britain had fallen behind its competitors in terms of provision for and training of young entrants to the labour market. Such provision and training is believed to be related to the higher productivity and competitiveness of other European countries (.NEDO, 1984; Prais & Wagner, 1986; Finegold & Soskice, 1988). In May 1990 the YTS was replaced by Youth Training (YT). Few, if any, of the young people in our sample will have been affected by this and consequently we give only brief details here. The aims of YT are similar to those of the YTS with a renewed emphasis on the attainment of vocational qualifications. YT like YTS will be delivered through Managing Agents or 'providers', but the scheme itself has been given more flexibility than the YTS in that there no longer has to be a minimum number of weeks of off the job training and a YT programme can last from anything from six months to four years, so the scheme can be effectively tailored to meet the needs of individual employers. YT will be organised by the new Training and Enterprise Councils (Local Enterprise Companies in Scotland), in the local area.

Commentators saw the introduction of the YTS as a radical chapter in the long history of youth labour market policy (Peck, 1990; McKie, 1990). At its peak the scheme constituted the first post school destination of more than two thirds of sixteen year old school leavers, although the proportions entering the scheme varied between locations and tended to be related to the level of unemployment in an area.

Just as entrance levels to the scheme vary, so too do outcomes in different parts of the country. The Youthaid Working Brief regularly publishes figures on the destinations of YTS leavers by region, as

do a number of government sources (LMQR and LMQR for Scotland). For leavers from the scheme between December 1986 and November 1988, the proportion of young people who were in employment three months after leaving the YTS ranged from 77.1 per cent in the South East to 52.7 per cent in the North and in Scotland. These figures include those that went into self employment as well those in part time and full time jobs (Youthaid Working Brief, June 1989). The unemployment rate following the scheme ranged from 9.7 per cent in the South East, to 25.5 per cent in Scotland and 25.6 per cent in the North.

1.2 INTRA URBAN PERSPECTIVES OF THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET

Various studies of the differing labour market conditions facing youth in different regions have been undertaken in recent years. Varying economic conditions have always existed between the North and South of the country and given the way in which labour market conditions affect recruitment practices and the currency of certain personal characteristics (such as educational qualifications), it would be expected that young people leaving school in the booming South East would be more likely to find work regardless of qualifications, employment status of father or any other important characteristic.

The inter-regional fortunes of youth have been variously documented (Aston and Maguire et al, 1986; Roberts et al, 1986), as have the failings of a national training system that refuses to take account of local idiosyncrasies (MacGregor and McArthur, 1986). Ashton and Maguire et al (1986) emphasise the differences that emerged between the four local labour markets in their study (St Albans, Leicester, Stafford and Sunderland) and they conclude that such differences are now probably more significant than social class differences in

influencing the level at which a young person enters the labour market:-

Thus in St Albans (the most buoyant^{est} of the labour markets studied) young people from lower working^{class} families had a greater chance of entering white collar work than those from the middle class in Sunderland (Ashton and Maguire et al, 1986, p.1).

Such studies then have highlighted the significance of the local labour market in determining the life chances of youth (Ashton, Maguire, Spilsbury, 1988). While some researchers have been concerned with the differing impact of local labour markets in different regions, others have also looked at the way in which the individual's chances of employment (or chances of skilled work) appear to differ between locally adjacent labour markets (Lynch, 1985; Coles, 1988), or areas of a single city (Garner, Main and Raffe, 1989).

In this thesis we are concerned with the range of variables that impact upon the success or otherwise of the transition from school to work. In particular we are interested in whether the area of residence of the school leaver has a significant independent effect on what happens to the young person in the early period in the labour market. Various researchers in recent years have considered the problem of unemployment concentrated in inner city areas. Some have referred to this phenomena as 'residential unemployment' because of the association between unemployment, individual characteristics such as skill and race and the segmentation of the housing market (Begg et al, 1986). The question raised by such research was whether residence in the inner city areas itself impacted negatively on the employment prospects of the individual. The traditional inner city areas tended to be populated by unskilled or lower skilled groups most prone to unemployment or dislocated labour market experience. There was also a

concentration of those with poor health or from ethnic minorities also prone to unemployment. Researchers debated whether these 'disadvantaged' individuals would have improved employment prospects were they to be relocated to areas where employment opportunities were plentiful. The whole debate has centred on whether such concentrations of unemployment were due solely to the concentration of people with 'unattractive' labour market characteristics, or whether living in the inner city per se, affected the job chances of the individual. Much of the inner city unemployment problem was believed to have emerged as a result of the reduction of employment opportunities in that area, as city centres were redeveloped and industry relocated to the suburbs. The debate was further developed as authors noted the possible negative impact (on employment chances of the individual) of concentrations of unemployment, where informal networks of job information failed to operate.

To some extent this debate has never really been resolved in that results of various studies using a variety of statistical techniques have been contradictory. With regard to the way in which the employment chances of youth appear to differ across a single city, Garner Main and Raffe (1989) concluded that for the most part such inequalities were explained largely by personal characteristics and the unequal distribution of such characteristics across the city. Conversely Gray et al (1989) concluded that when comparing young people from similar backgrounds in terms of the probability of being in a full time job, whether they were located in the inner city or not, did indeed appear to make some difference.

The crux of the debate centres on the issue of whether young people located in such areas move within the same local labour market as

those in other adjacent areas. The importance of the characteristics of the local labour market is highlighted in some of the references already noted. This is a crucial point, as the labour market for youth is particularly localised. The Ashton and Maguire (1986) study (noted above) focused on young people aged 18 years to 24 years of age. It is quite likely that the influence of the local labour market on the experiences of young people below this age (ie the 16 and 17 year age group which is the focus of the present study) is even greater.

If we focus within a single urban area and if we believe that urban area to constitute a single local labour market, then any differences that emerge in the experiences of the individuals in that local labour market must be explained by personal characteristics (such as educational qualifications). In this case any concentration of unemployment is explained by the concentration of people with similar characteristics in any one area. The only other explanation is that of an 'area effect'. An area effect or disadvantage may manifest itself in various ways. For example, employers and others may attach a stigma to an area of high unemployment and consequently its residents when selecting candidates for recruitment; poor public transport links may exist between such areas and the locations of employment opportunities; poor informal job information networks may exist.

The current thesis considers the transition from school to work of 16 year old school leavers living in a peripheral housing estate, Castlemilk - an area of concentrated youth and adult unemployment. Their transition is compared with that of other young people living in adjacent areas. The justification underlying the present study is that young people living in a peripheral housing estate constitute a

group particularly vulnerable to any area effect arising from unemployment concentration and lack of local employment or training opportunities. The localised nature of the youth labour market has already been emphasised. Such young people living on the periphery of the urban area, in areas where car ownership is particularly low, where unemployment among all groups of the population is high and where local job opportunities are scarce, may face particular problems in forcing their way into the labour market, regardless of personal characteristics.

In this research then we aim to consider a number of questions. Firstly, does early labour market experience differ according to the individuals position in the urban area after taking account of important explanatory variables. That is, do young people living in certain areas of the conurbation have lower employment chances per se, because of where they live? The starting point then is to identify whether any independent area effect does in fact exist for the group of school leavers. Secondly, does any area effect which may affect the chances of employment have any impact on the type or quality of employment entered. That is, are young people from a peripheral housing estate more likely to enter unskilled or unstable employment in what has been termed the secondary sector. Again, this issue has to be explored after taking into account the significance of a range of variables.

As the YTS has proved to be the first destination for a majority of leavers over the study period, the impact of this and the impact of area of residence on entry to the scheme must also be considered. Just as the quality of employment differs between primary and secondary sectors, so YTS has been shown to vary both in terms of the

quality of training offered and the extent of employment chances following the scheme. We ask whether young people living in a peripheral housing scheme were more likely to be located on schemes which have been identified as having lower employment chances.

One of the major issues underlying these questions is whether the young people operate within the same local labour market, given the adjacent nature of the three areas. One chapter in the thesis is devoted to the job search activities of the three groups. The extent and nature of the job search undertaken by the individual could also have an independent effect on the individual's employment prospects regardless of personal characteristics, (similarly with employers' recruitment patterns and methods). These may discriminate either directly or indirectly against young people from areas such as a peripheral housing estate. Unfortunately an in-depth study of the significance of the demand side of the labour market (in the form of employers' recruitment practices) is beyond the scope of the current research project, although we do review other research on this issue in Chapter Two.

1.3 METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

This research is concerned with the early labour market experience of a group of young people who left school during 1987 in one of three selected areas of the Glasgow conurbation. The three areas differed on the basis of a selection of social and economic indicators, displaying a variety of conditions within a single labour market area - the Glasgow conurbation. The three areas are: firstly, Castlemilk, a peripheral housing estate, situated approximately four miles South of Glasgow city centre; secondly East Kilbride, the oldest of the

Scottish new towns, situated eight miles South East of the city centre; thirdly, an amalgamation or a collection of areas referred to in this study as the Inner South area. The Inner South is made up of a number of areas, stretching from Govan in the South West of the City to Hutchesontown, Govanhill and Kings Park, areas directly South of the city centre. The study then focuses on the early labour market experience of a group of young people, living in a transect of the south side of Glasgow, stretching out to about ten miles.

The three areas display a variety of economic conditions. Castlemilk (as detailed in section 1.4) has been identified as an area of deprivation by both local and national government policy, becoming a focus of government urban policy in 1988 under 'New Life for Urban Scotland', which aimed at improving housing and the employment opportunities for people in the area. The area suffers the highest rate of unemployment of the three areas selected for study. East Kilbride a New Town is perhaps the most buoyant of the three areas, and has been one of the more successful new towns, with lower unemployment than the bulk of the surrounding conurbation. The Inner South area differs from the other two areas in a number of ways and is probably the most diverse of the three areas of the study. This area takes in Kings Park, a predominantly middle class area with Govan a traditionally working class area some parts of which are similar in conditions to Castlemilk.

The thesis focuses on the early labour market experience of 187 young people who left school at the age of sixteen during 1987. Contacts were made with secondary schools in a number of areas of Glasgow, and lists of fourth year leavers in the year of interest were obtained. The young people were roughly evenly distributed between the three

areas of Castlemilk, the Inner South and East Kilbride with equal numbers of males and females in each. As Table 1.1 shows at least thirty males and thirty females were interviewed in each area (the exception being males in Castlemilk). The interviews were face to face and took place during the evenings and weekends between December 1988 and April 1989. Young people were interviewed at least twelve months after leaving school. However because some young people left school at different points during the school year, (summer, Easter or Christmas) some had been in the labour market up to twenty months at contact. This obviously has to be taken into account in any consideration of destination of these young people at the time of interview.

TABLE 1.1 INTERVIEWS UNDERTAKEN IN THE THREE AREAS

Areas	Females	Males	Totals
Castlemilk	32	29	61
Inner South	31	31	62
East Kilbride	34	30	64
TOTALS	97	91	187

This brings us to the main problem associated with the research methodology adopted which is the lags involved in the fieldwork process. Because the fieldwork took place over an extended period of time, the point at which a young person was interviewed (eg whether they were interviewed in December 1988 or April 1989) will affect the position in the labour market in which we find them at contact. In April 1989, the young person may be coming towards the end of the second year on the YTS, and will be more likely to be in employment than at the earlier date. This qualification should be borne in mind in later analysis. This applies more on an individual basis than an

area basis, as young people from the three areas were interviewed concurrently, apart from in the first three weeks of the fieldwork when mainly young people from Castlemilk were interviewed. This is obviously a major drawback with this method of research, however we wanted to collect more qualitative and extensive information than would probably have been possible with a postal questionnaire.

The sample was built up from lists of fourth year leavers from schools on the south side of the city and from East Kilbride. Young people were selected for interview on a random basis from these lists, and various sampling fractions were employed depending on the size of the group in each area and the stage of the fieldwork. Refusal rates as such were almost negligible. The main problem appeared to be getting young people at home in the evenings, and people moving away. This was especially a problem in Castlemilk where the rate of turnover of tenants is known to be particularly high. Recent figures reported a turnover rate of 17.6 per cent per annum, with the figure as high as 39 per cent in some areas of Castlemilk (Strathclyde Regional Council 1989). The number of cases where young people had moved away independantly of their families numbered 9 in Castlemilk, 5 in East Kilbride and 8 in the Inner South. These were a very small proportion of the total number of contacts made.

1.4 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS

In this section we describe the geographical areas encompassed in the study according to a selection of economic and social indicators. The three study areas were chosen partly because they were all in a single transect of the city where cooperation from the schools had been obtained, but also because they display a range of social and economic

conditions. Before discussing each area in turn we consider the context in which these young people left school.

In September 1987, there were 180,802 people unemployed and claiming benefit in the Strathclyde region. This represented 17.6 per cent of the labour force of the region. If we take into account those who were ineligible for benefits but looking for work, that total swells to the regional council estimate of 280,500 looking for work in Strathclyde in August 1987. This burden of unemployment can be put into perspective by looking at the level of vacancies over the period. There were 11,594 vacancies notified to Job Centres and Careers Offices in Strathclyde in September 1987. Of these, 2,274 were Community Programme (CP) vacancies. If we accept the usual maxim that around one third of total vacancies are notified to Job Centres, then we could assume that in total there were approximately 27,960 situations vacant in the economy (excluding CP vacancies) -a shortfall of 152,842 jobs even on the government's own estimates.

At September 1987, unemployment in Glasgow stood at 25.3 per cent for males and 12.2 per cent for females, giving a combined rate of 19.9 per cent. Strathclyde region had a total unemployment rate of 16.2 per cent, made up of a rate for males of 19.2 per cent, and a female rate of 11.5 per cent.

(a) Castlemilk

Castlemilk housing estate is on the periphery of Glasgow, almost contiguous with the rest of the urban area. Information on the socio-economic make up of the area was taken from the Small Area Statistics (SAS) of the 1981 Census of Population and Glasgow District Council (GDC) Annual Housing Reports. The young people interviewed were drawn from three secondary schools in the Castlemilk area, the catchment

areas of which extend beyond the area referred to as Castlemilk by the GDC housing reports. Consequently we also note the social and economic characteristics of a number of areas bordering Castlemilk. As we shall see these areas had a similar social and economic make-up and in the remainder of the thesis they are referred to as the Castlemilk area.

Table 1.2 displays the levels of unemployment in and around the Castlemilk area at April 1986. The first two areas in the table, those labelled Castlemilk and Glenwood are both within the Castlemilk postcode sectors of G45.0 and G45.9. Linn Park is just over the boundary to the left and Fernhill to the right. A small group of young people living in these areas attended Castlemilk schools (five in all). Strathclyde Economic Trends reported Castlemilk as having a male unemployment rate of 28.7 per cent in September 1987 and a Female rate of 11.9 per cent, giving a combined rate of 22.2 per cent.

GDC Housing statistics show that Castlemilk had the second highest rate of voids in 1986 (at 8.8 per cent approximately), the highest rate of turnover of tenants (at around 18.8 per cent) and one of the highest refusal rates from possible prospective tenants at 65.2 per cent. The Annual Housing Reports also detail the average number of working days that pass between an offer of accommodation being made and an acceptance or refusal being received. For Castlemilk and a number of the other peripheral housing estates the figure is zero, indicating that people tend to immediately accept or refuse an offer in these areas, although in the light of the level of refusals it is more likely to be the latter. This tends to suggest that there may be a stigma attached to such areas among certain groups.

The Castlemilk area is covered by two postcode districts, for which figures pertaining to the socio-economic conditions are available in the SAS of the 1981 Census. These two postcode districts include the areas of Castlemilk and Glenwood as detailed in Table 1.2, but neither of the other two areas. The figures for the two districts are combined here. The resident population amounted to 28,756 in 1981. The tenure breakdown at that time showed that 1.9 per cent of households lived in owner occupied accommodation and 94.4 per cent in council housing. This contrasts with East Kilbride where the relevant figures were 30 per cent and 67 per cent respectively. This is an important difference between the two areas as research has indicated that residence in council housing is strongly correlated with the probability of becoming and remaining unemployed (Nickell, 1980; Murphy and Sullivan, 1986; Main and Raffe, 1983). Current figures show a concentration of unemployment in areas where levels of council housing are high.

**TABLE 1.2 UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS IN THE CASTLEMILK AREA
(APRIL 1987) PERCENTAGES**

Area	Unemployment Rate(%)	Long term unemployed as a percentage of all unemployed
Castlemilk	22.2	49.6
Glenwood	29.8	59.0
Linn Park	25.1	55.9
Fernhill	14.8	46.4

1. The areas in the table are housing office areas.

Source: GDC Annual Housing Report

In the Castlemilk area as many as 84 per cent of households are without a car. This completes a picture of social and economic deprivation. Table 1.3 displays these details for the postcode sectors in which young people lived. Young people who attended Castlemilk schools were drawn from the three postcode sectors of G45.0, G45.9 and G73.4. The figures for these sectors are combined in

Table 1.3 and shown separately in Table 1.4.

(b) East Kilbride

East Kilbride is the oldest, largest and probably the most successful of the Scottish New Towns. Designated in May 1947, it had reached a resident population of 71,109 by the 1981 Census. In 1981 there were 27,033 households of which 30.2 per cent were in owner occupied accommodation, and 67 per cent in council housing. The remainder was made up of housing association rented and private rented accommodation. It is possible that these figures may have changed considerably since the 1981 Census given the Governments continuing 'right to buy' policies. However, further information on housing tenure on an individual basis was gathered during the interviews.

The unemployment rate in East Kilbride stood at 10.8 per cent in September 1987. The male unemployment rate at that time stood at 11.3 per cent and the female rate at 10.1 per cent. Low levels of car ownership have been used in recent studies as an indicator of economic deprivation in the inner cities. In East Kilbride 38 per cent of households were without a car, 49 per cent of households had one car and 12.1 per cent three cars or more.

Table 1.3 below provides a comparison of Castlemilk and East Kilbride in terms of some summary statistics. The largest difference between the two areas occurs in the levels of car ownership, with 84 per cent of households without a car in Castlemilk (ownership levels of 16 per cent) compared to 38 per cent in East Kilbride.

There are also wide differences however in terms of levels of owner occupation and unemployment, with the unemployment rate in Castlemilk running at twice the rate for East Kilbride, as shown in Table 1.4.

**TABLE 1.3 COMPARISON OF SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR
CASTLEMILK AND EAST KILBRIDE.* PERCENTAGES**

Summary Statistic	Castlemilk	East Kilbride
Level of owner occupation	5.6	30.2
Level of car ownership	16.0	62.0
Unemployment	22.2	10.8

*Unemployment rates refer to the situation in 1987 (at the time of the survey). All other figures from 1981 Population Census.

**TABLE 1.4 COMPARISON OF THE POSTCODE SECTORS COMPRISING
CASTLEMILK AND EAST KILBRIDE. PERCENTAGES**

Postcode sectors	Level of owner occupation	Households without a car	Level of Unemployment
East Kilbride			
G75.8	32.8	35.9	10.6
G75.9	9.7	41.3	13.5
G75.0	20.0	46.7	11.5
Castlemilk			
G45.9	1.7	82.0	21.6
G45.0	2.1	86.6	28.0

Source: 1981 Census

(c) The Inner South Area

Young people from the Inner South area were drawn from three schools on the south side of the city. They are drawn from a much wider area than either of the other two groups, and consequently there is a much wider variation in social and economic conditions. Table 1.5 gives details of the twelve postcode districts in which respondents resided.

It can be seen that some of the postcode sectors in this group are quite similar to Castlemilk in terms of levels of owner occupation and car ownership; particularly G42.0, G43.2 and G51.3. Levels of owner

occupation range from 62.2 per cent (G44.3) to 10.3 per cent (in G51.3).

In about half of the twelve postcode sectors car ownership levels are below the city level of 28.4 per cent of households (GDC Annual Housing Report, March 1986). The variation evident in the table justifies the disaggregation to postcode sector level.

Also displayed in Table 1.5 are unemployment levels at the postcode sector level. In the table those seeking work are shown as a proportion of the economically active. Again, there is a wide range with postcode sector G51.3 suffering the highest rate of unemployment at 30.6 per cent. As indicated in the table the lowest unemployment rate was experienced in sector G44.5 (4.7 per cent).

TABLE 1.5 PROFILE OF THE AREAS WHICH CONSTITUTE THE INNER SOUTH PERCENTAGES

Postcode sector	Level of owner occupation	Level of car ownership	Level of unemployment
G42.0	1.1	22.8	15.3
G42.7	46.2	53.2	17.3
G42.8	52.0	29.1	12.8
G42.9	54.9	35.9	9.2
G43.2	10.2	27.2	6.2
G44.3	82.7	62.2	-
G44.4	69.9	45.8	5.9
G44.5	80.1	59.5	4.7
G51.1	52.2	23.1	-
G51.2	19.9	15.1	23.7
G51.3	10.8	10.3	30.6
G51.4	14.7	23.2	17.3

Source: SAS Census of Population 1981

Unemployment figures during 1987 are shown in Table 1.6. Unfortunately these were not available at postcode sector level. Sectors have been aggregated to postcode areas as shown in the table. Despite the aggregation the pattern is similar to that shown in Table

1.5 with area G51 experiencing the most severe levels of unemployment and G44 the least severe. Both G44 and G43 had unemployment rates below the city average, with G51 and G42 above that average. The majority of the areas detailed in the table have unemployment rates at or below the level for Glasgow, with Pollokshaws/Newlands having the lowest rate, followed by Kings Park/Toryglen. These areas are covered by the postcode sectors of G43 and G44 in Table 1.5.

TABLE 1.6 UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE 'INNER SOUTH AREA' IN 1987

Areas	Unemployment Rate (%)		
	Male	Male	Total
Govan (G51)	35.3	15.6	27.3
Huchestontown/ Crosshill (G42)*	25.2	13.5	20.3
Pollokshaws/ Newlands (G43)	12.2	7.1	10.1
Kings Park/ Toryglen (G44)	16.2	9.8	13.5
Glasgow	25.3	25.3	19.9
Strathclyde	19.2	11.5	16.2

* Our survey only included young people residing in Crosshill covered by the postcode district of G42, the category in this table also includes the area of Hutchesontown, covered by postcode district G5.

Source: Strathclyde Economic Trends

Between the three areas then Castlemilk covers the smallest number of households, and has the highest levels of unemployment and council housing. There are some postcode sectors within the Inner South area however where conditions are similar if not worse than that of Castlemilk (eg G42 and G51). Young people covered in the survey living in these areas will act as a good comparison for those from Castlemilk as the main difference between them will be position in the urban hierarchy. The bulk of young people interviewed in the Inner South however were resident in sectors G44 and G43, so the differences in experiences of labour market entrants analysed later may consequently be quite stark. East Kilbride had the second lowest unemployment rate

in 1987 at 10.8 per cent, surpassed only by G43 (Pollokshaws and Newlands) of the Inner South area. The Inner South area taken as a whole had the highest levels of home ownership at 41.8 per cent, compared to 30 per cent in East Kilbride and 6.6 per cent in the Castlemilk area (1981 Census).

1.5 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS OF THESIS

In Chapter Two the literature pertaining to the subject of the thesis is reviewed. We consider the different explanations given for unemployment in the youth labour market. Also the different theories as to how the labour market operates and explanations for inequality of labour market experience. From here we go on to consider why unemployment should be concentrated in particular areas.

Chapter Three details the different destinations that young people were in at the point of contact, as well as the transitions they had made in their first twelve months in the labour market. We look at the different routes they had taken in the labour market up to that point in time. We do this for the sample as a whole, as well as disaggregating by area and gender, comparing the destinations of boys and girls in the three areas. The importance of early labour market experience is assessed in determining the position of the young person when contacted. Over the three areas and between genders we consider the levels of young people that had experience of employment since leaving school; levels of experience of the YTS; and levels of experience of unemployment.

Chapters Four and Five focus on those young people who were in jobs at the point of contact. In Chapter Four we look at the types of jobs

entered for the sample as a whole, as well as comparing between area and gender. The industrial breakdown is detailed. In Chapter Five we develop this analysis by selecting a number of features of this employment which serve as indicators of 'quality' of employment. Quality of employment entered is compared between male and female as well as between areas. Also in Chapter Five we consider the characteristics of young people in jobs in terms of qualifications, socio-economic group and experience of part time employment while at school as well as the importance of other factors such as the presence of unemployment in the family.

In Chapter Six, young people with experience of the YTS are the focus of attention. In this chapter the types of YTS that young people were in at contact are detailed, mainly in terms of occupational area of training, although there is some consideration of the type of managing agent as this has been shown to be an indicator of quality of YTS and to have an impact on prospects of employment following the scheme. Characteristics of these young people are also considered as is their previous experience.

In Chapter Seven we consider the employment levels following the YTS in the three different areas of the study. As well as focusing on area, the differing employment levels and quality of employment following the scheme is compared between males and females, although this issue is further complicated by the fact that girls and boys tended to be on different types of YTS. In this analysis we consider data on two groups of young people:- those who moved directly into employment following the YTS (ie. gave as a reason for leaving the scheme, movement into employment); those who were in employment when contacted and had been on the YTS at some point since leaving school.

The characteristics of those in jobs following the scheme are detailed and the implications for those still on the YTS at contact are discussed. The main question to consider is the extent to which the YTS is helping the less qualified, more disadvantaged youngsters into employment.

Chapter Eight compares the job search activities of the employed and the non-employed. We compare job finding methods between males and females in employment and for young people in jobs in the three areas. The journey to work is compared on the basis of gender and area of residence. For comparisons of the employed and the non-employed, we consider methods of job search used; length of time and money, the non-employed would be prepared to spend it getting to work; as well as the reservation wage of the unemployed.

Chapter Nine continues the theme of labour market search, looking at the levels of job applications for males and females; young people in the three areas; and for the unemployed and the non-employed. It develops the spatial aspect of job search attempting to map the local labour market for each of the area groups, as well as for males and females. Of course, this supply side analysis can give little more than an indication of the true spatial area of the local labour market, a more complete picture would include a survey of employers in the areas and their recruitment methods. This was unfortunately beyond the scope of this present study. We also consider the importance of information sources in the labour market for young people in this chapter.

Chapter Ten forms a multivariate statistical analysis of the determinants of the probability of employment at the point of contact. The significance of a range of factors in determining employment

status at interview (including the significance of area residence) is tested. This chapter also contains a little more detail on the characteristics of the unemployed, than has been provided in previous chapters.

Chapter Eleven, the final chapter, contains the conclusions to the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: THE EXPLANATIONS OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH FINDINGS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we review the previous research and literature relating to the central area of the thesis. This involves a review of several theoretical perspectives relating to the transition from school to work and the entry into the labour market. The high incidence of unemployment among youth in the late 1970's and early 1980's has spawned a plethora of research in the field of youth labour markets and the particular problems facing young people without jobs. Much of this endeavour has come from the fields of sociology and psychology (Ashton, Maguire, Garland, 1982; Ashton and Maguire, 1984; Raffe, 1984; Roberts, Dench, Richardson 1986; Banks and Ullah 1986; Wallace, 1987; Coffield, Borrill and Marshall, 1987). Economists have been more concerned with the youth labour market in recent years, although much of their effort has been directed towards assessing the impact of relative youth wages in the rise of youth unemployment (see Wells, 1983; Junanker, 1985).

Previous to the recent interest in youth, economics appeared wholly unconcerned with the youth labour market as such. The youth labour market was not considered as a separate entity in itself, rather young people were seen as competing with other groups in the labour market rather than inhabiting a separate segment of the labour market themselves. Consequently there is no single economic theory relating to the operation of the youth labour market and the young persons entry into it. Rather there are theories relating to the demand and the supply side of the labour market which can be

applied to the transition from school to work. What we need to consider then, are theories which offer some explanation as to:- why some young people within the conurbation are more likely to be unemployed than others; why some young people appear more likely to enter 'good' jobs and others 'bad' jobs; why some young people are more likely to be in YTS schemes offering superior chances of employment than are others.

While most economists would agree that the young person's status in the labour market at any one time will depend on both demand and supply side factors, the different schools of thought attach varying weight to the importance of these two areas. On the supply side the factors of importance are usually grouped together under personal characteristics. These range from the educational qualifications of the individual, and socio-economic group, to the experience of unemployment in the family unit. Various studies have assessed the importance of such factors on a young persons job chances (Main and Raffe, 1983; Payne, 1987a; Payne, 1987b; Rees and Gray, 1982).

One theory that emphasises the importance of supply side factors is the theory of human capital. In this view the level of reward afforded to the individual will be determined by personal characteristics, in particular, the level of schooling and qualifications possessed by the individual and in general by the amount invested in improving the productivity of the person. Human capital is defined here as all aquired characteristics of the individual which make her/ him more productive. This emphasis on supply side factors is in the neo-classical tradition, and tends to place little emphasis on the demand side of the labour market, or

the role of pre-market factors in determining economic rewards. Pre-market factors refer to the role of factors such as innate ability, family wealth or educational attainment of parents. The view of the author is that demand factors will be an important determinant of the transition from school to work and in view of this we assess the explanatory power of the human capital theory in relation to alternative theories of the labour market, namely labour queue theory (Thurow, 1975) and the theory of segmented labour markets (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Wilkinson, 1982; Craig, Rubery, Tarling and Wilkinson, 1982).

One factor which will be particularly important in the early labour market experience of the young person will be that of the local labour market. This is because of the way in which the youth labour market is particularly localised, the health and nature of the local economy takes on a new significance. The third section in this chapter discusses the role that the local labour market has to play in a young persons transition from school. This role has been emphasised recently by a series of sociological studies (Ashton and Maguire, 1986; Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1987; Coles, 1987). The impact of inner city location on a young person's early employment chances has also been the subject of a number of studies, that have sought to isolate the explanatory power of this factor on the nature of the transition from school to work (Richardson, 1983; Lynch, 1985; Gray et al, 1990). In discussing the role of the local labour market, in our final section we review the debate on whether area of residence of the individual can exert an independant influence on the labour market prospects of the school leaver (Garner, Main and Raffe, 1988a; Garner, Main and Raffe, 1988b; Garner, 1988).

We begin by discussing the neo-classical perspective of the operation of the labour market. This is an important starting point as it provides the background to much of the labour market policy initiatives that have been undertaken in recent years, particularly in relation to youth. It was particularly evident in the introduction of the YTS, which aimed explicitly at equipping young people with the skills required by employers and implicitly at reducing the wage level of this group in the labour market.

2.2 OPERATION OF THE LABOUR MARKET: THE NEO-CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE

Since 1979 the neo-classical or monetarist perspective of the labour market has been evident in government policy towards the economy. When unemployment began to rise inexorably in the late 1970's and early 80's, the Thatcher administration, in contrast to previous governments, reported that the government was not willing and in any case was not able to reduce unemployment directly by intervention in the economy. Unemployment was seen as being the direct result of workers, through the power of the trade unions, having priced themselves out of jobs.

Youth unemployment rates rose with that of adults although the rate among this group was particularly high. Young people leaving school at sixteen years of age appeared to do particularly badly, as firms cut back on recruitment and young people faced increasing competition for those jobs available. Although youth unemployment was high throughout the country, some commentators argued that this group in itself did not present a particular problem. It was considered to be a transitory phenomenon being due in part to the high level of voluntary job turnover of this group. However

evidence began to emerge of the increasingly long term nature of youth unemployment and the fact that job turnover was negatively related to the rise in unemployment (Junankar, 1987; Raffe, 1984).

How then does the neo-classical theory of the labour market explain the outcome of the transition from school to work? The two most important factors to the neo-classicist would be the quantity of labour the individual decides to supply to the labour market (that is the number of hours in a day), and the quality of that labour. For the individual there will be a trade-off between work and leisure which will determine the number of hours supplied. It is assumed by the theory of labour supply that she/he will be able to supply as many hours of work as desired at the going market wage. Individual labour supply will be affected by various factors, such as the level of non wage financial support available (eg. level of entitlement to state support, or income from stocks and shares).

The young person entering the labour market will make a decision as to the hours of labour to supply. Supply on its own however will not determine the level of employment. The classical theory of the demand for labour states that labour will be demanded up to the point at which the value of the product of the last unit of labour, is equal to the wage that has to be paid to secure that unit of labour. This theory of labour demand is known as the marginal productivity theory of labour demand. The theory can however relate to any of the inputs to production. Labour is seen as being like any other commodity that can be bought and sold on the market, and the labour market like any other market for goods. Like other markets it is driven to equilibrium by the mechanism of price which in this case is the wage. It is assumed that the availability of

labour is elastic at the going market wage. It is also assumed that the price of labour is free to vary, that is that there is no downwards stickiness of wages. As more units of labour are added to the stock of capital (fixed in the short term), the marginal product of labour falls and so, consequently, will the wage offered. The level of employment is determined by the interaction of the demand and supply curves of labour, at which point the wage will be equal to the marginal product.

The theory makes certain assumptions and predictions. It assumes perfect competition in that both workers and firms are price takers. It denies any relation between employer and workforce and assumes essentially that the employment relation could be renewed each day. If the level of supply of labour exceeds that of demand (ie. if there is unemployment present in the economy) then the prediction of the theory is that the wage must fall in order for there to be an expansion of employment. The theory also assumes that labour is perfectly mobile, so that if there is a disequilibrium in one occupational or geographical labour market, the free movement of prices and labour will act to reproduce equilibrium.

The neoclassical theory of the labour market then offers a number of explanations as to why a young person may experience unemployment on entering the labour market. Young people will experience unemployment in their transition from school to work for the following reasons:-

(i) If they affix a value to leisure that outweighs the value attached to employment. In this view unemployment is seen as being

voluntary in nature. The acceptance of this view has been evident in recent Government attempts to remove 'the option of unemployment' from young people.

(ii) According to the theory, the relative values individuals attach to work or leisure are affected by the level of assistance they receive from non labour market sources. This view does not recognise the non monetary benefits of employment (Jahoda, 1980). The level of unemployment benefit, for example, is believed to affect the reservation wage of the individual. This view was evident in the withdrawal of young people's right to income support in September 1988.

(iii) Related to the previous point, if the individual is offering her/his services for sale at above the equilibrium wage level, s/he will be unemployed. There has been a lot of emphasis on the relative wages of youth in recent years. Youth wages have been seen as being too high in relative terms (compared to say, adult workers) making them uncompetitive. It would be expected that youth wages would be lower than adult wages, reflecting the difference in skills and experience. This gap, however, has narrowed since the early 1970's (Makeham, 1980) and in accordance with neoclassical theory this was seen as a cause of the rise in youth unemployment. Because of this, Government has excluded young people from the protection of the Wages Councils in an attempt to reduce the level of youth wages. Subsidies to employers for keeping youth wages below a certain level (for example the Young Workers Scheme), had the same aim. Wage expectations of youth and subsequently reservation wages have received downward pressure in the same way with nominal increases in training allowances well below the rate

of inflation.

According to the neoclassics, the main factor then that will secure the successful transition to the world of work for the young person will be the wage at which services are offered to the labour market. The analysis of youth unemployment differs little from that of adult unemployment in this theory. Neoclassical theory seeks to explain inequality in the labour market in supply side terms through theories such as human capital theory, the search theory of unemployment and the theory of discrimination. The theory of the quality of labour supply, is embodied in the human capital theory of the labour market, and it is this particular part of the neo-classical story which we concentrate on in the next section.

2.3 THE VALIDITY OF HUMAN CAPITAL AND LABOUR QUEUE THEORIES IN RELATION TO THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET.

The human capital theory is essentially an explanation of earnings differences in a competitive labour market. It focuses in the neo-classical tradition, on the supply side of the labour market with the demand side influencing earnings differentials only in the short run. The implication of the theory is that disequilibrium wage differences will be translated into educational enrolments and occupational supply changes and in this way the market will right itself (Blaug, 1976).

The argument for the introduction of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was partly based on the theory of human capital, so this theory is particularly relevant to this thesis. One of the major intentions of the scheme was to enhance the human capital of British youth by improving skills and providing work experience, -

*"YTS aims to improve the productivity and competitiveness of British industry by making available to 16 and 17 year olds leaving full time education, a broad foundation training which produces a sound basis for a variety of job specific training, familiarity with the world of work and improved employability."
(Labour Market Quarterly Review, October 1988)*

The main concept underlying the theory is that individuals forego consumption presently in the knowledge of future pecuniary and non pecuniary returns. Young people on the YTS are investing in skills which will, firstly, help them to get employment afterwards, but should also enhance their productivity and subsequently their earning potential. The latter prediction being more strictly in the human capital tradition. The private cost of acquiring such human capital will be the wage that the individual would be earning in a suitable job, as well as the direct cost of books or materials (if paid for by the individual). If the individual would otherwise have been unemployed then the cost will be the amount of time that could have been invested in job search had they not been on the scheme.

The human capital theory emphasises the importance of early labour market experience on the transition from school to work. Employment instability affects the acquisition of human capital and subsequently productivity and earnings. The transition from school to work, whether individuals get a 'good' job or a 'bad' job will depend on the amount of human capital that has been invested in them up to that point. Human capital theorists mainly emphasise the relation between years of schooling and level of lifetime earnings. The early years in the labour market should be when the bulk of human capital investment takes place, because of the extent of the payback period over the rest of the lifetime.

Human capital, like physical capital depreciates over the lifetime. As

the level of investment falls off, it no longer off-sets such depreciation and earnings decline. The typical male post-school age earnings profile will then be concave from below with the maximum reached about middle age (Siebert, 1985). According to the model, the individual who decides not to invest in further skills in the post school period will have a flat disposable earnings profile, which will eventually fall as the stock of human capital depreciates. However as Blaug (1976) points out, such a profile has never been observed. Others criticise the fact that in the early stages of the model, where an individual decides to continue investing and subsequently receives a lower disposable income, the model is unable to say whether the investment is in the form of queueing to enter the 'good' jobs or whether it actually raises productivity (Siebert, 1985).

The basic theory states that those who have been trained more either through extended schooling or on the job training, have incurred a foregone earnings cost. The individual in deciding upon extra years of schooling, will relate the cost of the course both to the earnings foregone in her absence from the labour market and to the expected addition to earnings potential as a result of the new skill. The 'foregone earnings cost' of the training will determine the amount that productivity and earnings must increase. The cost is regarded as an investment and should be just enough to secure the same returns on the investment as on a comparatively risky physical capital investment. The assumption then is that schooling, as well as training on the job, raises the productivity of the individual. This is disputed by proponents of the credentialist and screening theories, a view that will be discussed later.

There are numerous criticisms of the approach. The early models failed

to distinguish between general and specific training and its effect on the income stream, or the effect on the income stream of changing jobs (Borjas, 1988). As Borjas (1988) indicates, in the case of specific training, the marginal revenue of the investment depends not only on the remaining working life of the worker, but on the remaining expected time in the job. Others argue one of the fundamental problems with the human capital approach is that there is no precise way of measuring units of human capital (Siebert, 1985). The problem is in identifying the increase in the individual's potential worth on the market, as individuals will experience different productivity increases from the same course. Neither the earnings foregone nor the returns provide an independent measure of the amount of human capital accumulated. Further, because of the intrinsic imperfections in the human capital market costs of funds will be higher for those who have to borrow (ie. the poor) than the opportunity cost of funds for those who are able to self finance. The fundamental problem is that human capital can not be separated from its owner. Lending for human capital investment is riskier for the banks than is the case with physical investment. Also it has to be made at an early stage in life when it is difficult to judge a person's prospects, making it difficult for the banks to assess the investment. There is therefore the strong possibility that poor people will have less opportunity to invest in human capital than will the rich.

Another major drawback of the human capital theory is its complete disregard for the role of labour demand in earnings determination. Work has supported the view that the size of the youth cohort has been an important variable in determining its earnings and employment behaviour. Welch (1979) looked at the effect of cohort size on earnings in relation to individuals born in the baby boom. It was

found that size of the youth cohort had a negative impact on the earnings of young people. It seems therefore that the law of diminishing returns also plays a role in earnings determination (Borjas, 1988). A further criticism is that the social rate of return on educational investments calculated by human capitalist theorists is calculated exclusively on the basis of observable pecuniary values. The non pecuniary rewards to education such as personal development and socialisation are ignored. The net returns to education then calculated in the simple human capital model underestimate the true benefit of education to the individual (Jolly et al, 1983).

The human capital theory is one of a range of competing theories that seek to explain the operation of the labour market. An equivalent theory which seeks to explain why some school leavers find employment and others do not, or why some find better jobs than others, is that of Thurow's (1975) labour queue theory. This is known as the institutionalist approach. As noted, the human capital approach considers any link between education or training and employment or earnings as essentially a supply side phenomena working through the improvement in individual productivity. The institutionalist approach emphasises the demand side to a much greater extent. In this view education and training are factors which alter the individual's position in a labour queue and consequently the probability of employment and quality of jobs obtained. The basic difference between the two approaches lies in the degree of rigidity postulated on the demand side (Main, 1987). Human capital theorists consider the job structure to be flexible in response to supply side pressures. According to this view, the labour market is capable of continually absorbing workers with ever higher levels of education, providing that

education specific earnings are flexible downwards (Blaug, 1976). Those prescribing to the theory of the labour queue believe the job structure to be constrained by exogenous factors, such as motivational strategies and implicit agreements to incumbent workers (Whitfield and Bourlakis, 1989; Okun, 1982).

In Thurow's labour queue model a person is allocated to a place in the labour queue by employers, depending on the individuals trainability. In this view skills are not seen in isolation from jobs, as they are in the human capital model. The majority of skills are thought to be accumulated on the job. What matters to the employer then, is the amount of training each person is considered to require in order to undertake the job. Jobs are viewed to a greater or lesser extent (depending on the particular job) as training slots or opportunities, the corollary of which is that the marginal productivity resides in the job and not in the person (Thurow, 1975).

Employers will use a range of characteristics to rank applicants, some of which are directly applicable to the human capital model (eg. qualifications), as well as other factors such as social class, personal appearance, and social skills. Qualifications and schooling are not seen as directly improving the productivity of the individual but of improving her/his trainability and thus position in the labour queue. The better qualified and more desirable persons will be at the head of the queue and will get the better jobs. Those located further down the queue will be offered the less desirable jobs and those at the back of the queue may not be offered work at all, depending on the level of demand in the labour market.

As Main (1987) indicates, there are obviously many unrecorded or unmeasured characteristics to which an employer may or may not be able

to refer. Imperfect information and the cost of information seeking may cause individuals to be misranked. Further to this, different employers may rank a given set of characteristics differently. These and other factors, writes Main, introduce an element of noise into the process. In the same vein those supporting the segmented labour market view would argue that there exist a number of queues in the labour market at any one time. This is perhaps a more accurate representation of reality than Thurow's original simplistic model. We review the segmented labour market theory in a later section.

In the following discussion we assess the applicability of both the approach of human capital theory and that of labour queue theory in explaining the operation of the youth labour market and the spatial variation in the transition from school to work. We begin by considering the relationship between education, employment and earnings. This is an important issue because both theories predict a positive relationship between education or qualifications and employment chances, as well as quality of employment.

2.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

In this section we assess the impact of education and qualifications on the probability of employment and earnings. Raffe (1984), in his analysis using data from the 1981 Scottish Young Persons Survey (SYPS), asks how far the presumed connection between schooling and employment is justified by the evidence. This analysis tends to show that job chances are linked strongly to qualifications. Only half of the unqualified school leavers were in employment in May 1981, (after leaving school in the 1979/80 school year). Possession of O'grades had a strong and positive influence on the probability of being employed.

Attainment at the Scottish 'higher' level however was shown to have a negligible influence on employment chances. The results differed by gender. Among females the highest rate of employment was among those who left school with highers passes. The most successful males however were those with five or more O'grades at grades A to C, who did substantially better than those with highers. It appeared that staying on at school actually reduced the subsequent employment chances of males, despite the extra qualifications they might have gained.

This finding is contrary to the predictions of the human capital model which predicts that private rates of return to successive years of schooling will be equalised at the margin. There is, according to Blaug (1976), ample evidence to suggest that such rates of return actually decline with successively higher rates of schooling (Pscharopoulos and Hinchcliffe, 1973). In some ways Raffe's (1984) finding is also contrary to the predictions of labour queue theory, as possession of a higher level of qualification should improve the position in the queue and the probability of employment - if these are the qualities employers are looking for. The analysis of Raffe (1984) is however limited in that it only covers the first year in the labour market. It may be that over a longer period of time the relative fortunes of those with highers and others who stayed on, improved at a later date. As Raffe suggests their aspirations may be lowered over a period of time, or they may become eligible for jobs that have minimum age restrictions. Raffe's research then tends to support the main hypothesis that educational attainment is linked positively to employment chances, but as we shall demonstrate this does not appear to be the case for all individuals at all times.

Raffe's reported possible delayed advantage to the attainment of

highers, is similar to the findings of Payne (1987). Payne considered the effect of training, apprenticeship and post compulsory schooling on the employment chances of the individual compared to minimum age school leavers. She uses data from the National Child Development Study (NCDS) to compare the progress of young people (who reached the age of sixteen in march 1974) upto the age of 23 years, depending on whether they left full time education at 16, 17 or 18 years of age. It was clear from this analysis that those who prolonged their education for one year beyond the minimum school leaving age experienced considerably more difficulty in finding work on first entering the labour market, than did those who left school at age 16. Those who stayed on for two extra years experienced even more difficulty. According to Payne this was mainly due to the way in which national unemployment rose rapidly during these two years (1975 and 1976).

In contrast to Raffe (1984) however, Payne's study extends beyond the first year in the labour market and finds that the initially high rates of unemployment among late leavers fell rapidly so the within a few months of leaving full time education they had lower unemployment rates than their peers who had left twelve months earlier. It is quite plausible that the much higher levels of unemployment present in the labour market of the early 1980's (when Raffe's study was undertaken) meant the advantage of highers qualifications was not evident until after a much longer period in the labour market. Payne and Payne (1985) demonstrated the widening of the job chances between the qualified and unqualified over the period 1974 to 1981. Their paper showed that the returns to education tended to be dependant on the condition of the labour market. As the authors note, if unemployment

rates rise substantially during the time the young person decides to continue her/his education there may be fewer jobs available when they leave than if they had left as soon as they were legally permitted. Payne's (1987b) research on the effect of unemployment in the family on the employment chances of the school leaver, found that this was indeed the case. It was found that after controlling for a wide variety of factors each additional year of schooling beyond the minimum leaving age significantly increased the probability of unemployment.

Payne's conclusion then, in the 1987a paper, was that staying on at school does appear to pay off (albeit not immediately), although her later research indicates the significance of the level of unemployment at the time, in determining rewards. The significance of the latter point is emphasised when it is recognised that unemployment rates vary significantly between different areas of the country and between different local labour markets. Payne's (1987a) conclusion is based on aggregate data and as she admits the rewards to staying on may vary between different parts of the country and among particular sub-groups.

The condition and nature of the local labour market have been found to be an important determinant of the relationship between educational attainment and employment chances (Ashton and Maguire, 1986; Roberts, Dench and Richardson, 1986). In the Ashton and Maguire study it is concluded that the differences that emerged between the four labour markets in the study (Leicester, St Albans, Stafford and Sunderland) were perhaps of greater significance than that of social class in determining the level at which a young person enters the labour market. It would appear from their analysis that above all the

character of the local labour market affects employment chances independent of personal attributes and social background. Main and Raffe (1983) in their statistical analysis of the determinants of employment or unemployment chances found the local labour market to be the third most significant factor after qualifications and part time work experience. It has to be recognised of course that the attainment of part time work experience is also heavily dependant on what the local labour market can provide in the case of young people. Main and Raffe found that the effect of the local labour market tended to decline over time suggesting that the main effect is in the absorption of school leavers. These results were based on young people who left school in 1978 and it is again quite plausible that in the high unemployment period of the 1980's the disadvantage of local unemployment rates extended over a longer period of time.

The human capital approach is unable to explain why the returns from educational attainment or years of schooling should vary over a relatively short period of time or between different areas of the country. This is because it takes little account of the demand side of the labour market and its role. It would appear that when unemployment is prevalent the value of qualifications may decrease in absolute terms, but increase in relevant terms (Raffe, 1984). Labour queue theory offers some explanation in that in times of excess labour supply, the job opportunities available will not reach as far down the queue. Shelley (1988) observed that the number of non employed school leavers rose at each level of SCE (Scottish Certificate of Education) attainment between 1977 and 1983. However he also showed that the number of employed school leavers, while falling at most middle and lower levels of attainment, actually rose at the highest levels. Shelley concludes that although the total level of employment fell

between 1977 and 1983, a larger proportion of the employment that remained went to the better qualified. Consequently those most affected by the fall in employment were the less qualified.

We have now considered the role of qualifications and schooling in determining employment chances and found that contrary to the predictions of the human capital model rewards from such investment appear to be severely affected by the level of demand both in the local and national labour market so that there appear to be spatial as well as temporal variations in the level of rewards to individual investment. The YTS has formed the major part of the government response to youth unemployment. In the next section we review the research which assesses the role of the YTS as a human capital programme, and show that like other forms of human capital investment the rewards appeared to be dependant on levels of demand.

2.5 THE HUMAN CAPITAL CONTENT OF THE YTS

The number of 16 and 17 year olds participating on the YTS increased substantially from its introduction in 1983, and its extention in 1986, to stand at 395,000 in January 1988. At this point the stock number of 16 and 17 year olds on the scheme comprised some 38 per cent of the age group not in education. Taking flows into account, nearly 60 per cent of the age group entered the labour market through the YTS (Employment Gazette, 1989). The YTS then, is undoubtedly a major feature of the youth labour market, accounting for over one million pounds of public expenditure in 1988.

Besides making British industry more competitive, YTS also aims to improve the employment chances of the individual by explicitly

equipping her/him with skills in demand by employers and implicitly lowering wage expectations (Main, 1987). In the period April 1986 to January 1988, 75 per cent of leavers from the scheme were in jobs (full time or part time), self employment, or full time education or training, three months after leaving the scheme (Labour Market Quarterly Review, 1988). However as we discuss later these figures vary widely by area. The highest percentage of leavers unemployed three months after leaving were in Scotland, Wales and the North of England. Even below these levels of aggregation however there is wide variation in unemployment levels following the scheme (YTS Leavers Survey, 1989).

Main and Shelly (1988) investigated the impact of the one year YTS on the employment chances of Scottish youngsters and found evidence to suggest that the effect was indeed positive. They used data from the Scottish Young Person's Survey (SYPS) on those leaving school in the 1983 to 1984 school year. By April 1986, 64.4 per cent of males and 64.9 per cent of females were in employment. The vast majority of the remainder were unemployed. For those in jobs, three fifths had found employment after being on the YTS. The main conclusion was that the YTS seemed to have improved the probability of a non employed person being in a job by April 1986, by 20.6 percentage points. Main and Shelley (1987) also showed that this employment enhancing effect remains even when the personal characteristics of YTS participants and non participants are controlled for via the use of multivariate statistical analysis.

According to Main and Shelley the fact that employers do appear to give preference to YTS participants over non YTS participants in their recruitment is consistent with YTS increasing productivity of

participants to a higher level than that of otherwise identical school leavers. This would appear to support the human capital theorists view. However, as we learn later, a large proportion of post YTS employment results from young people being taken into employment by their scheme sponsor. This would explain the preference for YTS rather than non YTS participants and would also be consistent with the screening hypothesis.

The work of Whitfield and Bourlakis (1989) supports the findings of Main and Shelley (1988) on the positive effects on employment probabilities of YTS participants. They used data from the Youth Cohort Study (YCS) for young people who left school in 1983/84. Their results indicate that YTS participants had substantially higher probabilities of being in employment than did non participants. However they conclude that the effect of participation was simply to mitigate the major negative influences on employment probability, of ethnic background and adverse local labour market conditions. The effect on probability of employment from participation on the YTS, rarely outweighed the negative effect on employment chances of ethnic minority status, or residence in an area of above average unemployment rate.

Both Main and Shelley (1988) and Whitfield and Bourlakis (1989) investigate the impact of YTS participation on subsequent wage levels. Both report a negative impact. Main and Shelley found that those who had been on the YTS received an average rate of pay, that was some seven per cent less than that received by those who had never been on the scheme. Whitfield and Bourlakis also found that YTS participants earned approximately five pence less per hour than non participants and that those remaining in employment with their scheme sponsor

earned approximately fourteen pence less per hour. In both cases there may be various explanations as to why, contrary to the predictions of the human capital model, ex-YTS participants appear to earn less than non participants. It may be for example that ex-YTS participants are still undergoing training and consequently accept a lower wage in association with the costs. This is consistent with human capital theory. Other evidence, suggests that this may well be an important part of the explanation. The YTS forms the first two years of a majority of apprenticeship schemes where the young person remains with the sponsor after YTS and receives a training wage. Other possible explanations of the discrepancy between the two groups is that YTS participants may be channelled towards low paying sectors ^{and} it may be that YTS had led onto the Young Workers Scheme (YWS) in a number of cases. The YWS involved a subsidy paid to employers in return for holding youth wages below a certain level.

YTS participation does appear to have a positive impact on employment chances, although the process whereby this comes about is not entirely clear. It is clear however that the impact on the probability of employment chances varies between different parts of the country. According to Peck (1990), this is due to the nature of the scheme's articulation with the local labour market. He describes the YTS as regional policy in reverse. In depressed local labour markets it's predominant function is the containment of youth unemployment, while in buoyant labour markets its job substitution function predominates. Post YTS job chances are clearly linked to the overall state of the regional labour market. This is demonstrated in Peck's (1990) paper as well as by the Training Agency's own follow up survey of YTS participants. Such findings demonstrate the importance of the demand side in determining the rewards from such human capital investment,

which the theory itself ignores. Human capital theory adopts the neoclassical postulate of perfect mobility of labour, which enables it to ignore the importance of local conditions.

2.6 SCREENING AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENERAL AND SPECIFIC SKILLS

One of the objectives of the YTS was to provide young people with a basis of work transferable skills. In human capital terms the emphasis was to be mainly on general skills that would be of use in employment with a wide range of employers. There was also to be an input of specific skills with young people working towards a vocational qualification. The distinction between general and specific skills was first made by Becker (1975). The definition of specific training is that of skills which raise the productivity of the person with a particular firm, whereas general training raises the productivity of the worker with a range of possible employers. If in employment, the worker will pay the costs of general training, for example by accepting a lower wage during the training period, however, the cost of specific training will be shared between employer and employee.

The distinction between general and specific skills is also relevant to the labour queue model. In terms of labour queue theory, YTS will improve the employment and job prospects of the young person if it reduces the costs of training the individual for subsequent employers. This is because, as noted, employers in this model rank individuals according to trainability and expected training costs for the job. An imparting of general skills then will reduce the subsequent training costs for a wide range of employers and improve the individual's position in the queue, compared to non participants. A high level of specific skills in the training course will not improve the position

in the labour queue.

Previous research has suggested that the type of training received on YTS is highly specific. Research has shown that a large part of the employment following the YTS is accounted for by young people being taken into employment with their scheme sponsor. YTS appears to have less influence on general labour market employability than on employability within an internal labour market (Raffe, 1988; Whitfield and Bourlakis, 1989). Such findings tend to emphasise the specificity of YTS training. YTS primarily then provides opportunities for employment with scheme sponsors, but may be less effective in helping participants to find employment with other employers (Raffe, 1988).

This outcome is consistent with the predictions of the screening hypothesis. In this view the productive role of education is questioned. Earnings differentials associated with education do not mainly reflect improvements in individual productive capacity (working through education), but rather employers use of education to identify pre-existing differences in talents. If education has any social value it is as a signalling device which helps to place the right person in the right job (Layard and Pscharopoulos, 1974).

It is probably quite rational for employers to use qualifications in this way. Raffe (1984) shows that school leavers with high levels of attainment tended also to have other advantages such as a favourable family background or residence in an area of relatively low unemployment. Their better employment chances writes Raffe, may have reflected these advantages rather than the effects of attainment itself. The screening hypothesis is closely related to the labour queue theory in that it states that schooling and education themselves

do not affect the productivity of the person. Such things merely act as indicators to employers of other qualities which may be related to say trainability. As with the labour queue theory the productivity resides in the job rather than the individual.

The screening hypothesis can be applied to recruitment from the youth training scheme. The basic crux of the hypothesis is the uncertainty surrounding the hiring decision (Blaug, 1976). The cost of the recruitment process can be reduced through the YTS, as employers have a period of two years to observe the skills and qualities of the individual. For this reason the YTS has been described as a two year interview. It is well known and accepted that employers use the YTS as a screening mechanism (Labour Market Quarterly Review Scotland, Spring 1989). An MSC survey in 1984 reported that more than half of the managing agents and around three quarters of the work experience placement providers involved in the YTS were using it in order to screen for regular employees (Finn, 1986). Such a situation highlights the disadvantage of young people who are on non employer based schemes.

Screening can be viewed as useful if it is the case that there are benefits to sorting the more able people into the more demanding jobs. There is evidence that schemes such as YTS promote better matching of workers and jobs (Sako and Dore, 1986; Gray and King, 1986). Blanchflower and Elias (1987) found that the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) encouraged job shopping in areas of low labour demand. Ashton and Maguire (1986) suggested that such behaviour helps to reduce the mismatch between the search strategies of young people and those of employers. YTS then may make a contribution towards reducing work mismatch (Sako and Dore, 1986; Gray and King, 1986).

The recruitment requirements and methods operated by the employer will of course be important in determining who moves into employment and who remains unemployed. The various theories which attempt to explain the inequality of experience in the labour market recognise this to varying degrees.

There have been a number of studies of employers' recruitment methods in recent years (Livock, 1983; Risk, 1987; Boyle, Danson and Senior, 1988). Although most firms were found to specify academic qualifications, a large number also sought personal characteristics such as appearance, ambition, reliability, attitude, articulation, confidence and enthusiasm. Prominent factors in the recruitment process were also literacy and numeracy and personal characteristics such as self-confidence and personal presentation. Human capital theory is unable to explain the significance of these personal characteristics except insofar as these characteristics may be related to academic attainment. Both Boyle et al and Livock support the concept of a labour queue, as employers are able to operate selectivity by observing such personal and subjective aspects as well as on the basis of educational attainment.

As Livock (1983) notes, hiring standards, screening and recruitment methods are not temporarily or spatially uniform. Risk (1987) reported in his survey that employers' methods in recruiting varied with labour market conditions. Employers in a slack labour market adopted a more passive approach using fewer recruitment methods and relied more on direct approach from young people. In a buoyant labour market, however, employers adopted a more proactive approach using more recruitment methods than in other areas. Employers recruiting 16 year old school leavers to jobs used the smallest number of

recruitment methods, relying most of all on the direct approach from potential workers.

This latter observation brings us to the point that job search and aspirations of the individual are also of some importance in determining labour market experience. Recruitment is a two-way process. Various authors have indicated that the aspirations of the individual will affect the type and depth of job search conducted.

The expectations and aspirations of the young person will in some part be determined by their social background and the socialisation process. Risk (1987) notes the significance of aspirations in determining the search methods used by youngsters. Pupils specifically seeking skilled jobs were more likely than those not seeking skilled jobs to contact more employers and to apply for more jobs prior to leaving school. Pupils seeking skilled jobs also used more individual methods of job search, such as writing to employers to ask about jobs. Job search methods used by youngsters were also found to be influenced by prevailing labour market conditions in the same way as recruitment methods of employers were influenced.

2.7 THE THEORY OF SEGMENTED LABOUR MARKETS

Thurow's labour queue theory detailed in the previous section is part of a wider approach to the operation of the labour market, known as the theory of segmented labour markets. Although its antecedents lie with Kerr (1954), the approach was brought to wider acclaim by Piore and Doeringer (1971) in their analysis of the dual labour market. According to this view the labour market consists of two major segments, the primary and secondary sectors. The primary sector

contains jobs with the characteristics of good pay, promotion prospects, training and employment stability. People in this sector will be cushioned to an extent from external market conditions because of the existence of internal labour markets. In contrast to this, the secondary sector contains jobs which are likely to be low paid, have little training and instability of employment, people in this sector being more likely to experience spells of unemployment. Piore and Doeringer add the further addendum that employment in either sector, (particularly that of the secondary sector), instils certain work habits and qualities in the worker which makes mobility between sectors more difficult.

Research work ensued on the issue of whether such a dual labour market could exist in Britain (Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973; Mayhew and Rosewell, 1979). Any analysis of the issue involves, (as has been pointed out by Cain 1976) an almost arbitrary allocation of different jobs or professions to different sectors. The welfare implications of the dual labour market thesis depend on the assumption that there is little mobility (particularly from primary to secondary) between segments. As Mayhew and Rosewell indicate the implications would not be nearly so bad if it turned out that the bad jobs were merely temporary staging posts for the young. Their work showed that human capital variables such as educational attainment and family background were an important determinant not only of the segment in which an individual starts but also of upward mobility, or mobility between segments. They detected some degree of mobility between the segments and so rejected the strictest version of the dual hypothesis.

The segmentationist approach emerged as a challenge to the neoclassical view of the labour market and in particular to the human

capital theory. As Cain (1976) observes, the most important social problem motivating segmentationists was the existence and persistence of poverty despite commitments to full employment. They rejected the human capital approach because it would seem that, despite widening educational opportunities, the distribution of income remained stubbornly unchanged. Some made the observation that, statistically the income distribution is more unequal than are the distributions of most measures of ability, (such as IQ), or educational attainment (Thurow, 1975). The theory stresses the existence of non competing groups in the labour market and of social and institutional barriers to mobility. Duality results largely from differences in recruitment, promotion and training. It is traced to technical imperatives and the industrial structure (Peck, 1989). Technical change in some sectors of the economy has led to the increasing specificity of skills and consequently expensive training. Employers have sought to retain such expensively trained workers through internal labour markets and career structures. In this way contrary to neoclassical assumptions, labour is treated as a quasi fixed factor of production (Oi, 1962). Such developments were possible because of the parallel changes in industrial structure with the rise in oligopoly (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). The segmentationists hold that these observations are more than mere imperfections in the neoclassical model and consequently they reject the notion of a perfectly competitive labour market.

The early versions of the dual labour market model have been criticised because of their tendency to oversimplify. This stemmed from attempts to predict the firms' employment strategy from a knowledge of the industrial structure (Ashton, Maguire and Splisbury, 1987). Work such as that by Craig et al (1985) has shown that a single firm may utilise a number of different employment strategies employing

both primary and secondary workers. The early versions have been considerably developed over the last twenty years and it is now recognised that the labour market is likely to be multi segmented rather than dual in nature. As Peck (1988) observes, the segmented approach was radically different to the prevailing orthodoxy particularly in that it shifted emphasis away from the characteristics of workers to the characteristics of jobs and that it brought an understanding of institutional processes into the theory of the labour market.

Segmentation then is purported to have arisen partly as a result of the recruitment practices of employers, however forces on the supply side of the labour market such as the existence of trade unions and their efforts to exercise power and exclusions rights have also played a part. Some consider segmentation to be a conscious outcome of capitalist control strategies (Gordon, 1972; Reich, Gordon and Edwards, 1973; Braverman, 1974). Also emphasised is the role of discrimination by employers against certain groups, such as ethnic minorities, women and young people, who are all perceived as having a weak attachment to the labour force and are subsequently disproportionately confined to secondary sector employment (Barron and Norris, 1976; Osterman, 1980; Craig, Garnsey and Rubery, 1985).

2.8 SEGMENTATION AND THE YOUTH LABOUR MARKET

The significance of segmentation in the youth labour market has been the subject of recent research. Osterman (1980) argued that, on the basis of American data, most young people who do not go to college enter jobs in the secondary labour market. It is generally accepted that a large proportion of the work that minimum age school leavers go

into is secondary in nature. However there still exist routes into the primary segments of the labour market for this group and the secondary labour market itself consists of a number of segments. According to Lee and Wrench (1984) there are four major routes into the segmented youth labour market. These are the super privileged route, the extra privileged route, the privileged and the under-privileged route. Only the latter three apply to entry into employment at 16 years of age. Those who follow the extra privileged route obtain employment that will lead eventually to a skilled occupation. The privileged route involves a job with some training, which offers the prospect of regular employment, for example lower grade, white collar, or semi skilled work. The occupational future of the young people who are resigned to the under privileged route is more problematic. For them, write Lee and Wrench, life will involve periods of unemployment, but the main characteristic is uncertainty. The route a young person takes in their first years in the labour market will have a profound influence on their later working life.

The very notion of a youth labour market itself supposes that there is some segmentation between youth and adult labour markets. According to Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury (1987), young people may be excluded from consideration, sheltered from competition, or be in direct competition with adults, so that the range of opportunities open to 16 year old leavers are quite different to that facing adults. As Raffe (1983) indicates the policies adopted to alleviate youth unemployment, will be affected by whether the Government believes the youth and adult labour markets to be effectively separated. Raffe concludes that on balance the evidence suggests that there is substantially more competition than segregation between young and adult workers. He quotes the Manpower Services Commission's (MSC) survey, which found

that young people compete alongside people of all ages for the majority of jobs for which they are eligible. Only apprenticeships are the preserve of young people alone (MSC, 1978, p38). It is probably quite useful then to make the distinction between young people aged 16 to 18 years and those aged 19 to 25 years.

The main dimensions of segmentation within the youth labour market are believed to be along the lines of age, gender and skill (Ashton, Maguire and Garland, 1982), with the local labour market playing a particularly important role (Ashton and Maguire, 1986). In the following paragraphs we consider each of these dimensions in turn.

(i) Age Segmentation

Ashton and Maguire (1986) have been influential in their adaption of segmentation theory to the youth labour market. The dimensions of age, gender and skill combine to create barriers to mobility of young people and to exclude certain groups of young people from large sections of the labour market. They found age itself to be a barrier to mobility for a number of reasons. For example Government legislation which prevents young people under the age of 18 from undertaking shift work. Other factors are the requirements of a driving licence for certain types of job. Also there are employers beliefs that school leavers lack responsibility, are inexperienced, could disrupt the production process and should not be employed in part time work or dead end jobs. The age structuring of patterns of recruitment then are the result of government legislation, employers preferences and union agreements (as in the case of apprenticeships) which place restrictions on the type of work in which young people can be employed (Jolly et al 1980). Young people may fail to secure entry because of age.

According to Furlong (1990), the relationship between the youth and adult labour markets is central to any discussion of the segmentation of the youth labour market. He uses data from the SYPS to analyse the case for differentiated youth and adult labour markets and to assess the anticipated effect of the governments proposal to remove many of the legislative barriers to employment of young people on the grounds of age. Furlong's work shows that in certain jobs, patterns of segregation were clearly visible where few young people reported working in particular occupations before a certain age. In other occupations, entry was clearly concentrated among the younger age groups. Furlong concludes that where age restrictions are the result of employers' demands for certain qualifications, changes in age restrictions are unlikely to make very much difference to entry patterns. However in other occupations where age barriers are the result of both legislation and qualification demands, new legislation may facilitate change.

(ii) Sex Segregation

There are ample references to sex segregation in the labour market (Barron and Norris, 1976; Hakim, 1979; Buchele, 1981; Howell and Reese, 1986). Ashton and Maguire (1986) were able to identify those areas of the labour market where young people of both sexes compete for jobs and those areas where competition was greatest. Their results suggest that there is more competition between the sexes in entry to white collar work. Clerical and secretarial jobs tend to be a female preserve with males having better access to those clerical jobs offering the chances of career progression.

Sex segregation is most apparent in skilled manual work with the craft occupations being almost exclusively male and hairdressing almost

exclusively female. Where males do make inroads into typically female areas of work, such as hairdressing, it tends to be into positions with superior promotion prospects and opportunities to manage (Attwood and Hatton, 1983) This differentiation in career chances afforded to young women and men is evident in a wide range of sectors where the sexes are in direct competition (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1987; Lee and Loveridge, 1987). Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury note that even in semi skilled and unskilled jobs, 62 per cent of males in their sample reported that their job offered chances of promotion compared with only 24 per cent of females (p 164). Ashton, Maguire and Garland observed that the overall picture in the three local labour markets studied (Sunderland, St Albans and Leicester) was one of a broad range of opportunities available for men and a much narrower range available for women.

Probably the sharpest difference in the employment experience of young men and women is occasioned by the apprenticeship system. According to Lee and Wrench (1984), this constitutes a major component of the 'extra privileged' route. Apprenticeships represent a privileged route in to the labour market because young people are able to train for an occupationally relevant qualification, while in employment. Most apprenticeships exist in traditionally 'male' areas of work and although there exist limited apprenticeship opportunities for girls (mainly in hairdressing and floristry) Lee and Wrench (1987) report that the level of remuneration available in these occupations tends to be lower.

The YTS was introduced with the promise of equal opportunity for all. Many felt that the YTS offered the opportunity to break down some of the old established inequalities and remove some of the injustices and

disadvantage experienced in the labour market by certain groups (Lee and Wrench, 1987; Cockburn, 1987). Cockburn (1987) describes it as an unprecedented opportunity to break down the sex segregation that was producing such inequalities in life experiences, in earnings and career prospects between adult men and women in Britain. She indicates in her work that the YTS has failed to do this- 'reinforcing , rather than shattering the mould of sex equality'.

The MSC have shown in their own surveys that the YTS has in the event had little effect on sex segregation. Lee and Wrench (1987) note that 65 per cent of female trainees were in 'administrative and clerical' and 'sales' occupational training areas compared with 16 per cent of boys. Of the boys, 45 per cent were in 'maintenance and repair' and 'manufacturing' training families compared with two per cent of girls. It appears that the YTS has failed to challenge any of the major pre-existing divisions in the labour market. Even the area of computers and information technology, (an area which many saw as a skill which had not yet become sex typed), is quickly manifesting itself as a male terrain within YTS. The YTS was unable to change such stereotyping as existed in the labour market because employers remained in control of the provision of training places and eventual recruitment (Lee, Marsden and Dunscombe, 1990):-

"The play of commercial interests caused the surrogate labour market to behave like a real labour market and become segmented, with unequal access to schemes and placements which carried very unequal job and training opportunities". (Lee et al, 1990, p140)

(iii) Skill Segmentation

The main avenue to skilled work for young people is through the apprenticeship system. When YTS was introduced the number of apprenticeship openings in the economy was falling partly as a result

of long term trends which accelerated rapidly with the onset of the recession. In the manufacturing sector, the number of school leavers obtaining apprenticeships fell from over 236,000 in 1968 to less than 150,000 in 1980 (Finn, 1986). As noted one of the aims of the YTS was to broaden opportunities for all. The apprenticeship system however, has been absorbed into the YTS with very few changes being made, the YTS forming the first two years of the majority of apprenticeship systems at present. In fact some would argue that the incorporation of apprenticeships in YTS, along with age related wages, has actually served to make access more difficult for some groups, in this case young people beyond the age of 16 years (Roberts, Dench and Richardson, 1986; Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1986).

Segmentation along the lines of skill has been touched upon in our consideration of gender issues. This is because to a large extent young men and women seem to be divided into avenues of skilled work (mainly manual) and unskilled work (manual and non manual). Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury (1987) identified four occupational groups of:- (i) professional, managerial, administration and technical jobs, (ii) clerical including secretarial jobs, (iii) skilled manual jobs, (iv) semi skilled manual, unskilled manual and sales jobs. Within each of these segments the specific jobs and career choices available differ markedly between males and females, resulting in eight segments in all. Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, further contend that employers are consciously using different criteria to determine entry to each segment.

"Rather than queueing applicants in terms of their productivity potential or their ability to benefit from training, no uniform criteria are used by employers when selecting for jobs. The criteria used for determining access to the higher segments are very different in important respects to those adopted by

employers when recruiting for jobs in the lowest segments."
(Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1986, p170)

Such observations question the applicability of Thurow's labour queue model to the youth labour market. When segmentation theory is applied it suggests that there may be a number of labour queues, consisting of young people with at least the minimum recruitment requirements for each occupational segment.

Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury also assessed the impact of labour market segmentation on the mobility of the young person. Predictably, more stability was found in the upper reaches of the labour market. Approximately 70 per cent of males entering professional, managerial and technician jobs were still in their first jobs at least two years after leaving school, compared to 50 per cent of those who entered semi skilled work, under 40 per cent of those in sales and less than 30 per cent in unskilled work. Particular characteristics of the job probably account for a large part of this variation, for example the extensive training which exists in higher segments. Their results indicate that the segment a young person enters has an important influence on their subsequent pattern of job movement both within and between job segments. For instance as noted there was much more movement between jobs in the lower segments than in the higher segments. Further over half the job moves were to jobs in the same segment. This particularly applied to the fourth segment (semi skilled manual, unskilled manual and sales jobs).

(IV) The Local Labour Market

The local labour market has been shown to have a significant influence on the segment of the labour market entered by the young person. Various recent studies have emphasised the importance of the local

labour market in the transition from school to work (Ashton, Maguire and Garland, 1982; Ashton, Maguire et al, 1986; Roberts, Dench and Richardson, 1986; Coles, 1988; Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1988; Lee et al, 1990).

Ashton Maguire and Splisbury (1988) state that their work has shown that differences in local labour markets are now of fundamental importance in determining not just the chances of an individual obtaining work, but also the type of work available, the chances of moving between jobs and the length of time spent unemployed. Their research has also revealed important differences between local labour markets in young people's attitudes towards education and training. There is evidence, writes Ashton (1988), that local communities are characterised by shared attitudes and behaviours which affect the labour market behaviour of members.

Studies such as Ashton and Maguire (1986) and Roberts, Dench and Richardson (1986 and 1987) which focused on different urban labour markets have revealed major differences in the type of work available and in the chances of obtaining employment. Ashton and Maguire (1986) show that one in 33 young people (aged 18 to 24 years) failed to find a job in St Albans, compared to one in three in Sunderland. In these two towns the local labour market differences were more important than parental background in determining the young adults chances of securing employment (Ashton, 1988).

Earlier work on the same urban areas revealed substantial differences in the type of work for which employers recruited young people (Ashton, Maguire and Garland, 1982). It was found that while 22 per cent of employers in St Albans recruited young people for technician jobs, only one per cent in Sunderland did so. Further only 20 per cent

of employers in St Albans recruited young people for unskilled work, while the equivalent figure for Sunderland was 40 per cent. Almost three times the proportion of young males in St Albans took their first full time job in professional, managerial or technical work, than was the case in Sunderland, while the proportion in St Albans who entered clerical work was twice that of Sunderland.

The level of demand then, as well as the nature of the local labour market, appears to have a significant impact on the early labour market experience of the young person in both the chances of obtaining work as well as the type of work obtained. Work such as that of Ashton and Maguire et al (1986) illustrates the impact that location in a local labour market in the North or the booming South can have on the life chances of the individual. Coles (1988) illustrates that while the economic fortunes of local labour markets may not differ as starkly within the same region, major differences can still occur in terms of employment prospects in locally adjacent labour markets. Coles focusses specifically on youth in a rural context.

This discussion of local labour markets would lead us to conclude that the conditions into which the YTS was introduced varied widely between different areas of the country. YTS itself, has it's own form of segmentation between employer based schemes and non employer based schemes. Research has indicated that the employment chances and the likelihood of obtaining skilled work, vary widely between the different types of schemes. Various authors have emphasised the segmentation that occurs within the YTS:-

"YTS has largely reproduced the segmentation of the actual labour market in the sense that there were non competing groups of young people recruited to the YTS and a clear, if

complex hierachy of schemes occupations and placements." (Lee et al, 1987, p144)

Not only has the YTS been profoundly affected by the gender and skill divisions which already exist in the labour market, but the local articulation of the scheme has been profoundly affected by the type and availability of employment in the local labour market. The scheme is heavily dependent on the existence of employment opportunities. Where these are absent, young people are more likely to be on non employer based schemes regardless of characteristics, with the reduction in employment chances that this implies. Peck (1990) indicates that the implications of the reliance of some areas on premium provision are far reaching. The low employment rates following such schemes in such areas is a case in point. As Peck states 'both the form and function of YTS is profoundly shaped by the dynamics of the local labour market' (p.139). Roberts et al (1986) showed that a young persons' prospects following youth training depended on where they lived and the type of training received. In general, they conclude, YTS is reflecting rather than changing relationships between place of residence, gender, school leaving qualifications and employment.

2.9 EXPLANATIONS OF LOCALISED UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

Localised unemployment problems, whether involving youth or adult labour, have tended to raise concern in policy circles. We refer here to instances where unemployment is concentrated in particular neighbourhoods or communities, where large proportions of the working population are unemployed. Such problems are much in evidence in many traditional inner city areas and in the peripheral public housing estates displaying socio-economic conditions similar to that of the

inner areas.

Much of the debate about such localised unemployment problems has focused on whether such phenomena are explained by a specific area effect, such as a shortage of localised job opportunities or whether the explanation lies in personal characteristics of the population which make them more prone to unemployment. In this latter hypothesis then, localised unemployment is explained by the concentration of people most prone to unemployment, such as the unskilled, those from ethnic minorities, or those of ill health. Such groups are believed to become concentrated mainly due to the operation of the housing market (with limited resources they are attracted to areas of low cost housing) and thus localised unemployment has been referred to as 'residential unemployment'.

Recent research has emphasised the significance of the local labour market for the early labour market experience of young people (Ashton and Maguire, 1984; Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1988). The majority of these studies have focused on the significance of inter urban unemployment with labour markets in buoyant and declining regions compared. Others have looked at the variation in employment chances for school leavers in locally adjacent labour markets (Coles, 1988). As we discuss, intra urban variations in unemployment, that is variations in the unemployment rate across a single city or local labour market, have particular policy implications.

In relation to the problem of localised unemployment, Buck and Gordon (1986) pose the following policy questions: Firstly, the extent to which job creation policies in the inner city can reduce unemployment among local residents and thus inequality in the distribution of

unemployment across the city. Secondly, whether the active dispersal of the disadvantaged to areas with more favourable job growth would improve their employment chances. The problem with job creation policies in specific areas such as the inner city, is that such labour markets are not closed, but subject to large inward and outward commuting flows. Without positive discrimination policies directly linking inner city residents to jobs created there is no guarantee that the majority of new jobs will not be taken up by inward commuters living outside the inner city area. Residents would be in competition with other workers living within the travel to work area (TTWA). In order to answer the policy questions posed, Buck & Gordon focused on the disadvantaged in employment growth areas, as well as those in areas of employment decline. Their findings suggest that while some groups are liable to experience labour market disadvantage in both growing and declining areas they would appear to be much better off in the former, particularly in terms of exposure to unemployment.

Although the distinction has to be made between inter and intra variations in unemployment rates, the question is raised as to whether they can be explained by the same phenomenon. Spilsbury's (1985) analysis of the determinants of individual success in the youth labour market suggested that the area in which an individual lives and conducts job search has a significant influence on the employment probability of that individual. This was an analysis of inter urban unemployment involving the labour markets of Sunderland, St Albans, Leicester and Stafford. Earlier analysis on this basis had, however, denied the dominance of any area effect (Metcalf, 1975). Metcalf's (1975) analysis examined urban unemployment with reference to data from the 1971 Census. His findings indicated that the bulk of variance in unemployment rates amongst the 78 urban areas studied, is

explained by the socio-demographic characteristics of their workforces, although the structure of industry in the town and deficient demand in the region are also important factors in explaining unemployment. Significantly however, Metcalf's analysis focused on male manual unemployment only, while Spilsbury focused on the youth labour market.

Metcalf and Richardson (1976) examined the importance of area characteristics and personal characteristics with respect to unemployment in London. Their results suggest that male unemployment in London is primarily determined by certain individual characteristics, especially skill and marital status. Once these variables have been controlled for race, age and area, characteristics appear to be unrelated to unemployment. The unskilled, conclude the researchers, tend to live in low rent housing and consequently boroughs with a high proportion of public housing display high unemployment rates.

"Inner city problems occur because individuals who suffer labour market disadvantage were disproportionately located in the inner city, because that is where the largest stock of cheap housing (especially public housing) is found" (Metcalf and Richardson, 1976, p218)

The view that localised unemployment problems are largely explained by personal characteristics of residents, stems from supply side economics. The corollary of this argument would be that, were these individuals to become more skilled, their employment chances would be improved. Cheshire (1979) however stresses the importance of excess demand in the local labour market. According to Cheshire, studies which discuss the personal characteristics of the unemployed or the labour force in general seem to be unaware of the difficulties of

interpretation (p34). Cheshire denies the simple link between the skills of individuals and their unemployment. Their lack of skill may have resulted from an unstable employment background, which could be partly explained by lack of employment opportunities and deficient demand in the local economy. Cheshire's argument appears to be that the characteristics of the unemployed can reveal little about unemployment in an area, because their characteristics may be a consequence rather than a cause of their state.

An area effect therefore may take the form of a shortage of local employment opportunities. Resulting unemployment may scar the employment history of the worker and consequently affect skill acquisition. Area effects, however, can take other forms. McGregor (1988) looked at the way in which the concentration of unemployment in a particular locality could in itself add to the disadvantage of local residents. He looked at the effect of such unemployment on job search behaviour and success of residents. This is an important issue for manual and unskilled workers for whom a major source of information on job vacancies is the informal contacts of friends, neighbours and relations. The assumption is made that the majority of such contacts would live within a reasonably confined distance. For these networks to be effective there needs to be a reasonable proportion of residents in employment. High localised unemployment will generally mean a low flow of job information on informal networks.

McGregor's analysis, however, failed to show that residents of high unemployment areas were particularly disadvantaged in this way. Little systematic variation in the use of informal networks was identified. Consequently it is concluded that labour market search behaviour or problems contribute little to the general explanation of

intra urban variations in the rate of unemployment. However, as McGregor indicates in his footnote, there is the possibility that once the unemployment level goes beyond a critical point, then a systematic relationship may occur between the unemployment rate and job search methods.

Another manifestation of a so-called area effect may be a stigmatization of the area by employers and others. While neither this form of an area effect nor that discussed in the previous paragraph could be considered causes of localised unemployment problems themselves, they may compound existing problems. A possible stigmatisation effect was investigated by McGregor (1977). His statistical analysis showed that job seekers from the Ferguslie Park area of Paisley experienced significantly longer durations of unemployment than the control sample even after accounting for variations in personal characteristics. There was some indication of the use of a Ferguslie Park address as a screening device by employers:

"In short it appears that although the Ferguslie Park sample would experience relatively high unemployment duration no matter where they lived, the fact of their residence in Ferguslie Park significantly adds to the disadvantage associated with their individual characteristics" (McGregor, 1977, p311)

Although McGregor's analysis highlights the possible stigmatisation of an area by employers, it does not assert that such stigmatisation is the cause of localised unemployment problems; rather, they are seen as an additional side effect or disadvantage. Undeniably the bulk of the evidence tends to suggest that large concentrations of unemployment result from the concentration of people with poor employment characteristics in low cost housing areas. Doubts exist, however, as to the interpretation and generality of this result

(McGregor, 1977; Cheshire, 1979). The bulk of the research that has been undertaken on both intra and inter urban unemployment differentials has been based on adult males. The results of such research may not automatically be assumed the same for other specific groups such as school leavers. Further, others question the conclusive nature of such evidence given that some of the characteristics measured (such as skill level) could equally be interpreted as properties of an area rather than an individual and because much of the research has been based on aggregate data. According to Garner, Main & Raffe (1988), a proper test of the characteristics ^{argument} requires data on individuals. Studies which have taken this approach (such as McGregor, 1977) have been more likely to identify separate area effects on unemployment.

The main question is whether the result of previous research into the personal characteristics explanation of localised unemployment can be equally applied to localised youth unemployment. Garner, Main & Raffe (1988) doubt whether the results of such research can be generalised to young people of either sex, mainly because young people have access to a limited range of jobs (as studies such as Ashton et al, 1988 demonstrate). They tend also to have a much more constrained travel to work area. Any single local labour market based on travel to ^{work} areas and modal commuting distances is likely to include more than one youth local labour market.

A small number of studies have recently identified intra urban variations in youth unemployment, but as with studies for the adult population, the results have been less than conclusive. Several studies have noted the inequality of the early labour market experience of young people in different local labour markets

(Spilsbury, 1985; Ashton and Maguire, 1986; Roberts et al, 1987; Coles, 1988). Youth employment rates vary widely between more buoyant labour markets in the South of the country and those in the depressed region.

Rates also differ widely within particular cities. Some consider these sometimes substantial inequalities to be derivative of social inequalities such as gender, class and ethnicity. This would be the case within a single local labour market. It is possible though that any single city area, or large town may consist of two or more youth labour markets, or that young people from particular areas of any one city (because of cultural or social conditioning) may have a more restricted job search or travel to work area. The possibility of this occurring will, of course, be related to the size of the city or town. For example, in a large city such as Glasgow, it may be that young people from the south side of Glasgow tend to restrict their job search to that area south of the river, whereas those from the north of the city tend to look for work north of the river. If the level of employment opportunities differs widely between the north and the south, then employment probabilities will also differ, regardless of personal characteristics.

Individual level data would be required on the areas young people apply for employment in (and the travel to work area) in order to test this hypothesis. Few studies have taken this approach, Quinn (1987) being one of the few exceptions.

Studies such as those of Garner, Main and Raffe (1989) have looked at intra urban variations in youth unemployment rates. They used multi-variate techniques to estimate the effects of selected personal

characteristics and the characteristics of the areas young people lived in. Advantaged and disadvantaged stereotypes were identified based on personal characteristics. Personally advantaged school leavers were found to be more likely to be employed whatever their gender or location. Qualifications were found to be the single most important aspect of personal advantage, with father's unemployment also having a significant (negative) influence on the employment of leavers. The authors conclude that spatial inequalities that exist within a city, or a local labour market, are in fact derivative of other social inequalities. It appeared that even with regard to school leavers, each city functioned as a single labour market, probably segmented by gender but not by spatial boundaries. By this the authors mean area characteristics appeared to have an insignificant effect on employment probabilities.

Lynch (1985) produced the same results, the author concluding that unemployment blackspots in selected London boroughs were the result of high concentrations of those youths most likely to be unemployed rather than any area effect. A small number of studies have, however, found some evidence of a significant effect of area of residence on the early labour market experience of school leavers. Gray, et al (1989) compared the post school destinations of inner city youngsters with non inner city youngsters at September 1985. The young people had been eligible to leave school in Easter/Summer 1985. Gray et al used logit modelling to analyse whether location or residence in the inner city had a significant independent effect on labour market status. The authors found that at September 1985, 14 per cent of inner city youngsters were unemployed compared to 8 per cent of the non inner city group. Similarly 34 per cent were on the YTS and 33 per cent in full time education in the inner city sample, compared to

28 per cent and 42 per cent respectively in the non inner city group. In terms of observable characteristics, the two groups differed only in respect of area of residence. When comparing probabilities of being in full time employment it was found that residence in the inner city did appear to make a significant difference. Young people had been in the labour market for between three and five months. As the authors note:-

At this relatively early stage in their transition into the youth labour market, however, being in the inner city did appear to matter with respect to their likelihood of gaining a full time job or being unemployed (but the full unravelling of these effects must await data from a further survey of the same cohort)" (Gray et al, 1989, p25)

Similarly Richardson (1983) found some evidence to suggest that residence in inner city boroughs did have some effect on employment probabilities in the early period in the labour market, particularly for females. The problem appeared to be the distance of employment opportunities in the suburbs and the tendency of inner city females to ignore these areas in their job search.

There is the possibility then that during the very early period in the labour market, area of residence matters, although as noted this has not been confirmed by all studies.

2.10 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THESIS

This chapter has essentially been eclectic, drawing from a variety of theoretical perspectives. This is because there is no one theory relating to the young person's transition from school to work. Rather there are various hypotheses which attempt to explain the determinants of the nature of early labour market experience. What we have attempted is a presentation of the various theories that give some explanation of the transition, while highlighting the inadequacies of each theoretical perspective.

In this thesis we are concerned with the range of variables which impact on the nature of the transition from school to work. In particular we are interested in whether the area of residence of the school leaver has a significant independent effect on what happens to the young person in the early period in the labour market. While the theories outlined in the chapter may explain some part of the fate of the school leaver, few afford the level of importance to spatial elements that is offered in this thesis.

There is no one single economic theory relating to the operation of the youth labour market. Economists' explanations of the outcomes of the school to work transition concentrate on either the supply side or the demand side of the equation. On the supply side, personal characteristics and the rate at which the young person is prepared to sell his or her labour are important. On the demand side the level of demand in the labour market and employers recruitment methods and requirements are stressed. Area in the form of the local labour market

may be important if the level of demand in that labour market is lower than say the national average or than other locally adjacent labour markets. On the supply side, area may be important to the extent that it becomes a personal characteristic, either by say affecting the actions or aspirations of the individual or by employers attaching negative perceptions to people from certain areas. No one theory has been able to explain fully the determinants of the nature of the transition from school to work.

Human Capital Theory discussed at length in sections 2.3 to 2.5 emphasises the importance of early labour market experience in that employment instability in the early period in the labour market may affect the acquisition of skills and subsequent income flow. It explains the transition in that employment probability and the quality of employment obtained is dependant on the level of qualifications or acquired skills of the individual. In this respect then it is a supply side theory. However it fails to explain adequately the differential payback between similarly qualified individuals eg. the differential paybacks between males and females, between blacks and whites, and between inner city residents and others. Some attempts have been made to explain the lower rewards for females and for black workers but the human capital theorists appear unable to offer any explanation for the lower rewards and lower employment probabilities of inner city workers. Supply side theories such as the Human Capital approach, fail to recognise the significance of the nature of the local labour market in sealing the fate of the school leaver.

Similarly, Segmented Labour Market theory is weak on spatial analysis (see sections 2.7 and 2.8 of this chapter). Segmented Labour Market theory effectively redirected researchers attentions from the supply side to the demand side of the labour market, indicating the importance of organisational requirements in determining the structure of labour demand. Employers demands were such that a core workforce was essential to the production process with a secondary workforce required as the level of demand dictated. Personal characteristics were important in so far as they determined the segment of entry (ie. whether primary or secondary), but once a particular segment was entered the experience of work in this segment itself became a characteristic determining future employability. Segmented Labour Market theorists stressed the importance of non competing groups, however as with Human Capital Theory, little spatial analysis was undertaken. There is however clearly a spatial dimension. For example, branch plant economies, distant from the main marketplace, that boom when the national economy is buoyant and contract when a downturn occurs. This spatial dimension however operates on an inter regional rather than an intra regional basis. Despite the lack of emphasis on differing intra urban conditions this theory, like that of the Human Capital Theory, is discussed because it provides some part of the explanation of the school to work transition.

Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury (1987) (see section 2.8) applied segmentation theory to the youth labour market and emphasised the importance of the local labour market and employer's recruitment requirements in influencing the segment of employment entered by the young person. Their analysis used data from a range of inter urban labour markets. Our analysis has an intra urban perspective, focussing

on localities within the same city area. We emphasise the importance of the local labour market also. Here area of residence is identified more closely with the local labour market area than would normally be the case. This is because of the localised nature of the youth labour market. Any one travel to work area (TTWA), may include two or more youth labour markets (Coombes, Owen, Champion 1988). Young people then, on average tend to work closer to their place of residence than do adults.

The spatial phenomenon to be investigated in this thesis is that of localised unemployment. In the case of the youth labour market, unemployment is seen as being synonymous with non employment i.e. placement on the Youth Training Scheme is not seen as 'permanent' employment. As detailed in section 2.9, the question arises as to whether such a phenomenon is due to the poor labour market characteristics of the residents of such an area or whether there are other factors particular to the area that are also significant. Our hypothesis is that area of residence will exert an influence on the transition from school to work over and above the factors normally thought to be important. The manifestation of the effect of area of residence is seen in terms of the lack of locally available job opportunities. There can be two reactions to this. Firstly, young people may be forced to look beyond their local area in search of work, in which case they may have to compete more aggressively with young people from other areas. Area of residence may play a significant role here if employers attach a negative stigma to residence in an area of say high unemployment or a perceived high crime rate. Alternatively it may be that young people living in such areas are disadvantaged solely because

of the very local nature of the youth labour market. They do not look beyond their local area for work and are consequently disadvantaged because there are fewer jobs to apply for and more competition for the few that exist because of the high levels of unemployment locally.

This thesis then investigates the significance of area of residence in determining the destination of the school leaver both in terms of the chances of employment and the type of employment entered. This chapter has critically discussed theories which appear to offer some explanation of the transition from school to work, but all were found lacking because of their failure to recognise the significance of locality or space. Empirical research into the importance of area of residence in determining job chances has been conducted previously in relation to the adult labour market and there is little concrete evidence to suggest that this is significant. The limited work done in relation to the youth labour market has been inconclusive. This thesis furthers the work that has been done by looking specifically at the case of young people leaving school in a peripheral housing estate and comparing their experiences with those of school leavers in a nearby new town and a selection of other city locations.

This chapter then has set the theoretical background to the thesis. Chapter Three discusses the way in which the destinations of young people in the three areas differed at the time of interviewing. The young people had been in the labour market for upto twenty two months at this point. In looking at destination at contact the chapter sets the scene for the later analysis of the variables determining this observation.

CHAPTER THREE. MOVEMENT INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we discuss the destinations that young people were in at the time of the survey, looking at particular groups on the basis of both gender and area of residence. This forms an introduction to the following two chapters which concentrate on the two major destinations at contact of employment and training. Also in this chapter we utilise the information collected on the experiences of young people since leaving school. Again we look at these experiences for males and for females and for young people from each of the three areas of study and consider the importance of early labour market experience in explaining destination when interviewed. The importance of early labour market experience has been emphasised previously (Lynch, 1985; Ashton, Maguire and Splisbury, 1987; Gray and Clough, 1988; Furlong and Raffe, 1989).

3.2 DESTINATION OF THE SAMPLE AT CONTACT

Table 3.1 details the breakdown between the various labour market destinations of the school leavers in the sample. Employment is the most important of these, accounting for over one half of the young people (at 51 per cent), with the YTS the next major destination (at 31 per cent). Just over 9 per cent of young people were unemployed and a further 9 per cent of young people were out of the labour market for some other reason. The table refers to the employment status of the young people upto almost two years after entering the labour market, (this being the maximum).¹

TABLE 3.1 CURRENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

Status	Number	Percentages
Employment	95*	(51.8)
YTS	57	(30.4)
Unemployment	17	(9.0)
Out of the labour market	18	(9.6)
TOTAL	186	(100.0)

The length of time that the individual had spent in the labour market was partly dependant on the point of departure from compulsory schooling. The vast majority of the sample left school during the summer of 1987, with a handful leaving at either Easter or Christmas. The length of time spent in the labour market at contact was also affected by the research methodology adopted, so that those contacted towards the end of the fieldwork will have been in the labour market for a longer period than those interviewed at the beginning.

Although the great majority of respondents were leavers from S4 (the final year of compulsory education in Scotland), not all were sixteen year old school leavers. Young people who are still aged fifteen at the end of S4, are required to enter S5 and stay on until the following Christmas. Furlong and Raffe (1989) note that, as a result of the 1970's changes to primary school entry arrangements, school year groups are becoming younger, with a substantial proportion of pupils still aged sixteen at the end of fifth year. Raffe (1988) reports a steep increase in the proportions staying for the first term of fifth year over the period 1980 to 1984. The size of this group is now about one third of each year group (Raffe, 1988). In the current survey young people were asked how old they were on leaving school. While 57.2 per cent of young people left school at sixteen years of age a suprisingly large group reported that they were only fifteen

years old on leaving school (40.1 per cent). It is assumed that the bulk of these young people must have reached their sixteenth birthday in the six weeks after leaving school in order to avoid having to return for the first term of fifth year.

The period in the labour market then, varied from between fifteen months to nineteen months. This is based on the assumption, applied elsewhere (see Jones, Gray and Clough, 1988) that the September after the young person leaves school (for summer leavers) constitutes the first real month in the labour market. Young people often view the period immediately following school as a holiday time and those intending to return to school will have done so at this point. The small number of young people who left school at Easter 1987 (6) could have been in the labour market for almost two years if contacted towards the end of the fieldwork. Similarly Christmas leavers (5) will have been in the labour market for a shorter period of time on average, at contact.

Table 3.1 details the employment status of all respondents regardless of gender or area. From this we can see that only about half of the leavers had made a traditionally successful transition from school to work at this point. As Furlong and Raffe (1989) note, few sixteen year old school leavers now move directly from school to a permanent full time job. For the majority of this group the transition is a staged or interrupted one and is likely to take place over a longer period of time than may have been the case in the past:-

"The notion of a singular transition from school to work is clearly obsolete. But so too are the metaphors of 'trajectories and cross-roads .." (Furlong and Raffe, 1989, p136)

The nature of the transition from school to work has been transformed

by the decline in school leaver employment, with the consequent rise in youth unemployment. Raffe (1988) reports that since 1979 the proportion of school leavers in employment has fallen by more than one half. He cites the results from the Scottish Young People's Survey (SYPS), that in the late 1970's a majority of non employed school leavers in the labour market had held at least one job since leaving school. In the early 1980's this was no longer the case (Raffe, 1984). Whereas in the 1970's there was a high level of turnover in the early period in the labour market, (especially among the less qualified) this has been replaced in the 1980's by movement in and out of government training schemes. Another factor then, which has been important in these changes has been the growth of training schemes specifically for young people.

Furlong and Raffe (1989) criticise the metaphor of transition from school to work because it fails to allow for the wide variation in individuals chances of following and succeeding in different routes.² For example girls occupations tend to be different from those entered by boys and they receive lower wages and less training. In the following sections we explore the way in which the nature of the transition differed both by gender and area for our sample members.

3.3 DESTINATION AT CONTACT BY GENDER

Table 3.2 details the employment status of females and males when interviewed. We can see that at that point, 55 per cent of females and 47 per cent of males had made a succesful transition to work. The figures however only reveal a snapshot view of a young person's experience. Those who were currently unemployed or on the YTS may well have been in employment at some point since leaving school. At the

point of contact however they had not found permanent employment. Later in this chapter we discuss the labour market experience of these young people, indicating the routes that young people had taken to their current destination.

From table 3.2 we can conclude that males were far more likely to be on the YTS than were females at contact and were slightly less likely to be in employment. Females were more likely to be out of the labour market at contact than were their male counterparts, but were slightly less likely to be unemployed. The transition from school to work is quite likely to differ therefore on the basis of gender. However, the use of a Chi square test revealed that the differences between males and females, in terms of the likelihood of being in employment, were not in fact significant at better than the 5 per cent level. For the purposes of the test, distinction was made between the employed and all others (i.e. all other categories combined).³

TABLE 3.2 DESTINATION AT CONTACT BY GENDER

Employment status	Males		Females	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Employment	43	(47)	52	(55)
YTS	35	(38)	22	(23)
Unemployment	9	(10)	8	(8)
Out of the labour force	5	(5)	13	(14)
TOTALS	92	(100)	95	(100)

3.4 DESTINATION AT CONTACT BY AREA

Table 3.3 below, details the differences in destination on an area basis. The table indicates that at the time of the interview young people from East Kilbride were most likely and young people from

Castlemilk least likely to have made a successful transition from school to the world of work. Almost 60 per cent (38) of the East Kilbride sample were in employment when interviewed, compared to 40 per cent (23) of Castlemilk youngsters. Those from East Kilbride were most likely to still be on the YTS and least likely to be unemployed, although the differences are small. The Castlemilk group had the highest proportion of young people either unemployed (at 14 per cent compared to 10 per cent and 6 per cent in each of the other areas) or out of the labour market. This latter group included expectant mothers, those with young children and young people who had returned to education. The Chi square test revealed that the area difference in probability of being in employment was not quite significant at the 5 per cent level but was significant at better than the 10 per cent level. The largest difference occurs between Castlemilk and the other two areas, so that although between the three areas the difference was not shown to be statistically significant, had the distinction been made between youngsters living on a peripheral housing estate and all others, a higher level of significance might have been revealed.

The chances of young people having made a successful transition from school to work after at least 15 months in the labour market appears to differ then according to whether they are male or female, but particularly according to the area in which they live. However, as noted, these differences were not in actual fact statistically significant. There are of course a range of important factors besides gender and area of residence which have an impact on the nature of the transition from school to work. Factors such as: qualifications, age, family background, or whether the young person held a part time job while still at school, have all been shown to be important (Main and Raffe, 1983; Raffe, 1984; Main and Shelley, 1987). The statistical

analysis undertaken in Chapter Ten, investigates the significance of such factors in determining the employment status of the young person when contacted.

TABLE 3.3 DESTINATION AT CONTACT BY AREA.

Status	Area					
	Castlemilk		Inner Sth		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employment	23	(38)	34	(55)	38	(59)
YTS	19	(31)	17	(27)	21	(33)
Unemployment	9	(15)	4	(10)	4	(6)
Out of the labour force	10	(16)	7	(11)	1	(2)
TOTALS	61	(100)	62	(100)	64	(100)

3.5 EARLY LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF THE SAMPLE

In this section we look at the range of paths that young people followed to their destination when interviewed. We do this from a range of perspectives, namely destination group, gender and area group. Two current research programmes that track the progress of school leavers in their first years in the labour market, are that of the Youth Cohort Study (YCS), a survey of young people in England and Wales and the Scottish Young Persons Survey (SYPS) in Scotland. Both of these surveys employ a postal questionnaire, using 'diary type' questions, where the young person records what s/he was doing for each month of the period in question. This is a useful approach which allows the young person's early labour market experience to be seen in terms of a route. The current survey however, while recording the different experiences that young people had had upto the point of contact, is unable to distinguish chronologically the range of experience, where a young person had been in more than two

destinations since leaving school. In all 44 young people had experience of three destinations or more since leaving school.

However we are still able to describe the range of experience that all young people had had since leaving school. The range of experience and destination at contact is displayed in table 3.4

As shown in table 3.4, the three most popular routes (this applies to those young people who experienced less than three different destinations since leaving school), are:- movement into employment following the YTS ; movement directly into employment following school; movement onto the YTS from school; and finally movement onto the YTS following a period of unemployment. Three out of the four major routes then, involve the YTS.

TABLE 3.4 EXPERIENCE AND DESTINATION AT CONTACT OF ALL RESPONDENTS.

Path.	No.	Percent
1. School > Employment	25	(15)
2. School > Unemployment > Employment	13	(8)
3. School > YTS > Employment	26	(16)
4. School > Unemployment > YTS > Employment	24	(15)
5. School > YTS	22	(14)
6. School > Employment > YTS	1	(*)
7. School > Unemployment > YTS	20	(12)
8. School > Unemployment > Employment > YTS	10	(6)
9. School > Unemployment	1	(*)
10. School > YTS > Unemployment	5	(3)
11. School > Employment > Unemployment	2	(1)
12. School > YTS > Employment > Unemployment	2	(1)
13. School > Unemployment > Outside LF	1	(*)
14. School > Employment > Outside LF	2	(1)
15. School > Unemployment > YTS > Outside LF	1	(*)
16. School > Unemployment > Employment > Outside LF	4	(2)
17. School > Unemployment > Employment > YTS > Outside LF	3	(2)

* Denotes less than one per cent

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

3.6 THE EARLY EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT.

In all there were 95 young people in jobs when interviewed. For females the employment rate was 55 per cent and for males 46 per cent. The level of young people in jobs differed to a greater extent on an area basis with 40 per cent of young people in Castlemilk in jobs, compared to 55 per cent and 63 per cent in the Inner South and East Kilbride respectively. These differences are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The early labour market experience of young people interviewed varied according to their destination at contact. Of young people in jobs, 26 per cent (25) had moved straight into employment from school and thus had no other labour market experience. In all 61 per cent of young people in jobs (57) had experienced the YTS and 41 per cent (39) had been unemployed before finding work. Twenty six young people in jobs had experienced both the YTS and unemployment. Table 3.5 below details the range of experience of the different labour market states of those currently in employment. For the employed sample as a whole then, the most popular, or successful route to work was through the YTS.

TABLE 3.5 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS

Paths	No.	Percent
School > Employment	25	(26)
School > Unemployment > Employment	13	(14)
School > YTS > Employment	32	(34)
School > Unemployment > YTS > Employment	26	(27)
School > YTS > Unemployment > Employment		
TOTAL	96	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

The range of early labour market experience of young people who were in employment when contacted may differ by both gender and area of

residence. Table 3.6 details the range of experience of employed youngsters according to gender. The figure demonstrates that generally, males and females followed different routes into employment. We have to acknowledge firstly that more females than males were in employment at contact. Looking at the information in percentage terms we see that 35 per cent (18) of females in employment moved directly into employment from school whereas only 17 per cent (7) of males did so. Further 38 per cent (20) of girls moved into employment following involvement on the YTS, but only 27 per cent (11) of males did so. Males were more likely to have had wider labour market experience with 39 per cent (16) having had experience of both the YTS and unemployment before entering jobs. Only 15 per cent (8) of females fall into this category. Generally males in jobs were more likely to have experienced unemployment before moving into work, than were females, with 56 per cent (23) of males and only 27 per cent (14) of females with this kind of experience.

TABLE 3.6 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS BY GENDER.

Paths	Male		Female	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
School > Employment	7	(17)	18	(35)
School > Unemployment > Employment	7	(17)	6	(12)
School > YTS > Employment	11	(27)	20	(38)
School > Unemployment > YTS > Employment)	16	(39)	8	(15)
School > YTS > Unemployment > Employment)				
TOTALS	41	(100)	52	(100)

+ Two missing cases.

The final dimension of inequality of experience to consider in this section is that of area. Table 3.7, demonstrates that early experience did differ markedly by area for all in jobs. The largest difference appears to be in the extent to which young people moved straight into

TABLE 3.7 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS BY AREA.

Paths	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
School > Employment	6	(26)	14	(42)	6	(16)
School > Unemployment > Employment	5	(22)	4	(13)	4	(10)
School > YTS > Employment	4	(17)	9	(26)	11	(50)
School > Unemployment > YTS > Employment)	8	(35)	7	(19)	9	(24)
School > YTS > Unemployment > Employment)						
TOTALS	23	(100)	34	(100)	38	(100)

* 2 cases missing.

employment from school and in the extent of movement into employment following the YTS. The Inner South area has by far the largest group of people who moved straight into employment from school at 42 per cent (14 young people). Castlemilk young people form the next largest group in this category at 26 per cent (6) with only 16 per cent (6) of young people from East Kilbride. The extent to which young people move straight into employment from school will depend on, among other things, the qualifications of the individual as well as the availability of local job opportunities. In this section, as in other sections where we disaggregate along a number of criteria, the numbers with which we are dealing become small. Therefore, caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions from the figures.

Young people from the Inner South were the better qualified in the sample. However those from East Kilbride were by no means the least qualified and the local employment opportunities available were relatively good compared to the other area groups. Coverage of the YTS was particularly extensive in the East Kilbride area. It may be that young people in this area did not seek employment directly following school, opting instead to enter the YTS. Chapter Six shows that opportunities in this area within the YTS were attractive compared to those in other areas. Further it may be that the YTS had colonised the local youth labour market in such a way that there were few employment opportunities for 16 year olds outside the scheme.

Young people from Castlemilk were far more likely to enter employment from unemployment than were young people in either of the other two areas. Twenty two per cent (5) of young employed people from Castlemilk did so compared to 13 per cent (4) in the Inner South and 10 per cent (4) in East Kilbride. As many as 57 per cent (13) of

employed youngsters from Castlemilk had experience of unemployment. The figures for the Inner South and East Kilbride were 32 per cent (11) and 34 per cent (13) respectively. Again caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions due to the small figures with which we are dealing.

Young people from East Kilbride were most likely and young people from Castlemilk least likely to enter employment directly following the YTS. Our analysis in Chapter Seven shows that those from East Kilbride were more likely to enter the YTS and more likely to be taken into employment with their scheme sponsor. Castlemilk youngsters were the least likely to enter employment through this route, with 17 per cent (4) doing so compared to 50 per cent (11) in East Kilbride. In general terms those in employment from the Castlemilk sample had wider labour market experience than young people from either of the other area groups. While it would be interesting to break down the analysis to gender at the area level, the figures become rather small. Generally the gender diversion evident at the level of the sample are repeated at the area level

3.7 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE YTS

Fifty seven young people were on the YTS when contacted, with more males still on the scheme at this point (35) compared to females (22). In this section we discuss the range of labour market experience of this group. This is illustrated in Table 3.8.

The table shows that the bulk of young people who were still on the YTS at the time of the survey had had a range of experience beyond the scheme, with 38 per cent (20) of young people entering the YTS from employment and 19 per cent (10) having wider experience. In all only

21 young people on the YTS had experience of employment. Less than half of current YTS trainees entered the YTS directly from school.

TABLE 3.8 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF CURRENT YTS TRAINEES.

Paths	No.	Percent
School > YTS	22	(42)
School > Unemployment > YTS	20	(38)
School > Employment > YTS	1	(2)
School > Unemployment > Employment > YTS)	10	(19)
School > Employment > Unemployment > YTS)		
TOTALS	53*	(100)

* Four cases were missing.

Figures do not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding.

In table 3.9 below, the experience of current YTS trainees is disaggregated by gender. For the most part, Table 3.9 shows that youngsters on YTS were a fairly comprehensive group, having similar labour market experiences, whether male or female. However there were some differences of note. Firstly, females were more likely to enter the YTS directly from school, with 45 per cent (10) of current female trainees having done so compared to 39 per cent (12) of current male trainees. Secondly, the most apparent difference between the two groups is that males were much more likely to enter the YTS from unemployment. This is obviously related to the previous point. It appears that males may have preferred to undertake job search in the labour market before opting for the YTS. Only 32 per cent (7) of females were unemployed immediately before joining the YTS compared to 42 (13) per cent of males.

Around 20 (11) per cent of young people on the YTS had had experience of employment since leaving school, with females slightly more likely to have had this type of experience. It has been shown that in general

young people, given the opportunity, prefer employment to the YTS and hold the YTS in preference to unemployment (Raffe, 1984). It is likely that many of these employment separations were of an involuntary nature.

TABLE 3.9 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF CURRENT YTS TRAINEES BY GENDER.

Paths	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
School > YTS	12	(39)	10	(45)
School > Unemployment > YTS	13	(42)	7	(32)
School > Employment > YTS	-	-	1	(5)
School > Unemployment > Employment > YTS)	6	(20)	4	(18)
School > Employment > Unemployment > YTS)				
TOTALS	31	(100)	22	(100)

* Five cases missing, one female and four males.

Table 3.10 below details the experience of current YTS trainees by area. As with the gender breakdown in table 3.9 there were some differences between the area groups. Young people still on the YTS at contact were likely to have had very similar experiences regardless of the area in which they lived. Disaggregating by area means that we are dealing with quite small numbers in some categories so caution should be exercised. This reflects the relatively small number of young people still on the YTS at this stage.

In the main there are only small differences between the area groups. Young people from Castlemilk were slightly more likely to move onto the YTS directly from school and less likely to have had experience of employment, although the differences are slight. Young people from the Inner South on the YTS had the widest labour market experience, being the most likely to have experience of both employment and unemployment. Finally, although 40 per cent (8) of YTS trainees from East Kilbride entered the scheme directly from unemployment (compared

TABLE 3.10 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF CURRENT YTS TRAINEES BY AREA.

Paths	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1 School > YTS	8	(44)	7	(41)	8	(40)
2 School > Unemployment > YTS	7	(37)	6	(35)	8	(40)
3 School > Employment > YTS	-	-	-	-	1	(5)
4 School > Unemployment > Employment > YTS)	4	(19)	4	(24)	3	(15)
5 School > Employment > Unemployment > YTS)						
TOTALS	19	(100)	17	(100)	10*	(100)

* One case missing.

to 37 per cent (7) in Castlemilk and 35 per cent (6) in the Inner South area), overall they were the least likely to have experience of unemployment at 55 per cent (combining categories two and four in table 3.10). The area differences between YTS trainees are less stark than those reported for young people in employment.

3.8 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE.

Table 3.11 below, indicates the labour market experiences of young people who were unemployed when interviewed. We do not disaggregate here by area or gender because the figures are already small. There were 17 young people unemployed at contact. About half of the young people (53 per cent) had experience of employment. Unemployed youngsters then had wider experience of work than did those currently on the YTS. There was also a wide experience of the YTS, with more than three quarters of unemployed youngsters having been on the scheme at some time. This compares with 59 per cent of those in employment with experience of the YTS.

Only one unemployed youngster had been continually unemployed since leaving school. Many at least had experience of the YTS and some of employment also. Rather than being static then the table conveys a picture of labour turnover. The labour market experience may be wider than that conveyed in that within the category of employment. The young person may have held more than one job and similarly within the category YTS.

TABLE 3.11 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE.

Paths	Number
1 School > Unemployment	1 (8)
2 School > YTS > Unemployment	5 (38)
3 School > Employment > Unemployment	2 (15)
4 School > Employment > YTS > Unemployment	5 (38)
5 School > YTS > Employment > Unemployment	
TOTAL	13(100)

* Four cases missing.

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

3.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has detailed the destination of young people at the time of the survey (up to almost two years after leaving school) as well as detailing the early labour market experience which preceded their current destination. Both gender and area dimensions were noted. It was noted that:-

- Females were more likely to be in employment when contacted, 50 per cent (55) females were in employment at contact, compared to 43 per cent (47) of males. This observation, however, was not shown to be statistically significant.
- In terms of area groups, young people from Castlemilk were found to be the least likely to be in employment at contact. Only 40 per cent (23) of young people from the area were in work compared to 55 per cent (34) in the Inner South and 59 per cent (38) in East Kilbride. Although this observation was not found to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, it was significant at better than the 10 per cent level. This observation is investigated in more detail in later chapters.

- There had been notable turnover in terms of labour market destinations with very few young people having been in solely one destination since leaving school.
- The most important current destination was employment. Males and females tended to follow different routes into employment with females more likely to have moved directly into work from school and males more likely to have experienced unemployment. In terms of area differences young people from Castlemilk were more likely to enter employment from unemployment. More than half of the Castlemilk sample had experience of unemployment compared to around one third of each of the other areas.
- Current YTS trainees appeared to form a fairly comprehensive group. There were few differences along either gender or area dimensions in terms of their early labour market experience. Many of those on the YTS had broad experience outside the scheme with only 42 per cent having entered it directly from school.
- With regard to the unemployed, about half of this group had experience of employment and more than three-quarters had been on the YTS at some time. Only one young person had been continuously unemployed since leaving school.

This chapter, then, has detailed the early labour market experience of the various groups in the sample. It becomes clear in later chapters that young people in each of the three major destinations (of employment, YTS and unemployment), tended to have particular characteristics. Such characteristics will be important not only in determining destination at contact, but also early labour market experience. The explanatory power of early labour market

experience in itself then may be limited, unless taken in conjunction with some indicator of personal characteristics. As noted in later chapters, not only do young people in employment differ in terms of characteristics from the non-employed, but so too do young people in the same destination between in the three areas. A real test of the significance of early labour market experience would take identical individuals (in terms of various characteristics) in each of the three areas and compare their paths through the labour market. Unfortunately, due to the size of our sample we were unable to do this.

CHAPTER FOUR: YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of the young people who were in employment at the time of the survey, those who had made a traditionally successful transition into the world of work. After roughly eighteen months in the labour market around half of the total sample were in jobs. Those in jobs constituted the largest group of young people by far (at 51 per cent), the second largest consisting of those young people still on the YTS (at 31 per cent).

These young people followed a number of routes into employment. About 58 per cent those in jobs had previously been on the YTS (in gender terms, 62 per cent of boys and 54 per cent of girls). Of those with experience of the YTS, 84 per cent (46 youngsters) left the scheme either to take up employment with their sponsor or with another employer. Less than half of those in jobs then (40 young people), had moved into employment without having been on the YTS. Of these young people around 34 per cent (13) experienced unemployment before breaking into the jobs market. For the vast majority this was unemployment of less than six months duration. Around 66 per cent of young people that did not go on the YTS moved straight into jobs from school.

In the first part of this chapter we consider the characteristics of young people that were in jobs. We attempt to build a profile of employed young people in terms of area of residence, qualifications, social class, family background and housing tenure. An important part of this is of course to consider levels of employment in the three different areas of Castlemilk, the Inner South of the city, and the

East Kilbride area. We then go on to look at the types of employment that young people went into on an industrial basis and on an occupational basis.

4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT

At the time of the survey, 95 young people were in jobs. As a percentage this works out at about 51 per cent. The rest of the sample were either still on YTS, were unemployed, or were still in full time education or looking after a young family. Here we investigate whether this group has particular characteristics -What makes them different to the rest of the group? Do these young people have characteristics which make them particularly attractive to employers, and if so what are these characteristics?

We attempt to answer these questions by gauging a number of characteristics whose importance in employment prospects have been highlighted by previous research. The explanatory power of each of these different characteristics and the relationships between them will be investigated elsewhere in the thesis so here we confine ourselves to a brief overview. The factors or characteristics we intend to look at in relation to those in employment are: area of residence; level of qualification; socio-economic grouping (SEG) of father; housing tenure and the presence of unemployment in the family.

As well as comparing the characteristics of those young people in employment with those not in employment at the point of contact, an important part of this section will be to compare the characteristics of the young people in jobs in the three areas. How do the three groups vary, if at all in terms of the characteristics considered.

Employment levels vary in the three areas under study, we can expect characteristics to vary also.

4.3 AREA OF RESIDENCE

Although for the sample as a whole roughly half of the young people were in jobs, this differs markedly by area. The levels of employment in the three different areas are noted below in table 4.1. The table indicates the proportion of males and females in employment in each area. The share of employment accounted for by each area is displayed in the the total column.

It can be seen quite clearly from the table that fewer young people are in employment in Castlemilk than in any other area. Young people from Castlemilk make up only one quarter of the group of young people in jobs. In the Castlemilk sample itself we have an employment rate of 46 per cent, whereas in the other areas the employment rate amounts to 60 per cent in the Inner South and 60 per cent in East Kilbride. Generally then, young people in jobs were least likely to come from Castlemilk. These figures are worked out on the basis of those in the labour force at the time of the survey eg. those in education are excluded.

The group in employment was made up of 43 boys and 52 girls. The low employment rate in Castlemilk applies to both boys and girls. Overall though, girls do have a higher employment rate than boys in all areas, except the Inner South. They do particularly well in East Kilbride, where girls have an employment rate of 70 per cent. This was the highest employment rate for any group. Taking girls in employment separately East Kilbride girls account for 44 per cent of the group more than 10 per cent than would be expected, were employment chances

equal in all areas. The higher employment rate of females was tested in Chapter Three and was not found to be statistically significant (at the 5 per cent level).

TABLE 4.1 EMPLOYMENT BY AREA AND GENDER

Area	Males		Females		Totals Per Area	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Castlemilk	11	(38)	12	(57)	23	(24)
Inner South	17	(61)	17	(59)	34	(36)
East Kilbride	15	(50)	23	(70)	38	(40)
TOTALS	43		52		95	(100)

Young people from the Inner South do better than those from Castlemilk although not quite as well as those from East Kilbride. Taking males in employment separately, those from the Inner South make up the largest group at 40 per cent. Further, a sizeable group of males in this area were actually out of the labour market at this time having returned to Further or Higher Education after leaving school in 1987 (12.5 per cent). It is conceivable that these young men being reasonably well qualified would have been in jobs. The lower employment rate of Castlemilk young people was found to be statistically significant at better than 10 per cent level (see Chapter Three).

Table 4.2 below illustrates the share of employment accounted for by males and females in each area. As we can see the lowest employment share of any group is that of girls in Castlemilk. Although they have a higher employment rate than Castlemilk boys in table 4.2, they make up only 25 per cent of all females in employment. Part of the explanation as to why the employment rate is so low among this group

is that there were a number of young women in this area who were temporarily out of the labour market.

TABLE 4.2 SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT IN EACH AREA BY GENDER

	Males in employment		Females in employment	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
CASTLEMILK	11	(26)	12	(25)
INNER SOUTH	17	(39)	17	(33)
EAST KILBRIDE	15	(35)	23	(44)
TOTALS	43	(100)	52	(100)

From this preliminary analysis we can draw two conclusions. Firstly that young people from Castlemilk, having a lower employment rate than any other group, appear to be disadvantaged in employment terms. Secondly girls appear to have been more successful than boys in forcing their way into the labour market . This applies to all areas. Our analysis in this chapter will go on to detail the type and 'quality' of jobs that young people went into. It will be interesting to see if these differences persist. Questions which will be raised are :-What happens when young people from Castlemilk do force their way into employment, do they do as well as young people in jobs in other areas, or are they relegated to disadvantage within the jobs market as well as outside it? Further, are girls really competing well against boys when we take into consideration the type of employment they enter?

4.4 QUALIFICATIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS

In the survey young people were asked how many O'grades they left school with. They were also asked how many O' grades they actually sat, as this has also been shown to be important in determining

chances of employment and may be considered by employers to be the first step on the ladder of achievement (Main and Raffe, 1983). Also noted were the subject areas with English and Arithmetic being the basic indicators of attainment. The table below indicates levels of qualification of those in employment.

TABLE 4.3 QUALIFICATIONS OF THOSE IN EMPLOYMENT

Level of Attainment	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No O'Grades Attempted	6	(14)	5	(10)
No O' Grades obtained	7	(18)	13	(25)
1 O'Grade	29	(68)	33	(63)
2 O'Grades	25	(59)	28	(54)
3 O'Grades	18	(41)	23	(44)
4 O'Grades	13	(30)	15	(29)
5 O'Grades	10	(23)	8	(15)
More than 5 O'Grades	5	(11)	4	(8)
Highers	3	(7)	3	(6)

Note. 1. Columns do not total either to absolute sample size or to total percentage because individuals may be in more than one category.

Table 4.3 indicates only slight difference between the qualification level of males and females in employment. Females were slightly more likely to have attempted O' grade examinations, but were actually less likely to have obtained qualifications when attempted. At almost every level of attainment males were more likely to have achieved than females.¹ The difference is slight although in today's labour market it may still be important in determining differential employment probabilities. However, as higher proportions of ^{females} attended to be in employment at contact, it may be that their employment chances were not significantly adversely affected by this.

Young people leaving from S4 (the majority of this sample), are less likely to be well qualified. A number of the better qualified young

people did not enter the labour market immediately, either returning to school for a further year or going on to colleges of Further Education. It is likely also that those young people reported as having attained Highers left from the fifth rather than the fourth year.

Table 4.4 compares the level of education attainment of employed and non-employed young people. It can be seen that young people in employment were far more likely to have at least attempted O' grade examinations, 33 per cent of non-employed youngsters did not attempt examinations, compared to 11 per cent of employed youngsters. At each level of attainment young people in employment were far more likely to have obtained qualifications, with more than twice as many youngsters in employment obtaining 3 O' grades and above. A Chi square test was applied to test the significance of the difference in qualification levels between the two groups.

TABLE 4.4 COMPARISON OF QUALIFICATION LEVELS FOR THE EMPLOYED AND THE NON-EMPLOYED

Level of Attainment	Employed		All Others	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No O' Grades attempted	11	(12)	33	(36)
No O' Grades obtained	20	(21)	29	(32)
1 O' Grade	62	(65)	39	(42)
2 O' Grades	53	(56)	27	(29)
3 O' Grades	41	(43)	19	(21)
4 O' Grades	28	(29)	12	(13)
5 O' Grades	18	(19)	8	(9)
More than 5 O' Grades	9	(9)	4	(4)
Highers	6	(6)	3	(3)

Table 4.5 details levels of educational attainment on an area basis. Young people from the Inner South make up the most qualified group overall. Rather than being restricted to those in employment, the table ^{also} refers to all young people interviewed. Young people from the

Inner South area are consistently better qualified at each level of attainment than any other group. We have to take into consideration here the fact that the Inner South sample is heavily weighted towards a particular school which has a high record of examination achievement. As many as 62 per cent of young people in the Inner South sample attended this particular school.

Despite young people from East Kilbride having the highest employment rate (girls from East Kilbride have the highest employment rate overall), they are not the best qualified group. They do better than those young people from Castlemilk, but in terms of the determinants of employment, qualifications must take second place to some other factor not yet considered.

Castlemilk young people come out at the bottom of the league table at every level. Perhaps the most striking difference noted in the table between Castlemilk and the other two area groups is in the level of young people not presented for examination at O'grade. Thirty five per cent of the Castlemilk sample were presented for examination at this level. While 35 per cent of Castlemilk youngsters attained one O'grade (at grades 1-3) more than twice this proportion did so in the Inner South and East Kilbride areas.

This wide variation in terms of educational achievement observed between areas was tested for statistical significance. It was not possible to test beyond the level of one O' grade because so few young people in Castlemilk reached even this modest level of achievement. In the test we distinguished between levels of unqualified and qualified youngsters in jobs in the three areas. Area differences in the levels of unqualified youngsters was significant at better than

one per cent level of significance (SIG = 0.0002). Although we did not test for the significance of differential educational attainment between the three total area samples, the level of significance would be expected to be similar, as this stark contrast was evident in the total sample. For example, while 29 per cent of all Castlemilk youngsters interviewed were not presented for examination at 0' grade, only 8 per cent in either of the other two areas fall into this category. Further, while only 17 per cent of Castlemilk youngsters obtained one 0' grade, 48 per cent and 38 per cent did so in the Inner South and East Kilbride samples respectively. This picture is extremely dismal, given the importance of qualifications in a slack labour market.

It is well known of course that educational attainment varies both socially and spatially. Research has reported on the link between the residential environment or levels of deprivation in the neighbourhood and educational attainment (Moulden & Bradford, 1984; Williams, 1986; Garner, 1988). This low level of attainment among the Castlemilk group is undoubtedly part of the explanation as to why this group had the lowest employment rate.

TABLE 4.5

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT ON AN AREA BASIS FOR THE EMPLOYED

Level of Attainment	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No 0' Grades attempted	8	(35)	1	(3)	2	(5)
No 0' Grades obtained	15	(65)	8	(24)	10	(26)
1 0' Grade (1-3)	8	(35)	26	(76)	28	(74)
2 0' Grades	3	(13)	24	(71)	24	(68)
3 0' Grades	1	(4)	20	(59)	20	(53)
4 0' Grades	1	(4)	15	(44)	12	(32)
5 0' Grades			9	(26)	8	(21)
More than 5 0' Grades			5	(15)	4	(11)

Percentage column does not sum to 100 per cent because individuals can be in more than one category.

4.5 YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS.THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CLASS

In this section we are attempting to build a profile of young people who were in jobs at the point of contact. Social class has been found to be an important determinant of the chances of employment or unemployment for the individual. Young people whose parents are from the higher socio economic groupings (SEG) would be expected to have better employment chances than those from the lower socio economic groupings. We consider here then the SEG of father of those young people in jobs.

We did not obtain father's SEG for all cases. In the majority of cases unobtained the father was absent from the household. The table reveals that for the overwhelming majority of cases (47 per cent), fathers SEG was that of skilled manual (SEG 9). The second largest category is that of SEG 5 -ancillary workers , foremen, and supervisors- at 16.2 per cent. Part of the explanation as to why there are few cases in the higher SEGs may be that the children of parents situated in these groupings tend to continue in school beyond the age of 16 years. Also fathers located in the skilled manual category may be in a better position to help their offspring into employment than fathers in other categories.

The figures reported above reflect the distribution of SEG of father for the sample as a whole. As many as 48 per cent of fathers (of all youngsters regardless of destination) were located in SEG 9. If we take those youngsters whose fathers were allocated to this category, we find that 24 per cent were from Castlemilk ; 31 per cent were from the Inner South area ; and 45 per cent were from the East Kilbride area. As we know from our earlier discussions employment rates were highest

in the East Kilbride area. The high representation in SEG 9 of fathers of those in employment, is likely then to be a consequence of the over representation of East Kilbride youngsters in this group.

Our statistical analysis in Chapter Ten reveals that having a father in a non-manual occupation had a very strong impact on the employment chances of the individual. It also reveals that no young people in Castlemilk had a father employed in a non-manual occupation.

TABLE 4.6 SEG OF FATHER FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS

SEG*	No.	Percent
2. Employers and Managers (Small Estabs)	7	(10.2)
4. Professional Workers	3	(4.4)
5. Ancillary, Foremen, Supervisors	11	(16.2)
6. Junior Non Manual	1	(1.4)
8. Foremen, Supervisors Manual	6	(9.0)
9. Skilled Manual	32	(47.0)
10. Semi Skilled Manual	7	(10.2)
11. Unskilled Manual	1	(1.4)
TOTAL		(100)

** The SEG categories are those used in the 1981 Census*

4.6 HOUSING TENURE AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN JOBS

Various writers have noted an association between housing tenure and employment chances in the labour market (Nickell, 1979; Sullivan and Murphy, 1985; McCormick, 1983), although few have identified the nature of this relationship. Unemployment though is quite clearly concentrated in areas with high levels of local authority housing. Here we consider the housing tenure of the young people in jobs at the time of the survey. Since most young people were still resident in the family home it is, in most cases, the housing tenure of household which we actually consider.

Young people in jobs were fairly evenly split between the two major types of tenure of owner occupation and public rented housing, with 48 per cent of those in jobs resident in owner occupied homes and 52 per cent in the public rented sector. The area picture though is slightly different. The vast majority of young people in jobs in Castlemilk reside in the local authority rented sector. For the Inner South, 65 per cent of young people in jobs live in owner occupied homes (35 per cent in the public rented sector). For East Kilbride the picture is similar with 62 per cent of the sample in the owner occupied sector and 38 per cent in the public rented sector.

These figures are not surprising given the breakdown of tenure in the areas under discussion. Castlemilk is of course a public sector housing estate, where the vast majority of housing still lies in public ownership. For the total sample 58 per cent of young people lived in the public rented sector, 41 per cent lived in owner occupied housing, the remaining one percent being made up of those in private rented accommodation and others. The breakdown in housing tenure for young people in jobs then again broadly reflects that of the total sample, with young people from owner occupied homes doing slightly better than would be expected and those from public rented sector homes doing slightly worse. The real significance of housing tenure in determining whether a young person was in employment or not at the point of contact is investigated in our later statistical analysis.

4.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FAMILY.

The effect of familial unemployment has been a subject of research into the determinants of destination of school leavers and young people (Rees and Gray, 1982; Main and Raffe, 1983; Payne, 1987). We

consider the experience of family unemployment among those in employment as well as comparing young people within each area. It would be expected that young people from Castlemilk would have more experience of familial unemployment, because unemployment is, in general, much higher in this area than in the other two areas.

(i) Young People from Castlemilk

As expected, unemployment was a much more common familial experience in the Castlemilk area than elsewhere. Here 41 per cent of fathers (of young people in jobs) were unemployed, as were 11 per cent of mothers. Unemployment among siblings was also quite common at 27 per cent. These figures differed slightly between males and females. For girls in Castlemilk unemployment was not quite as extensive an experience. There may also have been a certain amount of hidden unemployment with 50 per cent of mothers described as housewives.

Looking at all young people interviewed in Castlemilk, regardless of destination we find that unemployment among fathers stands at 37 per cent, this is in fact lower than the figure quoted above for young people in jobs. Unemployment among mothers in Castlemilk amounted to 20 per cent and among siblings 30 per cent.

(ii) Young People from the Inner South

Young people in jobs in the Inner South had some experience of familial unemployment with roughly 10 per cent of fathers being unemployed at the time of the survey, for mothers the unemployment rate was only 3.1 per cent. There was also an unemployment rate of 7 per cent for siblings. Again the picture differs between the two groups (males and females). Boys in the Inner South had no experience of unemployment in the family at all, with 75 per cent of mothers and 94 per cent of fathers in the full time labour market. Taking all

cases in the Inner South regardless of destination, unemployment among fathers was 11 per cent, among mothers it stood at 5 per cent and among siblings 9 per cent. These figures are all higher than those for young people in jobs taken separately, although the differences are very slight.

(iii) **Young People from East Kilbride**

Young people in jobs in East Kilbride as a whole had the least experience of unemployment in the family, with only 3 per cent of fathers being unemployed. The unemployment rate for mothers was zero. Part time employment was especially important in this area with 35 per cent of mothers working part time compared with 11 per cent in the Castlemilk area and 19.3 per cent in the Inner South area. Even when we look at all young people interviewed in the area, in a range of destinations, the unemployment rate for mothers remains at zero. Fathers unemployment rate rises slightly to 4 per cent, with unemployment of siblings at 6 per cent, so familial unemployment is slightly higher than the sample in East Kilbride as a whole.

There are then wide variations in experience of unemployment across the three areas generally. From this brief analysis it would seem that those young people that are in jobs do not have significantly more or less experience of unemployment than other young people in their area. This difference is likely to be greater between those in jobs and those currently unemployed.

4.8 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

It would be appropriate at this juncture to consider the occupational distribution of young people in jobs (using the socio-economic

groupings of the 1981 Census classification). This will indicate the position of these young people in the labour market. This however is just one dimension of segmentation, we go on to report other details of employment, some relating directly to the question of segmentation ie. levels of training ,wage levels and promotion prospects. Table 4.7 details the SEG of occupations entered by young people in employment.

The breakdown in terms of SEG gives some indication of the occupational status of the young people in jobs. The usual breakdown is made between manual and non-manual work, girls being mainly located in the non manual classes and boys in the manual classes. As a result girls are mainly located in the higher SEG classes. Over 65 per cent of girls are located in SEG 6 and 7, whereas 70 per cent of boys are located in SEG 9,10 and 11. The occupational distribution detailed in table 4.7 is likely to vary on an area basis. For the group as a whole (males and females taken together), 49 per cent were in SEG 7 or above, this group mostly being made up of females; 39 per cent of young people were in SEG 9 (the majority being male) ; and 12 per cent were in SEG 10 or 11. Table 4.8 below shows the SEG of occupation on an area basis, there is no gender breakdown, because the numbers involved would have been too small.

As can be seen from table 4.8 roughly half the sample in each area are allocated to SEG 5 to 7 or above. It is likely that this group (as with table 4.7 above) is accounted for mainly by females. The main differences that appear in the table are in SEG 9 and SEG 10 and 11. East Kilbride has the highest proportion of young people in SEG 9, the skilled manual category (47 per cent). This category is heavily weighted towards males on apprenticeships. Castlemilk has 39 per cent

of its young people in this category, a sizeable proportion of which will be women in the Other Manufacturing industry. The Inner South has the lowest proportion of its young people in this group at 29 per cent.

TABLE 4.7 SEG OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT

SEG	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
5. Foremen & Supervisors (Non Manual)	1	(2)	1	(2)
6. Junior Non Manual	11	(26)	28	(55)
7. Personal Service	-	-	5	(10)
8. Foremen & Supervisors (Manual)	-	-	-	-
9. Skilled Manual	22	(52)	14	(27)
10. Semi Skilled Manual	5	(12)	2	(4)
11. Unskilled Manual	3	(7)	1	(2)
TOTALS	42	(100)	51	(100)

Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding

Partly as a reflection of the skilled manual breakdown reported above, East Kilbride has the lowest proportion of young people in the semi skilled/unskilled occupations (SEG 10 and 11) at 6 per cent, Castlemilk has 13 per cent in this category and the Inner South has 18 per cent. The Inner South has the highest proportion in non manual occupations; the lowest proportions in skilled manual occupations; and the highest in semi skilled/unskilled work. East Kilbride conversely has the lowest proportion in non manual occupations; the highest proportion in skilled manual work; and the lowest proportion in semi skilled/unskilled work.

TABLE 4.8 SEG OF OCCUPATION BY AREA

SEG	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
5. Foremen/Sup. Non Manual			2	(6)		
6. Junior Non Manual	10	(43)	14	(41)	14	(39)
7. Personal Service	1	(4)	2	(6)	3	(8)
8 & 9 Skilled Manual	9	(39)	10	(29)	18	(47)
10. Semi Skilled Manual	2	(9)	4	(11)	1	(3)
11. Unskilled Manual	1	(4)	2	(6)	1	(3)
TOTALS	23	(100)	34	(100)	38	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

4.9 YOUNG PEOPLES INDUSTRIES

The two tables below, illustrate firstly, the industrial distribution of the young people who were in jobs at the time of the survey (table 4.9), and secondly the industrial distribution of all 16 to 19 olds in employment in 1987 (table 4.10). As can be seen from table 4.9, the major industries for boys are Metal Engineering, Other Manufacturing, Construction and the Retail Trade, each accounting for at least 15 per cent of boys in jobs (and 79.2 per cent of the total).

The four major industries for girls are Other Manufacturing (accounting for over one third of all girls in jobs), Trade, Retail and Hotels, Public Administration, and Financial Services. Taken together these four industries account for 94 per cent of all girls in jobs. Girls therefore appear to be concentrated in particular industries to a greater extent than are boys. This is confirmed by previous research (Furlong and Raffe, 1989).

Nationally, the industrial distribution of young people is slightly different (see table 4.10). Again girls are concentrated in a smaller number of industries to that of boys, although the proportions differ

slightly to our own survey, in particular industries. For example there is a higher proportion of girls in Retail, Trade & Hotels (39.9 per cent as opposed to 26.9 per cent in our survey) and fewer in Other Manufacturing industries (11.2 per cent as opposed to 34.6 per cent in our survey). There are a number of explanations as to why this should be so.

Firstly, the national figures of the industrial distribution of employment are simply an aggregation of all employees in the economy. When we move to a higher level of disaggregation, the industrial distribution of employment will be affected by the structure of the local or regional economy. Secondly the national figures are based on those aged 16 to 19 years. Our survey covers only 17 to 18 year olds. Between the ages of 16 to 19 a lot of movement takes place in the labour market. It is quite conceivable that the distribution of 16 year olds by industry will be quite different to that of 19 year olds. Numerous studies have noted the higher levels of turnover in the youth labour market, and the fact that certain jobs are considered suitable only for school leavers. Furlong and Raffe (1989) note that 17 and 18 year olds are likely to enter different industries to that of 16 year olds. A further reason for the difference between the two tables is that young people are often excluded from employment in particular occupations due to age restrictions. Once these are removed (above the age of 18 years) they become eligible for employment in a wider range of occupations and industries.

TABLE 4.9 EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

Division Industry	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
3 Metal Engineering	12	(27.9)	3	(5.7)	15	(15.7)
4 Other Manufacturing	8	(18.6)	18	(34.6)	26	(27.3)
5 Construction	8	(18.6)	-	-	8	(8.4)
6 Trade,Retail, Hotels	7	(16.3)	14	(26.9)	21	(22.1)
7 Transport & Communications	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Financial Services	6	(14.0)	8	(15.3)	14	(14.7)
9 Public Administration	2	(4.6)	9	(17.3)	11	(11.5)
TOTALS	43	(100)	52	(100)	95	(100)

Source: Survey.

TABLE 4.10 THE INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR GB*

Industrial Division	Percent	Males	Females
0 Agriculture		3.0	-
1 Energy		1.4	-
2 Mineral Extraction		2.2	1.3
3 Metal Engineering		12.5	4.8
4 Other Manufacturing		11.9	11.2
5 Construction		13.6	1.6
6 Retail, Trade, Hotels		33.9	39.9
7 Transport,Communication		3.6	3.6
8 Financial Services		7.5	14.0
9 Public Administration		10.3	22.1
TOTALS		100%	100%

* For all 16 to 19 year olds in 1987.

Source: Labour Force Survey 1987

4.10 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES ON AN AREA BASIS

As earlier analysis shows, girls were more likely to be in employment than boys, the gap being widest in the East Kilbride area (where females had an employment rate of 67 per cent and males an employment rate of 50 per cent) and narrowest in Castlemilk (with employment rates of 38 per cent for males and 41 per cent for females). In the previous section we considered the industrial distribution of young people in employment by gender. Here we look at the industrial distribution of females in employment on an area basis.

TABLE 4.11 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES BY AREA

Industry Division	Areas					
	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
3.Metal Engineering			1	(6)	2	(7)
4.Other Manufacturing	5	(42)	7	(41)	6	(26)
6.Retail,Trade,Hotels	5	(42)	1	(6)	8	(35)
8.Financial Services	2	(17)	5	(29)	2	(9)
9.Public Administration			3	(18)	5	(22)
TOTALS	12	(100)	17	(100)	23	(100)

Within each division there are a series of industries with differing importance in each of the three areas. For example the Footwear and Clothing industry is particularly important as a destination for girls in both Castlemilk and the Inner South, but not so in East Kilbride. The Retail trade was particularly important in Castlemilk (at 23.1 per cent) and in East Kilbride (22.7 per cent) but not so in the Inner South (5.9 per cent). One of the most notable features of the table is that there are far fewer girls in divisions 8 and 9 in Castlemilk or in East Kilbride than there are in the Inner South. Taking Divisions 8 and 9 together, 47 per cent of girls in the Inner South are in these services (Banking & Finance, Business Services, Leasing, Public Administration, Medical Services and Personal Services), compared to 17 per cent in Castlemilk and 31 per cent in East Kilbride. In terms of the breakdown between services and manufacturing, the picture is similar to the industrial distribution of males in the sample. Financial Services in particular is an important employer for girls in the Inner South at nearly 30 per cent of employment. Public Administration is particularly important in the East Kilbride area. This industrial distribution of young women is likely to have an impact on the levels of remuneration and training in the job, to which we turn our attention in the second part of this chapter.

4.11 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALES ON AN AREA BASIS

The industrial distribution of males as with females is likely to vary on an area basis. Table 4.12 reports the industrial distribution of males in employment by area.

In Castlemilk there were only eleven boys in jobs, Castlemilk having an employment rate of 33 per cent for boys. Of these, 45 per cent were in Construction and 18 per cent were in Retail. The remainder were evenly distributed between Mechanical Engineering, Other Manufacturing and Business Services. This contrasts with the Inner South group of boys where more were in employment. This area had an employment rate of 51 per cent, across a wider range of industries. Sectors with high levels of concentration of Inner South males are Metal Engineering (covering Electrical and Electronic Engineering) with 17.3 per cent, followed by Retail with 11.8 per cent. The most important division however was Financial services (Division 8) with 29 per cent.

As can be seen from table 4.12, East Kilbride boys were disproportionately concentrated in division 3 (Metal Engineering). Closer inspection reveals that on a sector basis males were in either Mechanical Engineering, or Electrical and Electronic Engineering and as later analysis on length of training period reveals, these places were mainly apprenticeships.

If we consider the breakdown between services and manufacturing by area we find that the Inner South area has the highest proportion of its young men employed in services. The figure for this area is 58 per cent, with that for Castlemilk being 27 per cent and for East Kilbride, 14 per cent. As many as 87 per cent of East Kilbride males were in manufacturing, this is high by any standards and reflects the

concentration of manufacturing industry in the New Town area. Inner South youngsters live in closer proximity to the city centre (than say Castlemilk youngsters) where service industries tend to be based. This may partly explain their concentration in these industries. Furlong and Raffe (1989), however report an increased tendency for the better qualified young people to enter services. Our results tend to agree with this, with both the Inner South males and females (in both cases the better qualified groups) being more concentrated in services.

TABLE 4.12 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALES BY AREA

Division	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
3 Metal Engineering	1	(9)	4	(23)	7	(47)
4 Other Manufacturing	2	(18)	2	(12)	4	(27)
5 Construction	5	(45)	1	(6)	2	(13)
6 Retail, Trade, Hotels	2	(18)	4	(23)	1	(7)
8 Financial Services	1	(9)	5	(29)	-	-
9 Public Administration	-	-	1	(6)	1	(7)
TOTALS	11	(100)	17	(100)	15	(100)

4.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has focussed on young people in employment at the time of the survey. We started by describing the pattern of employment and the characteristics of those in work. Females made up a large proportion of those in employment. Employment levels were highest in East Kilbride, where 63 per cent of the sample were in employment and lowest in Castlemilk where 38 per cent of young people were in work. These observations had been tested for statistical significance in Chapter Three and were found not to be significant. Chapter Four has added a new dimension by comparing the characteristics of those in jobs in the three areas, and comparing characteristics between the

employed and non-employed. It was found that:-

- young people in jobs tended to be the better qualified and were less likely to have experience of unemployment in the family. Yet these generalisations did not always hold in that, although females were more prevalent than males among the employed, they were not the best qualified. Similarly, East Kilbride young people, although more likely to be in employment (amounting to 40 per cent of those in jobs) were not the most qualified.
- The difference in qualification terms between the employed and the non-employed held for all areas, but it was observed that young people from Castlemilk were particularly poorly qualified. Even in employment, young people from Castlemilk tended to have different characteristics than those in jobs in other areas. For example, although generally those in employment were less likely to have experience of familial unemployment, this was not the case in Castlemilk where unemployment was widespread. It may be that once unemployment exceeds certain levels, the relationship between employment status of father or other family members and that of the school leaver ceases to exist or takes on a different form.
- In terms of characteristics it was found that negative characteristics tended to correlate together. For example, young people from Castlemilk, even when in employment, tended to suffer from a range of negative characteristics (having the lowest level of educational achievement; highest levels of familial unemployment; smallest number of fathers in skilled manual work; lowest levels of owner-occupation). Such negative characteristics may lead them to be located in the lower echelons of a segmented

labour market. This possibility is investigated in Chapter Five.

- Occupational distribution of the group was along traditional lines with females concentrated in non-manual and males in manual work. The area breakdown showed that East Kilbride's youngsters were more likely to be classed as skilled manual with Inner South and Castlemilk youngsters more likely to be in non-manual work.
- Particular industries had differing importance in the three areas; with services (particularly divisions 8 and 9) more important employers in the Inner South than in either of the other two areas. There was a tendency for East Kilbride youngsters (particularly males) to be concentrated in manufacturing.

Questions remain as to what determines the occupation and industrial distribution of the employment of the group. If the group moved within the same local labour market, would we expect the distributions to be the same in the three areas? As with probability of employment, if it is believed that individuals do compete in the same labour market, then the main determinant of fate will be personal characteristics. In the same way logic dictates that those with the most desirable characteristics will occupy the most desirable positions in the labour market. Certainly personal characteristics may account for the predominance of Inner South youngsters in services (divisions 8 and 9). Previous research has indicated a tendency for the better qualified to move into such services (Furlong and Raffe, 1989). However, the predominance of East Kilbride youngsters in manufacturing is probably better explained by industrial make-up of the town. Later evidence in Chapter Eight shows that the vast majority of young people in the area conducted job search and worked within the town rather than in Glasgow. It may be then that we are

dealing with separate, albeit locally adjacent local labour markets.

The differential employment rate between males and females is not easily explained by the characteristics approach. Females were more likely to be in employment yet were not the best qualified. The explanation here may lie in the wider availability of "women's" work and the greater willingness of females to accept part-time employment as discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE: SEGMENTATION IN THE JOBS MARKET

5.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO SEGMENTATION

In Chapter Four we looked at the types of jobs young people in the sample had moved into since leaving school. In this chapter we look more closely at the details of this employment with the aim of identifying levels of segmentation in the local youth labour market. Piore and Doeringer (1971), postulated the 'Dual Labour Market' thesis in which the labour market is thought to consist primarily of two segments: the primary segment and the secondary segment. Piore, in a later analysis (Piore, 1975), suggested that the primary segment is better divided into upper and lower tiers relating to upper working class and middle class occupations, while the secondary segment is made up of lower working class. Other recent analysis suggests that the labour market consists of a range of segments (Wilkinson, 1981; Loveridge and Mok, 1981).

A further area of controversy in Segmented Labour Market (SLM) theory is agreement on the level at which segmentation exists. For example segmentation can occur at the level of the firm, due to the presence of Internal Labour Markets (ILMs). Workers within the ILM would be considered core workers, while those outwith would be considered peripheral workers. It can also exist however at the industry level where core and periphery firms may exist (Danson, 1982), employing respectively core and periphery workers. One can also see spatial elements in SLM theory, where segmentation may occur along the lines of the local labour market, one's position in the urban hierarchy having an impact on the segment entered (Coles, 1988). It is generally accepted however that labour markets are segmented along the dimensions of sex, age and perhaps more contentiously race. These are

thought to be the main differentials along which segmentation takes place.

Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury (1987), describe the youth labour market as comprising of eight main segments based on occupation, each having its own entry criteria which influence the allocation of young people within the labour market as well as their subsequent career movement. These segments are: Professional/Managerial; Clerical occupations; Skilled Manual work; Semi Skilled/Unskilled and Sales jobs. This is an interesting classification as sales jobs are usually allocated to SEG 6 (in the 1981 Census Classification) with clerical occupations. These four are then further divided by sex segregation to create eight different segments.

These segments created by Ashton et al refer to the whole of the youth labour market, that is, young people between the ages of 16 to 24 years. Our survey covers only young people between the ages of 16 to 18 years, so these segments will not be directly transferable to our own work. Most notably it is very unlikely that any of our sample will be found in the first segment identified by Ashton et al, as entry to this segment is usually determined by the attainment of Higher Educational qualifications (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1988). Young people between the ages of 16 and 18 years do not compete directly with the over 18's due to age barriers and other criteria (eg. young people under the age of 18 are excluded from shift work by law). It may well be therefore that segmentation at the lower end of the labour market takes a slightly different form.

As mentioned earlier, each of the main segments, whatever form these may take have their own entry criteria. These influence allocation of

young people between segments as well as subsequent career movement (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1986). This in itself brings us to another important feature of segmentation with regard to young people, and that is the importance of early labour market experience. Once young people enter a particular segment of the labour market they may find their options severely limited thereafter, partly because of the importance of age barriers to certain segments of the youth labour market but also because it is believed to be the case, that work in the different segments of the labour market is qualitatively different. The primary segments of the labour market require different qualities of the worker than that of the secondary segments. The more time workers spend in any particular segment the more they become suited to the work, so that eventually, workers develop work habits and qualities that are only suited to one or other of these segments (Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973). Further, extensive periods of unemployment in the first few years of experience in the labour market may 'scar' the young worker in terms of both future earnings and employment (Lynch, 1987).

In this chapter then we look at the details of the employment entered by the young people. We use a number of indicators commonly associated with specific segments of the labour market with the aim of allocating young people to different segments. The indicators used are described below.

An index of segmentation which may be important is the level of remuneration in a particular job. It would normally be assumed that primary sector jobs would be associated with higher levels of remuneration. However it is not entirely clear whether this will always be the case. Apprenticeships while offering the chance of a

place in the upper segments of the labour market are usually associated with lower levels of remuneration over the training period in recognition of the investment that is taking place.

A further index of segmentation may be the presence or absence of an extended training period. Details were collected on the length of training period experienced by young people moving into work, as well as the nature of this training. The presence of an extended training period (here defined as extending beyond one year), would tend to suggest the presence of an occupation in the primary segment of the labour market. A further index of segmentation which will be used will be the presence or absence of promotion prospects in the job. Young people were asked whether they felt there were any promotion prospects in the job they were doing. If the answer was negative they were then asked why they believed this to be the case. The presence of promotion prospects may indicate the existence of an internal labour market in the firm whereby new recruits start as beginners in the firm and posts further up the hierarchy are filled by internal recruitment. Although this part of the analysis is dependant on the individual feelings of respondents, as opposed to fact, it is still felt to be important.

5.2 WAGE LEVELS

The first of the three indicators of segmentation to be considered here is the level of rewards or remuneration in the job. There were 95 young people in employment at the point of contact and for the group as a whole the mean wage stood at £63.46. The minimum wage earned amounted to £25 and the maximum earned was £92 per week. However wage levels appeared to differ by both gender and area of residence. The mean wage for all girls in employment was £61.90 with

a minimum wage of £25 and a maximum wage of £90 per week. For boys alone, the mean wage was £65.42 with a minimum wage of £40 per week and a maximum of £92 per week. The difference between the sample mean and the group mean for the girls amounts to minus £01.59. For boys, the difference between the sample mean and the group mean is plus £01.96. Table 5.1 indicates wage levels on a gender basis.

This gender difference in wage levels was tested for statistical significance. The observation was found to be significant at the 5 per cent level. To run the test a distinction was made between those earning less than £65 per week, and those earning £65 or more.

Table 5.1 indicates wage distribution on a gender basis. It is clear then that although girls do better than boys in terms of getting into employment, once in jobs boys are usually better paid. Whereas 66 per cent of boys earned over £60 per week, only 53 per cent of the girls did so. Continuing up the wages scale, 31 per cent of the males earned over £70 per week whereas only 26 per cent of the females earned this much. While some girls did appear to compete well with boys, girls were more likely to be in the lower reaches of the pay scale. There were also some girls working part time. These young women were not particularly looking for part time work but were unable to find full time work. This partly reflects the fact that 'womens work' is increasingly being organised on a part time basis. All those working part time were employed in the retail sector.

TABLE 5.1 WAGE LEVELS BY GENDER **

Wage level (£)	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Below £40	-	-	4	(8)
£40 to £50	8	(20)	5	(10)
£51 to £60	6	(15)	14	(29)
£61 to £70	15	(35)	13	(27)
£71 to £80	8	(20)	8	(16)
£81 to £90	3	(8)	5	(10)
£91 to £100	1	(3)	-	-
TOTALS	41	(100)	49	(100)

* Six young people declined to give details on their level of remuneration.

** Refers to pay net of deductions.

5.3 WITHIN INDUSTRY WAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES

Obviously, wage levels will be related to the industry entered by individuals. As noted earlier, young women were heavily concentrated in Other Manufacturing (SIC Division 4), particularly Footwear & Clothing industries accounting for a full 25 per cent of girls in jobs. Remuneration in these industries is often arranged on a piece rate basis, which means that wage levels are based on individual productivity. Such industries have a well known reputation for low pay. Females were also heavily concentrated in Retail, Trade and Hotels, again sectors where low pay predominates. Location of girls in low paying industries may be part of the explanation as to why girls are on average paid less than boys. Here we consider whether there are any within industry differences in the rates of pay that males and females receive.

Furlong and Raffe (1989) reported income inequality on a gender basis in their three surveys (conducted over consecutive years). They found that at each survey point, average female earnings were below those of

males in each industry at each point in time. This was true of industries where females were in the majority, as well as those where they were in the minority. Further, they found that in the two largest industries of female employment (Retail, Trade and Hotels), the average earnings of females were the lowest of any industry at each point in time. This analysis tends to suggest that location in low paying industries is at least part of the explanation for male/female wage differentials.

Looking at high and low wage industries in this survey, the industry with the largest proportion of its employees earning below the average wage is Retail, Trade, Hotels (Division 6). This sector accounts for 16 per cent of males employed and 28 per cent of females. Here 53 per cent of girls and 42 per cent of boys earn £60 or less per week. This however includes some young women working on a part time basis. Another industry, Financial Services (Division 8) is perhaps one of the better paying industries with 16.6 per cent of employees earning £91 or over per week, however 37.5 per cent of females earn £60 or less per week. All males earn over £60 weekly. Financial Services employed around the same proportions of males and females at 14 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. The absolute figures however are very small.

Table 5.2 below illustrates average wage levels for males and females on an industry by industry basis. Retail Trade, Hotels as expected has the lowest average level of pay for both males and females. Surprisingly perhaps the lowest paid group of all in the table are males in this industry. The figures in brackets in this case indicate absolute numbers.

Females also have a higher average pay than males in the Other

Manufacturing industry, here the difference is a full £10. This was a major industry of employment for girls. In every other industry compared males' average wage is above that of females'. The difference is largest between males and females in Public Administration, at £11.75. This was an important source of employment for both males and females, although more so for females.

Our results then broadly reflect those of Furlong and Raffe (1989). Although females in our survey do not lose out in every single industry as they do in their study. Location in low paying industries is not the sole explanation for the lower average earnings of females. Differences that remain after accounting for this (ie. within industry differences between males and females) may be further explained by occupation entered.

TABLE 5.2. AVERAGE WAGE LEVELS FOR MALES AND FEMALES. WITHIN INDUSTRY DIFFERENCES.

Industry	Average Wage Levels (£)			
	Male		Female	
	No.	(£)	No.	(£)
3 Metal Engineering	11	(66.68)	1	(61.50)
4 Other Manufacturing	8	(58.87)	17	(68.77)
5 Construction	8	(64.33)	-	-
6 Retail Trade Hotels	6	(50.00)	15	(52.11)*
8 Financial Services	5	(73.50)	8	(65.00)
9 Public Administration	2	(71.00)	8	(59.25)

* Females working part time in the industry have been discounted for this calculation.

5.4 WAGE LEVELS BY AREA FOR GIRLS IN EMPLOYMENT

In this section we look at average wage levels by gender on an area basis regardless of industry or occupation of employment. Table 5.3 illustrates the area differences.

Castlemilk girls as a whole were the lowest paid group with the lowest overall average wage of £56.62. The vast majority of Castlemilk girls (92 per cent) earned £70 or less per week. The equivalent figures for the other two areas were 63 per cent earning £70 or less in the Inner South and 72 per cent in East Kilbride. Girls in the Inner South (like their male counterparts) are the best paid group with 38 per cent earning £71 or more. Given that these young people were the better qualified of the sample, this result would to some extent be expected. The average wage for girls in the Inner South stood at £66.12. For East Kilbride girls the average weekly wage was £62.09. Those earning less than £40 per week (4 girls) were working part time only (in the Retail sector).

Although we could consider females as a whole being at a disadvantage, in relation to males in terms of pay, within the group there were still surprisingly large differentials in wages by area. The average wage for females was £61.90. Those earning the average wage or more amounted to just 33 per cent of Castlemilk girls, but 57 per cent of Inner South girls and 62 per cent of those from East Kilbride. This difference in wage levels is not accounted for by the difference in the number of hours worked as the same number of girls in Castlemilk and East Kilbride worked part time. The picture broadly reflects that for males. The most important explanation we have encountered so far is industry of employment.

TABLE 5.3 WAGE LEVELS BY AREA. FEMALES IN EMPLOYMENT

Wage Level (£)	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Below 40	2	(17)	-	-	2	(10)
40 - 50	1	(8)	3	(19)	1	(5)
51 - 60	5	(42)	4	(25)	5	(24)
61 - 70	3	(25)	3	(19)	7	(33)
71 - 80	-	-	3	(19)	5	(24)
81 - 90	1	(8)	3	(18)	1	(5)
91 - 100	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	12	(100)	16	(100)	21	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding
2 cases were missing

5.5 WAGE LEVELS OF MALES ON AN AREA BASIS

TABLE 5.4 WAGE LEVELS BY AREA. MALES IN EMPLOYMENT

Wage Level (£)	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
40 - 50	4	(36)	3	(20)	1	(7)
51 - 60	1	(9)	2	(13)	3	(21)
61 - 70	4	(36)	3	(20)	7	(56)
71 - 80	1	(9)	5	(33)	2	(14)
81 - 90	1	(9)	1	(7)	1	(7)
91 -100	-	-	1	(7)	-	-
TOTALS	11	(100)	15	(100)	14	(100)

Four cases were missing

Table 5.4 illustrates the wage levels of young men in employment by area. As can clearly be seen wage levels do appear to vary by area. Numbers in the sample however are small, so caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions. The actual range of wages in Castlemilk was £46 to £84; in the Inner South it was £40 to £92; and in East Kilbride the range was £50 to £83. The average wage varied by area. The mean wage for all boys in employment, as noted earlier was

£65.42. For Castlemilk boys the mean wage amounted to £62.72 per week; for boys in jobs in the Inner South the mean wage was £66.67; for East Kilbride boys the mean wage was £66.21. These differences are quite sizeable. For Castlemilk boys it would mean an additional £4 per week, 6 per cent of their wage. One of the main explanations for these wide differences would appear to be industry of employment. As noted one of the major industries of employment for Inner South males was the high paying sector of Financial Services.

5.6 WITHIN INDUSTRY DIFFERENCES IN PAY BETWEEN GROUPS ON AN AREA BASIS

It is clear that low pay exists throughout the industries in which young people are employed and taking the figures in total young women are only marginally more likely to be receiving below average wages than are men, yet it was shown to be statistically significant (see Section 5.2). If we consider average pay for males and females per industry, the lowest paid of all are males in Other Manufacturing (Division 4), with an average wage of £58 per week. The highest paid are males in Financial Services with an average pay of £75.50. Although there were some differences then, within industries, in male and female pay, these differences do not appear to be profound enough to explain the differences in average wages between the two groups. As noted earlier, the mean female wage stood at £61.90, and the mean male wage £65.42. Within industry differences in rates of pay as illustrated in Table 5.2 may explain only part of the difference in overall mean wage levels between the two groups.

There were also within industry differences between area groups. This part of the analysis again faces the problem of small numbers in particular categories. However some useful comparisons are still

possible. Other Manufacturing was an important industry of employment in all three areas, employing 43.7 per cent of girls in Castlemilk; 33.3 per cent in the Inner South; and 35 per cent in the East Kilbride area. Comparing average wage levels within the industry between the three areas, Castlemilk women appear to be the lowest paid in the industry, in the survey, with an average wage of £62.16 per week. Young women from the Inner South do slightly better at £63.00, with East Kilbride girls being the highest paid in the industry, earning an average of £69.70 per week. Financial Services was an important source of employment for Inner South girls, this was overall the highest paying industry for the sample. It was also the highest paying industry for girls.

As with girls there are within industry differences in rates of pay for groups of boys on the basis of area. Having looked at the industrial distribution of boys by area we are aware that different industries have differing importance in the three separate areas. One of the problems in comparing within industry wage differentials between areas is that young people in the three areas tend to be employed in different industries. Disaggregating, first by sex, then by industry and area means that we are dealing with ever smaller numbers. The numbers are made smaller still by some young people declining to reveal wage levels. However, the analysis still gives useful insights.

Only eleven of the thirteen boys in employment in Castlemilk revealed their wage level. Of these roughly half (5), were employed in the Construction industry. For this group of boys alone the average wage was £55.50. Construction was not a major industry in the other two areas employing three in all. The average wage for these three taken

together was £72.16.

The other two major industries of employment in Castlemilk, both having equal importance, were Other Manufacturing and Retail, Trade and Hotels, both employing two boys. In Other Manufacturing the Castlemilk boys had an average wage of £50.50. For the Inner South, again with just two boys in this category, the average was the same at £50.50. For the East Kilbride area the average in Other Manufacturing was £63.00. In the Retail, Trade, Hotel industry, Castlemilk youngsters earned on average £60.50 per week. In the Inner South this was £68.83. In East Kilbride there was only one young man employed in the Retail, Trade, Hotels category, earning between £40 and £50 per week.

With this short analysis we can conclude that there are some area differences in levels of pay within industries, though the numbers here are too small to be able to say anything conclusively. It is clear though that part of the difference that arises in earning capacity, between areas, is indeed due to industry of employment. Young men from the Inner South had above average earnings in the sample, this is partly due to there being more young people from this area employed in the relatively higher paying sector of Financial Services. A third of Inner South boys were employed here with an average wage of £75.50 per week. Castlemilk boys had a low average wage overall partly because more of its young males were employed in the lower paying industry of Construction. Almost half of Castlemilk males were employed here, with an average wage of £55.50 per week, although as pointed out earlier Castlemilk males appear to be the lowest paid males in the industry in the survey. East Kilbride males were concentrated in Metal Engineering which does not appear to be a low paying sector, and in Other Manufacturing. Young men employed in

this industry from East Kilbride were on average the highest paid males in the industry.

5.7 WAGE LEVELS BY OCCUPATION

We know from our investigations so far that both males and females from Castlemilk form the lowest paid groups on an area basis. Part of the explanation for this, as noted, lies in the industry of employment. Here we consider what role occupation of employment has to play in the explanation.

The occupational classification used is that of SEG (Census 1981). These are not entirely ideal as Raffe (1984) describes them as little more than a crude indicator of skill. Table 5.5 indicates the average wage for occupation by area for girls.

The major differences appear to be in SEG 6, 7 and 9. As noted elsewhere, however, few conclusions can be drawn when the figures involved are so small. SEG 6 was a major occupational group for girls, including both Clerical and Sales. Between the three areas, average wages within this group range from £45.00 in the Castlemilk area, to £65.50 in the Inner South and £59.15 in the East Kilbride area.

In SEG 7, girls from Castlemilk have the highest average wage at £83.00. This is more than twice that of the other two areas. There are however only a small number of girls in this category in both Castlemilk and the Inner South. Finally in SEG 9, as in SEG 6, Inner South girls are the highest paid with an average wage of £72.50. Close behind are the East Kilbride girls with an average of £72.33. Castlemilk girls are the lowest paid in this occupational group with an average wage of £62.83.

TABLE 5.5 FEMALES OCCUPATIONAL WAGE DIFFERENCES BY AREA

SEG	Average Wage (£)					
	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	(£)	No.	(£)	No.	(£)
5.Foremen/sup Non Manual	-	-	2	(60.00)	-	-
6.Junior Non Man.	6	(45.00)	11	(65.50)	9	(59.15)
7.Personal Services	1	(83.00)	1	(40.00)	7	(41.00)
9.Skilled Man.	4	(62.83)	2	(72.50)	6	(72.33)
10.Semi Skilled Man.	-	-	1	(65.00)	-	-
11.Unskilled Man.	1	(55.00)	-	-	-	-

As Table 5.6 illustrates, there are differences on an area basis in all three of the major occupational groups 6, 8&9, and 10. In SEG 6, males from the Inner South have the highest average wage at £70.80 and Castlemilk males have the lowest average wage at £63.50. This grouping, of course, includes both Junior Non Manual and Sales workers, which may account for part of the difference between areas. In SEG 9, East Kilbride males (by far the largest group in this category) receive the highest average pay at £64.91, with males from the Inner South receiving the lowest. This category consisted mainly of those on apprenticeships in a range of different industries. Finally in SEG 10, East Kilbride males were the highest paid with a wage of £83.00. Castlemilk males were the lowest paid with an average of £65.00. This category contains particularly small numbers.

TABLE 5.6 MALES OCCUPATIONAL WAGE DIFFERENCES BY AREA

SEG	Average Wage (£)					
	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	(£)	No.	(£)	No.	(£)
6.Junior Non Man	4	(63.50)	5	(70.80)	2	(65.00)
7.Personal Services	-	-	-	-	-	-
8&9. Skilled Manual	4	(64.00)	6	(58.80)	12	(64.91)
10.Semi skilled Manual	2	(65.00)	2	(78.50)	1	(83.00)
11.Unskilled Manual	1	(50.00)	2	(62.50)	-	-

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate that just as there are within industry differences in average rates of pay between areas, so there are 'within occupational group' differences in average rates of pay between areas. It is not immediately clear why this should be so. We are of course dealing with very small numbers here, and this difference may well disappear at a higher level of aggregation. Further, the SEG classification as noted groups occupations together on the basis of skill involved in the job. As Raffe (1984) notes it takes little account of changing levels of skill required in different jobs. Further we tend to assume in the analysis that similar levels of skill will attract similar levels of rewards, this may or may not be the case.

As the numbers involved in the analysis are small, we are unable to draw any firm conclusions with regard to the analysis of remuneration levels. Rewards differed between areas on the basis of both industrial and occupation groups, with young people from the Castlemilk area more often at the lower end of the pay scale than any other group. This area differential in pay was tested for statistical significance, but was not found to be statistically significant.

5.8 LEVELS OF TRAINING IN THE JOB

Consideration of training periods attached to positions in the labour market reveals a major division between the sexes. Young men on average received 134 weeks of training. Thus the average training period for males lasted more than two years. This figure is unusually high because of the presence of a large number of males serving long apprenticeships in the sample. As many as 38 per cent were on four year apprenticeships, leading to skilled work and job security in the

future. However for as many as fifteen of the sample (34 per cent of males) there was no training period attached to their present job. The picture for females is quite different, only 21 per cent (11) of the girls in work received a training period of one year or more, 6 per cent received a training period of upto two years and 6 per cent upto three years. The mean training period for girls was 36 weeks (roughly 9 months), compared with 134 weeks for boys. As many as 46 per cent of the girls in employment had no training for their present post. This observation (the gender difference in the level of training received) was tested using Chi square, and was found to be significant at the 5 per cent level. For the purposes of the test, the distinction was made between those receiving less than 3 months training and those with a training period of 3 months or more.

TABLE 5.7 TRAINING PERIODS FOR THOSE IN EMPLOYMENT

Length of training Period (weeks)	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	15	(34)	24	(46)
Less Than One Month	2	(5)	6	(12)
1 - 3 Months	1	(2)	4	(8)
+3 - 6 Months	3	(7)	2	(6)
+6 - 9 Months	1	(2)	3	(6)
+9 - 12 Months	-	-	6	(12)
+12 - 18 Months	1	(2)	-	-
+18 - 2 Years	-	-	3	(6)
Upto 3 Years	5	(11)	3	(6)
Upto 4 Years	16	(36)	-	-
TOTALS	44	(100)	52	(100)

Table 5.7 illustrates that while 88 per cent of girls received less than twelve months of training in their job, only 50 per cent of boys did so. Such figures are an indicator of future inequalities as much as present inequality. An extended training period such as that experienced by 50 per cent of the boys is more likely to lead to a

position within what has been described as the primary sector of the labour market (Doeringer & Piore, 1972). Here employment is secure, wages are high and promotion prospects exist.

The absence of an extended training period, (in this survey, a training period of less than twelve months) indicates that little is being invested in the individual with regard to enhancing future productivity. Human capital theory tells us that variable factor rewards across society result from differential productivities across individuals, determined by the level of investment in the individual as well as by innate abilities. While there appears to be only a slight difference in the average wage levels of boys and girls, at this stage, wage levels will diverge much further as time goes on. Furlong and Raffe (1989) reported that the difference between the average wage of male and female (in their survey), in 1985 amounted to 48p, by 1986 this had become £3.55, to rise to £13.46 by 1987. Their figures however include those on YTS in the first two years, the figures after this point are no longer artificially restrained. Many of the young men on apprenticeships will be earning much more after their period of training finishes. At the moment they will be accepting lower rates of pay in line with the investment that is being undertaken in them.

Levels of training in the job will understandably differ by both occupation and industry of employment. We ask in this section whether the differences in terms of training received by both males and females can actually be explained by industry or occupational differences. However analysis on an industry by industry basis reveals that even within those industries where females predominate, males receive a longer training period. As this analysis by definition can

only include those young people who indicated that they had received training in their job, the numbers become quite small in particular categories.

Table 5.8 below, indicates length of training by industry for girls and boys. The difference in average levels of training afforded to boys and girls is quite striking. Males receive much longer periods of training in all industries except for Financial Services and Public Administration. This is of course mainly due to the fact that apprenticeships are rarely an option for girls. Public Administration contains just about the only apprenticeship opportunity for girls, (in hairdressing) and in this instance girls training levels outweigh boys by a large margin. Differences in length of training then, cannot be explained solely by industry of employment. What part then does occupation play?

TABLE 5.8 AVERAGE LEVELS OF TRAINING BY INDUSTRY FOR MALES AND FEMALES

Industry	Average length of Training (weeks)	
	Males	Females
3 Metal Engineering	152.62	14.33
4 Other Manufacturing	133.14	11.60
5 Construction	208.-	-
6 Retail Trade Hotels	208.	13.66
8 Financial Services	17.	36.
9 Public Administration	104.	16.

5.9 TRAINING BY OCCUPATION

The difference in length of training period by gender may be explained with reference to occupation entered. In Table 5.9 below we compare the average length of training period by SEG for girls and boys.

As can be seen from the table, length of training period ranged from

one week only to approximately 179 weeks (between three and four years). The most significant difference lies in SEG 9, where females receive a training period of 10.7 weeks while for males the training period extends to 179 weeks. The males in this category were mainly on apprenticeship training. There is also a slight difference between males and females in SEG 6 where females receive a training period of 35 weeks (roughly 9 months), while males receive training of 22.4 weeks (5 months). The major inequality though exists in SEG 9 and to a lesser extent SEG 10 although there are very small numbers involved here. These figures of course only include those young people who received training in their jobs.

There are then, significant differences in length of training period received by males and females within SEGs. The differences in overall average length of training for males and females cannot solely be explained by females being located in occupational categories that fail to train. Nor is it explained by the location of females in industries that fail to do the same. The major explanation lies in the lack of apprenticeship opportunities for girls. The only category where girls receive extended training is in hairdressing listed under Personal Services in the table. However even those in categories where apprenticeship opportunities do not exist for either males or females, males receive a training period extended beyond that of females (ie. in SEGs 10 and 11).

TABLE 5.9 AVERAGE LENGTH OF TRAINING BY GENDER AND SEG

SEG	Average Length of Training (Weeks)	
	Males	Females
5.Foremen/ Sup. Non Manual	- (1)	104.0 (1)
6.Junior Non Manual	22.4 (5)	35.0 (16)
7.Personal Services	- -	123.0 (14)
8.Foremen/ Sup. Manual	- -	- -
9.Skilled Manual	179.5 (21)	10.7 (13)
10.Semi skilled Manual	61.3 (3)	1.0 (1)
11.Unskilled Manual	16.0 (1)	- (1)
	(36)	(31)

5.10 LEVELS OF TRAINING FOR MALES IN JOBS BY AREA**TABLE 5.10 MALES IN EMPLOYMENT, LENGTH OF TRAINING PERIOD BY AREA**

Training period	Castlemilk No. percent	Inner South No. Percent	East Kilbride No. Percent
0	7 (64)	7 (41)	1 (7)
Less than 1 mnth	1 (9)	- -	1 (7)
1-3 months	- -	- -	1 (7)
3-6 months	1 (9)	1 (6)	1 (7)
6-9 months	- -	1 (6)	- -
12-18 months	- -	1 (6)	- -
Up to 3 years	2 (18)	- -	2 (13)
Up to 4 years	- -	7 (41)	9 (60)
TOTALS	11 (100)	17 (100)	15 (100)

Table 5.10 illustrates clearly that, on average, young men from Castlemilk have received less training in their current job than either of the other groups. Whereas 82 per cent of Castlemilk youngsters received a training period of less than twelve months the equivalent figures for Inner South boys and East Kilbride were 53 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. Part of the explanation for such differential length of training period must lie in the occupations and industries of employment of young men in the three areas. As noted

over 45 per cent of boys in Castlemilk were in Construction, it would be assumed that given the information on levels of training many of these were employed as labourers and unskilled workers.

As noted from table 5.10, only 7 per cent (1) of East Kilbride boys did not receive training for their present job. This is particularly low in relation to the other areas, which both have at least three times as many young men in this category. Judging by the levels of young people in apprenticeships in East Kilbride, it may be that young people in the area are more able to avoid positions towards the bottom end of the labour market (perhaps without any extended training in the job) than similar young people in the other two areas.

In all three areas though, there appears to be a major divide in length of training period received. Young people either received a period of training lasting for between 0 - 6 months or they were in apprenticeship schemes lasting 3 to 4 years. The Inner South holds the only exception to this with 12 per cent (2) of boys receiving training for between 6 - 18 months. In reality then, this is a breakdown between those receiving little or no training and those receiving extensive on and off the job training.

Those reporting that they had received no training for their present position were, as noted more likely to come from Castlemilk. If we look at average length of training per area for boys, we find that Castlemilk boys received an average of just over 24 months training, compared to 30 months (2.5 years) for Inner South males and 40 months for East Kilbride boys (3.3 years). As with the lower average wages of Castlemilk males, part of the explanation inevitably lies in the location of Castlemilk boys in industries that do not train their

workers extensively. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, however, caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions as the numbers are small.

Those reporting that they had received no training were, as noted, more likely to come from Castlemilk. We are again working with quite small numbers, in all only around 40 young people (42 per cent of those in jobs) reported no training whatsoever in their current job. However such young people were most likely to be female and to be in the Retail Trade or Hotel industry. As many as 60 per cent of those reporting no training period were female and almost half, 48 per cent of young people without training were employed in the Retail Trade, Hotels sector. Non training in other industries amounted to 18 per cent in Public Administration, 15 per cent in Financial services, 15 per cent in Other Manufacturing, and 12.5 per cent in Construction.

Many more males in both East Kilbride and the Inner South achieve apprenticeships than in Castlemilk. The majority of the young people in the sample left school at the age of 16 years, many with the intention of entering a trade. With the age restrictions operating in the majority of apprenticeship schemes, leaving school later than this reduces drastically the chances of entry, although not entirely (Jenkins, 1984). So if young people had failed to gain entry at the point of contact (18 months approximately after leaving school), then it is likely that this avenue to skilled work will have closed. This highlights the importance of early labour market experience, which has been emphasised in previous research. These divisions are likely to widen over time.

5.11 LEVELS OF TRAINING FOR FEMALES IN JOBS BY AREA

As can be seen from Table 5.11 below, almost half of the females in each area received no training at all in their present employment. This observation is a repeat of that for males in jobs with one exception, that of East Kilbride males. As we noted earlier only 7 per cent (1) of East Kilbride males were without training in their present job. The figure for East Kilbride females is exactly 50 per cent. Females in East Kilbride then were particularly disadvantaged in relation to their male peers, in terms of training. Castlemilk females have the lowest proportion without training at 38.4 per cent (5). In this sense they do better than Castlemilk boys, with over half of Castlemilk boys receiving no training. However none of the Castlemilk girls receive a training period beyond twelve months in length, whereas 27 per cent of the boys were trained beyond this point.

The only females to receive training periods beyond 12 months were either from the Inner South or East Kilbride. Most of these young women worked in Personal Services, namely hairdressing, one of the few occupations to offer female apprenticeships. The proportions of females in the three areas receiving a training period of between 0 - 6 months. were 84 per cent for Castlemilk girls and 71 per cent for Inner South girls, with East Kilbride girls doing a little better at 65 per cent. Although approximately the same proportion of boys in Castlemilk received training of 0 - 6 months (82 per cent of Castlemilk males) as did the females from the area, the differences between the areas are far smaller for females. Castlemilk females were less disadvantaged in training terms in relation to other areas, because females as a whole were disadvantaged in training terms in relation to males.

A further feature evident from the table is that girls' training periods were more variable in length than boys'. There is not the same divide between those who receive little or no training and those who receive a comprehensive training period. Part of the explanation is that there were just far fewer young women on training periods extending to 3 or 4 years. Generally training periods for females were concluded within 12 months.

TABLE 5.11 FEMALES IN EMPLOYMENT. LENGTH OF TRAINING BY AREA

Training Period	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	5	(42)	8	(47)	11	(48)
Less than 1 month	2	(17)	1	(6)	3	(13)
1-3 months	2	(17)	1	(6)	1	(4)
3-6 months	1	(8)	2	(12)	-	-
6-9 months	2	(17)	-	-	1	(4)
9-12 months	-	-	2	(12)	4	(17)
18-24 months	-	-	2	(12)	1	(4)
Up to 3 years	-	-	1	(6)	2	(9)
TOTALS	12	(100)	17	(100)	23	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding.

The area differences observed in terms of length of training period in the job were tested using a Chi square test. This revealed that the differences were not significant. For the purpose of the test, males and females were taken together and distinction was made between training periods that extended beyond three months and those that did not. Although differences in training period between areas appeared to be large for males, the differences were smaller for females. This may partly explain the lack of significance revealed by the test.

5.12 PROMOTION PROSPECTS AS AN INDICATOR OF SEGMENTATION

So far then we have considered two separate dimensions of

segmentation. Firstly the level of remuneration in the job and secondly the presence or absence of an extended training period. We have found that young people from Castlemilk appear to be disadvantaged both in terms of training in the job and levels of wages, this applies to both males and females, although the area differences did not prove to be statistically significant. At a general level females were disadvantaged in relation to males. The third indicator we choose to denote the position of the young person in the labour market is the presence or absence of promotion prospects in the present job. This taken in conjunction with the previous analysis may indicate the superior labour market positions of some of these youngsters.

Of the indicators we have used so far, that of promotion prospects is perhaps the most unreliable one, based as it is on personal opinion and judgment of the respondent. It becomes more useful though when taken in conjunction with the other indicators. Young people in employment were asked whether they thought there were prospects of promotion in their present job. All in all 62 per cent of young people responded positively, indicating that there were promotion prospects in their current job. It is conceivable that factors such as the presence of an extended training period attached to the job are likely to affect the answer to this question. Our earlier analysis revealed that training appeared to be rather gender biased in that boys tended to receive much longer training periods than girls. It may be useful then to look at promotion prospects on a gender basis, and in line with earlier analysis, on an area basis also.

Boys were more often in jobs where they felt there to be promotion prospects than were girls. Roughly the same numbers in each group

reported that they were unsure of whether there were or were not prospects of promotion in their present job. We could conclude from this that boys were in 'better' jobs than were girls. Our earlier analysis of training levels tends to confirm the picture presented in the table ie. that boys are more often located in jobs with better promotion prospects than girls. The gender difference in promotion chances in the job was tested for statistical significance using the Chi square test. For the purpose of the test the categories 'No promotion prospects' and 'Don't know' were collapsed. The difference was found to be significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 5.12 PROMOTION PROSPECTS FOR MALES AND FEMALES IN EMPLOYMENT

Prospects	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Promotion Prospects present	31	(72)	27	(53)
No Promotion Prospects present	7	(16)	17	(33)
Not Known	5	(12)	7	(14)
TOTALS	43	(100)	51	(100)

Table 5.13 below quite clearly indicates wide differences again between the three selected areas. The jobs that Castlemilk youngsters were in appeared to have the lowest promotion prospects of all, with nearly twice as many young people in the other areas reporting positive prospects in their job as did those in Castlemilk. If we consider this with our earlier figures on levels of both training and wages in the three areas we begin to form a picture of the young people in jobs in Castlemilk as being at the bottom of the labour market hierarchy. The area difference in promotion prospects was tested for statistical significance in the same way as that for gender. The observation was found to be significant at the one per cent level

(SIG = 0.0050).

We earlier made a distinction between the primary and secondary labour markets. One of the major differences between the two is the presence or absence of promotion prospects. Primary sector jobs will normally operate within an internal labour market, with a set career path mapped out for employees. Firms must offer such promotion prospects in order to attract and retain the best candidates. Employees will be more willing to undergo long periods of training and to accept lower rewards while training, if they are aware of positive promotion prospects at the end of it. The information we have presented so far would tend to suggest the location of Castlemilk young people in the secondary labour market, that is not to suggest that each and every young person in work from Castlemilk is located in the secondary labour market or that each and every employee in the other areas is located in the primary labour market. The picture is more complicated than that. To be able to say anything conclusively we need much more sophisticated method and set of criteria for allocating young people to segments and we need to recognise that there are likely to be a whole range of segments.

TABLE 5.13 PROMOTION PROSPECTS FOR THOSE IN EMPLOYMENT ON AN AREA BASIS

Prospects	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Positive Prospects	8	(35)	26	(76)	24	(65)
Negative Prospects	9	(39)	6	(18)	9	(24)
Not Known	6	(26)	2	(6)	4	(11)
TOTAL	23	(100)	34	(100)	37	(100)

5.13 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we used three indicators of employment conditions to estimate whether young people were likely to be employed in the primary or secondary segments of the labour market. The indicators were:

- Wage Levels

Wage levels differed by both gender and area, although this was partly to be explained by the fact that these groups (males and females; and area groups) tended to enter different occupations and industries. The gender differential in wage levels was found to be significant at the 5 per cent level but the area differential did not prove to be statistically significant. Some attempt was made to assess within industry and within occupation wage differentials, but the figures were small and thus we are unable to draw firm conclusions. Castlemilk youngsters were more often at the bottom of the pay scale than any other group but, as noted, statistical significance was not proved. Remuneration on its own, then, cannot be taken to indicate conclusively the location of Castlemilk youngsters at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (in the secondary sector).

- Training

In terms of training, there was a major division between the sexes. Males were significantly more likely to receive an extended training period in their job and this difference was found to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. Industrial and occupational analysis revealed that, even where females predominate, males received longer training periods. Again, the figures were small in this part of the analysis. The main explanation for this differential is the lack of apprenticeship opportunities for females. Although area

differences did exist in terms of training levels, statistical significance was not proven. The main reason for this appeared to be that males and females were combined in the calculation (due to the small number involved). The area differences in terms of young people receiving an extended training period were much starker for males than for females. While males in Castlemilk did appear to be disadvantaged in relation to males in other areas, females as a whole were disadvantaged in relation to their male counterparts.

- Promotion Prospects

In terms of promotion prospects, females and young people from Castlemilk generally believed their promotion prospects to be poor. Differences that existed along both gender and area dimensions were found to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level or better.

It did appear then that females were more likely to be located in some secondary segment (defined according to our criteria) than were males. In terms of area, Castlemilk youngsters did appear to be more often than not, located towards the lower reaches of the labour market, but these observations were not supported by statistical significance, except in the case of promotion prospects. One of the problems we have been faced with in this analysis is the small numbers involved. Because of the wider differences that existed between males and females, any area analysis needed to control for gender, which tended to aggravate the small numbers problem.

We made no attempt in this chapter to hypothesise why groups of young people were allocated to particular segments. Chapter Four gave some

detail on the characteristics of young people in employment. Although females were not found to differ significantly from males in terms of personal characteristics (eg qualification levels; SEG of father etc), young people from Castlemilk were distinctive in that they were more likely to display a range of negative characteristics (ie disadvantageous in the labour market) which tended to correlate together. This may be the most important factor in explaining the location of these young people in the lower reaches of the labour market.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was an important part of the labour market experience of the cohort of young people under study. Of all young people interviewed, as many as 72 per cent had been on the YTS at some point between leaving school and the time of contact. By the time the young people were interviewed the majority had already left the scheme, although there was a sizeable minority of current YTS trainees. In all 57 young people were still on the YTS when interviewed, this represents 42 per cent of all those with experience of the scheme. The number of current YTS trainees differs according to area and gender, and although we later consider the different explanations as to why this should be the case, one important factor is the period of time over which the interviews took place.

The interviews of young people took place between December 1988 and April 1989, as noted. During the first two weeks of interviewing mainly young people from Castlemilk were interviewed. However, after this time young people from all three areas of study were interviewed each week, avoiding concentration on any particular group. Obviously over four months there can be a lot of turnover in the labour market. Young people interviewed at the beginning of the field period as a result may be more likely to be on YTS at that time than say those interviewed at the end of the period, all other things remaining constant. This statement is based on the premise that the longer the young person is in the labour market the more chance she/he has of obtaining employment, and that faced with the opportunity of employment, the young person will prefer a job to a place on the YTS (which may or may not always be the case).

In this chapter we analyse the experiences of all young people who entered the YTS at some time since leaving school. This gives an indication of the importance of the YTS for this cohort of young people. We look at the types of schemes the young people went on as well as their reasons for leaving. At the time of interview then, many young people had already entered and left the YTS. It may be that those remaining at the point of contact, were those young people that, for a variety of reasons, tend to find most difficulty in moving into employment.¹

More detailed questions about the YTS were asked of current trainees. In a later section of this chapter we consider the experiences of this group in isolation, the types of schemes they were on, the characteristics of the young people, as well as their opinions as to the usefulness of the YTS. We also report on the area breakdown of current YTS trainees. This will be affected to some extent by the way in which the fieldwork was conducted. Even within areas though, the lags involved in the process of the fieldwork will affect who was in training or employment at the point of contact.

6.2 THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

The YTS was introduced for the first time in mid 1983, the first permanent training scheme of its kind for sixteen year old school leavers. It replaced the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOPs) which had been introduced in the late 1970's in response to the rising tide of youth unemployment. YOP had become increasingly unpopular, facing criticism from both sides of the labour market as its placement rates fell, along with the quality of its work placements. The YTS itself was introduced for a variety of reasons, one of which undoubtedly had to

be the climbing levels of youth joblessness experienced in the early 1980's. However it was deemed to be of a different nature to that of YOP. As Main (1988) writes YTS was introduced with the:-

"..clear intention that it should function as a manpower programme, serving to enhance the training and employability of young labour market entrants." (Main and Shelley :1988 :p3)

According to Clough et al (1987) around one third of those young people eligible to leave compulsory schooling in 1984, were to have some experience of the YTS over the following year (Clough, Gray and Jones, 1987). By 1988 this figure had increased substantially. In that year, almost six out of every ten British school leavers went on to a place on the two year YTS (Peck 1990). The main reason for the increased coverage of the scheme (besides persistently high levels of youth unemployment) was the 'Christmas guarantee' of a place on the scheme for all 16 year olds who had not found employment by the Christmas (or Easter) after leaving school, and the extension of the scheme from one year to two years.

The YTS formed the centre-piece of the Government's New Training Initiative (NTI). The NTI was a response itself to the long held criticisms that not only was the present education system failing the bottom 50% of school pupils, it was also failing the economy. Finegold and Soskice (1988) have described Britain as being trapped in a low skills equilibrium where the majority of enterprises staffed by poorly trained managers and workers produce low quality goods and services. Britain is the only one of the world's leading industrial nations in which a majority of students leave education and training at the age of sixteen

A joint report by the Manpower Services Commission and the National

Economic Development Council (1984) showed that employers in Germany were spending approximately three times more on training than their British rivals. The blame was seen to lie partly with employers for not investing sufficiently in their workforce, relying on poaching trained staff from other establishments and partly on the education system for not fitting young people sufficiently for their future lives in industry.

Although introduced originally in 1983 then, the YTS is seen as part of the response to these long held criticisms, and formed part of what has become known as the 'New Vocationalism'. YTS was intended as more than just a 'mopping up' exercise, there was undoubtedly an economic case for a national training scheme such as YTS to be introduced, especially with the collapse of apprenticeship training in the early 80's. Others however point to the political case for YTS. If youth unemployment was already becoming a problem in the mid 1970's, by the early 1980's it was becoming a crisis. Unemployment of any kind presents a waste of human resources, at the beginning of a working life however it can have a scarring effect on the individual in terms of future earnings and work patterns (Lynch, 1985). Moreover, the incidence of urban unrest with high levels of youth unemployment also led to fears for the continuance of the social fabric 'workless youth presented a moral panic.' (Mungham, 1982).

The YTS was introduced as a one year scheme in 1983, since then it has undergone a series of revisions in attempts to make it appear more attractive to both young people and employers. The scheme was extended to two years in 1986, with 20 weeks of off the job training involved as opposed to at least 13 weeks on the previous one year scheme. It now provides places for both the employed as well as the unemployed

and for seventeen year olds (one years training) as well as sixteen year olds. The new two year scheme would offer the opportunity to obtain vocational qualifications, its aim being to produce better qualified young labour market entrants to the labour market (MSC, 1985).

The new scheme aimed at achieving four major outcomes: firstly competence in a job or a range of occupational skills; secondly competence in a range of transferable core skills; thirdly the ability to transfer skills and knowledge to new situations; and fourthly, perhaps the most difficult to evaluate, 'personal effectiveness' (MSC, 1985).

The YTS has of course faced a number of criticisms. Prior to the advent of the new two year scheme, there were two major types of provision within the scheme, -mode A and modes B1 and B2. Mode A places were employer based places, and mode B1 and B2 were places usually under local authority provision (or charitable and community organisations) designed to cater for youngsters with special needs. The scheme faced mounting criticism as young black males were found to be concentrated in the latter type of provision, particularly the college based mode B2 courses (Lee and Wrench, 1985). Employers were able to perpetuate discriminatory practices in a scheme led largely by themselves.

With the advent of two year YTS, the language changed from modes A and B, to premium and standard provision (standard places being employer based, and premium, the special needs component). It is not clear however whether this language change involved tackling the problem of the concentration of particular groups into particular

options. Concern centres on the fact that employment opportunities differ widely from one type of scheme to another. Those schemes with the superior employment opportunities are those predominantly led by employers, particularly those organisations that come within the Large Companies Unit (LCU). These schemes are also more likely to offer their trainees 'employee status' whereby employment at the end of the training period is made much more certain.

This criticism then refers to inequality of opportunity between individuals, however there have also been reports of inequality of opportunity between areas. The introduction of a national training scheme such as YTS, heavily dependant on local employment opportunities, presented a problem in many areas, particularly in those areas that had suffered disproportionately in the recession or where there had always been a dearth of employment opportunities (McGregor and McArthur, 1987). This gap in the training market was soon to be filled by what have become known as Private Training Agencies (PTA) or organisations whose sole operation is training. These agencies have become important in the provision of the YTS in all areas. They are used extensively by employers in the provision of off the job training, as well as in many cases running their own schemes.

6.3 PARTICIPATION ON THE YTS

Overall then, around 72 per cent of the sample had experience of the YTS at some point between leaving school and the time of the interview. This includes the 57 young people who were still on the scheme at the point of contact. Excluding current YTS trainees, this experience of the scheme could have occurred at any stage during this

period of time. When these young people first left school, legislation had not yet been introduced making the YTS little short of a compulsory experience for those not in employment or full time education. Young people in this situation who rejected the YTS received no state support. Some of these young people will have entered the YTS directly from leaving school. Others will perhaps have been employed or unemployed for a while before entering.

Even though these young people had only been in the labour market for between twelve and eighteen months, their experience was already quite varied. Of those young people that had subsequently left the YTS by the time of contact (79), as many as 27 per cent (21) had experience of more than one YTS place. The majority of these young people (19) had been on two schemes only, while a small proportion had been on three. So in the short time that these young people had been in the labour market, 27 per cent of the group had spent some time in at least three different destinations. These figures refer to young people who were in a destination other than YTS at the time of contact. Clearly then despite the depressed state of the youth labour market at that time there was still quite a lot of turnover although not of jobs. Scheme changing then may have replaced the frequent job changing of more buoyant labour market times.

Young people who were currently on the YTS were also quite likely to have a wider experience of the scheme with 28 per cent (16) of current trainees having been on at least one other scheme and a small proportion (10.5 per cent of all current trainees) currently on their third scheme.

6.4 THE GENDER DIMENSION OF YTS PARTICIPATION

Although in all 72 per cent of young people had experienced the YTS, the participation rate varied between male and female. Males were more likely to have experience of the scheme, and were more likely to still be on the scheme at the point of contact. Of the 136 young people with experience of the YTS, 54 per cent were male and 46 per cent were female. Taking current trainees in isolation, (of which there were 57), 38 per cent (22) were female and 62 per cent (35) were male. At the point of contact 79 young people had already left the YTS, and of these 52 per cent (41) were female and 48 per cent (38) were male.

Young women in our sample then, were less likely to enter the YTS making up only 46 per cent of all entrants. This gender breakdown is reflected in the national picture, where 43 per cent of starts on the YTS in 1987/88 were female (Labour Market Quarterly Review, Oct. 1988). As noted in the LMQR, this in itself represents a major increase in the training opportunities available to young women in pre-YTS days. Female participation was slightly higher among our sample, which would perhaps be expected given the high overall participation of the sample and the relatively high levels of unemployment in the Glasgow labour market generally. Once having entered the YTS however, females were more likely to have left the scheme by contact. At the time of the survey 65 per cent of females had already left, compared to 52 per cent of males. In a later section we consider the varied reasons why young people left the YTS. It will be interesting to note the types of opportunities, young women were leaving the YTS for.

6.5 THE AREA DIMENSION OF YTS PARTICIPATION

In the tables below we consider firstly the YTS participation rate for all young people interviewed, by area and by gender and secondly for those still on the scheme at the point of contact. Looking at overall participation, young people from Castlemilk made up 34.5 per cent of all those with experience of the scheme, those from the Inner South made up 25 per cent and East Kilbride youngsters made up 40.4 per cent. Table 6.1 below refers to all YTS entrants in the sample.

The figures in table 6.1 refer to the proportion of young people interviewed in each area with experience of the YTS. As indicated, participation on the scheme was highest among Castlemilk boys. It should perhaps be stressed that the figures in table 6.1 include young people who were still on the YTS at the point of contact. In the table we note that 93 per cent of all boys in the Castlemilk area had experienced the scheme since leaving school. For young men in the East Kilbride area YTS was also a dominating experience with 90 per cent of this group having entered the scheme. Boys in the Inner South had the least experience of the YTS with only 58 per cent having entered the scheme.

Among females there is also notable variation in participation rates between areas, although not quite to the same extent. Girls in East Kilbride had the most experience of the YTS with 82 per cent of girls in the area entering the scheme. Girls in the Inner South had the least experience with only 52 per cent entering. There is interesting variation between Castlemilk males and females, where the difference in participation rates amounts to 34 percentage points. Only 59 per cent of the girls in Castlemilk had experience of the scheme compared to 93 per cent of boys. In the other two areas the rates for males and

females are within 8 percentage points of one another. Inner South girls were less likely than any other group to enter the YTS.

TABLE 6.1 ALL YTS ENTRANTS BY AREA AND GENDER

Area	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Castlemilk	28	(93)	19	(59)	47	(76)
Inner South	18	(58)	16	(52)	34	(55)
East Kilbride	27	(90)	28	(82)	55	(86)

The wide variation in the figures between the Inner South and the other areas may be particularly surprising given that these three locations all lie within a relatively small spatial area. This intra urban variation is comparable with the inter urban variation of participation rates reported by Ashton and Maguire (1986). In Sunderland (the least buoyant of the labour market areas they focussed on), 51 per cent of males and 42 per cent of females had experience of a government scheme. In St Albans the more buoyant area, participation rates were 11 per cent for males and 10 per cent for females. The differences in experience between the three area groups in this study are not quite as stark. There are however two points to note. Firstly the Ashton, Maguire study does not solely focus on the YTS and secondly the coverage of youth by government schemes was much wider in 1987-88 than it had been in earlier years (at the time of the operation of the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP), one of the schemes the Ashton et al study focusses on).

The explanation given by the authors for the inter urban variation in participation on YOP (and other schemes in operation at that time) is

the differing levels of labour market buoyancy in the three areas. The intra urban variation, in YTS participation could be explained in the same terms if we were to consider the Glasgow labour market as consisting of a collection of youth labour markets, with limited interaction between them.

Young people on the YTS, although not officially classed as unemployed can not be classed as being in employment.² YTS has provided for young people in employment as well as unemployment since its inception, however its image as a scheme for unemployed youngsters dominates (Raffe, 1983; Peck, 1990). The explanation given for the differing levels of young people on the YTS between the three areas can be seen as synonymous with that of the differing levels of intra urban unemployment. This is especially the case since September 1988, when legislative changes effectively meant the disappearance of official youth unemployment.

In the 'personal characteristics argument' the city is seen as consisting of a unitary labour market, where personal characteristics determine who is employed or unemployed and where area of residence has little import. Garner, Main and Raffe (1988), using data from the Scottish School Leavers Survey, concluded that the characteristics that matter most seem to be educational qualifications and fathers employment status. Further evidence from the SSSL is provided by Furlong and Raffe (1989). They found that young people with experience of the YTS were likely to have lower qualifications relative to others without that experience.

Taking all males from Castlemilk (93 per cent of whom had experienced the YTS) and comparing them with all males from the Inner South (58 per cent of whom experienced the scheme), it is the case that probably

the most important difference between the two groups is in terms of qualification levels and fathers employment status. The importance of these factors in relation to others in explaining the reason why more young people in Castlemilk experience YTS compared to those from the Inner South will be investigated in a later statistical analysis. Also to be investigated in the same way is the differing levels of current YTS trainees.

Table 6.2 details the levels of current YTS trainees by area and gender. The figures in the table indicate the percentage of males and females in each area that were still on the YTS at the point of contact. In both Castlemilk and East Kilbride current participation is highest among males. Girls in the Inner South and East Kilbride were equally likely to be on the YTS at the point of contact whereas girls from Castlemilk were least likely. Conversely boys from this area were more likely than any other group to still be on the YTS when interviewed. As is evident from the table, the numbers of current trainees become rather small once broken down into categories of area and gender.

Taking males and females together, current participation is highest in the East Kilbride area with 33 per cent of young people in this area currently on the YTS, and lowest in the Inner South area with 27 per cent still on the scheme when interviewed. In discussing current participation on an area basis we need to take account of the lags involved in the interviewing process. To some extent then the variation in the current participation witnessed between areas may reflect the point in time, at which young people from these areas were interviewed. Other factors which will also be of importance will be the availability of employment opportunities in the local area, as

well the characteristics of the young people which may determine how quickly the young people move off the scheme and into a job.

TABLE 6.2 CURRENT YTS TRAINEES BY AREA AND GENDER

Area	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Castlemilk	15	(50)	4	(13)	19	(31)
Inner South	8	(26)	9	(29)	17	(27)
East Kilbride	12	(40)	9	(26)	21	(33)

It is interesting to compare the levels of current YTS trainees with the number of entrants to the scheme in each area (as detailed in table 6.1). Table 6.3, below, indicates the young people remaining on the YTS in each area as a percentage of the entrants to the scheme in that area.

The figures in the table give some indication of the level of turnover from the scheme in the three areas. Young people left the YTS for a variety of reasons, for example to move into employment, to enter another YTS or to look for a job. For the sake of simplicity, the table considers movement from the first scheme only. On an area basis, turnover appears to have been highest in the East Kilbride area, with only 38 per cent of all entrants to YTS in this area remaining on the scheme at the time of interview. Within the East Kilbride area though, turnover was higher among girls than boys, with 32 per cent of female entrants remaining, while 44 per cent of males were still on the scheme at the point of contact. Again on an area basis, youngsters from the Inner South were more likely to still be on the scheme at interview, with 50 per cent of entrants remaining. Girls from the Inner South area had the lowest turnover rate of any group with 56

per cent of female entrants in the area still on the scheme when contacted.

We do not consider here the point at which these young people entered the YTS. As noted, some young people will have joined the scheme on leaving school, others will perhaps have worked for a while or been unemployed. The assumption is however that if the young person was still on the YTS at the time of interview then they had not yet found a permanent place in the labour market.

Female entrants from the Castlemilk area were more likely to have left the scheme by time of contact than any other group, with only 21 per cent of female entrants to the YTS in this area currently on the scheme. Boys from Castlemilk were more likely to have remained on the scheme and were second only to the Inner South girls in this respect.

TABLE 6.3 CURRENT YTS TRAINEES AS A PERCENTAGE OF ENTRANTS ON AN AREA BASIS

Area	Percent of males	Percent of females	All
Castlemilk	54	21	40
Inner South	44	56	50
East Kilbride	44	32	38

6.6 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE YTS EXPERIENCE

Table 6.4, indicates the occupational distribution of all young people with experience of the YTS scheme. It includes both young people who were current YTS trainees when contacted as well as those who had left the scheme at that point in time. For simplicity it concentrates on the first scheme entered by each individual.

By far the most important occupational area of training for this cohort of young people was that of Retail, Services and Sales. This category includes young people in retail sales and warehousing as well as those in personal and financial services, so it would be expected that this category would take in a large group of people. Administration and Clerical work is also an important area of training at 20 per cent, as is Construction at 16 per cent. On the whole the table broadly reflects that of the national picture detailed in table 6.5 which gives the national occupational breakdown for young people on the YTS in February 1989.

TABLE 6.4 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL YTS ENTRANTS

Occup. Area of Training	No.	Percent
Admin/Clerical	27	(20)
Retail/ Services/ Sales	38	(28)
Hotel & Catering	10	(7)
Engineering	18	(13)
Construction	22	(16)
Computing	1	(1)
Other	20	(15)
TOTALS	136	(100)

TABLE 6.5 NATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF YTS TRAINEES

Training Area	Percent of total trainees
Construction	16.6
Engineering	13.6
Motor repair	7.6
Office work	18.5
Selling/ warehousing	10.7
Agriculture	4.3
Food & drink	4.0
Community health	11.1
Textile/ clothing	2.6
Other	10.4

Source: Unemployment Bulletin 31 Autumn 1989 p.6

In comparing Tables 6.4 and 6.5 one sees that the proportion of respondents entering Construction and Office work are roughly the same as the national figures, although there are slightly larger proportions of young people entering Administration and Clerical categories in our survey. Similarly in the Engineering category, the proportions are similar although this category in our survey is an amalgam of both electrical and mechanical engineering and included motor vehicle repair. The major difference between the occupational distribution of the YTS trainees in the survey and that of entrants nationally refers to the Selling/Warehousing category. The proportion of young people entering this category in the survey was 28 per cent compared to 11 per cent nationally. The occupational breakdown, will to a large extent reflect the industrial mix of the region or local area, even accounting for this however, the difference is still particularly large. Concern has been voiced over the large numbers of young people training in the area of retail sales nationally in that training in this area may do little to enhance our national competitiveness (Chapman & Tooze, 1987).

6.7 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINEES BY GENDER

Table 6.6 below gives the occupational breakdown for young people with experience of the YTS on the basis of gender. Again the table includes both current and ex-trainees.

Females are heavily concentrated in Retail/Services/Sales, and to a lesser extent Administration and Clerical work. Together these categories account for 82 per cent of all girls that entered the scheme in the sample. They account for 19 per cent of male entrants, with Retail/Services/Sales quite an important area of training for

boys at 16 per cent. Males were more evenly spread over the range of training areas with Construction the most important at 30 per cent and Hotel & Catering the least important at 5 per cent. The two most important areas of training for males - Construction and Engineering account for 55 per cent of male entrants.

TABLE 6.6 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF YTS EXPERIENCE BY GENDER (ALL ENTRANTS).

Occup. Area of Training	Female		Male		All	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Admin/ Clerical	25	(40)	2	(3)	27	(20)
Retail/ Services/ Sales	26	(42)	12	(16)	38	(28)
Hotel & Catering	6	(10)	4	(5)	10	(7)
Engineering	-	-	18	(25)	18	(13)
Construction	-	-	22	(30)	22	(16)
Computing	-	-	1	(1)	1	(1)
Other	6	(10)	14	(19)	20	(15)
TOTALS	63	(100)	73	(100)	136	(100)

Table 6.6 reveals a striking differentiation between males and females in terms of occupational areas of training. Girls were concentrated in a smaller number of occupational areas to that of boys. This occupational concentration is of course a feature of the youth labour market. Chapter Four notes the concentration of females in a limited range of employment opportunities compared to males, in the 'full time' labour market. The YTS has been described as the 'surrogate youth labour market' (Roberts, Dench and Richardson, 1986; Lee et al, 1990) because it reinforces such divisions as exist in the labour market generally. A scheme as dependant on employers and employment opportunities, as is YTS, can hardly avoid this. The concentration of females in a smaller range of occupational areas has been noted previously (Cockburn, 1987; Eden & Aubrey, 1988).

Cockburn (1987), observes YTS to be reinforcing rather challenging the

mould of sex inequality. The pattern of distribution by occupational area of training and gender has been a feature of YTS almost since its inception. Cockburn's data for YTS starts 1985, reveals that 'while boys make some inroads into what are normally seen as female gendered areas of work, girls are particularly under represented to the point of absence in typically male gendered work areas.' Further, if YTS does in fact mirror the differentiation or segmentation that takes place along the lines of gender in the labour market, it must also be capable of imitating other forms of differentiation or discrimination in the market place. The scheme has faced criticism as segmentation has also been shown to take place along the politically dangerous lines of race (Lee and Wrench, 1985). If YTS is capable of differentiation along both the lines of gender and race we can expect other forms of segmentation to take place as would occur in the full time labour market.

As noted above, the category described as 'Other' accounted for 19 per cent of boys and 10 per cent of girls. This category was made up of young people on schemes run by community workshops, projects or organisations. Their training tended to cover a number of different areas, thus the reluctance to assign them to any one category. Boys in this section were training in areas that would broadly be described under the heading of construction. They would normally be training in a number of areas, say joinery and gardening, metal work and gardening etc. However, although they may be described as being in the broad area of construction these schemes have been placed in a separate category because it is believed that they may be qualitatively different to the other schemes young people were on (our later analysis investigates this). Girls in this category, were training in

needlework, childcare and catering.

The YTS prepares young people for work, in more ways than one. The occupational sector of training a young person enters can have important consequences. Since the early years of the YTS the government has encouraged employers to increase the proportion of YTS trainees with employee status. Employee status for the trainee means the possibility of an enhanced training wage from the employer/trainer and a greater possibility of being retained in permanent employment at the end of the training period. In May 1989 this stood at 24 per cent of all trainees, with substantial growth having occurred over the past four years (Hansard written answers 3 July 1989, reported in The Unemployment Bulletin 31 Autumn 1989). However this growth of employee status has not been equal among all groups. Three quarters of all those with employee status are male (this itself varying in different areas of the country). This reflects the fact that the occupational training areas that most often offer employee status tend to be those where there is a predominance of males ie. Electrical and Electronic Engineering; Construction and Postal and Transport work.

Table 6.7 below gives the occupational distribution of current trainees by gender. A comparison with Table 6.6 shows that the proportions of current trainees in the different categories of training are roughly representative of the distribution of all entrants to the scheme in the sample.

It is clear, however, that females remaining on the scheme at contact were concentrated to a greater extent than were all female entrants to the YTS in the sample. The proportion of current female trainees in Retail, Services and Sales amounted to 50 per cent compared to 41 per cent of all female entrants. There are a variety of possible

explanations as to why groups should become more concentrated. It may be that employment opportunities from different occupational areas of the YTS vary. Furlong and Raffe (1989) found variation reporting that sales was an example of an occupational area that recruited large numbers of young people under the YTS, but which failed to absorb a large proportion subsequently. Young people who were placed in clerical and secretarial occupations or skilled manual work were much more likely to find work on leaving the scheme. We consider such variation in this survey in a later section. We can say at this juncture however, that turnover rates are higher in some areas of training than in others.

TABLE 6.7 OCCUPATIONAL AREAS OF TRAINING CURRENT YTS TRAINEES

Occupational Area	Females		Males		All	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Administration /Clerical	8	(36)	1	(3)	9	(16)
Retail/ Services/ Sales	11	(50)	5	(14)	16	(28)
Hotel & Catering	1	(5)	-	-	1	(2)
Engineering/ Mechanical	-	-	10	(29)	10	(18)
/Electrical						
Construction	-	-	10	(29)	10	(18)
Computing	-	-	1	(3)	1	(2)
Other	2	(9)	8	(23)	10	(18)
TOTALS	22	(100)	35	(100)	57	(100)

* Figures may not sum of 100 per cent due to rounding

In the same way that we constructed 'retention' rates for YTS entrants on an area basis in the last section we now do this on the basis of occupational area of training, considering current trainees in an area of training as a proportion of all entrants to that category. Basically these figures give us an indication of turnover from each category of training. We consider later whether high turnover rates were associated with movement into employment on both an area and

occupational basis.

In this analysis, we omit those categories which accounted for less than 10 per cent of either all male or female entrants. In the area of Administration/Clerical work, 32 per cent of girls were still on the YTS at contact, there has therefore been a high turnover from this area of training. In actual fact, girls training in this area of work were the most likely of all groups to have left the scheme by the time of the survey. They are closely followed by girls training in the 'Other' category, where only 33 per cent of original entrants remained. It will be interesting in our later analysis to compare the types of opportunities girls from these two groups were leaving the YTS for. These figures reflect the point made earlier, that girls were more likely to have left the scheme by contact.

In general, males were more likely to have remained on the YTS than were females. They tended (as noted) to be in different areas of training, where the turnover rates are all lower than in 'female areas of training'. 55 per cent of boys who entered training in Engineering were still on the YTS, as were 45 per cent and 57 per cent of those who entered Construction and the 'Other' category respectively. The nearest figure to this for females is 42 per cent in Retail, Services, Sales. This figure is the same for males in this area.

The average length of stay on the scheme is likely to be shorter for females. This coupled with the fact that only 65 per cent of girls entered the YTS compared with 80 per cent of boys suggests that YTS has been a more dominating feature of the labour market experience of males compared to females.

6.8 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALE TRAINEES BY AREA.

Recent research has confirmed that quality of training, dependant on the presence of employment opportunities, may well differ on an inter regional basis (Ashton and Maguire, 1986). The expected scenario on an intra regional basis is however not quite so clear. We note in this section the occupational distributions within YTS on an area basis. Table 6.8 below details the occupational area of training on an area basis for all males with experience of the YTS. Table 6.9 later, details this information for current trainees only. Since many young people had already left the scheme by the time of contact it is appropriate to consider all male entrants at least initially.

Table 6.8, again emphasises the overwhelming concentration of males in the areas of construction and engineering. However the area dimension also reveals other concentrations. The most striking difference occurs in the categories mentioned. As noted in the table 39 per cent of males from the Inner South and 37 per cent from East Kilbride were (or had been) training in the area of Engineering. The equivalent figure for Castlemilk is only 4 per cent. As noted previously this is an area of work where opportunities of skilled work exist following training. There are a number of ways in which we could account for the wide differential between the three areas. Firstly it could be that our sample in the Castlemilk area is skewed in some way and is thus unrepresentative of all males entrants to the YTS in the area. Secondly, it could be that, because of the possibility of skilled work following training in engineering, the entrance requirements for these schemes are more stringent than for other schemes. If these entrance requirements were good academic qualifications then young males from the Castlemilk area may lose out because they tended to be less

qualified than other groups.

Males from Castlemilk though were not entirely excluded from the possibilities of skilled work, 43 per cent of males in the area were (or had been) training in Construction where apprenticeships are a possibility. However for a large proportion of the trainees, it is likely that unskilled labouring jobs in the industry will be the only avenues open to them. In the Inner South area, experience of training in Construction amounted to 28 per cent of male entrants to the YTS and the figure for East Kilbride was 18 per cent. The Other category (training in a range of work areas) accounted for at least one quarter of all male entrants in Castlemilk and East Kilbride but none at all in the Inner South.

TABLE 6.8 MALES ON THE YTS BY AREA (ALL ENTRANTS)

Occupational Area of Training	Area					
	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Administration/ Clerical	1	(4)	1	(6)	-	-
Retail/Services/ Sales	5	(18)	3	(17)	4	(15)
Hotel & Catering	2	(7)	1	(6)	1	(4)
Engineering	1	(4)	7	(39)	10	(37)
Construction	12	(43)	5	(28)	5	(19)
Computing	-	-	1	(6)	-	-
Other	7	(25)	-	-	7	(26)
TOTALS	28	(100)	18	(100)	27	(100)

The 'Other' category covered schemes where the young person trained in a variety of work skills within the same scheme. On the whole for boys this would be in the general area of construction (eg. painting and decorating) but would usually include some other skill say welding or gardening. These were schemes based with organisations solely involved in training rather than employer based schemes. The main

reason for such a high proportion of young people from Castlemilk being in this category was that young people from the area (particularly males) appeared to be concentrated in two particular schemes. One of these schemes was located within the Castlemilk area, the other outside the area just north of Castlemilk. The former scheme trained youngsters in Construction skills, the latter trained youngsters in a variety of skills and accounts for the majority of the young people in the 'Other' category. It is perhaps unsurprising that there is such a high concentration of young people in these two particular schemes as there are few employment opportunities in the Castlemilk area. This results in a dearth of quality training opportunities also. This was particularly the case for girls. A training scheme based with the construction skills 'school' could in some instances lead to an apprenticeship for boys, such opportunities were not available for girls. The importance of the schemes noted though should not be underestimated, of the fifteen young men on the YTS in Castlemilk (in the survey), 60 per. cent of them were located on one of these two schemes.

Table 6.9 below indicates the areas of training for current male trainees on the YTS in the sample. The group is differentiated again by area. In general boys were distributed over a wider area of occupational divisions than were girls. Altogether there were 35 boys on the scheme at the time of the survey, this allows for a slightly more detailed analysis than that of girls later. However, once disaggregated by area the numbers are rather small.

The occupational distributions for current participation reflect those for all entrants detailed in table 6.8. The largest single group on the scheme currently were boys from the Inner South training in

engineering, this group made up 75 per cent of boys on the YTS in the area. This compares to 25 per cent of boys in East Kilbride in engineering and only 7 per cent (1) in Castlemilk. One of the most important areas of training for current trainees in both East Kilbride and Castlemilk was construction accounting for around one third of young men on the YTS in both areas. This is in contrast to the Inner South area where only 13 per cent (1) were in training in this area of work. The Construction Industry Training Board (CITB) manages the majority of training places in the construction industry. These appear in this survey at least to have a good chance of leading to apprenticeships and to skilled work within the industry.

TABLE 6.9 BOYS ON THE YTS BY AREA (CURRENT TRAINEES)

Occupational Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Administration/ Clerical	1	(8)	-	-	-	-
Retail, Services, Sales	3	(23)	-	-	2	(17)
Engineering	1	(8)	6	(75)	3	(25)
Construction	5	(38)	1	(13)	4	(33)
Computing	-	-	1	(13)	-	-
Other	3	(23)	-	-	3	(25)
TOTALS	13	*(100)	8	(100)	12	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding
 * This information was missing for 2 cases.

A brief comparison of tables 6.8 and 6.9 shows that there has been a lot of movement from the construction area of training in Castlemilk (where 40 per cent of entrants remained at contact) and engineering in the East Kilbride area (where 30 per cent of entrants remained). In the Inner South only 20 per cent (1 out of a total of five) remained in construction at the point of contact. Our later analysis of the quality of employment following the YTS will reveal the extent to

which young people having received training in these work areas were likely to enter skilled work afterwards.

6.9 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE TRAINEES BY AREA.

The following table (table 6.10) displays the occupational areas of training for all female entrants to the YTS, on an area basis. It is particularly important to look at all entrants for females because there were so few females left on the scheme at the time of interview.

The table indicates that the number of female entrants differed widely by area, with many more young women experiencing the scheme in East Kilbride than did young women in the Inner South. Girls from the Inner South tended to be better qualified than other groups and may therefore have been more likely to go straight into employment from school, thus avoiding the YTS. However even in comparison with girls from Castlemilk, who tended to be among the worst qualified, participation on the scheme by girls from East Kilbride is still at least a third higher. There may be a number of possible explanations for this observation. Young women from Castlemilk may have avoided the opportunities the YTS offered them by moving straight into employment. However the rate of unemployment among Castlemilk females at the point of contact (18 per cent) dismisses this view. There were however more young women out of the labour market in Castlemilk with family responsibilities than elsewhere. A further explanation may be that the quality of opportunities offered by the YTS between the two areas differed markedly. This possibility is investigated in Chapter Seven.

TABLE 6.10 FEMALES ON THE YTS BY AREA (ALL ENTRANTS)

Occupational Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Administration /Clerical	7	(37)	8	(50)	10	(36)
Retail/Services/ Sales	7	(37)	8	(50)	10	(36)
Hotel & Catering	4	(21)	1	(6)	1	(4)
Other	1	(5)	1	(6)	4	(14)
TOTAL	19	(100)	16	(100)	28	(100)

The most important areas of training range from Retail/Services/Sales in East Kilbride (at 46 per cent) to Administration/Clerical in the Inner South (at 53 per cent). These two categories were of equal importance in Castlemilk. Young women from Castlemilk tended to be slightly more evenly distributed between sectors than were those from the other two areas.

For the sake of completeness the occupational distribution of current female trainees (in the three areas) is detailed in table 6.11. The figures are very small and consequently are not discussed at length.

TABLE 5.11 FEMALES ON THE YTS BY AREA (CURRENT TRAINEES)

Occupational Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
Administration/ Clerical	1	(25)	3	(33)	4	(44)
Retail, Services, Sales	2	(50)	5	(56)	4	(44)
Hotel & Catering	1	(25)	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	1	(11)	1	(11)
TOTALS	4	(100)	9	(100)	9	(100)

Girls were heavily concentrated into training in the two areas of

Administration and Clerical work, and Retail Services and Sales work. This latter category included young women training in a range of services for example Banking and Financial Services as well as the more traditional services of retailing. These two categories accounted for 86.3 per cent of girls on the scheme. This picture is the same in all areas with only slight differences in importance of the two categories from area to area.

A comparison of tables 6.10 and 6.11, reveals that turnover has been high from a number of areas of work. For example, only 14 per cent (2) of female entrants to Administration/Clerical in Castlemilk remained at the point of contact. This compares with over 60 per cent in the other two areas. Also Retail/Services/Sales, in East Kilbride, where 69 per cent of female trainees had already left the scheme when contacted.

6.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The preceding paragraphs have described the numbers of young people in different types of training on the YTS in the three areas under study. We are left with two questions. Firstly, why do the levels of young people entering the YTS vary widely between the three areas? Secondly, why do the levels of young people in certain occupational areas of training vary so widely between the three areas under study? There are two areas of explanation:-

- personal characteristics
- nature of the local youth labour market.

The YTS has been described as the 'surrogate youth labour market' (Robert Dench and Richardson, 1986; Lee et al, 1990). If this

description is accurate, it is likely that young people are allocated to schemes in a similar way to how they would be allocated to positions in the real labour market. Personal choice will only play a limited part, with the usual range of personal characteristics taking precedence. Participation ratios on the scheme ranged from 55 per cent in the Inner South; 76 per cent in Castlemilk; to 86 per cent in East Kilbride. Perhaps the most important characteristic in a slack labour market is the level of educational qualifications held by the individual. Inner South youngsters were the best qualified and the least likely to enter the YTS. Chapter Three revealed that the employment level in the area at 55 per cent was second only to that of East Kilbride. Young people from the Inner South were also likely to return to education. These two factors, taken together, (superior qualifications and the likelihood of being outside the labour market due to a return to education) may partly explain the reasons for the low levels of participation on YTS in the area.

In discussing the reasons for the different levels of participation on the YTS, we are touching upon the reasons for different levels of non-employment in the three areas. While the characteristics argument may seemingly offer some explanation for the levels of participation (and thus non-employment) in both the Inner South and in Castlemilk (where participation was high and youngsters displayed particularly disadvantaging characteristics), it would seem unlikely to explain the high levels of participation among East Kilbride youngsters. This group was more likely than any other to enter the YTS, yet they were not the least qualified, nor were they heavily endowed with other characteristics which would be considered disadvantageous. Perhaps the explanation in this case lies more in the nature of the local

labour market. The East Kilbride area, as indicated in Chapter One, had the most buoyant labour market. In line with this it would be expected that more young people in the area would be in employment (as they were) and fewer in non-employment, but why should so many have passed through the YTS? (and how is that related to the higher employment level of the group?)

It is clear from the analysis carried out in Chapter Seven that the bulk of the YTS experience in East Kilbride was of a different quality to that in other areas. This may have attracted more youngsters to the scheme. Certainly the East Kilbride local economy boasts a strong engineering base where skilled work and apprenticeships are available. Thus, a further explanation may lie in the way the YTS has colonised the apprenticeship systems. It is also likely that because of the buoyancy of the local labour market in the area, there was a wealth of YTS places available, so that most East Kilbride youngsters who wanted a YTS place got one and perhaps got their first choice. In Castlemilk, in contrast, there were unemployed young people who would have been willing to take a YTS place but were unable to secure one. With regard to the differing occupational breakdown between areas, if we were to accept the personal characteristics argument, the corollary would be that the young people operate within the same labour market. While we may accept this to possibly be the case, for young people from Castlemilk and the Inner South, the weight of the evidence presented in the thesis (particularly in Chapter Eight) points to the fact that for East Kilbride youngsters this is not the case. Therefore, the differing structure of the local labour market will affect the occupational range of opportunities available within the YTS. Thus, as noted in this chapter, 75 per cent of males in East

Kilbride were training in Engineering, *compared* to 25 per cent in the Inner South and 17 per cent in Castlemilk.

Omitted from the chapter, however, is detail on the occupational breakdown by area for all entrants to the YTS (rather than just current trainees), so that it is possible that the occupational distribution was, in actual fact, more even than the current figures indicate (e.g. young people training in engineering in Castlemilk may have been more likely to have left the scheme at this point). However, the gap between the figures in this case is sufficiently large to effectively negate this explanation.

The final consideration is that of a hierarchy of schemes within YTS. The occupation area of training is bound up with quality of employment following the scheme, so that those schemes likely to lead to skilled work (perhaps because of incorporation into the apprenticeship system) are likely to attract the most applicants and thus demand higher entry qualifications whether in terms of qualifications or personal qualities.

The explanations then for the differential experience of YTS both in terms of participation rate and in terms of occupational experience, appear to be:

- firstly, the nature of the local opportunities available (i.e. the local labour market), and
- secondly the personal characteristics and attributes of the individual.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION ON THE YTS ON THE EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section we consider a range of issues in relation to employment levels following the YTS, as indicators of the quality of the schemes young people entered, and give an impression of the expected outcomes for young people still on the scheme at the point of contact. This exercise however, is not without its difficulties. In considering levels of employment from different schemes a number of factors have to be taken into account. Firstly there needs to be some control for the characteristics of individuals on entering the scheme. The young people that leave the YTS and move into jobs, either directly on leaving the scheme or some time after, may tend to be those who would have good chances of moving into employment in the absence of the YTS. For example, more young people, say from the Inner South area, may move into jobs after the YTS partly because they tend to be the better qualified group.

A second difficulty is the point in time at which the individual gains employment. Respondents were asked about their reasons for leaving the YTS. One of the most important categories was the offer of employment either from the scheme sponsor or some other employer. Another important reason for leaving, however, and cited by a sizeable proportion of respondents was to look for a job. The issue here is whether we should consider only those young people leaving the YTS to take up employment directly, or all those young people with experience of the YTS who were in employment at the time of interview. Young people may have left the YTS for any number of reasons but found employment shortly afterwards. Others may have experienced considerable

periods of unemployment before finding work.

One option would be to impose a time restriction by including only those who found employment within a certain time period, say six months after leaving the scheme. We would be justified in doing this as it is generally recognised that acquired skills such as those gained from a training scheme tend to deteriorate over time, if not put to use. Unfortunately we are unable to do this with the data collected. Although we have information on the date at which respondents entered employment (if they were in jobs at the time of contact), we have no information on the date at which they left the YTS.

In the analysis later in this section we concentrate on two groups:- those that left the YTS to move directly into jobs either with the scheme sponsor or some other employer; those that were in employment when contacted and had had some experience of the YTS. It may be that this first group has particular characteristics. We will look at these groups separately as well as comparing them as a whole to other young people without experience of the YTS who were in jobs when interviewed. Important comparisons will also be drawn between that group moving into employment on leaving the YTS and those moving directly into jobs from school.

7.2 CURRENT DESTINATION OF ALL EX-YTS PARTICIPANTS

We start the discussion in this section by looking at the current destination of all ex-YTS trainees. Table 7.1 below indicates current destination for all respondents with experience of the YTS.

As can be seen from the table, males were more likely to be in jobs

than were females. However the employment rate among both sexes is high at 72 per cent and 77 per cent. Some of these young people may have left the YTS as much as twelve months or more before interview, as young people may have left at any time during the 22 months (maximum) since leaving school. It may be assumed that the longer the individual is in the labour market, *ceteris paribus*, the better the chances of being in employment (although this is unlikely to be the case, however, if the individual has spent a lot of the time in unemployment since leaving school). A majority of the young people were in jobs and this would to some extent be expected given the length of time in the labour market.

However quite large groups of both males and females were unemployed at interview. Although it should be acknowledged that these young people may have been in jobs at some time since leaving the YTS, becoming unemployed at a later date. Also notable in the table a sizeable group of ex-YTS trainees were out of the labour market when contacted. This fact may account in part for the differing unemployment rates experienced by males and females. Many of these young women, currently out of the labour market, were unqualified and were probably more likely to be otherwise unemployed rather than employed. The breakdown between those in employment or unemployment in our survey differs compared to that reported in the MSC 100 per cent follow up survey for YTS leavers (reported in the Labour Market Quarterly Bulletin for Scotland February 1988). For Scotland the results show that three months after leaving the YTS almost 50 per cent of trainees were in a job (3 per cent of these were in part time work). Twenty two per cent of youngsters sampled were in jobs with their scheme sponsor and 24 per cent with a different employer. Less

than one in three were unemployed and about 12 per cent had rejoined the YTS three months after first leaving the scheme.

The larger proportion of young people in jobs in our survey is probably accounted for by the much longer period of time that our respondents had been in the labour market (after leaving the YTS). The Bulletin noted above also reports wide variation between different areas of Scotland.

TABLE 7.1 CURRENT DESTINATION OF ALL EX-YTS TRAINEES*

Current Destination	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employed	27	(77)	28	(72)	55	(74)
Unemployed	7	(20)	5	(13)	12	(16)
Out of labour Force	1	(3)	6	(15)	7	(10)
TOTALS	35	(100)	39	(100)	74	(100)

* All young people with experience of the YTS, who were not back on the scheme when interviewed.

Table 7.2 below, details the current destination of all ex-YTS trainees on an area basis. These figures are particularly interesting in that ex trainees from Castlemilk appear to be the least likely to be in employment at contact, the difference between the three areas extending to more than 40 percentage points. Only 48 per cent of participants on the scheme from the Castlemilk area were in jobs at contact compared to 88 per cent of ex-YTS participants in the Inner South area and 90 per cent in the East Kilbride area. The major qualification that has to be made in respect of these figures is that we do not have any information on the date young people left the scheme. Some young people may have had longer to look for employment

than others. The 'other' category in the table refers to a small number of young people who returned to education and to a larger group with family responsibilities. A statistical test was attempted to test the significance of the difference in employment chances of ex-YTS trainees by area. A Chi square test was employed and for the purposes of the test a distinction was drawn between employment and non-employment. Although the result did prove to be very significant the test was invalidated because of the small numbers of young people in both the Inner South and East Kilbride who were not employed following the YTS (two young people in the Inner South and three in East Kilbride).

Also notable of course is the substantial difference in the unemployment rate of ex-trainees between the three areas and in the levels of young people who were out of the labour market at the time. These were mainly expectant mothers or women with young children. However two of the group in Castlemilk and the one ex-trainee in the Inner South in the 'other' category, had returned to the education sector.

If we do not expect the YTS to compensate for all the possible disadvantages faced by entrants, we have to take into account the characteristics of young people entering the scheme, when we consider what seem to be differential employment prospects following it. However we know from our earlier analysis (in Chapter Four) that young people from East Kilbride were not the most advantaged whether in terms of qualifications or say SEG of Father. Some other factor must be involved. In our later statistical analysis (in Chapter Ten) we investigate the role that area has to play.

The figures quoted in the table then indicate the levels of ex-YTS

trainees who were in jobs when interviewed. They do not really give much indication of the impact the YTS had on individual employment chances. We attempt to shed some light on this problem later in this chapter by comparing the experiences of ex-YTS participants, with those of non YTS participants, after controlling for qualifications.

As table 7.3 shows, young people, who did not go on the YTS in the period between leaving school and being interviewed, were slightly more likely to be in employment when contacted than were ex YTS trainees, however the difference is less than five percentage points. The reasons for the difference maybe partly explained by the fact that this former group of young people, (those who went straight into employment from school avoiding the YTS) tended to be better qualified and were perhaps more likely to be in employment anyway. Their employment prospects may also perhaps have been enhanced by the way in which wide participation of the cohort on the YTS reduced the immediate competition in the local youth labour market. It is the case, however, that the low employment level of ex-YTS participants in Castlemilk lowers the overall employment rate of ex-YTS to some extent.

The most notable difference between the two groups is in the probability of being unemployed at the point of contact. Ex-YTS participants were almost three times as likely to be unemployed as non participants. Again differing qualification levels between the two groups are probably important here. It has to be remembered though, that the ex-YTS trainees reported on in our sample were all early leavers from the scheme and these have been shown in national surveys to have a higher propensity to unemployment than have completers of the scheme.

TABLE 7.2 CURRENT DESTINATION OF ALL EX-YTS TRAINEES BY AREA

Destination	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employed	13	(48)	14	(88)	28	(90)
Unemployed	8	(30)	1	(6)	3	(10)
Other	6	(22)	1	(6)	-	-
TOTAL	27	(100)	16	(100)	31	(100)

It is useful here to consider the destination at contact of those young people who had no experience of the YTS. Table 7.3 below indicates current destination of all non ex-YTS respondents.

TABLE 7.3 CURRENT DESTINATION OF ALL RESPONDENTS WITH NO EXPERIENCE OF THE YTS.

Destination	No.	Percent
Employed	40	(77)
Unemployed	3	(6)
FT Education	1	(2)
Other	8	(15)
TOTAL	52	(100)

7.3 REASONS GIVEN FOR LEAVING THE YTS

In this section we look at the reasons why young people left the YTS. Young people may have left the scheme for one of a range of reasons detailed in table 7.4 below. They may for instance have left to move directly into employment or may perhaps have quit the scheme because of some dissatisfaction. The table below indicates the reasons given for leaving, for all young people with experience of the YTS. It includes some current as well as past trainees because current

trainees in some cases were on their second or perhaps even third YTS place.

As detailed in table 114, 114 young people had entered and left the YTS in the period since leaving school, out of a total sample of 187. The impact of the YTS on this group of minimum age school leavers then has been enormous. Because the table involves some double counting in that some youngsters may have entered and left the scheme a number of times, a more accurate picture of the extent of the coverage of the YTS may be gained by focussing on the proportion of young people who did not experience the scheme. In all, 52 young people did not enter the YTS, representing 28 per cent of the sample. Therefore 72 per cent of all young people interviewed had experience of the scheme.

The two columns in the *Table 7.4* refer to movement from the first and second YTS scheme experienced. In both cases the largest category is accounted for by young people gaining employment with their sponsor, and the second largest, by young people leaving the scheme to take up jobs outside (54 per cent of young people overall). These groups are of roughly similar size in both cases, although the second group (movement to jobs outside the scheme) is slightly more important in movement from the second YTS scheme. Thirty five per cent young people were taken into employment by their sponsor before full entitlement to the YTS was exhausted. It may be that after a certain point the usefulness of the scheme to employers declines, ie. it may be useful in the provision of general training but not of specific training relating to the particular needs, skills and philosophy of the firm (Knasel and Watts, 1987). Involuntary movement from the YTS was almost twice as high in the second scheme as in the first. Voluntary movement for reasons other than employment was quite high in

both the first and second scheme, and took place for a variety of reasons. It accounted for around 26 per cent of all movement from the schemes.

TABLE 7.4 REASONS FOR LEAVING THE YTS. (ALL YTS ENTRANTS)

Reason	(i)		(ii)	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Taken on full time by sponsor	33	(35)	8	(35)
Left to take up a job elsewhere	17	(18)	8	(22)
Left to look for a job	4	(4)	1	(4)
Sacking	8	(9)	4	(17)
Quit	25	(28)	5	(22)
Other	4	(7)		
TOTALS	91	(100)	23	(100)

Notes

Columns (i) and (ii) refer to the first and second YTS scheme entered, respectively. There were only three young people with experience of more than two YTS schemes. There may well be some double counting ie. a small number of people may have moved between a number of jobs and schemes.

The majority of young people that quit the YTS were returners to the scheme at the time of survey. Those who were forced to leave a scheme due to sacking (12) were roughly evenly distributed between the YTS, employment and unemployment. Those who entered employment tended to remain in jobs, with 82 per cent of those who left to take up jobs elsewhere, still in jobs at the later date (although not necessarily the same job). The figure was almost as high for those taken on by their YTS sponsor at 79 per cent, with 9 per cent back on the YTS and 12 per cent unemployed. Of the small group of young people who left YTS to look for a job (4) all were in employment when interviewed.

It is interesting to note the relationship between destination at contact of ex-YTS trainees, and the reason given for leaving the YTS. Table 7.5 below details this relationship.

Turnover rates from the scheme tended to be higher for females than for males. As indicated in the table females were less likely to give as a reason for leaving the YTS,- an immediate move into employment. In total 53 per cent of females left the scheme for this reason, but 58 per cent of males. The major difference between the two groups is in the level of trainees taken into employment with their scheme sponsor or work placement provider. For females this group amounts to 29.5 per cent and for males 43 per cent. This discrepancy between the two groups probably reflects the way in which the YTS has 'colonised' the apprenticeship system (Peck, 1989).

As noted the YTS now constitutes the first year or two years of many apprenticeship schemes. Of course apprenticeships are open to females as well as males, but in reality the vast majority of apprentices are male. YTS constitutes an important proportion of the long duration training in all sectors. A survey of employers in late 1987 (reported in Labour Market Quarterley Bulletin, October 1988) shows this proportion ranging from 12 per cent in Financial Services to 40 per cent in the Retail sector. The survey also reveals that the YTS provides about one third of the substantial training effort in Construction and Mechanical Engineering and about one third of all long duration trainees are under the YTS. For 16 year olds, the figure will be much higher because of the penetration of the scheme in this group.

A statistical test was run to assess the significance of the gender difference in the reasons given for leaving the YTS. A Chi square test revealed that the difference was not significant. For the purposes of the test, distinction was drawn between those who left to move directly into employment (either with a scheme sponsor or some

other agent) and those leaving for other reasons (including leaving to look for employment). The test may have proved more significant if those taken into employment by their sponsor had been isolated, as it was in this category that the major difference between males and females occurred.

Females were more likely than males to find employment outside the scheme with 23 per cent doing so, compared to 15 per cent of males. This partly reflects the point made in the previous paragraph. Females were also more likely to quit the scheme or to leave for other reasons, than were males. A small group of young women left because of pregnancy. Although young women were more likely to have left the YTS at the point of interview then, it does not appear that they were doing so to move into immediate employment opportunities. Data presented in Chapter Five shows that where young women were in jobs at the time of interview these employment opportunities tended to be inferior (according to the criteria selected) to those of their male counterparts. There are a number of figures worth note. Firstly, the strong attachment to employment once entered, 79 per cent of young people who were taken into employment with their scheme sponsor, were still in jobs at the time of interview, although not necessarily the same jobs. Similarly, 82 per cent of those leaving to take up jobs elsewhere were still in employment. Of the young people who quit their first YTS scheme, over half of them were back on the YTS when contacted. The highest rate of unemployment was found among those who left the YTS as a result of sackings (these figures do not occur in the table because of their size). One third of these youngsters were unemployed (although admittedly the numbers are small) , compared to 14 per cent (3) of those leaving for 'Other' reasons, and 12 per cent (4) of those taken on by their scheme sponsor. An interesting category

is that of the youngsters who left the YTS for 'Other' reasons including:- end of training period; too far to travel; disagreements with other employees; left to look for a job. Just over 43 per cent of these young people were in jobs when interviewed, however almost one quarter, of these young people were out of the labour force. Generally these were females with family responsibilities.

TABLE 7.5 CURRENT DESTINATION OF EX YTS TRAINEES AND REASONS GIVEN FOR LEAVING THE SCHEME. (PERCENTAGES IN BRACKETS)

Reasons for leaving	Current Destination				Totals
	Emp	Unemp	YTS	Other	
Employment with scheme sponsor	29 (79)	4 (12)	3 (9)	- -	33 (100)
Employment with other employer	14 (82)	1 (6)	1 (6)	1 (6)	17 (100)
Quit	5 (19)	3 (12.5)	14 (56)	3 (12.5)	25 (100)

Table 7.6 below indicates the reasons for leaving the YTS on a gender basis. We noted earlier that young women were more likely to have left the scheme at contact than were young men.

TABLE 7.6 REASONS FOR LEAVING THE YTS. BREAKDOWN BY GENDER

Reasons for leaving	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employment with scheme sponsor	20	(43)	13	(30)
Employment with other employer	7	(15)	10	(23)
Quit	14	(13)	19	(43)
Sacking	6	(13)	2	(5)
TOTALS	44	(100)	47	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

7.4 REASONS GIVEN FOR LEAVING THE YTS, THE AREA DIMENSION

Table 7.7 indicates why young people in the three areas left the YTS. The figures refer to the first scheme only to avoid double counting. The numbers of individuals leaving a second YTS place in the three areas amounted to:- 6 in Castlemilk; 1 in the Inner South; and 9 from East Kilbride.

Apparent from the table (and discussed earlier in the Chapter Six) is the differing level of coverage of the YTS in the three areas. Almost twice as many young people in the East Kilbride area entered and left the scheme as did those in Inner South. The rate at which young people leave the scheme will be a function of , among other things, the availability of job opportunities in the local area. Even though the Inner South had the smallest group of youngsters leaving the YTS, (ie. the lowest turnover rate with 50 per cent of entrants still on the scheme at contact), the area had the largest proportions of trainees leaving to move directly into employment either with the scheme sponsor or some other employer. In all three areas the most important reason given for leaving the YTS is 'Taken into employment with scheme sponsor'. This varies however by area with 53 per cent of young people in the Inner South in this category, but only 32 per cent in Castlemilk and 39 per cent in East Kilbride. Also important in both East Kilbride and the Inner South is that group of young people leaving the scheme to take up jobs elsewhere. These groups amount to 21 per cent and 29 per cent respectively. The equivalent figure for Castlemilk however is 11 per cent.

As noted earlier in the chapter, one of the factors that will affect the levels of youngsters leaving for jobs in the three areas will be

the point in time at which they were interviewed. Young people for example may be more likely to move into jobs the longer they are on the YTS. Putting this aside, however, at this point in time there is a wide disparity between areas. In all, 48 per cent of young people in Castlemilk; 82 per cent in the Inner South area; and 60 per cent in East Kilbride left the YTS to move directly into employment. Table 6.3 detailed the levels of current YTS trainees in the three areas, as a percentage of all entrants to the scheme in each areas. As noted there, 'turnover' appeared to be highest in the East Kilbride area, with only 38 per cent of all entrants to the YTS in this area remaining on the scheme at contact. Young people in the Inner South were more likely to remain on the scheme with 50 per cent remaining at contact, and 40 per cent in the Castlemilk area. These figures also varied on the basis of gender in each area. The question raised in that section was, to what extent were these early leavers from the scheme, leaving to move directly into employment.

Taken in conjunction with the information conveyed in table 7.7 we can see that, although young people from the Inner South were more likely to remain on the scheme once entered, they were also the most likely to move directly into employment when they did leave. This reflects the fact that they were least likely to leave the scheme voluntarily without having a job to go to. Young people from Castlemilk were most likely to find dissatisfaction with their place on the YTS and leave voluntarily (although as noted earlier some young women left because of pregnancy) and were less likely to move directly into employment. This presumably is part of the explanation as to why the level of ex-YTS trainees in employment in this area was so low at contact.

TABLE 7.7 REASONS FOR LEAVING THE YTS ON AN AREA BASIS

Reasons	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employment with scheme sponsor*	9	(32)	9	(53)	13	(39)
Employment with another employer	3	(11)	5	(29)	7	(21)
Look for a job	1	(4)	1	(6)	2	(6)
Quit	5	(18)	-	-	5	(15)
Sacking	2	(7)	1	(6)	2	(6)
Other	8	(29)	1	(6)	4	(12)
Totals	28	(100)	17	(100)	33	(100)

It should be noted that a small number of cases have been 'dropped' in the calculation of this table

7.5 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF THE YTS ON EMPLOYMENT CHANCES

In the preceding sections we have considered the levels of young people leaving the YTS to move directly into employment as well as the current employment levels of all ex-YTS trainees. We looked at the gender and area breakdown in employment levels following the scheme. Although this gives useful insights, it is not however a wholly accurate assessment of the impact of participation on the YTS on employment chances of the individual. In order to do this we would have to take a number of additional factors into consideration.

In the following sections we consider a range of issues.

Firstly, employment levels following the scheme may differ between certain groups and areas because of the characteristics of the young people involved. A higher proportion of young people in the Inner South, for example, may move directly into employment from the scheme,

because they are the better qualified, the most desirable to employers and consequently the most likely to move into employment in the absence of YTS. There must be some account taken of the characteristics and qualities of the young person at the point of entry to YTS. The characteristic we use here is level of educational attainment. This has been shown in numerous pieces of research to be one of the most important determinants of labour market success.

In this section then, we consider firstly the qualification levels of current trainees by area, to ascertain whether there is a wide qualification differential between area groups; secondly we compare qualification levels between young people who left the YTS to move directly into employment and those who moved directly into employment from school without experience of the YTS. This latter group is divided into young people who moved into employment directly from school without experience of unemployment and those who experience unemployment in that transition; thirdly, we consider YTS outcomes for unqualified young people.

Qualification levels of YTS trainees in the three areas are detailed in table 7.8 below. Although young people from Castlemilk were as a whole less well qualified than the other area groups, those young people on YTS are particularly poorly qualified with the vast majority obtaining no O'grades passes from school. Only 16 per cent of these young people obtained one O'grade pass, whereas 48 per cent of young people (on the YTS surveyed in East Kilbride achieved this and as many as 83 per cent in the Inner South area. The table demonstrates that although these young people were all in the same destination at the point of contact they were in fact very different. In qualification terms, the differences are more stark between YTS trainees in the

different areas, than they are among the whole area groups. No YTS trainee in Castlemilk is qualified beyond one O'grade, whereas 55 per cent of trainees interviewed in the Inner South and 33 per cent in the East Kilbride area are.

To a certain extent, of course, we are dealing with a selected group here. Many young people have joined and left the YTS to take up employment since leaving school. These young people whose characteristics we detail here were still on the YTS eighteen months after leaving school and the group may be heavily weighted towards those that find most difficulty in moving into employment, ie the unqualified and the disadvantaged. Even taking this into account though we still have vast differences between the area groups and as we shall see this unavoidably feeds through into the types of schemes entered by young people.

TABLE 7.8 QUALIFICATIONS OF YTS TRAINEES AND OTHERS BY AREA. PERCENTAGES

Level of Attainment	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	YTS	Area	YTS	Area	YTS	Area
No O'Grades (1-3)	18	28	17	10	52	27
1 O'Grade	16	25	83	77	48	60
2 O'Grades	-	10	55	64	33	52
3 O'Grades	-	5	33	50	28	41
4 O'Grades	-	5	17	35	14	24
5 O'Grades	-	2	11	24	5	14
More	-	-	-	14	-	6

Table 7.9 below, compares qualification levels of those moving into employment through the YTS, and others who moved directly into employment from school. In the table the YTS1 group refers to young people who were taken into employment by their scheme sponsor; the YTS2 group are young people who left the YTS to take up employment

with an employer other than the scheme sponsor; Emp1 refers to young people in jobs who moved directly into employment from school without experience of either the YTS or unemployment; Emp2 refers to young people in employment who did not go on the YTS but did experience unemployment since leaving school.

The table shows that predictably, the Emp1 group are the best qualified young people in the table with 77 per cent obtaining at least one O'Grade, compared to 54 per cent of Emp2; 73 per cent of YTS1; and 47 per cent of YTS2. Conversely the worst qualified are the YTS2. The YTS1 group provide a good comparison for those young people who moved directly into employment from school, without experience of unemployment. These two groups then were very similar in terms of this characteristic, although the differences between the two groups widen at the point of three O'Grades and above. The wide difference in qualification terms between YTS1 and YTS2 confirms the view that employers tend to use the YTS as a 'creaming off' exercise, retaining the most attractive young people in their own employment. The YTS2 group were very similar in qualification terms to those young people in employment who had no experience of YTS but did experience unemployment. A comparison with the qualification levels of all young people in employment shows that YTS2 were less well qualified (by substantial margins) at almost all levels. It may be then that the YTS was helping these young people into employment (YTS2) where in the absence of the scheme, they would have found more difficulty. However, these young people only formed 34 per cent of those who moved directly into employment from the YTS. Missing from this discussion is any analysis of the characteristics of young people who left the scheme for reasons other than employment, but moved into jobs sometime after. Unfortunately, only 19 per cent (5) young people were in this

category, which makes analysis less than worthwhile.

TABLE 7.9 QUALIFICATION LEVELS OF EX-YTS TRAINEES AND OTHER YOUNG PEOPLE COMPARED

Level of Attainment	Emp1		YTS1		Emp2		YTS2	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No O'Grades (1-3)	6	(23)	9	(27)	6	(46)	8	(47)
1 O'Grade	19	(77)	24	(73)	7	(54)	9	(53)
2 O'Grades	16	(62)	20	(61)	6	(46)	8	(47)
3 O'Grades	15	(58)	13	(39)	5	(39)	5	(29)
4 O'Grades	9	(35)	7	(21)	4	(31)	4	(24)
5 O'Grades	5	(19)	3	(9)	3	(23)	3	(18)
SAMPLE SIZES	25		33		13		17	

With regard to YTS outcomes for unqualified youngsters, there were 36 unqualified youngsters with experience of the YTS, who had left the scheme by the time of survey. Of these, 31 per cent were unemployed at contact; 56 per cent were in jobs; and 14 per cent were out of the labour force. Nineteen unqualified young people in the sample had no experience of the YTS and of these, 68 per cent were in employment when contacted; 11 per cent were unemployed; and 21 per cent were out of the labour market, either temporarily sick or with family responsibilities. The employment/unemployment rates differ between the two groups, with those avoiding the YTS experience being more likely to be in jobs and less likely to be unemployed when contacted.

If we compare the YTS outcomes for the unqualified with that of all ex-YTS participants (54 disregarding those leavers from the scheme who were back on the YTS when interviewed), we find that the unqualified had a much lower employment rate and a much higher unemployment rate. Taking all ex-YTS trainees, 83 per cent were in employment when contacted, and 9 per cent were unemployed. If we removed the

unqualified from this group the employment rates (unemployment rate) would be even higher (lower). YTS then did not appear to be compensating for the lack of qualifications of this group. As our analysis shows, young people who moved directly into employment from the scheme tended to be the better qualified, and similar in qualification terms to those moving into work, without the help of the YTS.

7.6 QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE YTS

In this section we consider whether the employment entered by ex-YTS youngsters differed in qualitative terms from that of other young people. We divide others in employment into that group entering employment straight from school, and that group experiencing unemployment before moving into employment. We use as indicators for the quality of employment, the wage level, the length of training in the job and the presence or absence of promotion prospects in the job.

If we consider the YTS as a manpower programme aimed at enhancing human capital and therefore productivity, we would expect YTS youngsters to earn more, after controlling for qualifications (Main and Shelley, 1988). Our modest intention in this section is to ascertain where ex-trainees locate in the labour market in relation to other groups of young people in jobs. Table 7.10 below, compares the mean wage of the four groups of young people in employment. The figures measure average net weekly wage. In this respect the present analysis is weakened because it does not allow for the number of hours worked per week. Young people were generally working full time. The first two groups are ex-YTS youngsters. YTS1 refers to those young people who were taken into employment by their scheme sponsor. YTS2

refers to young people who left the YTS to take up employment directly with some other employer. Absent from the analysis then for the present are young people who left the YTS for some other reason but who were in employment at contact. The other two groups in the analysis are both non ex-YTS and are explained adequately in the table, the main distinction between these two groups being in terms of unemployment experience.

It can be seen from the table that the group earning the highest average wage, was that group of young people who moved straight into jobs from school with no experience of either YTS or unemployment. Earlier analysis indicated that this group tended to be the better qualified of the sample. The next largest average wage was that of the YTS1 group (ie. young people finding employment with their scheme sponsor). Again these tended to be the better qualified of the group moving directly into jobs from the scheme. The surprise result is that of the mean wage of YTS2 which stands at £61.93 compared to the £57.75 of that group of non-YTS participants who did experience some unemployment. Our analysis of qualification levels indicated that by and large this latter group (those with experience of unemployment) were better qualified than YTS2.

The YTS then may be helping this particular group into better paid employment than would otherwise be the case. As indicated by Main and Shelley (1988), the human capital implications of a manpower policy such as the YTS is that ex-YTS trainees should on average earn more than they otherwise would have done, due to their augmented productivity. It has to be recognised though that the level of educational attainment of the individual is only one of a range of factors that determine employment probabilities and reward levels in

employment. The lower mean wage of non-YTS participants with experience of unemployment may in part be explained by the period of unemployment which may have lowered the reservation wage and lowered the productive potential of the individuals in the eyes of employers.

Another interesting feature of the table is the difference in mean wage between YTS1 and YTS2. This may partly be explained by the fact that those young people remaining with their sponsor make more use of specific training received, and are rewarded for this. Those leaving the scheme to join employers elsewhere will only be able to make use of any general training received on the scheme and so their rewards will be lower. However there was also a difference in educational attainment between these two groups (those taken into employment with their sponsor, being better qualified).

TABLE 7.10 COMPARISON OF MEAN WAGES. EX-YTS PARTICIPANTS AND NON PARTICIPANTS.

Group	Mean wage	Number
YTS1 Group	64.35	26
YTS2 Group	61.93	14
No experience of YTS experience of unemployment	57.75	13
No experience of either YTS or unemployment	65.58	25

Note: The numbers may be smaller in certain categories, than previously indicated because not all young people were prepared to reveal their earnings

One problem with table 7.10 and, of course, the problem in many areas of this thesis is that the numbers are small in some categories. The table can, therefore, only be taken as an indication of the possible impact of YTS participation on the level of reward received. A more thorough test of its impact would require a larger sample size. The

difference in wage levels observed was not tested for statistical significance because of the small numbers involved.

As noted, for a sizeable group of young people the YTS formed the first year of perhaps a three or four year apprenticeship. Even though these young people had moved into employment they were still undergoing training of some length. In line with theories of human capital it would be expected that this group would be receiving a lower wage as a reflection of the investment being undertaken by both themselves and their employer. The majority of those leaving the YTS for employment were still receiving training in their present job, although this observation differed for particular groups. Of young people finding employment with their sponsor (YTS1), 92 per cent were receiving training in the job. For young people leaving to join another employer (YTS2), the figure is lower at 57 per cent. The average length of training period for the four groups identified in table 7.10 is illustrated below in table 7.11.

Other groups in employment were receiving training in their present jobs and these serve as a useful comparison. Taking the other two main routes into employment again, of those who went straight into jobs from school, 80 per cent were receiving training in the job, but only 61 per cent of those who moved into jobs from unemployment. Young people from YTS2 then were less likely to be receiving training, and as the table 7.11 shows where they did receive training, it was likely to be of a shorter period than that of the other groups.

As indicated in table 7.11, the group receiving the longest period of training was made up of young people with experience of unemployment, but not of YTS. Analysis of the average weekly wage showed that this group was likely to be earning a lower wage than the other three

groups. This extended period of training perhaps explains why this was the case. This observation, coupled with the fact that YTS2 were likely to be in jobs with the shortest average training period, in part qualifies the higher average wage of YTS2 observed in the previous analysis (table 7.10). It appears then that although the YTS may be helping some young people (ie YTS2 - the less qualified youngsters on the scheme) to better paid employment than that experienced by peers with similar characteristics (ie those with unemployment experience but no experience of YTS), they were likely to be receiving less training in their current posts. This raises the question of whether the higher wage received was in fact due to some higher production potential imparted by YTS or due to the fact that they did not have (some part) of extended training costs to bear.

The YTS1 group (those taken on by their sponsor) were more likely than any other group, to be receiving training in their present post, at 92 per cent. The nearest group to this was those young people moving directly into work from school. However, this latter group had an average training period of only 57 weeks compared to 110 weeks for the YTS1 group. This difference then in training received may partly explain the lower average wage of the YTS1 (although, as noted previously, those moving directly into jobs from school tended to be the best qualified of the sample.

TABLE 7.11 LENGTH OF TRAINING PERIOD COMPARED. EX-YTS PARTICIPANTS AND OTHERS.

Group	Average length of training (wks)	Number
YTS1	109.5	(30)
YTS2	54.7	(10)
No experience of YTS, experience of unemployment	128.7	(8)
No experience of YTS, No experience of unemployment	56.6	(20)

The final indicator used here to indicate the 'quality' of job entered after YTS is that of the presence or absence of promotion prospects in the job. Table 7.12 shows the difference in promotion prospects among the identified groups. As noted in Chapter Five, this may be the least reliable of the indicators based as it is on personal opinion or judgement of the respondent. However, if taken in conjunction with the other indicators of remuneration and training it may give useful insights into quality of employment following YTS.

As shown in table 7.12 there are only slight differences between the groups. Surprisingly, perhaps, young people who moved into employment with their YTS sponsor (YTS1) were the least likely to indicate positive employment prospects in their present job. The second lowest level (62 per cent) was expressed by those who moved into employment after some experience of unemployment (and none of YTS). The low

levels of positive promotion prospects indicated by these groups is surprising because they were receiving the longest average length of training period (see table 7.11). In this instance then training in the job appears to be unrelated to the presence of promotion prospects (or is negatively related, when a positive relation would be expected).

TABLE 7.12 COMPARISONS OF THE PROMOTION PROSPECTS OF EX-YTS PARTICIPANTS AND OTHERS.

Group	Positive	Don't Know/None
YTS1	58	42
YTS2	64	36
No experience of YTS experience of Unemployment	62	39
No experience of YTS, no experience of unemployment	64	36

7.7 THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THOSE STILL ON THE YTS

The young people that were on YTS at the point of contact theoretically could have been on the scheme for almost two years. In reality many had moved between a number of different labour market states. Many had experienced unemployment of some length, others had experience of more than one YTS place, few had tasted full time employment. We have, in this chapter, considered the different types of characteristics of young people who moved from the YTS into jobs. We now address the implications for young people still on the scheme at the time of survey.

Our analysis indicates that in general, current YTS trainees tended to be less well qualified than young people in jobs. At all levels young

men on the YTS were less well qualified than both those in jobs and all males interviewed. Females were better qualified than males but still tended to be less well qualified than those in jobs. Perhaps the real comparison for those on YTS though, (if we are considering the employment probabilities of those remaining) is that group who have moved from the YTS into jobs.

If we compare these two groups we find that in general current YTS trainees are less well qualified. This observation applies particularly to boys remaining on the YTS. Whereas 73 per cent of young people gaining employment with their sponsor had attained one O'grade, only 35 per cent of current YTS males had done so. The figure for those moving from the scheme into employment with another employer was 53 per cent. Similarly only 21 per cent of current male trainees were qualified to two O'grades compared to 61 per cent of those moving into jobs with their scheme sponsor, and 47 per cent of those leaving to take up employment elsewhere.

As we know, fewer girls moved into employment from the YTS than did boys, over the period since leaving school. In addition to this there were fewer females on the scheme at the point of contact. It appears to be that the opportunities for employment, arising from YTS, (primarily with sponsors, as this was the most important source of employment) are greater for males than for females, regardless of the levels of qualifications. This ties in with the dearth of apprenticeship opportunities for girls. Boys on the YTS tended to be from the group of unqualified young people in the sample. Those with good qualifications, or any qualifications at all were likely to have left the scheme and moved into employment. This situation tends to support the view of the labour market taking the form of a queue

(Thurow, 1976). Those at the front of the queue will be the best qualified, not only in terms of educational credentials, but other characteristics of interest to the employer. They will be the first to move into employment. The YTS does not seem to have altered this. Those at the back of the queue will be the least desirable in employers' eyes and will be the last to gain employment. Whether this actually takes place depends on the structure of opportunities in the economy and the level of demand. It does not appear then to be particularly the case that the YTS is getting these unqualified youngsters into jobs at an earlier stage than they otherwise would have been in the normal labour market.

Youngsters who moved into employment with their scheme sponsor were relatively well qualified. The only group better qualified was that made up of young people who moved directly into jobs from school. Other young people who left the YTS to move directly into jobs with an outside employer make up 35 per cent of ex-YTS trainees who left to take up employment. This group tended to be less qualified than all other groups in employment. The YTS may then have been helping these young people into jobs at an earlier stage than might otherwise have been the case. This could be construed as limited success. However, as detailed in table 7.11, these youngsters tended to be in jobs with little or no training component.

Other implications for those remaining on the YTS can be drawn from the consideration of employment rates from particular occupational areas. The highest employment rates were found to be in the areas of Construction, Engineering, and the 'Other' category (the figures were 68.1 per cent, 58.3 per cent and 53.8 per cent respectively). The largest proportion of current YTS trainees were in the Retail,

Services, Sales sector at 28 per cent. Unfortunately, this sector was found to have the second lowest employment rate at 44.1 per cent. The three sectors noted above were all well represented at 17.5 per cent of current trainees each. The remainder of trainees were in Administration/Clerical with an employment rate of 51.7 per cent.

The figures suggest that movement from the scheme into employment may be at a slower rate for those remaining on the scheme. Mainly because of the concentration of youngsters in the Retail, Services, Sales sector. Those training in the areas with the highest employment rates may well have better chances of employment. However there are a number of points to note. Firstly as noted at the beginning of this section, employment rates from different occupational areas will obviously reflect to some extent the types of youngsters that enter them. Secondly in relation to this first point, the majority of youngsters moving into employment from the three areas of Construction, Engineering and the 'Other' category, did so with their scheme sponsor. These youngsters tended to be better qualified *than* remaining on the YTS.

As noted, the lowest employment rates were found to be in the areas of Administration/ Clerical; Retail, Services, Sales; and Hotel and Catering. This has particular implications for the inequality of experience of females on the YTS. As noted in tables 6.10 and 6.11, young women were predominantly concentrated in retail/ services/sales (50 per cent of current female trainees) and administration and clerical work (34.8 per cent). This does not bode well for the girls remaining on the scheme and to some extent explains the low employment rate from the YTS for girls.

Finally, we look at the implications for those on the YTS in the three

areas under study. Young people in the Castlemilk area were particularly likely to be unqualified. Looking at occupational areas of training, Administration/Clerical and Retail, Services, Sales accounted for 26.7 per cent (3) of Castlemilk males and 16.7 per cent (2) of East Kilbride males. Young men from the Inner South were concentrated in Engineering to the point of 75 per cent. Young men on the YTS in Castlemilk then may be further handicapped. The situation for girls was slightly different, with girls in all three areas overwhelmingly concentrated in those areas of work with the lowest employment rates.

7.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are a number of points to highlight from this chapter.

Most importantly, employment levels from the scheme were shown to differ on both the basis of gender and of area.

- Gender

Taking all ex-YTS trainees, males were more likely than females to be in employment although the difference between the two groups is slight. Males were more likely than females to be taken into employment with a scheme sponsor at 43 per cent compared to 30 per cent; although females were more likely to leave the scheme to take up employment with another employer. Overall movement (directly) into employment from the scheme favours males at 58 per cent compared to 53 per cent for females. These gender differences although not statistically significant were important. It was shown that training in the job was far more extensive for those taken on by the sponsor.

These gender differences reflect the fact that the YTS has been unable to compensate for the gender inequality that exists in the system of apprenticeships. Rather the YTS has reinforced this inequality.

- Area

It was found that employment levels from the YTS differed on the basis of area. For all ex-YTS trainees, employment levels ranged from 48 per cent in Castlemilk; to 88 per cent in the Inner South and 90 per cent in East Kilbride. It was not possible to determine the statistical significance of this observation because the numbers not in employment in both the Inner South and East Kilbride were too small.

Similarly, in terms of youngsters taken on by their sponsor there is an area difference with the level of Inner South particularly high. Overall direct employment from the scheme amounted to 42 per cent in Castlemilk; 82 per cent in in the Inner South; and 60 per cent in East Kilbride. These differential employment rates are bound up with characteristics of young people in each area. Looking at the characteristics of young people taken into employment by a sponsor - these young people were similar in qualification terms to those young people who moved directly into work from school. Those young people who moved into work with an employer, other than their YTS sponsor were less well-qualified than all others in employment. For this group then participation on the YTS may have improved their chances of a move into employment than would otherwise have been the case.

Castlemilk youngsters, whether on the YTS or not were very poorly qualified. Even ex-YTS youngsters taken into employment with an employer other than their YTS sponsors were far better qualified than

this group (note Tables 7.8 and 7.9). The impact on employment chances, then, as a result of participation on the scheme for this group were likely to be minimal, but in this analysis, this appears to be mainly a result of their lack of qualifications. Unqualified youngsters had much lower overall employment rates following the scheme than did others. The employment level for ex-YTS trainees amounted to 56 per cent for the unqualified, and 83 per cent for all others.

In conclusion then:

- The YTS was unable to alter the gender inequality that exists in the entry to skilled employment. It was supporting rather than challenging this inequality mainly because of the way it had been absorbed into the apprenticeship scheme.
- The YTS was unable to alter the inequality of employment chances that result from differing levels of educational attainment. The patterns of youngsters moving into employment were a reflection of qualification levels, and the YTS was unable to alter this. The YTS outcomes (in terms of employment) were particularly poor for unqualified youngsters, although it is difficult to say what these levels would have been in the absence of YTS.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE EMPLOYED AND NON-EMPLOYED COMPARED

8.1 INTRODUCTION

While previous chapters have looked at the various destinations young people had reached by the time of interview and at the significance of various characteristics and factors in determining their fate, this chapter looks at the job search activities of both employed and non employed young people. The significance of various factors such as qualifications, socio-economic grouping of father, or employment status of father will be considered in Chapter Ten. These are all characteristics which may or may not be attractive to employers. A further factor we consider here is the actual supply of labour itself, which in this context refers to the actual number of job applications a young person made or the areas in which they were prepared to look for work. The question posed is whether those in jobs at contact, tended to apply for more vacancies than the non employed, or undertook search over a wider spatial area. There were of course differential employment rates by gender and by area, perhaps these could be explained by females applying for a larger number of posts than males, or perhaps those from East Kilbride search for work over a wider spatial area than those from the Inner South or Castlemilk.

This chapter looks at the successful job finding methods of young people in employment and compares them with the methods used by currently unemployed youngsters, as well as comparing gender and area groups. It also compares the employed and unemployed in terms of the reservation wage (an important component of the search theory of unemployment), and employment conditions. Chapter Nine continues the job search theme looking at job search activity since leaving school

of all young people, comparing the levels of job applications and the areas young people applied for jobs in. Also the areas in which young people actually worked and trained.

8.2 JOB SEARCH METHODS AND THE EMPLOYED

This section focuses initially on young people currently in employment. Respondents were asked how they first came to hear about their current job. It would be expected that the role of the Careers Service would be prominent for this group, as well as the role of relatives and friends in employment. Previous research has indicated that this latter job finding method is particularly important in obtaining the first position in the labour market and in gaining access to unskilled and semi skilled employment. The following tables indicate that this was in fact the case.

Table 8.1 details the job finding methods used by males and females in finding their current employment. The table demonstrates a number of major differences between the sexes. Firstly males were more likely to indicate that they had first heard about their job through the Careers Office. Young people who indicated this, were mainly those who found employment through the YTS, (being taken into employment by their YTS sponsor). The Careers Service effectively operated as the gatekeeper to the YTS, so that most young people were placed on the scheme and thus into employment by the service. Chapter Seven in this thesis details the differing YTS experience of males and females. Males were found to be more likely to be taken into employment by their sponsor because of the way the apprenticeship system operates within the YTS.

A more significant difference however, between these groups, occurs in the category of Job Centre. Females were more than three times as

likely as males to find employment through the Job Centre. The analysis in this section is somewhat constrained as there were only 97 young people in employment at contact. However 17 per cent of females obtained their jobs through this method compared to 5 per cent of males. It is not immediately clear why this should be the case, although it perhaps partly reflects the inferior employment opportunities within the YTS for females.

Males were more likely to find employment through a relative. Table 8.1 indicates that 26 per cent of males obtained their employment through this method compared to 17 per cent of females. Taking both informal methods of job search together (that of family and that of friends), 35 per cent of males found employment this way as did 28 per cent of females. This method of job search, then, was important for both groups, although slightly more important for males than for females. The statistical significance of this observation was tested using a Chi square test. For the purposes of the test distinction was made between formal and informal methods of job search. The difference was not found to be significant.

Speculative visits to employers were not used heavily by either group although speculative letters were slightly more common.

TABLE 8.1 : JOB FINDING METHODS BY GENDER.

Method	Male		Female	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Careers Service	17	(40)	17	(31)
Job Centre	2	(5)	9	(17)
Newspaper	-	-	3	(6)
Speculative Visit	3	(7)	4	(7)
Speculative Letter	5	(12)	5	(9)
Relative	11	(26)	9	(17)
Friend	4	(9)	6	(11)
Other	1	(2)	1	(2)
TOTALS	43	(100)	54	(100)

Table 8.2 details the methods by which young people in each of the three areas found their current employment. There are some interesting features to note. Firstly, young people from Castlemilk were more likely than either of the other area groups to have found their employment through the Careers Service. On initial viewing this is surprising because, as detailed in Chapter Seven, young people from the Castlemilk area were not the most likely to be taken into employment by their scheme sponsor. Table 7.7 indicated that 32 per cent of young people from Castlemilk were taken into employment with their training sponsor compared to 53 per cent in the Inner South, and 39 per cent in the East Kilbride area. We can only conclude for the moment that young people from Castlemilk were more likely to gain employment directly from the Careers Service. In a later section of this chapter we look at the extent to which young people made use of the Careers Service during their early labour market experience. It may be that young people from Castlemilk relied more heavily on the Careers Service than other area groups.

The second notable feature of the table is that young people from the Inner South were more likely than those from either of the other area

groups to have first heard about their employment through a relative. For the Inner South the relevant figure is 27 per cent, for Castlemilk and East Kilbride it is 15 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. Taking the two informal methods together however, shows the dependance on this type of job search method to be more equal between the three areas, with young people from Castlemilk being slightly less dependant and those from East Kilbride slightly more dependant on this method. This observation was test for statistical significance using a Chi squar test. For the purpose of the test the distinction was made between informal and formal methods of job search. The differences was not found to be significant.

Other smaller differences worth mention: young people from the Inner South were more likely to gain employment through a speculative letter to an employer than those in the other two areas ; young people from Castlemilk were more likely to gain employment through a speculative visit to an employer. In both cases the difference is smaller than 10 percent.

TABLE 8.2 JOB FINDING METHODS BY AREA:

Method	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Careers Service	11	(42)	10	(30)	13	(34)
Job Centre	2	(8)	4	(12)	5	(13)
Newspaper	-	-	1	(3)	2	(5)
Speculative visit	4	(15)	3	(9)	-	-
Speculative letter	2	(8)	5	(15)	3	(8)
Relative	4	(15)	9	(27)	7	(18)
Friend	3	(12)	1	(3)	6	(16)
Other	-	-	-	-	5	(2)
TOTALS	26	(100)	33	(100)	38	(100)

Table 8.3 and 8.4 below indicate the significance of combining the

effect of both gender and area. The main problem here is that the numbers are reduced further by disaggregating along both of these dimensions.

Even though we are dealing with smaller numbers the tables do help to illuminate the dominating role of gender. In discussion of table 8.2 it was indicated that Castlemilk young people were more likely than those from either of the other two areas to gain employment through the Careers Service. Tables 8.3 and 8.4 show that males from the area account for a large part of this difference. Among females in the three areas the dependance on the Careers Service was roughly equal. Among males though there are wide differences:- 55 per cent of males in Castlemilk gained employment through the Careers Service compared to 29 per cent in the Inner South and 40 percent in East Kilbride.

A further major difference among males in the three areas but not among females is the number of young people using relatives as a source of job information. For females the difference is slight with 19 percent in the Inner South making use of relatives compared to 17 percent in East Kilbride and 13 percent in Castlemilk. For males however the difference is such that 35 percent from the Inner South found work this way compared to 20 percent in East Kilbride and 18 percent in Castlemilk. Unfortunately, the numbers involved are too small to be able to test for statistical significance.

Tables 8.3 and 8.4 also indicate that although overall young people from Castlemilk were more likely to make a speculative visit to an employer, females in the area accounted for a large part of the spatial difference, although as noted earlier, the figures are small.

TABLE 8.3: JOB FINDING METHODS, FEMALES BY AREA.

Method	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Careers Service	5	(33)	5	(31)	7	(30)
Job Centre	2	(13)	3	(19)	4	(17)
Newspaper	-	-	1	(6)	2	(9)
Speculative visit	3	(20)	1	(6)	-	-
Speculative letter	1	(7)	3	(19)	1	(4)
Relative	2	(13)	3	(19)	4	(17)
Friend	2	(13)	-	-	4	(17)
Other	-	-	-	-	1	(4)
TOTAL	15	(100)	16	(100)	23	(100)

Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding

TABLE 8.4: JOB FINDING METHODS, MALES BY AREA

Method	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Careers Service	6	(55)	5	(29)	6	(40)
Job Centre	-	-	1	(6)	1	(7)
Speculative visit	1	(9)	2	(12)	-	-
Speculative letter	1	(9)	2	(12)	2	(13)
Relative	2	(18)	6	(35)	3	(20)
Friend	1	(9)	1	(6)	2	(13)
Other	-	-	-	-	1	(7)
TOTAL	11	(100)	17	(100)	15	(100)

8.3 JOB SEARCH METHODS AND THE NON EMPLOYED

Chapter Three noted that there were 18 unemployed young people at the time of the survey. Data was collected on the characteristics of these young people, as well as their job search methods. These job search methods are reported here and compared with those of young people in employment. Unemployed young people were asked how they found out about vacancies in the labour market.

Table 8.5 details the job search methods of unemployed young people. As the number of unemployed was relatively small, there is no

disaggregation here by area or gender. The table shows that the most heavily used sources of job information for this group are the Job Centre and the Careers Service. Over three quarters of unemployed young people made use of these services. The Careers Service was the most effective job finding method among those in jobs, with 35 percent having first heard about their jobs from this source. However relatively few young people found employment through the Job Centre. The same is true of newspapers although 59 percent of unemployed young people used newspapers to search for work, only 3 percent of employed youngsters found their jobs this way.

It is clear that once a person is unemployed, they will use a variety of sources of information to gather details of possible vacancies. The argument here relates to whether or not it is appropriate to concentrate efforts on particular sources that have proved effective in finding work. Certainly the evidence gathered from employed young people would suggest that unemployed youngsters may be better reducing their use of the Job Centres (who mainly cater for those over 18 years old) and increasing their use of the Careers Service, informal contacts, and speculative applications. There are, however, constraints on these job search methods for example, one of the reasons why some of these young people are out of work may be their lack of informal contacts, or influential informal contacts.

TABLE 8.5 SEARCH METHODS OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE

Job search method	No.	Percent
Job Centre	13	(77)
Careers Service	13	(77)
Newspaper	10	(59)
Friends/ relatives	8	(47)
Speculative applications	6	(35)
Other	1	(6)

8.4 SPATIAL AREAS OF JOB SEARCH FOR THE NON EMPLOYED

In the following table we detail the intended job search areas of young people who were currently on the YTS. These are the areas in which the young people would be prepared to seek employment after completing their scheme. The table disaggregates by gender. Compared to males, it seems that females job search intentions were more restricted. A larger proportion of males than females intended looking for work at each spatial level. The majority of both males and females were prepared to look for work in the city centre, over 90 per cent in both cases, although a slightly larger proportion of males than females stated that they would be seeking employment in that area. Given that the city centre contains a concentration of retail and other service sector employment (mainly employing female), it would perhaps be expected that more females than males would search for work here. However the question was essentially one of willingness to look for work in an area rather than one of the chances of successful job search.

The largest difference between males and females however occurs in the category: 'Other parts of Glasgow (beyond locality)'. Only 36 per cent of females stated that they intended to cover such areas in their spatial job search compared to 63 per cent of males. Males were more

prepared for job search in towns outside Glasgow, in other parts of Scotland and beyond Scotland itself.

Table 8.6 takes all males and females together regardless of location. Area of residence, however, is likely to be important in determining the spatial area over which job search takes place, particularly as in this case a proportion of trainees were from East Kilbride, a town outside Glasgow. It is likely that a smaller proportion of such trainees will search for work in Glasgow city centre say, or in other parts of Glasgow.

TABLE 8.6 YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE YTS, AREAS OF INTENDED JOB SEARCH.

Areas of Glasgow	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Local area (up to 30 minutes walk)	34	(97)	86	(19)
City Centre	33	(94)	20	(91)
Other parts of Glasgow (beyond locality)	22	(63)	8	(36)
Towns outside Glasgow	14	(40)	7	(32)
Other parts of Scotland	5	(14)	2	(9)
Outside of Scotland	5	(14)	1	(5)

* Columns do not sum to 100% because young people could be in more than one category.

Table 8.7 below details the answer to the question 'Will you be looking for work in a particular area?' on an/area basis. It shows that the majority of young people in each area would at least be looking locally for work following their time on the YTS. All trainees from Castlemilk and the Inner South area intended to look for work in Glasgow city centre. Fewer young people from East Kilbride intended to extend their job search this far, reflecting East Kilbride's location at a distance of some eight miles from Glasgow, but also the relatively buoyant local labour market in the town. Even taking this

into account however 81 per cent of YTS trainees in East Kilbride still intended to respond to vacancies in the city centre.

The distance aspect affecting East Kilbride youngsters is highlighted in the third category: 'Other parts of Glasgow', where only 33 per cent were prepared to look for employment compared to 74 per cent in Castlemilk and 53 per cent in the Inner South. There is an interesting difference here between Inner South and Castlemilk youngsters. It seems that Castlemilk trainees were prepared to travel further afield within Glasgow than were Inner South youngsters. Given that the Inner South is relatively well served with train and underground stations allowing easy access to other parts of the city, this is significant although the figures are small. Castlemilk trainees were also more likely to extend job search to other towns outside Glasgow, compared to Inner South trainees. East Kilbride youngsters were most prominent in this category at 48 per cent, reflecting the fact that their location allowed easy access to towns such as Hamilton and Motherwell.

Inner South Youngsters were the most likely to intend to search for work beyond Glasgow or Scotland itself. In this latter respect, Castlemilk youngsters were more restrained in their intentions. The figures however in this analysis are rather small to draw firm conclusions.

TABLE 8.7 SPATIAL AREA OF INTENDED JOB SEARCH FOR YTS TRAINEES BY AREA OF RESIDENCE.

Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Local area (up to 30 minutes walk)	18	(94)	16	(94)	19	(90)
City centre	19	(100)	17	(100)	17	(81)
Other parts of Glasgow (beyond locality)	14	(74)	9	(53)	7	(33)
Towns outside Glasgow	7	(37)	5	(29)	10	(48)
Other parts of Scotland	3	(16)	4	(24)	-	-
Outside of Scotland	1	(5)	3	(18)	3	(14)
Other	-	-	1	(6)	-	-

8.5 A COMPARISON OF THE JOURNEY TO WORK. THE EMPLOYED AND THE NON-EMPLOYED

The area over which a young person seeks work will have important consequences for the success or failure of job search. Success will depend, among other things on the health of the local economy in which the young person finds him/herself in, as well as on the spatial area over which job search is carried out, ie. whether the young person seeks work on a local, regional or national level.

In the present section we first focus on those in employment, considering the way in which the journey to work varies between gender and area groups. We then compare this with the length and cost of the journey to work that the non employed were prepared to make. The objective is to ascertain whether the non employed were restricted in their perceptions of the local labour market. Finally in this section we consider the significance of the reservation wage of the unemployed, as a fundamental aspect of the search theory of unemployment.

Table 8.8 shows the method of travel to work by gender. Previous

research for the population as a whole (ie all age groups) shows quite strongly that females tend to work closer to their place of residence than do males. The usual explanation of this phenomenon is that of female domestic responsibilities. The majority of the young people in the current sample were still resident in the family home, very few having set up their own households. It will be interesting therefore to ascertain whether this observation for the general population holds for younger groups. If it does then some other explanation may need to be offered as to why females tend to have a more constrained travel to work area.

There are a number of points to note from Table 8.8 below. Firstly females were more likely to walk to work. Twenty two percent of females did so compared to 14 percent of males. Travel by bus was almost equally popular between both males and females, with a large majority in each group relying on this mode of transport. A final point from the table is that males were three times as likely as females to travel by train, although the numbers are small.

TABLE 8.8: METHOD OF TRAVEL TO WORK BY GENDER

Mode	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Walk	6	(14)	12	(22)
Bus	25	(58)	33	(61)
Train	5	(12)	2	(4)
Car	6	(14)	6	(11)
Underground	-	-	1	(2)
Cycle	1	(2)	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	43	(100)	54	(100)

Table 8.9 below details the method of travel to work employed by young people in the three study areas. The major difference between the

three groups is the very heavy dependance of young people in Castlemilk on the bus service. As many as 79 percent of those in employment in this area travelled to work by bus, compared to 68 percent in the Inner South area and 38 percent in East Kilbride. As noted in the opening chapter of this thesis, Castlemilk lies on the edge of the city boundaries yet it is contiguous with the built up city area. East Kilbride is more isolated lying further out from the city with green field sites in between, yet the dependance on the public bus service is less than half that of Castlemilk. The explanatory factor is undoubtedly the availability of local job opportunities in the East Kilbride area, which is reflected in our later analysis of the areas in which young people worked and applied for jobs.

Accepting this point on the buoyancy of the local labour market however would lead one to expect that a higher proportion of young people in the East Kilbride area would walk, or perhaps cycle to work. In fact almost equal proportions of young people in both areas walked to work and the numbers cycling was negligible. Young people from East Kilbride were however more likely than those in either of the other areas to travel to work by car, mostly as passengers. Thirty percent of the group did so. The explanation of this result could be drawn from a number of quarters. Firstly it may be that car ownership levels are higher in East Kilbride than in either of the other areas. This is certainly the case in comparison with Castlemilk where 84 percent of households were without a car compared to 38 percent in East Kilbride (1981 Census of Population). Secondly the bus service may not be as reliable or regular as that of Glasgow city. Thirdly the new towns such as East Kilbride were built with car users in mind. It may also be then that the town's traffic system promotes car use, compared

to that of the city.

TABLE 8.9 : METHOD OF TRAVEL TO WORK BY AREA

Mode	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Walk	5	(21)	5	(15)	8	(22)
Bus	19	(79)	23	(68)	14	(38)
Train	-	-	4	(12)	3	(8)
Car	-	-	1	(3)	11	(30)
Underground	-	-	1	(3)	-	-
Cycle	-	-	-	-	1	(3)
TOTALS	24	(100)	34	(100)	37	(100)

Table 8.10 is extremely interesting in light of the discussion in earlier paragraphs. It details the length of the journey to work in minutes. It can be seen quite clearly that on average females undertook a shorter journey to work than did their male counterparts. In all, for 75 percent of females the journey to work lasted less than half an hour, with 32 percent spending less than 15 minutes in getting to work. For males, 57 percent spent less than 30 minutes and 17 percent less than 15 minutes in their journey to work. These appear to be significant differences. Males were more likely to have an extended travel to work journey with 26 percent enduring a journey of 45 minutes or more, compared to 6 percent of females.

The explanation of this observation is unlikely to be that of female domestic responsibilities. There were young women with domestic responsibilities or young children in the sample but they tended not be in employment when surveyed. It may be that employment opportunities for females tended to be located more locally or centrally. For example Chapter Four showed a concentration of young women in employment in the retail sector and service sectors, which

tended to be located in the city centre. It would be possible to reach the city centre in about 30 minutes (in heavy traffic) from most of the areas under study depending on the mode of travel. East Kilbride young women were probably more likely to work in such sectors in the town centre rather than travel into Glasgow. The validity of this hypothesis will be assessed in our later discussion of the areas in which respondents worked.

Rather than young women's employment opportunities being restricted to a certain area. However, it may be that young women are more restrictive in their work search patterns. There may therefore be supply side as well as demand side explanations. It is possible that young women only apply for work in certain areas, or within a certain distance of the home for some reason other than domestic responsibilities. For example Quinn (1986) demonstrated the importance of knowledge of the city area in distribution of applications made. The gender difference in length of journey to work was tested for statistical significance using a Chi square test. For the purposes of the test, the distinction was made between journeys of less than 30 minutes and journeys of 30 minutes or more. The difference was found to be significant at better than the 10 per cent level of significance.

TABLE 8.10: LENGTH OF JOURNEY TO WORK BY GENDER

Time taken	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Less than 15 minutes	7	(17)	17	(32)
15 to 29 minutes	17	(41)	23	(43)
30 to 44 minutes	7	(17)	10	(19)
45 to 60 minutes	7	(17)	2	(4)
More than 1 hour	1	(2)	1	(2)
Varies/missing	2	(5)	-	-
TOTALS	41	(100)	53	(100)

Table 8.11 details the length of time spent in travelling daily to and from work by young people in the three areas. This will quite clearly be related to the mode of transport discussed in the previous paragraphs. The table shows that on average the journey to work took longer for Castlemilk young people than for those in either of the other two areas. Table 8.12 shows the mean length of travel time by area. Those from east Kilbride had the shortest journey to work, the difference between East Kilbride and Castlemilk youngsters extending to five minutes. Twenty nine per cent of East Kilbride had a total daily travel time of less than 30 minutes compared to 23 percent of youngsters from Castlemilk and 25 per cent from the Inner South. The length of the journey is also of course affected by the area in which the young person works. Chapter Nine considers the areas in which different groups of young people worked. The area differences in length of journey to work were not as stark as that for gender. These differences, however, were tested for statistical significance (in the same way gender differences were tested) and were found not be significant.

TABLE 8.11 TOTAL DAILY TRAVEL TIME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT BY AREA.

Time Taken	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Less than 15 minutes	2	(8)	1	(3)	2	(6)
15 to 29 minutes	4	(15)	7	(22)	9	(23)
30 to 59 minutes	10	(42)	17	(50)	14	(40)
60 to 89 minutes	6	(23)	4	(13)	9	(23)
90 to 119 minutes	1	(4)	1	(3)	2	(6)
120 minutes plus	2	(8)	3	(9)	1	(3)
TOTALS	24	(100)	34	(100)	37	(100)

TABLE 8.12 MEAN DAILY TRAVEL TIME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMPLOYMENT BY AREA. Minutes

	Castlemilk	Inner South	East Kilbride
Mean	51.07	47.50	43.17

The mean cost of daily travel to work for all young people in employment was £1.10 daily (for outward and return journey). Table 8.13 shows that females on average spent less money on daily travel to work than did males. The difference extending to more than 30 pence. Given our earlier evidence on the length of journey to work and the fact that females appeared to work in locations closer to the home this is an expected result.

TABLE 8.13 MEAN COST OF THE DAILY JOURNEY TO AND FROM WORK BY GENDER

Gender	Cost
Females	96p
Males	£1.29

Table 8.14 below details the mean cost of daily travel to and from

work by area. It shows that young people from Castlemilk on average faced the most expensive journey to work at £1.19. Young people from the Inner South spent on average, £1.10 daily on travel and those from East Kilbride £1.01. Given that young people from East Kilbride had the shorter journey to work on average, compared to the other two areas, it would be expected that they should also have the lowest daily travel expenses.

TABLE 8.14 MEAN COST OF THE DAILY JOURNEY TO AND FROM WORK BY AREA.

Area	Mean Cost	
Castlemilk	£1.19	n=21
Inner South	£1.10	n=23
East Kilbride	£1.01	n=19

Table 8.15 below details the length of time that unemployed young people indicated they would be prepared to spend in travelling to and from work each day. In the table we compare these with the actual figures for those in employment. The table shows that not only were unemployed young people prepared to work for a lower average wage than the employed, but they were also prepared to spend longer periods of time in daily travel to and from work. This latter result is taken to indicate that the unemployed were prepared to travel further to work.

All unemployed youngsters were willing to spend in excess of 30 minutes in daily travel to work, even though one quarter of all those in jobs had shorter travel to work times. As much as 88 per cent of the unemployed were willing to spend an hour or more in travelling to and from work, although only 31 per cent of employed youngsters actually did so. As there were only 18 young people unemployed at contact, the figures in the categories are small. Caution should be exercised, therefore, in drawing conclusions.

**TABLE 8.15 LENGTH OF TIME WILLING TO SPEND IN DAILY TRAVEL
(THE UNEMPLOYED).**

Time	Unemployed		Employed	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Less than 30 minutes	-	(-)	24	(25)
30 to 59 minutes	2	(12)	41	(44)
60 to 89 minutes	8	(44)	19	(20)
120 minutes plus	8	(44)	10	(11)
TOTALS	18	(100)	94	(100)

A further indicator of willingness to work considered here is the amount of money the unemployed were willing to spend in travelling to and from work daily. Table 8.16 presents a comparison with the employed. As unemployed young people were prepared to travel further afield for work, it would be expected that they would also be prepared to spend more money on daily travel. Table 8.16 reveals that this is in actual fact the case. Unemployed youngsters were prepared to spend a mean of £1.69 daily in travel expenses, whereas employed youngsters had actual travel expenses of £1.10 daily.

The preceding discussion has attempted to give some indication of the willingness or otherwise of the unemployed to take up available work. Their expectations in terms of remuneration and other employment conditions were compared to those for young people in jobs. It is not being argued here that the employed would not be prepared to work for less, or to travel further for work. Rather their situation was used as an indication of employment conditions in the local area.

**TABLE 8.16 AMOUNT OF MONEY WILLING TO SPEND ON DAILY TRAVEL
(THE UNEMPLOYED).**

	Unemployed	Employed
Mean amount	£1.69	£1.10

8.6 THE RESERVATION WAGE AND SEARCH

According to the search theory of unemployment, one of the important determinants of the length of unemployment or the period of job search will be the reservation wage of the individual. This is the wage level below which the person would not be prepared to work. As the length and consequent costs of search mount the theory states that the level of the reservation wage will be adjusted downwards until it is equal to the wage on offer. At this point the costs of further search outweigh any additional benefits. This theory assumes job offers to be forthcoming and attaches little importance to the level of demand in the economy which is likely to determine the number and type of jobs on offer.

Information was collected in this survey on the reservation wage of the unemployed young people. In this section this is compared with the average earnings of those in employment. This allows us to gauge the importance of unrealistic wage expectations as a factor in explaining their unemployment.

Unemployed youngsters were asked, in the event of being offered a job tomorrow, how much would the wage have to be before they could accept the job. This gives the reservation wage, reported in table 8.17. The figures in table 8.17 show that the wage expectations of unemployed young people were modest indeed when compared to the actual mean wage

of employed young people. Unemployed young people were prepared to work for almost £21 pounds less per week than the actual mean wage. The low wage expectations of unemployed young people are to be partly accounted for by the fact that many of the group were receiving no financial support from the state and were prepared to take a place on the YTS, the allowance for which stood at £35 for that age group. Given the large gap between the expected and actual wage, the question that remains for the competitive view of the labour market (such as search theory) is why these young people remained unemployed unable to bid their way back into work. It would be assumed that profit maximising producers would cut the wage and employ those youngsters prepared to work at the new wage. The reality however is that the unemployed are excluded from the wage bargaining process, except to the extent that the fear of unemployment restrains employed workers wage demands.

TABLE 8.17 RESERVATION WAGE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE

	Unemployed	Employed
Mean wage	£42.50	£63.47

8.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main points, then, to be noted from this chapter are:-

- Methods of successful job search varied on the basis of both gender and area group, with more informal methods of search more important for males, and young people from the Inner South. These differences, however, were not found to be statistically significant.

- A review of the job search methods of the unemployed revealed that (on the basis of those successful methods of job search identified for those in jobs) their job search could be made more effective by making more use of the Careers Service, informal contacts and speculative applications. It cannot, however, be concluded that inefficient job search can alone (if at all) explain the young person's unemployed state.

- Perhaps the most important finding of this chapter was that females (both non-employed and employed) had a more restricted geographical travel to work area (or intended job search area) than that of their male counterparts. Previous research has suggested that female domestic responsibilities were the explanation for this pattern among the general female population. However, as indicated many of these young women were single and still resident in the parental home. This finding suggests that females located some distance from the concentration of employment opportunities may be further disadvantaged by virtue of their gender.

- Young people from Castlemilk in employment were more dependent than any other group on public transport and on average had the longest and most expensive journey to work. This difference in cost and length of time is partly a reflection of their heavy dependence on public transport, but will also reflect their position on the edge of the urban area.

CHAPTER NINE: SPATIAL ASPECTS OF JOB SEARCH AND THE ROLE OF OFFICIAL AGENCIES IN THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at further aspects of the search behaviour of young people, as well as the role of information in the youth labour market. Here Glasgow is split up into seven sectors, stretching out from the centre of the city to the periphery. There are three sectors North of the river Clyde:- North West, North and North East; and three sectors South of the river:- South West, South and South East. These areas were drawn roughly along the boundaries of the postcode districts of the city. The city centre serves as a sector on its own and East Kilbride is considered separately.

The areas in which young people work or train is one way of looking at the local labour market. The boundaries of the local labour market will generally be limited to the area over which it is possible to travel on a daily basis. A general definition is, - that area within which the majority of a particular population work, although it is recognised that the extent of the local labour market will differ between certain groups. For example manual workers tend to move within a more localised labour market than that of professional or managerial labour. The extent of the local labour market will be affected by demand as well as supply side factors. The worker will decide how far it is practicable to travel to work each day, just as the employer will decide (for most types of labour), on the area over which to concentrate recruitment. Further information on the local labour market is provided in this section where we consider the areas in which young people actually applied for work and the areas of the city in which they would have applied for work had vacancies arisen.

The first aspect of search detailed in this section is the level of job applications made by young people in each of the three areas.

9.2 LEVEL OF JOB APPLICATIONS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL BY GENDER, AREA AND DESTINATION

As well as the size of the spatial area over which a young person is prepared to look for work, an important determinant of success or failure in the labour market will be the number of job applications made by the young person over a period of time. The two factors will of course be inter related in that, the wider the spatial area over which search is conducted, the more job opportunities that may be uncovered and applications made.

Jones (1985), in her investigation into 16 year old school leavers qualifications and labour market outcomes found that the poorly qualified made fewer job applications than the rest of the sample, which obviously has implications for outcomes. She also found that the methods of job search differed:- whereas poorly qualified youngsters were likely to go calling at the factory gate, those with average or above average qualifications were more likely to write to potential employers.

The following tables detail the number of job applications made by the respondents since leaving school. Depending on when the young person left school, (ie whether at Easter or summer) and when the young person was interviewed (whether at the beginning of the fieldwork period or the end), this refers to a period of between 18 to 22 months. The number of job applications made could be affected by the length of time in the labour market and by labour market activity of the young person over that period. For example if the individual had

been unemployed for a large part of the time since leaving school then it is likely that s/he will have made more job applications that would have been the case if in employment. These points should be borne in mind when considering the following tables.

Table 9.1 below details the level of job applications made by females and males in the sample. It shows that the level of applications made for employment or training, differed little by gender. In fact both 83 per cent of males and females made ten or fewer job applications in the period since leaving school. The majority of both males and females made between one and five job applications since leaving school. Females were slightly over represented in the lower categories, with 72 per cent (69) having made fewer than five job or training place applications since leaving school, compared to 64 per cent (59) of males. As noted earlier females were more likely to be in employment.

This difference in the level of applications made was tested for statistical significance and was found not to be significant. For the purposes of the test, the distinction was made between 'up to five applications' and 'more than five applications'.

TABLE 9.1 NUMBER OF JOB APPLICATIONS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL BY GENDER

Number	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	5	(5)	2	(2)
1 to 5	54	(59)	67	(70)
6 to 10	17	(19)	10	(11)
11 to 15	4	(4)	3	(3)
16 to 20	6	(7)	4	(4)
More	6	(7)	9	(9)
TOTALS	92	(100)	95	(100)

Figures do not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding.

Table 9.2 in this section details the level of job applications for young people in each of the three areas. It can be seen that the majority of all young people in the sample made between one and five job applications. Seventy five per cent (48) of those in Castlemilk were in this category, as were 67 per cent (41) from the Inner South and 53 per cent (34) from East Kilbride. There appears to be a major difference between young people in East Kilbride and those from the other two areas in terms of levels of applications. This is particularly evident if we look at those making more than five job applications. This applies to 44 (28) per cent of the East Kilbride sample, 29 per cent (18) of the Inner South sample and 21 per cent (13) of the Castlemilk sample. Further, although 22 per cent of (10) East Kilbride young people applied for more than fifteen different jobs, only 13 per cent (8) from the Inner South did so and only 4 per cent (2) from Castlemilk.

As noted earlier the level of job applications for employment will depend on the spatial area over which search takes place as well as the average length of unemployment experienced by the individual. Chapter Four indicated that young people from East Kilbride were more likely to be in employment at contact than any other group and were probably less likely to have experienced unemployment. This would lead to the expectation that levels of job applications would be lower for East Kilbride young people compared to the other two areas. Further, our analysis of the spatial area of job search (in section 9.3 of this chapter) shows that those from East Kilbride were probably among the most restrictive in terms of actual job search, restricting themselves in many cases to the town only. The most cogent explanation for the high level of job applications made by this group of young

people is probably that of the buoyancy of the labour market in that locality. The fact that there were more job and training places available in this area called forth more applications from these young people (compared to those in the Inner South and Castlemilk areas). Such observations demonstrate the difficulties with a solely supply side explanation of unemployment.

The area difference in the level of job applications made was tested for statistical significance using a Chi square test. For the purposes of the test, certain categories were collapsed and a distinction was only made between those making up to five job applications and those making more applications than this. The area difference was found to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 9.2 NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS MADE BY YOUNG PEOPLE IN EACH AREA.

Number	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	2	(4)	3	(5)	2	(3)
1 to 5	46	(75)	41	(67)	34	(53)
6 to 10	8	(13)	10	(16)	10	(16)
11 to 15	3	(5)	-	-	4	(6)
16 to 20	1	(2)	3	(5)	6	(9)
More	1	(2)	5	(8)	8	(13)
TOTALS	61	(100)	62	(100)	64	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

The final table in this section details job application levels since leaving school for young people in each of the destinations of employment, training and unemployment. Table 9.3 shows that unemployed youngsters did make more job applications on average than either of the other two groups. Whereas 53 per cent (9) of unemployed youngsters applied for six jobs or more, only 27 per cent (26) of the employed

did so and 19 per cent (10) of those on the YTS. The majority of employed and YTS youngsters applied for between one and five jobs only. Young people making eleven or more job applications were slightly more likely to be employed, with 16 per cent (16) of employed youngsters in this category, compared to 8 per cent (4) of YTS and 6 per cent of the unemployed or one unemployed youngster.

TABLE 9.3 NUMBER OF JOB APPLICATIONS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL BY DESTINATION AT CONTACT.

Number	Employed		YTS		Unemployed	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	2	(2)	1	(2)	-	-
1 to 5	67	(70)	46	(81)	8	(47)
6 to 10	10	(11)	6	(11)	8	(47)
11 to 15	3	(3)	2	(4)	-	-
16 to 20	4	(4)	-	-	-	-
More	9	(9)	2	(4)	1	(6)
TOTALS	95	(100)	57	(100)	17	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

9.3 SPATIAL EXTENT OF THE LOCAL LABOUR MARKET BY GENDER, AREA AND DESTINATION

Table 9.4 details the areas of the city in which males and females were currently employed. Analysis in Chapter Eight on the travel to work area (based on details of the journey to work), indicated that females appear to have a more constrained travel to work area than do males. It would be expected then that females in employment would be concentrated to a greater extent than males, in employment based in particular areas of the city. Namely those sectors of the city close to the area of residence.

Females do appear to be concentrated into a smaller number of spatial areas than males. They were less likely than males to work North of

the river, other than in the city centre. Twenty three per cent of males (10) worked North of the river Clyde (outside the city centre) compared to 6 per cent (3) of females. Females were concentrated to a greater extent in the city centre, where a large proportion of employment is based in retail and other service sectors. However 14 per cent (6) of males also worked in the city centre. If we take the sectors South West and South, which would include the study areas of the Inner South and Castlemilk, it can be seen that the proportions of males and females working in these areas are almost equal (ie. 32 per cent (17) of females and 33 per cent (14) of males). In this instance females are not concentrated to any greater extent than males.

This analysis however does not control for area, thus in a later table we compare females in each area and males in each area. Also, to some extent the sectors in the table may be seen as somewhat arbitrary boundaries in that, although for example there may be a Castlemilk female working in the South sector (where Castlemilk is based), she may actually travel further to work, than say a male counterpart working in the South East or South West. The table then does not take account of actual distance covered, rather the aim is to ascertain whether there is a concentration of either group in particular spatial areas.

The most notable features of the table are the proportions of males and females working in the East Kilbride area. Whereas 34 per cent (18) of females worked in the area, only 19 per cent (8) of males did so. These groups will consist mainly of youngsters from the East Kilbride area, as there is very little movement from Glasgow city to East Kilbride in terms of travel to work. Females from the area then were probably more likely to work within East Kilbride, with males more

likely to travel further afield. One factor that may affect these figures is that females from East Kilbride formed a larger proportion of all females in employment than did males from the area (of total male employment). Males in this group were more likely to be on the YTS. In a later section we review the areas in which young people were training, making comparisons between areas.

TABLE 9.4 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENT EMPLOYMENT. THE GENDER DIMENSION

Area	Males		Females	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
North West	3	(7)	3	(6)
North	1	(2)	-	-
North East	6	(14)	-	-
City Centre	6	(14)	10	(9)
South West	5	(12)	9	(17)
South	9	(21)	8	(15)
South East	1	(2)	2	(4)
East Kilbride	8	(19)	18	(35)
Other	4	(9)	2	(4)
TOTALS	43	(100)	52	(100)

Table 9.5 details the sectors of the city in which females from the three study areas worked. For all three areas, the largest proportion of girls worked in that sector of the city which included their home area. For example, 33 per cent (4) of females from Castlemilk work in the area labelled 'South'. This covered the postcode districts of G45 (Castlemilk), G44, G42, and G5. Similarly 40 per cent (7) of Inner South females worked in the South West sector and 78 per cent (18) of East Kilbride females worked in East Kilbride. The small numbers involved in some categories suggest caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions.

The Castlemilk area then had the lowest level of self containment in

terms of the local labour market. Young people here have to seek employment in other areas of the city because there is very little employment based in the estate itself. The East Kilbride area, being a relatively buoyant labour market, had the highest level of self containment.

TABLE 9.5 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN EMPLOYMENT

Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
North West	2	(17)	-	-	1	(4)
City centre	2	(17)	6	(33)	2	(9)
South West	2	(17)	7	(40)	-	-
South	4	(33)	3	(20)	1	(4)
South East	1	(8)	1	(7)	-	-
East Kilbride	-	-	-	-	18	(78)
Other	1	(8)	-	-	1	(4)
TOTALS	12	(100)	17	(100)	23	(100)

Table 9.6 shows the spatial distribution of current male employment by areas of residence. Although the numbers are small, it can be seen that the highest level of self containment occurs in Castlemilk where 55 per cent (6) of males work within the South sector of the city (which contains the Castlemilk area). They appear to be concentrated to a greater extent in a particular area than either of the other groups. Males from the Inner South were the more evenly distributed, although almost one third of these young men worked in the city centre. This reflects the tendency of this group to enter service sector occupations. Thirty six per cent (6) of Inner South males worked in the South and South West sectors of the city, in which the majority of this group would have resided. East Kilbride has the second highest level of self containment, with 47 per cent (7) of males in employment in the area, working in the town.

TABLE 9.6 THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALES IN EMPLOYMENT

Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
North West	1	(9)	1	(6)	1	(7)
North	1	(9)	-	-	-	-
North East	1	(9)	2	(12)	3	(20)
City centre	1	(9)	5	(29)	-	-
South West	-	-	4	(24)	1	(7)
South	6	(55)	2	(12)	1	(7)
South East	-	-	1	(6)	-	-
East Kilbride	1	(9)	-	-	7	(47)
Other	-	-	2	(12)	2	(13)
TOTALS	11	(100)	17	(100)	15	(100)

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

The spatial distribution of male and female employment can be compared in tables 9.5 and table 9.6. A comparison shows that females in both the Inner South and East Kilbride were more spatially concentrated than their male counterparts. Castlemilk females however were less concentrated than were Castlemilk males. It is not immediately clear why this should be the case. As noted earlier there was limited employment in the estate itself.

Table 9.7 below shows the spatial distribution of all YTS trainees. It is important to consider the way in which the scheme may affect the spatial experience of school leavers. Questions to consider are: Are YTS trainees more or less widely distributed than those in employment. It may be that young people from certain areas are located in particular schemes. Were this to be the case it may affect the way in which a young person perceives the local labour market. However it is still useful to consider whether the distribution of YTS trainees (both past and present, taken together) differs to that for those in employment. Does the distribution of YTS opportunities differ significantly to that of employment opportunities.

Table 9.7 shows the spatial distribution of all current YTS trainees by area of residence. As detailed previously the areas on the left hand side of the table represent rough transects of the city radiating out from the centre. The table shows quite clearly the concentration of Castlemilk youngsters in the South transect of the city which includes the estate. There is a degree of concentration of the other area groups such as the Inner South group in the city centre sector, and East Kilbride youngsters in East Kilbride, but nothing to match the concentration of Castlemilk youngsters in the South sector. This situation arises from the location of young people from the estate in particular YTS schemes either in the estate or just beyond its boundaries.

TABLE 9.7 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF YTS TRAINEES BY AREA

Area	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1 North	-	-	1	(7)	-	-
2 North East	-	-	1	(7)	-	-
3 City centre	6	(33)	7	(47)	1	(5)
4 South West	1	(6)	4	(27)	-	-
5 South	11	(61)	-	-	2	(10)
6 South East	-	-	1	(7)	1	(5)
7 East Kilbride	-	-	-	-	9	(43)
8 Other area	-	-	1	(7)	8	(38)
TOTALS	18	(100)	15	(100)	21	(100)

9.4 THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT APPLICATIONS

Section 9.3 in this chapter detailed the spatial distribution of employment and training for young people in jobs and training. This section considers the spatial distribution of job applications made by young people. While the previous section illustrated the extent of the local labour market with reference to a young person's place of

work (or training), such analysis may be limited in that it details only those areas where successful job applications were made. The actual distribution of all applications made may indicate a much wider spatial area over which young people search for work.

In addition to collecting information on areas of employment applications, information was also gathered on the location of applications resulting in interviews. It is assumed in the analysis that if a young person applies for a job in a certain area, she/he would have some knowledge of where the area is located and the daily travelling involved. This may or may not be the case. Although where the young person reached the interview stage it is more likely to be the case. The information on interview location then provides a useful check on the applications data, although it is interesting in its own right in that it indicates the locations in which area groups reached some level of success. A whole range of factors will of course be important in determining the success of a job application, not least of which will be qualifications and previous experience. However, other factors may also be important to an employer such as proximity to the place of work and access to transport. The information on interview location then may provide a little more insight into the way in which the employer may determine the extent of the local labour market, and recognises that the concept is demand as well as supply determined.

The tables in this section refer to the first five job applications or interviews recalled by the young person. Many young people will have made fewer than five applications. It is recognised also that restricting the detail to a maximum of five job applications will to some extent restrict the view of spatial job search constructed.

However, given that the majority of the sample made five or fewer applications, any distortion may be negligible.

As area of residence is important in determining the local labour market concept, our analysis here is limited to a comparison of area groups. Table 9.8 below details the areas in which young people from Castlemilk, Inner South and East Kilbride applied for jobs or training. Again as in Section 9.3, the city is divided up into eight different sectors. This table illustrates striking spatial differences between the three groups.

The table shows quite clearly that young people from East Kilbride to a large extent restrict their job search to the town itself. More than half of all job applications made by this group were for employment in East Kilbride, although almost 20 per cent applied to areas noted in the 'Other' category. These were mainly areas in the nearby towns of Motherwell, Hamilton and Blantyre. Only 23 per cent of applications made by East Kilbride young people were to areas in Glasgow, with the City Centre accounting for the largest proportion at 8 per cent.

While it is accepted that the distance of East Kilbride youngsters from the city and the buoyancy of the labour market in the town accounts in large part for their spatial job search characteristics, such explanations cannot be offered for the differences identified between the remaining area groups.

The table shows firstly that young people from the Inner South were more likely to apply for employment in the city centre. Possible explanations may be the characteristics of employment located in that area, ie service sector employment tends to be located in the central

area. Young people from the Inner South were particularly likely to enter service sector employment. While 44 per cent of job applications made by Inner South youngsters were for employment located in the city centre, only 29 per cent of Castlemilk job applications were in this category. A further factor accounting for this difference is likely to be distance, in that Castlemilk youngsters were, of course, slightly more remote from the city centre; although the two areas (Inner South and Castlemilk) were almost contiguous in many instances.

The second major difference between these two groups occurs in the category labelled South, while 37 per cent of Castlemilk youngsters applied for work in that sector of the city lying immediately south of the city centre (south of the river) only 13 per cent of employment applications for the Inner South group were in this category. This is surprising given that the area within this category is probably equally local for the majority of both groups. One explanation may be the type of employment located in the area labelled south. Inner South and Castlemilk young people differed markedly in terms of educational attainment, with those from the Inner South tending to be better qualified. This will in part determine the type of employment entered by the young person, broadly the better qualified youngsters will be more likely to enter the service sector or non manual occupations. If the employment available in the south sector of the city were mainly manual employment then it would attract more applications from Castlemilk youngsters than Inner South youngsters. Another explanation may be that young people from Castlemilk were more restricted in the spatial nature ^{of their} job search. While 61 per cent of applications made by Castlemilk youngsters were to vacancies located

south of the river, this applied to only 45 per cent of applications made by Inner South youngsters. Neither of the area groups were likely to apply for posts North of the river (other than in the city centre). The seemingly geographically restricted job search behaviour of Castlemilk youngsters could have a number of possible explanations, one of which may be access to private transport, or public transport links or possibly lack of knowledge of the city area (Quinn, 1986).

TABLE 9.8 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JOB APPLICATIONS BY AREAS
Percentages

Sector	Castlemilk	Inner South	East Kilbride
North West	3	5	2
North	3	2	1
North East	6	4	2
City Centre	29	44	8
South West	13	20	3
South	37	13	2
South East	10	5	5
East Kilbride	-	1	58
Other	1	6	19
TOTALS	100%	100%	100%

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

Table 9.9 details the spatial distribution of applications made by males and females in the Castlemilk area. The table shows very little variation between males and females. In almost every city sector similar proportions of applications were made by each group. The largest difference between males and females occurs in the South West sector, where 16 per cent of females made an application compared to only 11 per cent of males. Taking the South and South West sectors together, however (the sectors containing or adjacent to the estate) this difference is itself reduced, with 49 per cent of males having applied for jobs in these areas and 52 per cent of females.

An interesting feature of the table is that no young people from the

estate applied for employment in East Kilbride. This is surprising given the relative proximity of the town and the buoyancy of the local labour market in the area. There would almost certainly have been vacancies available and travelling distance to the town would equal that of distance to areas North of the city centre where applications were made. Possible explanations for such a spatial distribution of applications are discussed in the conclusions to this chapter.

**TABLE 9.9 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JOB APPLICATIONS
MADE BY CASTLEMILK YOUNG PEOPLE Percentages**

Sector	Males	Females
North West	1	4
North	3	1
North East	6	6
City Centre	30	27
South West	11	16
South	38	36
South East	9	10
East Kilbride	-	-
Other	1	-
TOTALS	100%	100%

Table 9.10 details the spatial distribution of job applications made by Inner South young people. In this area there is a clear difference between males and females in terms of distribution of applications between the different sectors of the city. Firstly, males from the Inner South were far more likely to apply for posts North of the city centre, 19 per cent did so compared to 5 per cent of females. Females from the Inner South were 15 per cent more likely to apply for employment in the city centre than were their male counterparts. Fifty-one per cent of females applied for posts in that area, compared to 36 per cent of males. Females from the Inner South were also more than twice as likely as males to apply for posts in the South West,

although in taking the South West and South sectors together any difference reduces to 8 per cent.

Males from the Inner South were more likely than the females from the area to apply in areas outside the city for work. We can conclude from table 9.10 that females from the Inner South did appear to undertake more spatially restricted job search than did males from the area.

**TABLE 9.10 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JOB APPLICATIONS
MADE BY INNER SOUTH YOUNG PEOPLE Percentages**

Sector	Males	Females
North West	7	4
North	4	1
North East	8	-
City Centre	36	51
South West	13	27
South	16	10
South East	5	5
East Kilbride	1	-
Other	10	2
TOTALS	100%	100%

Table 9.11 below details the distribution of job applications made by young people from East Kilbride. Again, as with the Inner South group, there are notable differences along the dimension of gender. Females from East Kilbride were more likely than males to apply for employment in Glasgow city centre, 12 per cent did so, compared to 4 per cent of males. Females were also far more likely to apply for posts in East Kilbride, although high proportions of both groups fall into this category. Sixty-five per cent of applications made by East Kilbride young women were for posts within the town, the equivalent figure for males is 51 per cent. Males were slightly more likely to have made applications in Glasgow city, with 25 per cent having done

so, compared to 21 per cent of females. Males were also more likely to search for work (and subsequently put in applications), in the towns surrounding East Kilbride, 23 per cent of males did so, compared to 14 per cent of females. The spatial job search (taking job applications as an indicator of this) of East Kilbride females then did appear to be more concentrated than that of males. In this respect East Kilbride and Inner South females were alike.

TABLE 9.11 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF JOB APPLICATIONS MADE BY EAST KILBRIDE YOUNG PEOPLE Percentages

Sector	Males	Females
North West	2	2
North	2	-
North East	3	1
City Centre	4	12
South West	4	2
South	3	1
South East	7	3
East Kilbride	51	65
Other	23	14
TOTALS	100%	100%

Figures may not sum to 100 per cent due to rounding

9.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CAREERS SERVICE

The careers service is a major source of information on job vacancies and training for young people. Since the advent of the YTS in 1983, the service has become the main gatekeeper to training opportunities for this group. The service caters solely for young people whereas other sources of job information such as the Job Centres or newspapers often stipulate age restrictions preventing young people under a certain age from applying. In recognition of this important source of job information, young people were asked a series of questions aimed at eliciting their attitude towards the service. The answers to these

questions are detailed in the following tables. Young people are assigned firstly to destination groups, so that we can compare the attitudes of say, the unemployed with the employed and secondly into area groups so that we can compare attitudes in the three areas.

Young people were read a series of statements about the careers service and asked to indicate whether, in their opinion, the statement was true or false, or to indicate "don't know". The statements were designed not only to elicit whether the young person felt positively or negatively towards the service but also to find out what improvements could be made. Table 9.12 indicates instances where young people responded positively to statements.

Firstly, young people were asked to indicate whether they would have used the careers service more if there had been more vacancies available there. The results here were particularly interesting for unemployed young people. While 69 per cent (12) of this group indicated that they would have used the careers service more if there had been more jobs available, only 56 per cent (32) of YTS youngsters and 41 per cent (39) of employed youngsters did so. While it would be expected that employed youngsters would perhaps feel less need to visit the careers office, the difference between YTS youngsters and unemployed young people is still large. It would seem that those young people who appear to be most in need of help were also the most likely to become discouraged due to the lack of opportunities available.

Young unemployed people were also most likely to indicate that the location of the careers office was a problem, although the numbers are small. Thirty one per cent (5) of this group, indicated that it would be better if the careers service were nearer, while only 7 per cent

(4) of YTS trainees did so and 4 per cent (4) of those in jobs. There are possibly a number of explanations for this. Firstly it is likely that young unemployed people were required to use the service more heavily at that time due to their situation. If the nearest careers office was some distance away then this would be seen as more of a problem if one had to use the service more. Secondly if transport costs are high in any visit to the careers office this is more likely to be considered a problem by those whose resources are meagre. At the time of interviewing, young unemployed people were not entitled to income support in their own right. Thirdly, it may be this group of young people were more likely to be located in areas of the city where on average the journey to the nearest careers office was longer. Thus it will be useful to consider the area groups response in the next section. As reported in Chapter Ten, 53 per cent of the unemployed resided in the Castlemilk area, where at the time there was no full time local careers office.

Related to the discussion in the previous paragraph, young unemployed people were more likely than either of the other groups to respond positively to the statement that:- 'it would be better if young people could be interviewed in their own homes'. Thirty eight per cent (7) did so compared to 26 per cent (15) and 22 per cent (21) of YTS trainees and employed young people respectively. This difference may partly be explained by the fact that young unemployed people would generally be spending more time at home (during the day) and of course by the fact that they were more likely to view the journey to the nearest office as a problem.

Given the unique views of young unemployed people that seem to emerge from these questions it may be that the careers service should tailor

its services more closely to the needs of these individuals.

Young unemployed people were also more likely to be dissatisfied with the service they received once attending the careers office. A higher proportion of unemployed young people responded positively to the statement:- 'the careers officer should spend more time with each young person'. Sixty nine per cent (12) of this group did so, compared to 49 per cent (28) of YTS trainees and 40 per cent (38) of the employed. The difference between the unemployed group and others is large in percentage terms and is perhaps indicative of the intensive care approach that some of these young people may require to get back into employment or to move into work for the first time. The fact that the proportion responding positively to this statement is at least 40 per cent in each of the destination groups is also significant. Young people may not be getting the level of support required at this very important time in their early careers.

Table 9.13 details the responses to the statements outlined above on an area basis. Generally speaking, the difference in attitude towards the careers service of young people in each of the three areas, are not as stark as those between the destination groups detailed in Table 9.12. Between the three areas young peoples attitudes were very similar. However there were some basic exceptions. The main distinctions are between the Inner South and elsewhere. Firstly, while only 35 per cent (22) of Inner South young people felt that they would have used the careers service more if there had been more vacancies on offer there, as many as 59 per cent (36) of Castlemilk young people and 54 per cent (35) of East Kilbride youngsters responded positively to this statement. Chapter Four indicated clearly that employment rates at contact were lowest in the Castlemilk area. Again then, as

with table 9.12 those experiencing most difficulty in forcing their way into the labour market, are also those most likely to become discouraged by the lack of job opportunities available.

Secondly, young people from Castlemilk were slightly more likely to respond positively to the statement that it would be better if the careers service were nearer. At the time of the survey there was no full time careers office in the area. In relation to this, young people from the area were also more likely than either of the other area groups to indicate that it would be more helpful to be interviewed at home. Castlemilk youngsters were also were also the most likely to express dissatisfaction with the service offered. Fifty five per cent (34) of such young people felt that the careers officer should spend more time with each young person, compared to 35 per cent (22) of Inner South youngsters and 48 per cent (31) of East Kilbride young people. The results for the Castlemilk group then are similar to those reported for the unemployed, reflecting the fact that, Castlemilk had the highest proportion of unemployed young people.

TABLE 9.12 ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE TOWARDS THE CAREERS SERVICE BY DESTINATION GROUP

Statement	Employed		Unemployed		YTS	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1. I would have used the careers service more if there had been jobs going.	39	(41*)	12	(69)	32	(56)
2. It would be better if the careers service were nearer	4	(4)	6	(31)	4	(7)
3. Careers service has generally been very helpful to me	46	(48)	10	(56)	34	(60)
4. It would be better to be interviewed at home	21	(22)	7	(38)	15	(26)
5. Careers officer should spend more time with each young person	38	(40)	12	(69)	28	(49)
6. It is easy to get in touch with the careers service to arrange an interview.	64	(67)	15	(81)	41	(72)
7. The careers service has never been of any help to me	17	(18)	3	(19)	9	(16)

* The figures in the table refer to the proportions of young people responding positively to each statement

TABLE 9.13 ATTITUDE OF YOUNG PEOPLE TOWARDS THE CAREERS SERVICE, ON AN AREA BASIS

Statement	Castlemilk No. Percent	Inner South No. Percent	East Kilbride No. Percent
1. I would have used the careers service more if there had been more jobs going	36 (59*)	22 (35)	35 (54)
2. Would be better if the careers service were nearer	9 (14)	3 (5)	2 (3)
3. The careers service has generally been very helpful to me.	32 (52)	35 (57)	32 (50)
4. Would be more helpful if young people could be interviewed in their own homes.	20 (32)	14 (22)	15 (23)
5. The careers officer should spend more time with each young person.	34 (55)	22 (35)	31 (48)
6. The careers service is easy to get in touch with to arrange an interview.	43 (70)	40 (65)	44 (69)
7. The careers service has never been of any help to me	13 (21)	9 (15)	10 (16)

* The table records the percentage of positive responses to the statements

9.6 THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

This section details the role of the school in the transition from school to work. Here we refer to direct forms of preparation for the labour market, such as interview practice, or job search skills. It may be that young people who are better prepared for entry are more likely to make a successful transition. Table 9.14 below details the job search skills taught at school for all young people. The table details the proportion of young people receiving instruction in the different categories.

**TABLE 9.14 SCHOOL PREPARATION FOR LABOUR MARKET ENTRY
(ALL RESPONDENTS)**

Type of preparation	Per Cent
Interview practice	54
Tips on interview approach	58
Practice filling out application forms	57
Writing letters of application	77

The vast majority of young people had received instruction in writing letters of application (77 per cent or 143 youngsters). This is perhaps the most basic form of labour market preparation. Between 50 and 60 per cent of young people received instruction in at least one of the following: interview practice, 54 per cent (101); tips on approaching interviews 58 per cent (108); practice in filling out application forms 57 per cent (106).

Table 9.15 below indicates job search skills taught in the three study areas. The table shows that in three out of four of the categories young people from Castlemilk were the most likely to receive instruction at school. Young people from the area were more likely to receive tuition in at least one of the following areas: interview

practice; interview approach or application form practice. This indicates a recognition by the Castlemilk schools of the difficult employment situation facing its pupils. Conversely, young people from the Inner South were the least likely to receive instruction at school in any of the four categories. Chapter Four indicated that overall, young people from East Kilbride were the most likely and those from Castlemilk the least likely to be in employment at contact. Preparation by the school for a difficult labour market entry therefore may be unable to overcome the disadvantage associated with other characteristics such as poor qualifications. As Jones (1985) notes, skill in filling out application forms or confidence in interviews is likely to be associated with attainment and directly to influence success in obtaining work.

TABLE 9.15 SCHOOL PREPARATION FOR LABOUR MARKET ENTRY BY AREA

Type of preparation	Castlemilk		Inner South		East Kilbride	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Interview practice	42	(67)	20	(33)	33	(51)
Tips on interview approach	44	(71)	20	(33)	40	(62)
Practice in filling out application forms	44	(71)	23	(37)	38	(59)
Writing letters of application	47	(76)	35	(56)	52	(82)

9.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Nine has made some attempt to develop the spatial dimension of job search, and to consider the significance of information sources in determining the employment status of the young person at contact. The main findings (as with those from previous chapters) fall under two headings.

Gender

Chapter Three reported the higher employment rate of females over males, although the difference was not found to be statistically significant. The aim of this chapter has been to ascertain whether search behaviour (either in terms of level of job applications made or spatial area of applications) offers part of the explanation as to why this should be the case. It might be expected that those making the highest level of applications for employment would be the most likely to be in jobs at contact. In actual fact, females made slightly fewer job applications than males and all those in employment at contact made fewer applications than the non-employed (although neither of these observations proved to be statistically significant). However, the most striking difference between the job search behaviour of males and females occurred in the spatial distribution of applications made. This analysis had to be done on the basis of area of residence because of the way in which this is likely to affect the spatial extent of the local labour market. Because of this, our numbers were very small in certain categories. In the case of both Inner South females and East Kilbride females the spatial area of job search (gauged by job applications made) was more constrained and they were more likely to apply for jobs closer to their place of residence. Castlemilk females did not appear to be constrained in relation to males but as the next section in these conclusions notes Castlemilk youngsters as a whole were more constrained in the spatial area of their job search, in comparison to other area groups. Earlier chapters (Chapter Five) detailed the shorter, cheaper journey to work of females. Females do not appear to have been especially disadvantaged by the constrained nature of job search given their higher employment rate. Previous explanations of the observed shorter travel to work area of females

has tended to emphasise domestic responsibilities, but as the vast majority of this sample were yet to form their own households, this observation may require some other explanation and is perhaps an area for further research. Chapter Five indicated that, on average, females were likely to be earning less than males. The lower average wage of this group then may offer some explanation for this pattern. Others have suggested that knowledge of the city area may be important in determining the spatial distribution of job search.

Area of Residence

This appeared to be important in determining both the level of job applications made and their spatial distribution. Young people from Castlemilk were the least likely to have made a high level of job applications since leaving school, although the difference in the level of applications is particularly slight between Castlemilk and Inner South young people. Chapter Three revealed that Castlemilk youngsters were the least likely to be in employment when contacted. Young people from East Kilbride tended to make the highest level of job applications and were the most likely to be in employment at that time. We cannot conclude from this that young people in Castlemilk would be in employment if only they had made more job applications, although those favouring supply side explanations of unemployment may well draw this conclusion. It was shown that Inner South young people did not make many more job applications but were far more likely than Castlemilk youngsters to be in employment at contact. Quite clearly search behaviour will only be one in a range of factors determining employment probability. One of the external constraints on the level of job applications made will be the availability of job opportunities in the local labour market. It may be that the more buoyant labour

market of East Kilbride generated a higher level of vacancies to which young people could respond.

The spatial pattern of employment and job search behaviour differed on the basis of area. East Kilbride young people in employment were largely working within the town, and this applies to both males and females. Although there were some applications made to employers in Glasgow these were a small proportion of all applications made. Similarly, Castlemilk young people tended to be restricted in both their employment applications and actual employment to that sector of the city containing the estate. It is true to say then that young people from Castlemilk, on average, made fewer job applications and searched for work over a more constrained spatial area. It has to be acknowledged of course that postcode sectors can only be taken as a rough approximation for job search area, as these sectors could differ considerably in size between rural and urban areas.

No young people from Castlemilk applied for work in East Kilbride, yet the estate is almost equidistant between the town and the city centre where 29 per cent of job applications (by Castlemilk youngsters) were made. If these young people could be encouraged to look to East Kilbride for work, perhaps the high unemployment rate among these young people could be reduced. A large part of the problem is likely to be informational in that it is unlikely that vacancies in East Kilbride are widely advertised in the Glasgow Careers Offices - the main point of contact for school leavers. Also, given the way in which the YTS has 'colonised' the East Kilbride labour market as evidenced in Chapters Six and Seven, entry to training and subsequently employment will be controlled by the local careers office, so that it is likely that there will be few vacancies outside

the scheme for this age group, that might be advertised through local newspapers or the Job Centres.

CHAPTER TEN: THE IMPORTANCE OF PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THE ROLE OF AREA RESIDENCE

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we test the significance of a range of factors in determining the employment status of respondents at the time of interview. The previous chapters have detailed the differing early labour market experience of particular groups within the sample. A range of factors appear to be important in determining employment status. It was shown that although just over half of all young people interviewed were in employment, the proportion in jobs differed by both gender and area of residence. Fifty-five per cent of females were in employment but only 47 per cent of males; 38 per cent of Castlemilk youngsters were in jobs compared to 55 per cent in the Inner South and 59 per cent in East Kilbride.

A range of factors were hypothesised to be of importance in determining employment chances, such as qualification levels, employment status of father, and SEG of parents. It was found that the better qualified young people were more likely to be in employment, and that those with fathers in employment were more likely to be in employment themselves. The relationship between such explanatory variables, however, appears to be less than obvious. For example, females tended to be better qualified and, as reported, were consequently more likely to be in employment. Previous research has shown the dominating importance of educational qualifications in determining the probability of employment. East Kilbride youngsters, however, had the highest employment rate of the sample, even though, as indicated in the text, they were not the best qualified group. Perhaps in the case of this group some other factor such as 'area of

residence' was of overwhelming importance.

The significance of each of the possible explanatory factors then has to be tested statistically in order to assess individual significance and relationships between variables. The basis for the analysis is that early labour market experience of the young people in the sample, does appear to differ between the three areas of Castlemilk, the Inner South and East Kilbride. The question raised then, is whether this inequality of experience is due solely to differences in personal characteristics between the three groups or whether there is some role for an area effect. If the statistical analysis were to reveal a basis for supporting the personal characteristics argument (ie that personal characteristics dominate chances of employment) then it could be claimed that variations in employment chances across the three areas, mainly arise as a result of different types of individuals being concentrated in particular areas. If, for example, lower skilled or unskilled workers tended to be concentrated in a particular area, then it would be expected that the area would display above average levels of unemployment, as this group bears a disproportionate burden of unemployment generally. With the 'personal characteristics' argument it is suggested that policy would be better focused on individuals rather than areas. Area policies which involve providing employment in particular areas will not necessarily work to reduce the unemployment level in an area because, as experience has shown, jobs created will normally go to the most employable who may not necessarily reside within the area.

Previous chapters have detailed the characteristics of young people in each of the major destinations of employment and training. However, little has been said up to this point about the characteristics of

young people who were unemployed at the time of the interview. As this chapter discusses the probability of being employed or non-employed at the point of contact, it would seem appropriate to detail the characteristics of the unemployed as an introduction to the statistical analysis. The category non-employed includes youngsters on the YTS, whose characteristics have been described in earlier chapters (see Chapters Six and Seven).

10.2 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE

Current unemployment at the time of interview (at that date) was not widespread, although many young people had experienced some period of unemployment since leaving school. The benefit rule changes which occurred in September 1987 had a major impact on the level of unemployment among young people. The changes related to the benefit entitlement of young people, which was effectively withdrawn. Young people who were neither in full time education or employment were guaranteed a place on the YTS. Should they decline a place for whatever reason, they would receive no financial support from the State, apart from a temporary 'bridging allowance'. As a result of these changes many young people who were previously unemployed moved onto YTS.

As the unemployed formed such a small group (there being 17 young people unemployed young people at contact), we do not disaggregate by gender or area in the following analysis. Instead the unemployed are taken as a comprehensive group. We start by describing the spatial and gender breakdown of unemployment and go on to describe the characteristics, experience and attitudes of the unemployed, comparing them with both the employed and YTS trainees to ask whether the

unemployed formed a specific group in the labour market.

Spatial and Gender Breakdown of Unemployment

Table 10.1 below disaggregates unemployment by area, showing the proportion of the unemployed accounted for by each area. It can be seen that Castlemilk accounted for over half of all unemployment with the Inner South and East Kilbride making up just under one quarter each.

TABLE 10.1 UNEMPLOYMENT DISAGGREGATED BY AREA

Area	Proportion of Total	
	Number	Percent
Castlemilk	9	(53)
Inner South	4	(24)
East Kilbride	4	(24)
	17	(100)

Table 10.2 disaggregates by both area and gender. Even though the figures are small, we can see that the incidence of current unemployment was not evenly distributed by either area or gender. Looking at both the absolute figures and the percentages young people from the Castlemilk area were more likely to be unemployed, the unemployed forming 15 per cent of young people interviewed in the area.

The incidence of unemployment by gender was such that, overall males were slightly more likely to be unemployed than were females. Males made up 53 per cent of the total, although at the area level this figure of course varied. Between areas, current unemployment was more unequally distributed between females, with those from Castlemilk accounting for 63 per cent 5 of female unemployment. Among males only

those from Castlemilk made up 44 per cent 4 of the total, with those from the Inner South and East Kilbride accounting for 22 per cent (2) and 33 per cent (3) respectively.

TABLE 10.2 UNEMPLOYMENT DISAGGREGATED BY AREA AND GENDER

Area	Female		Male		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Castlemilk	5	(16*)	4	(14)	9	(15)
Inner South	2	(6)	3	(6)	4	(6)
East Kilbride	1	(3)	3	(10)	4	(6)
TOTALS	8	(8)	9	(10)	17	(9)

*The percentages denote the unemployed as a proportion of the number of young people interviewed in that group eg 16 per cent of Castlemilk females were unemployed

Length of Current Unemployment and Labour Market Experience

Table 10.3 below indicates the length of the current period of unemployment. The majority of young people had been unemployed for between one and three months (60 per cent or 9 young people) with a further 7 per cent (1) having been out of work for between four and six months. Thirty three per cent (5) of young people had been unemployed for more than six months, and would therefore have been classed as long term unemployed.

TABLE 10.3 LENGTH OF CURRENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Months	Number	Percentage
1 to 3 months	9	(60)
4 to 6 months	1	(7)
7 to 9 months	5	(33)
TOTAL	15*	(100)

* This information was missing in two cases

It has to be remembered that the rate of unemployment provides only a

snapshot view. Few if any of these young people would have been continuously unemployed since leaving school. Chapter Three indicated that this was the situation for just one young person, while 59 per cent (10) of the unemployed had experience of employment and at least 71 per cent (12) had previously been on the YTS.

Of those unemployed young people who had experience of employment (10), 40 per cent had held one job only, 30 per cent had held two jobs and a further 30 per cent had held three jobs or more. Further, 50 per cent (6) of those with experience of the YTS had held at least two YTS places, with only one individual having had wider experience of this. There was then a lot of movement between the three major destinations so that some of the group will have had quite wide labour market experience despite their short time in the labour market. This feature of high turnover is a characteristic of that group who tend to experience the greatest difficulty in achieving a successful transition from school to work.

Reasons for leaving employment varied with 20 per cent of young people losing their job through redundancy or sacking. The majority of separations from employment then were executed on a voluntary basis, although this says little about the individual reasons for leaving or about the conditions of employment. With regard to separations from the YTS, 23 per cent left their first YTS place involuntarily, with 38 per cent leaving to take up employment either with their YTS sponsor or some other employer. These young people had become unemployed, however, by the time of the survey.

Employment Status of Father

Analysis revealed that only 27 per cent of fathers (of unemployed

young people) were resident in the family household. The overwhelming majority of unemployed young people then were from single parent families.

Table 10.4 shows the proportion of fathers currently long term unemployed. Again, there is a disaggregation by major destination. It can be seen that unemployed youngsters were more likely than either of the other groups to have a father currently long term unemployed, Payne (1987) posed the question of whether unemployment runs in families. In our analysis the figures can only be taken as an indication of any relationship because the sample is so small.

TABLE 10.4 PROPORTION OF FATHERS LONG TERM UNEMPLOYED

	Unemployed		YTS		Employed	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Father long term unemployed	4	(18)	6	(10)	11	(12)

Qualifications of the Unemployed

Table 10.5 below compares the qualification levels attained by the unemployed with that attained by the employed and those on YTS. It can be seen quite clearly from the table that unemployed young people were very poorly qualified and in comparison with the other destination groups they were the least qualified youngsters interviewed. The result is perhaps unsurprising given that unemployment is known to be concentrated among the unskilled and unqualified. The bulk of unemployed young people (82 per cent or 14 young people) were completely unqualified. This compares with 34 per cent (32) of young people in employment, 49 per cent (28) of those on YTS and 50 per cent (94) of all respondents interviewed.

Unemployed young people were closer in qualification terms to those on the YTS. However, the gap is still significantly large. Taking all young people interviewed together (the final column in the table) at each level of attainment, there were more than twice as many individuals qualified than is the case with the unemployed group. Unemployed young people then do appear to form a distinctive group, at least in qualification terms.

Raffe (1984) analysis indicated that O' grade attainment had a strong and positive influence on the probability of being employed more than a year after leaving school. He notes, however, the possibility that the association between O' grade attainment and employment was not a causal one at all, but merely reflected the importance of personal characteristics. It is possible that employers rather than seeing O' grades as intrinsically valuable, use them as indicators of other personal characteristics or potential, such as in the screening hypothesis (see Chapter Two).

TABLE 10.5 QUALIFICATIONS OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND OTHER YOUNG PEOPLE COMPARED

Level of attainment	Unemployed		Employed		YTS		All	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	14	(82)	32	(34)	28	(49)	94	(50)
1 O' Grade	3	(18)	63	(66)	29	(51)	101	(54)
2 O' Grades	2	(12)	53	(56)	18	(32)	79	(42)
3 O' Grades	2	(12)	41	(43)	13	(23)	60	(32)
4 O' Grades	1	(6)	28	(29)	7	(12)	39	(21)
5 O' Grades	1	(6)	18	(19)	3	(5)	24	(13)
More	1	(6)	9	(9)	-	(-)	-	(-)

Experience of Part Time Employment while at School

Table 10.6 shows the proportion of unemployed young people who had held a part time job during their final year at school, and compares

this with the proportion for the other destination groups. It can be seen that experience of part time employment while at school is strongly related to employment. Unemployed young people were the least likely to have had this type of experience. Main and Raffe (1983) demonstrated a strong positive relationship between part time employment experience and employment chances.

TABLE 10.6 EXPERIENCE OF PART TIME EMPLOYMENT WHILE AT SCHOOL

	Unemployed		YTS		Employed	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Held part time job	2	(13)	17	(29)	41	(43)

School Absences in the Final Year and Levels of Truancy

The role of the school in the nature of the transition from school to work may take a range of forms other than that of equipping the individual with the necessary qualifications for obtaining work. For example, the school may be asked to provide a reference for the young person to a potential employer in which case factors such as attendance and attitude may become important. Schools may also improve the chances of employment success of pupils by training young people in methods of job search and personal presentation. While this latter role was discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine, the former issues of attitude and attendance are focused on here.

The total length of absences from school in the final year is detailed in table 10.7 by destination group. The figures show that unemployed young people were likely to be absent for much longer periods than either of the other groups. As much as 29 per cent (5) the unemployed group had been absent for more than three months compared to 4 per

cent (4) of employed youngsters and 7 per cent (4) of YTS trainees. The overwhelming majority of both employed youngsters and YTS trainees missed less than one month of schooling at 63 per cent (60) and 65 per cent (37) respectively.

TABLE 10.7 ABSENCE IN THE FINAL YEAR OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

Length of time Absent	Unemployed		Employed		YTS	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Less than 1 month	5	(29)	60	(63)	37	(65)
Between 1 and 3 months	7	(41)	31	(33)	16	(28)
More than 3 months	5	(29)	4	(4)	4	(7)
TOTALS	17	(100)	95	(100)	57	(100)

Of course, young people may have been absent for long periods for a variety of reasons. The two reasons we were most concerned with were ill health and truancy. Young people were not asked about truancy directly, rather they were asked whether absences were mostly due to ill health (or similar involuntary reasons). Table 10.8 below shows the reasons for the majority of absences in the final year, again by destination group. 'Voluntary' absences are taken as an indicator of truancy levels. The table shows that unemployed young people were almost twice as likely as either of the other groups to have been absent from school for voluntary reasons. This group then was far more likely to have been absent from school for extensive periods in the last year. For the majority, these absences were for reasons other than ill health. Employed youngsters and those on YTS were more likely to give ill health as the reason for absences.

TABLE 10.8 REASONS FOR ABSENCES IN FINAL YEAR OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

Nature of absence	Unemployed		Employed		YTS	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Voluntary	8	(47)	25	(26)	15	(26)
Involuntary	9	(53)	70	(74)	42	(74)
	17	(100)	95	(100)	57	(100)

Despite the high level of voluntary absence among unemployed youngsters, this group was far more likely than any other to regret having left school. As much as 65 per cent of unemployed young people felt that they would be in a better position currently if they had stayed on at school, while only 19 per cent of employed youngsters indicated that this was the case. Perhaps the better comparison for unemployed youngsters is the non-employed or YTS group where 31 per cent felt that they would be in a better position currently if they had stayed on at school longer.

Summary of the Characteristics of Unemployed Young People

At the time of the survey, 17 young people were unemployed. This represented 9 per cent of all young people interviewed and 10 per cent of the economically active. Over half of all unemployed youngsters were resident in Castlemilk. Although the majority of all unemployed youngsters had been unemployed for less than 6 months, at least 30 per cent had been out of work for longer than this.

Rather than being trapped in permanent unemployment following school, the picture is one of a high level of turnover among this group. Fifty nine per cent of this group had held at least one job; the majority of the group had experience of the YTS - only one young person had been permanently unemployed since leaving school. Reasons

for leaving jobs or schemes varied, with a good proportion of voluntary separations, although in the case of YTS, young people would often leave a scheme voluntarily to take up employment. The picture then is of a group of young people experiencing severe difficulties in settling in to the labour market.

Unemployed youngsters displayed particular characteristics. They were firstly far more likely than any other destination group to be from single parent families (in the majority of cases the father being absent), and where the father was present (resident in the household) he was more likely to be long term unemployed than was the case for fathers of employed or YTS youngsters. A further almost universal characteristic of unemployed youngsters was their lack of educational attainment at O' grade. Eighty two per cent of this group left school with no O' grades. Unemployed young people then, did appear to form a specific group in the labour market, displaying particular characteristics.

10.3 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF EMPLOYMENT CHANCES

We have now detailed the personal characteristics of both non-employed young people (this chapter and Chapter Seven) and employed young people (Chapter Five). It has been shown that the groups of young people in the three major destinations of unemployment, YTS and employment had particularly distinctive characteristics, with perhaps the starkest differential occurring in terms of educational attainment. The analysis in this section attempts to assess the importance of these characteristics in determining employment status at the time of survey. For the purposes of this analysis, the unemployed and YTS categories have been collapsed and labelled the

non-employed. The following paragraphs detail the dummy variables used.

Denomination of School (RCSCHL)

Approximately 21 per cent of the sample attended a Roman Catholic secondary school. This was thought to be particularly important in the case of Glasgow, where religious divisions are particularly strong and where there is continuing pressure for a reform of the school system with children of all religions being educated together. Payne & Ford (1977) found that Catholic schooled Scots with low educational attainment were less successful in the labour market than were non catholics with similar educational and social backgrounds. RCSCHL, then, would be expected to have a negative influence on the probability of employment. If the young person attended a Roman Catholic school then RCSCHL sent to one, otherwise sent to zero.

Gender (Sex)

Earlier analysis in the thesis has described the differential employment rates of males and females. Girls were more likely to be in employment - 55 per cent of females were in jobs compared to 47 per cent of males. The difference in employment rates then was not large, but still needed to be tested for statistical significance. The dummy variable SEX was set to one if the respondent was male and zero if respondent was female.

Sat O' grade Examinations (SATOGS)

Within the sample there was wide variation in educational attainment. While later dummy variables describe the number of O' grades obtained, SATOGs is based on whether or not the young person was entered for O'

grade examinations in the final year of schooling. The vast majority of the sample (as noted) were S4 leavers, and were, therefore, not expected to be the most academically orientated. It is perhaps not surprising then that as many as 45 young people (24 per cent) did not sit O' grade examinations. The fact that a young person was entered for such examinations by the school (whether they pass or fail), may be some indication to an employer of a young person's self-motivation and may be considered the first rung on the 'ladder of attainment'. Main and Raffe (1983) also note that it may influence employment prospects, in that recruitment may well take place before O' grade results are known. It would be expected then, that the fact of having sat O' grade examinations would have a positive influence on employment chances. SATOGs was set equal to one if the individual sat examinations and set equal to zero if not.

Qualifications (Grades A and Grades B)

This variable indicates achievement at the level of one or two O' grades (at grades one, two or three). During periods of widespread unemployment, the currency of qualifications tends to increase, in that they become more important in determining who is successful in employment terms. It would be expected that young people with one or two O' grades would do better than the unqualified although not as well as those with three or more O' grades. If the respondent obtained one or two O' grades only then GRADESA was set to one, otherwise GRADESA was set to zero. GRADESB indicated the attainment of three or more O' grades. If the young person achieved three or more O' grades, GRADESB was set to one, otherwise this variable was set to zero. Garner, Main and Raffe (1988), in their analysis of the effect of area of residence on probability of employment, found the

nature of academic qualifications to be the most important personal attribute. In their analysis the personal characteristics which appear to matter the most were educational attainment and father's occupation or employment status. They note, however, that it is possible that the educational credentials brought to the labour market may themselves be the outcome of a social process in which area characteristics figure prominently.

Truancy (TRUANT)

Young people were asked about the length of absences from the last year of compulsory schooling and then asked to indicate whether these absences were due to ill health or not. If the majority of absences were for health reasons TRUANT was set equal to zero, if the majority of absences were for other reasons then TRUANT was set equal to one. As Main and Raffe (1983) note, this variable could provide a valuable attitudinal measure. Previous studies (cited by Main and Raffe) such as McLeish and Mullin (1981) and Gray et al (1983) have reported associations between a record of individual school truancy and unemployment (in Scotland). This variable then would be expected to have a negative influence on the probability of being in employment at contact.

Experience of Part Time Employment (PT JOB)

Previous research, such as that of Main and Raffe (1983) and Richardson (1981) have demonstrated the significant positive influence of experience of part time work while at school, on employment probabilities. It may be that the young person, in obtaining part time employment, may be demonstrating motivation and orientation to the world of work, in the eyes of potential employers. Alternatively

it may be that young people go on to obtain full time employment in the same jobs upon leaving school. In the analysis of Main and Raffe (1983) experience of part time employment was shown to be as significant (if not more significant) than whether or not the young person sat O' grade examinations. If the young person had held a part time job while at school PTJOB was coded to one, otherwise coded to zero.

Number of Job Applications (APPLICS)

Young people were asked how many job applications (including applications for training schemes) they had made since leaving school. If the young person had made more than five job applications this dummy variable was coded to one; if the individual had made less than five job applications then it was coded to zero. It would be expected that the larger the number of job applications made, or the more contacts made in the process of job search, the higher the probability of being in employment at the time of the survey. However, it could equally be argued that the most employable young people have a greater chance of employment success at an early stage in the job search process so that employment probability is not necessarily positively correlated with levels of job applications made. It did appear, in the current survey though, that those in jobs had been slightly more active in job search compared to the non-employed overall. The regression analysis will reveal whether or not this was significant.

Contact with the Careers Service (CAREERS)

The amount and type of contact the young person had had with the careers service since leaving school was recorded in the survey. A distinction was made between the formal contact of a face to face

interview and informal contact of letters and telephone calls. Since the primary responsibility of the service is to facilitate the transition from school to work (for S4 leavers) it was hypothesised that the greater the amount of formal contact then the more likely the youngster was to be in employment. However, as with the previous dummy variable (APPLICS) it may be that the most employable youngsters may make less use of the Careers Service, as they tend to move into employment at an earlier stage. If the young person had had formal contact with the Careers Service (seen then on at least two occasions) then CAREERS was coded to one otherwise to zero.

Housing Tenure (TENURE)

Previous research has generally been unable to isolate the exact nature of the effect of housing tenure on the employment probabilities of the individual. It is clear that the bulk of the unemployment is concentrated in areas where there are high levels of public sector housing, although the extent to which this is the result of living in such housing or personal characteristics of residents is unclear. Murphy and Sullivan (1987) however have found that housing tenure does affect employment probabilities, and that living in public sector housing has a negative impact on the chances of being in work, after taking account of personal characteristics. In the current analysis, if the respondent lived in owner-occupied housing then TENURE was set to one, otherwise the variable was set to zero.

Unemployed Father (FATHUNEM)

Employment status of father has been found to have a significant impact on employment probability of young people during the early labour market period, with young people with fathers in employment

more likely to be in employment themselves

Informal networks of job information have been found to be particularly important for young people seeking their first position in the labour market. Those whose fathers are unemployed may be denied access to such networks. In the current analysis the unemployed category consists of fathers on government training schemes as well as the officially registered unemployed. If the father was thus classed as unemployed then FATHUNEM was coded equal to one, otherwise coded to zero.

Occupational Status of Parents (NMFATH, SKFATH, OJOBFATH, NMMOTH, OJOBMOTH)

Probability of being in employment does appear to vary by socio-economic group of parents, with those young people from the lower socio-economic groupings (eg 1 to 6) more likely to be in employment. In this analysis distinction is made between: non manual fathers (NMFATH) and others; skilled manual fathers (SKFATH) and others; unskilled manual fathers (OJOBFATH) and others; non manual mothers (NMMOTH) and others; and manual mothers (OJOBMOTH) and others. These dummy variables were coded as follows:-

If father classed as non manual NMFATH coded to one, otherwise to zero.

If father classed as skilled manual SKFATH coded to one, otherwise to zero.

If father classed as unskilled manual OJOBFATH coded to one, otherwise to zero.

If mother classed as non manual NMMOTH coded to one, otherwise to

zero.

If mother classed as manual OJOBMOTH coded to one, otherwise to zero.

Family Size (SIBLINGS)

A variable denoting family size has been included in previous analyses which have investigated the impact of certain personal characteristics on the probability of employment. The hypothesis is that those from larger families were less likely to be in employment when contacted. The distinction is made here between those respondents with only one or two siblings and those with three or more. If there were only one or two siblings then the SIBLINGS variable was coded to one, otherwise coded to zero. There may well be relationships between this variable and other variables in the analysis. For example, family size is quite likely to be related to SEG of parents and is likely to have an impact on educational attainment. All these interrelationships have to be considered when we come to analyse the determinants of employment probabilities.

Area (PHE, NEWTOWN)

The area variables obviously play a central part in the analysis, given that our hypothesis is that area of residence exerts a significant influence on the probability of employment at contact. We distinguish in the analysis between young people living in Castlemilk (the peripheral housing estate) and those living in East Kilbride (the new town), omitting those living in the Inner South, for comparative purposes. If the young person lived in a peripheral housing estate then PHE was coded equal to one, and otherwise to zero. If the young person lived in a new town then NEWTOWN was coded to one and otherwise to zero.

Preliminary Correlations

The preliminary correlations revealed some strong relationships between the variables. It was found that there was a strong negative correlation between PHE (living on a peripheral housing estate) and: being in employment; educational attainment at the level of three O' grades or above; experience of part time employment; high levels of job applications since leaving school; having a non manual or skilled manual father; having a non manual mother; having less than three siblings. Similarly there were strong positive correlations between PHE and:- attendance of a Roman Catholic school; truancy; having an unemployed father.

There was a strong negative correlation between NEWTOWN (living in East Kilbride) and:- having an unemployed father; having an unskilled manual father. There was a strong positive relationship between NEWTOWN and:- employment; attainment at the level of three O' grades or above; owner occupation; having a non manual or skilled manual father.

These results tend to indicate that the two groups of young people tended to have different personal characteristics. This point should be borne in mind in analysis of the regression results.

10.4 ANALYSIS OF REGRESSION RESULTS

Table 10.9 indicates the regression coefficients and the T statistic results.¹ Variables were entered in three groups.

Firstly, personal level variables including:- school leaving age

(SLAGE); denomination of school (RCSCHL); Gender (SEX); whether sat O' grade examinations (SATOGS); attainment of one or two O' grade passes (GRADESA), attainment of three O' grades or more (GRADESB); Truancy (TRUANT); experience of a part time job (PTJOB); level of job applications (APPLICS); contact with the careers service (CAREERS).

Secondly, household level variables including:- housing tenure (TENURE); whether father unemployed (FATHUNEM); whether father non manual (NMFATH); whether father skilled manual (SKFATH); whether father unskilled manual (OJOBFATH); whether mother non manual (NMMOTH); whether mother unskilled manual (OJOBMOTH); size of family (SIBLINGS).

Finally the area level variables of PHE and NEWTOWN, indicating residence in Castlemilk or East Kilbride respectively.

Personal Level Variables

With regard to the personal level variables, the greatest coefficient occurs on the variables GRADESB, indicating the attainment of three or more O' grades. Young people who left school with this level of attainment, had a probability of employment which extended 25 percentage points beyond that of young people who did not attain this level of achievement. Our analysis then reasserts the dominance of educational qualifications in the personal characteristics determining employment probability. This dominance has been noted in previous research (Garner, Main and Roffe, 1988). This result was the only one among the personal level variables (in this regression) that achieved significance at the five per cent level.

The second most significant variable was also an indicator of educational achievement. SATOGS made the distinction between young

people who sat, O' grade examinations in their last year at school and those who did not. The coefficient indicates that those who did sit the examination had an employment probability which extended to 17 percentage points above those who did not. This result achieved significance at better than the 10 per cent level only.

Other variables that proved to be moderately significant were: APPLICS, where those making in excess of five applications for employment had an employment probability 12 percentage points higher than the young people who made fewer applications than this; and PTJOB, where young people who had held a part-time job while at school were more likely to be in employment than those who had not. The difference extending to more than 10 percentage points. Neither of these two latter observations (APPLICS and PTJOB) achieved significance at the 10 per cent level or better.

TABLE 10.9 REGRESSION RESULTS. PROBABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT CONTACT ALL YOUNG PEOPLE

Variables	Personal		Household		Area	
	B	T	B	T	B	T
SLAGE	.0274	.364				
RCSCHL	.0088	.091				
SEX	-.0894	1.233				
SATOGS	.1754	1.716*				
GRADESA	-.0365	-.289				
GRADESB	.2536	(2.633)				
TRUANT	.0079	.089				
PTJOB	.1066	1.359				
APPLICS	.1225	1.518				
CAREERS	.0447	.489				
CONSTANT	.3102	(2.662)				
TENURE			-.0614	-.609		
FATHUNEM			.1085	-.920		
NMFATH			.3719	(2.593)		
SKFATH			.2658	(2.230)		
OJOBFATH			.0913	.633		
NMMOTH			.0846	.843		
OJOBMOTH			.0613	.690		
SIBLINGS			.0950	1.107		
CONSTANT			.2340	(2.405)		
PHE					-.1265	-1.408
NEWTOWN					.0706	.807
CONSTANT					.5230	(8.478)
R ²	.10149	-	.08141	-	.02580	-
N (sample size)	176		178		184	

Figures in parenthesis are significant T statistics at the .05 level of better (5 per cent level)

*Denotes T statistics which are significant at the .10 level or better (10 per cent level)

Household Level Variables

The household level variables that appeared to be the most significant related to SEG of father. Variables representing SEG of mother were included but appeared not to be important in the employment equation. The most important characteristic in determining employment probability was having a non manual father. This characteristic increased probability of being in work by 37 percentage points compared to those without a non manual father. The T statistic on

this variable was significant at the five per cent level. It was noted earlier in this chapter that young people from Castlemilk were less likely than young people from other areas to have a father classed as non manual. There was a strong negative correlation between PHE (Castlemilk) and NMFATH (non manual father). This is undoubtedly important in explaining the poor employment chances of this group of young people.

Having a father classed as skilled manual was also an important characteristic, although the effect was not as powerful as that of non manual father. Nevertheless, young people with a skilled manual father found their employment chances increased by more than 26 percentage points compared to young people without a father in this category. Again, the T statistic is significant at the five per cent level. There was also a strong negative correlation between living in Castlemilk and having a father classified as skilled manual. Both of the variables indicating occupational grouping of father proved to be more significant in determining the probability of employment (of the young person) than the qualification variables that were included in the personal variable group.

None of the remaining household level variables were shown to be statistically significant.

The negative sign on TENURE indicates that young people living in owner occupied housing were less likely to be in employment than those living in other tenure types. The difference amounts to 6 percentage points and the T statistic is not significant. This result is contrary to what would have been expected given previous research and the obvious links between tenure and SEG. The only other important tenure in the sample besides owner occupation was public sector

housing. Owner occupation was very unevenly distributed being prevalent in both East Kilbride and the Inner South areas and almost non-existent in the Castlemilk area (as detailed in Chapter One). The initial correlations showed a positive association between owner occupation and employment (.151). We can only assume that the negative sign arises as a result of 'interference' from other variables in the regression.

Area Level Variables

There were two area level variables entered in the regression, these were PHE and NEWTOWN. The table shows the coefficient on PHE to be negative signed and although the T statistic is well above unity, it does not achieve significance at the 10 per cent level. This indicates that living in Castlemilk reduced the young person's chances of being in employment by 12 percentage points, compared to the chances of those living in other areas. This result, even though lacking in statistical significance, has to be accepted with caution. As previous chapters have revealed, young people from Castlemilk were distinctive in terms of their characteristics. They were:- less likely to be qualified; less likely to have parents in non manual occupations; less likely to have a father in a skilled manual occupation; more likely to come from a single parent family; more likely to come from larger families; and were less likely to have made high levels of job applications since leaving school. Young people from the area then were more likely to have a combination of personal and household characteristics which would be considered as disadvantageous. It may be that the coefficient on PHE, rather than indicating the negative impact of living in a peripheral housing estate, is actually capturing the negative effect of the personal and

household characteristics of the young people who live there. This is of course the problem of multi-collineanty. The current analysis is restricted by the size of sample. Were our sample larger we could attempt to overcome this problem by taking young people with similar characteristics from each area and then testing the effect of area of residence on employment chances. With the current sample size we are unable to do this.

Besides having a range of characteristics which would be considered disadvantageous in the employment equation, young people from Castlemilk tended to be interviewed towards the beginning of the fieldwork period. A large proportion of those from Castlemilk were interviewed in the first two weeks of the fieldwork operation. Thereafter young people from the three areas were interviewed concurrently. This in itself will impact on employment chances, in that it may be assumed that the longer a young person is in the labour market the greater the probability of being in employment when contacted. This will undoubtedly have affected the outcome of the employment equation.

The coefficient on the NEWTOWN variable was positive but small, amounting to a difference of only 7 percentage points in the employment chances of those living in East Kilbride compared to those living elsewhere. The T statistic was not significant.

All Variables Entered

The regression analysis was repeated with all variables entered together rather than in groups as discussed in previous paragraphs. Table 10.10 displays the results. This exercise emphasised the dominance of certain household level variables, namely, the

occupational grouping of father. NMFATH (indicating a non-manual father) and SKFATH (indicating a skilled manual father) were the only variables to achieve statistical significance at the five per cent level. These variables appeared to be more important in determining employment success than either of the qualification variables (the most significant personal level variables²). Having a non-manual father increased the probability of employment by at least 36 percentage points; having a skilled manual father increased the probability by 30 percentage points.

One perhaps surprising result is the size of the coefficient attached to OJOBFATH, which indicated a father in unskilled manual work. This variable did not reach significance at better than the 10 per cent level, but having a father in unskilled manual work appeared to increase the probability of employment by around 15 percentage points. There were a number of young people in the sample, from single parent households (i.e. father absent). This may account for this result in that simply the presence of the father in the household (whether in skilled work or not) actually improved the chances of employment. Alternatively, this unexpected result may just be a reflection of the small size of our sample.

Entering all variables together tended to reduce the size of the coefficient and the T. statistic on many variables. The coefficient on GRADESB (attainment at the level of three O' grades or above) is reduced in the regression by around 8 percentage points, and this fails to reach significance at better than the 10 per cent level. Finally, the sign on the coefficient for PHE (residence in Castlemilk) now becomes positive, although the size of the coefficient is small, and the T. statistic is not significant.

**TABLE 10.10 REGRESSION RESULTS. PROBABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT CONTACT
(ALL VARIABLES ENTERED)**

Variables	B	T
SLAGE	.2037	.307
RCSCHL	-.0235	- .229
SEX	-.0984	-1.306
SATOGS	.0983	1.181
GRADESA	-.0829	- .640
GRADESB	.1785	1.635
TRUANT	.0513	.543
PTJOB	.0983	1.192
APPLICS	.1306	1.544
CAREERS	.0193	.208
TENURE	-.0735	- .651
FATHUNEM	.1225	.986
NMFATH	.3693	(2.355)
SKFATH	.3003	(2.305)
OJOBFATH	.1522	1.004
NMMOTH	.0383	.365
OJOBMOTH	.0477	.524
SIBLINGS	.0519	.584
PHE	.0852	.738
NEWTOWN	.0402	.437
CONSTANT	.0891	.531
R^2	.15059	-
N (Sample Size)	166	

Figures in parenthesis are significant T. statistics at the .05 (5 per cent) level or better

10.5 REGRESSION RESULTS CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

The regressions described above were run separately for all males and all females to assess whether the significance of certain variables differed on the basis of gender. The results are recorded in Tables 10.11. and 10.12.

TABLE 10.11 REGRESSION RESULTS. PROBABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT CONTACT MALES ONLY

Variables	Personal		Household		Area	
	B	T	B	T	B	T
SLAGE	.0045	.040				
RCSCHL	.0155	.106				
SEX						
SATOGS	.0842	.537				
GRADESA	-.0955	-.495				
GRADESB	.2603	1.714*				
TRUANT	.0692	-.493				
PTJOB	.0084	.072				
APPLICS	.1099	.965				
CAREERS	.0162	-.113				
CONSTANT	.3746	(2.068)				
TENURE			.0501	-.343		
FATHUNEM			.1107	-.631		
NMFATH			.2599	1.259		
SKFATH			.2622	1.524		
OJOBFATH			.0943	.426		
NMMOTH			.1594	1.160		
OJOBMOTH			.1709	1.243		
SIBLINGS			.1352	1.119		
CONSTANT			.0674	.474		
PHE					-.1358	-1.060
NEWTOWN					.0151	.119
CONSTANT					.5151	(5.877)
R^2	.08500	-	.14755	-	.01450	-
N (Sample Size)	82	-	83	-	89	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate significant T. statistics at the .05 (5 per cent) level or better

* Indicates significance at better than the .10 (10 per cent) level

TABLE 10.12 REGRESSION RESULTS. PROBABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT CONTACT FEMALES ONLY

Variables	Personal		Household		Area	
	B	T	B	T	B	T
SLAGE	.0526	.499				
RCSCHL	-.0375	-.264				
SEX						
SATOGS	.2696	1.905*				
GRADESA	.0628	.341				
GRADESB	.2550	1.988*				
TRUANT	.0926	.778				
PTJOB	.2417	(2.164)				
APPLICS	.1499	1.252				
CAREERS	.0599	.489				
CONSTANT	.1855	1.256				
TENURE			-.1824	-1.237		
FATHUNEM			.1027	.634		
NMFATH			.4626	(2.268)		
SKFATH			.2693	1.595		
OJOBFATH			.0591	.268		
NMMOTH			.0316	.207		
OJOBMOTH			-.0372	-.303		
SIBLINGS			.0683	.531		
CONSTANT			.3775	(2.777)		
PHE					-.1174	-.928
NEWTOWN					.1452	1.194
CONSTANT					.5312	(6.084)
R ²	.15610	-	.07694	-	.04641	-
N (Sample Size)	85		86		92	

Figures in parenthesis indicate significant T. statistics at the .05 (5 per cent) level or better

* Indicates significance at better than the .10 (10 per cent) level

There were major differences in a number of variables. Having sat 0' grade examinations (SATOGS) was much more important in the employment equation for females than it was for males. For females it meant a difference of more than 26 percentage points in the probability of being in employment and a T statistic which is significant at better than the 10 per cent level. For males it meant a difference of only 8 percentage points. Part of the explanation for this gender difference may be that females appeared far more likely to be entered for

examinations than did males. It was more unusual for a female not to have sat any examinations, so that consequently girls who did not sit may have been further disadvantaged.

Experience of part time employment while at school (PTJOB) was also much more important in explaining employment probabilities for females than for males. For females experience of a part time job increased the probability of employment by more than 24 percentage points and the T statistic is significant at better than the 5 per cent level. In contrast for males, this variable has a negative sign, imparting a slightly negative impact on the probability of being in work. There is a much stronger positive correlation between part time work experience and employment for females than for males.³

Level of applications made since leaving school (APPLICS) was also more explanatory for females than for males. For females having made more than five job applications increased employment chances by almost 15 percentage points, although the T statistic did not reach significance at better than the 10 per cent level. For males the coefficient attached to the variable is smaller and not significant.

The regression results for TENURE also differ markedly for males and females. For females the impact of owner occupation on employment chances is negative although not statistically significant. For males the coefficient is small and not significant. The correlation between employment and owner occupation was shown to be much stronger (positive) for males than for females. It is not immediately clear why the explanatory power of this variable should be so different for the two groups.

Having a father classified as non manual (NMFATH) appeared to be more

important for females than males. For females in this category employment chances were extended by as much as 46 percentage points and the result is shown to be significant at better than the 5 per cent level. For males while NMFATH is important (although not statistically significant) it does not have the explanatory power that it does for females. Conversely, for males occupation of mother appears to be more important than in the case for females. The coefficient for NMMOTH (indicating a mother in non manual employment) is larger for males but is not statistically significant. Similarly with OJOBMOTH (indicating a mother in some other type of employment than non manual). The differences between males and females with respect to these variables may be explained by the possibility that males were more likely than females to have a mother in employment of some sort.

The final major difference in the regression results for males and females was in the coefficient attached to the variable NEWTOWN. Residence in East Kilbride was more important for females in the explanation of employment chances than it was for males. For females, residence in East Kilbride enhanced employment chances by more than 14 percentage points compared to those not living in the town. The T statistic, however, was not significant at better than the 10 per cent level. This may suggest more plentiful employment opportunities for girls than for boys. Girls from East Kilbride had the highest proportion in employment than any other group. ~~Seven~~ ^{Seventy} per cent of females were in work in the area compared to 50 per cent of males. East Kilbride males had the second lowest employment rate, surpassing only that of males from the Castlemilk area. The local availability of employment opportunities in the new town may be more important in

explaining differential employment rates between areas for girls.

As with the regression for all young people taken together, for both males and females all variables were entered together, rather than in groups (ie personal, household and area levels). The results are displayed in table 10.13. This exercise impacted upon the results for males more than it did for females. For males there were large changes in the size of the coefficients of a number of variables. Firstly the importance of having a father in non manual employment increased by around 17 percentage points although the T statistic still does not reach significance at better than the 10 per cent level. The importance for employment chances of having a father in skilled manual employment also increased and the coefficient became significant. The explanatory power of the GRADESB variable (attainment of three or more variables) was reduced in that coefficient became smaller.

There were a number of rather spurious results that could have been caused either by the problem of small sample size or the unequal distribution of various characteristics between the area groups. For example having a father unemployed appears to have a strong positive impact on employment chances although the result was not shown to be significant. As noted this may be due to the large numbers of single parent families in the sample (fathers absent) in that the presence of the father in itself may have a positive impact on employment chances regardless of fathers employment status. Residence in Castlemilk (PHE) also has a strong positive impact on employment chances for males and the T statistic is almost significant at better than the 10 per cent level. The variable denoting area of residence has three categories, two of which (peripheral housing estate and new town) were

entered in the regression. The category Inner South (inner city areas) was not included and provides a comparison. Given that males from the Inner South were in actual fact far more likely to be in employment when contacted than were males from Castlemilk, the strong positive impact on PHE is difficult to explain, especially since the initial correlations revealed a strong negative relation between employment and Castlemilk (-.120). Males in Castlemilk had the lowest employment rate of any group at 38 per cent (11 young people). We should perhaps conclude, then, that this is a spurious result caused by the small size of the sample.

The results for females changed slightly in that the coefficients on the important variables of PTJOB (experience of part time employment) and GRADESA (attainment of up to two O' grades) became larger. As with males there were some rather spurious results in that owner occupation was shown to have a strong negative impact on employment chances. It is possible that this result has also been affected by the small size of the sample.

TABLE 10.13 REGRESSION RESULTS. PROBABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT CONTACT FOR MALES AND FEMALES (ALL VARIABLES ENTERED)

Variables	Males		Females	
	B	T	B	T
SLAGE	.0132	.109	.0638	.573
RCSCHL	-.0086	-.054	-.0972	-.598
SEX	-	-	-	-
SATOGS	-.0133	-.109	.2097	1.422
GRADESA	-.1844	-.946	.1252	.619
GRADESB	.1311	.738	.2270	1.524
TRUANT	.0961	.547	.1086	.841
PTJOB	-.0658	-.528	.2767	(2.271)
APPLICS	.1324	1.051	.1769	1.411
CAREERS	-.0987	-.652	.0419	.115
TENURE	.1904	1.084	-.3099	-1.902*
FATHUNEM	.3355	1.545*	.1085	-.920
NMFATH	.4305	1.615	.4260	1.972*
SKFATH	.4626	(2.046)	.2556	1.436
OJOBFATH	.2269	.818	.1060	.520
NMMOTH	.1517	1.008	-.0397	-.245
OJOBMOTH	.2629	1.791*	-.0403	-.315
SIBLINGS	.0906	.671	.0329	.249
PHE	.3616	1.881*	.0249	-.161
NEWTOWN	.0340	.238	.0667	.509
CONSTANT	-.2707	-.909	.1359	.658
R^2	.23305	-	.23092	-
N (Sample Size)	72	-	75	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate T statistics significant at the .05 (5 per cent) level or better

10.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis outlined at the beginning of this chapter was that area of residence (ie whether resident in a new town or an adjacent peripheral housing estate) has an important significant effect on the chances of the school leaver being in employment at the point of contact. This effect could be either positive or negative. If the young person resided in Castlemilk then the effect was hypothesised to be negative. This negative impact was believed to work mainly through the lack of available employment opportunities locally; given that the youth labour market tends to be particularly localised. Previous

research has tended to support the personal characteristics approach to spatial concentrations of unemployment, although there have been few truly comparable studies. Main & Raffe's (1983) research using data from the national Scottish School Leavers Survey indicated that the personal characteristics which appeared to matter most were educational attainment and father's occupation or employment status; our own results tend to support these findings with some reservations.

It may be useful here to briefly review the characteristics of young people who were in employment at contact (as detailed in Chapter Four). Young people in jobs tended to be far better qualified than the non-employed with 43 per cent achieving three O' grades or more, compared to 12 per cent of unemployed youngsters and 23 per cent of those on the YTS. Employed youngsters were also the least likely to have experience of unemployment in the family.

The employed and the non-employed did appear to have quite different personal characteristics, with the gap being widest between the employed and the unemployed. Personal characteristics differed widely by area as well as destination. Young people from Castlemilk, for example, were particularly poorly qualified even when in employment. They also had the highest levels of familial unemployment and the smallest proportion of fathers in either skilled manual or non-manual work. This unequal distribution of characteristics may well have implications for our regression results and their explanation.

In our regression which included all young people and entered variables in selected groups there were only a small number of variables that had a statistically significant effect (at the 5 per cent level) on employment probability. These were: attainment at the

level of three O' grades or more (GRADESB); having a father classified as non manual; having a father classified as skilled manual (SKFATH). A further variable was found to be statistically significant at better than the 10 per cent level; this was whether sat O' grades at all (SATOGS). Neither of the area level variables (PHE or NEWTOWN) achieved statistical significance.

When all variables were entered together rather than in groups, the dominance of household level variables, particularly that of occupational grouping of father, was emphasised, with both NMFATH and SKFATH being the only variables to achieve statistical significance at the five per cent level or better. In this regression, then, the importance of occupational status of father far outweighed that of educational attainment in determining employment chances. Previous research in this area has asserted the explanatory importance of both characteristics. The slightly different outcome in our analysis may be accounted for by the unequal spatial distribution of such characteristics in our sample.

The spurious nature of some of our results may also have been affected by our sample size. As Chapter One detailed around 60 young people were interviewed in each area, with roughly equal proportions of males and females. In the case of Castlemilk males, however, the sample size drops to 29.

Regressions were also run for males and females separately to assess the differing explanatory power of variables for males and females. With disaggregating the sample by gender to assess the importance of the explanatory variables for males and females separately, the problem of sample size becomes more acute. Taking the personal level variables first, for males no one variable performed significantly,

while for females experience of part time employment was significant. Further, for both household and area level variables there were no significant variables for males, yet for females having a non manual father remained significant.

The results for females then appear to have been more successful, in that statistical significance was achieved in a wider range of variables than was the case for males. Results for females assert clearly that experience of part time employment was more important than educational attainment in determining employment status at interview. Also reaffirmed was the importance of occupational status of father. This latter variable also reached significance (at the 5 per cent level for males) with the presence of a skilled manual father being particularly significant for males and a non-manual father for females.

Our analysis, then, tends to confirm the results of previous research which assert the dominance of personal characteristics in the employment equation. Fathers occupation status was shown to have a significant impact on employment chances, in all the regressions except in table 10.11 where males only were selected. In this latter regression no variable emerged as significant. Area level variables (in the form of PHE) reached significance (at better than the 10 per cent level) in only one of the regressions (see table 10.13). This result was thought to have been spurious because it signified that residence in Castlemilk, increased the probability of employment by 36 percentage points for males, yet males in Castlemilk had the lowest employment rate of any group.

Personal or household level variables then appear to be more important

than area level variables in explaining the differential employment rates observed between areas in our sample. There is still the possibility, however, that such personal or household level variables reflect the effect of area of residence in some way. Previous research has suggested this possibility with regard to educational achievement (Garner, Main and Roffe, 1988), in that low levels of achievement, such as those evidenced in Castlemilk, may reflect the poor quality of educational provision in the area. Similarly, with experience of part-time employment which was entered into the regression as a personal level variable and was found to be statistically significant in explaining employment probability for females (see table 10.13), may be a reflection of employment opportunities locally. Few young people in Castlemilk had experience of such work while at school, compared to the experience in the other two areas.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis set out to investigate firstly whether the early labour market experience of minimum age school leavers varied systematically across a section of the urban area of the Glasgow conurbation. If variation proved to be the case then the aim was to investigate the role of area of residence in this observation. We hypothesised that area of residence would be particularly important in the employment equation and would have a significant impact on the labour market status of the young person up to a maximum of 22 months after leaving school (as explained in previous chapters the length of time in the labour market varied). We believed this to be the case because the young people in the survey were drawn from three very different urban environments, namely a peripheral housing estate, a new town, and a mix of areas closer to the city centre which included both affluent and disadvantaged areas.

Chapter One in the thesis noted the very different characteristics and social conditions in these areas, despite their close proximity to each other. It was expected then that area would have an explanatory role in post school destination. In essence that there would be 'an area effect'. It was hypothesised that the area effect would mainly be transmitted through the local availability of employment opportunities. Young people would be further advantaged or disadvantaged in their search for work by this factor. The local availability of employment opportunities was thought to be particularly important in the case of school leavers because of the localised nature of the youth labour market. Employment opportunities were known to vary between the three areas, particularly between

Castlemilk and East Kilbride. Another role that an area effect could take is that of employers attaching a stigma to an area, so that applicants for employment are rejected partly or solely because of their address, despite other personal characteristics.

The theme of the thesis then is intra urban variations in non-employment and employment. We refer to non-employment in the case of young people because very few are officially classed as unemployed. Intra urban variations in unemployment have been a focus of researchers and policy makers for much of the recent past. Problems of locally concentrated unemployment are particularly interesting because the competing explanations for such problems translate into very different policy implications. Those who argue that in such cases an 'area effect' may exist (whether in terms of a stigma or some other form), would support area based policy initiatives which would involve an integrated improvement in employment opportunities and social conditions in the area. Conversely those who argue that concentrated unemployment problems are due to individuals with particular characteristics being concentrated in a particular area favour an individual approach whereby the skills and characteristics of the individual are improved, so that they compete more strongly in the wider labour market. The latter group would argue that improving employment opportunities in a particular area will not necessarily translate into a lower unemployment rate in that area because of the open nature of a local labour market. It could equally be argued, however, that improving the employment prospects of individuals through training and skill development does not necessarily mean that demand in the labour market will be sufficient to absorb this increased supply of skilled labour, although it would allow residents

of an area to compete on a more even footing in the wider labour market.

The multivariate analyses which have been done on this area of research have tended to conclude that locally concentrated unemployment problems are largely to be explained by the personal characteristics argument. Many of these studies, however, have concentrated on male manual unemployment. A small number of studies have been done on the youth labour market, although the results have been mixed. Garner, Main and Roffe (1989) concluded that, at the city level, there existed a unitary labour market where personal characteristics are the main determinants of labour market success. Richardson's (1982) result were similar although he noted the variation in job search patterns between groups, in that females from the inner city, appeared reluctant to look to the suburbs for employment opportunities. He also noted that while inner city young people may have been noticeably disadvantaged in the period after leaving school, this disadvantage reduced over time, so that after around twelve months after leaving school, no noticeable disadvantage existed.

This study is unique in that it highlights the problems of young people in a peripheral housing estate, in relation to those experienced by young people in locally adjacent labour markets.

11.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Before restating the nature of our results, it would be appropriate to consider the limitations of this research. The main problems faced in the analysis throughout the thesis, and particularly in the multivariate work, is that of small numbers. The original aim was to

achieve a sample of at least 30 males and 30 females in each of the three areas of study and this was achieved in virtually all cases. While 30 may be described as an acceptable sample size, once we look at specific groups of young people (e.g. those in work) the figures can go well below this. In many parts of our analyses, then, caution had to be exercised in drawing conclusions.

A further problem was the point at which we decided to enter the field, and the time lags involved in the fieldwork methodology. The sample consisted of minimum age school leavers, who left school during 1987. The bulk of the sample left school during the summer with a small number having left at Easter 1987. As noted previously in the text, a small number of young people may have been in the labour market for a period of almost 2 years when contacted, while for others (particularly the small number who may have left as late as Christmas 1987), depending on when they were interviewed, the time period could have been nearer 12 months. This is also related to the problem of the lags in the fieldwork process. As the fieldwork took place over the period December 1988 to April 1989, the young people contacted will all have been in the labour market for differing periods of time at the point of interview. It could be argued that the longer the period of time spent in the labour market, the greater the chances of being in employment when contacted. This, itself, then could be a determinant of employment probability. Some attempt was made to control for this in our multivariate analysis by constructing a variable for those interviewed in 1988 and one for those interviewed in 1989. Multiple regressions which included these variables were run. However, the results were spurious and no significant variables emerged. In the final regressions these variables were removed.

A problem also exists with the type of analysis we decided to undertake. Although variables were entered in groups of personal, household and area level variables, there remains the possibility that the significance achieved by certain variables (such as having a father classified as non-manual), really reflects the significance in the employment equation of closely related variables (such as that of academic achievement). There is also the possibility that the significance displayed by certain variables actually reflected other factors that were not accounted for in the regression.

The final note of caution needs to be attached to the widely differing socio-economic compositions of the three areas from which the young people were drawn. Table 1.3 in Chapter One noted the wide differential in tenure breakdown between East Kilbride and Castlemilk, with only 6 per cent of housing in Castlemilk classed as owner occupied, compared to 30 per cent in East Kilbride (as at the 1981 Population Census). Similarly, levels of car ownership ranged from 16 per cent in Castlemilk to 62 per cent in East Kilbride. The Inner South area displayed more variation (between the different postcode sectors making up this area) although, as noted previously in the text, a majority of the young people interviewed in this area were drawn from a particular school which serves the relatively advantaged parts of the Inner South (namely G44.3; G44.4; G44.5; as identified in Table 1.5). This stark variation in conditions made it very difficult to select young people with similar characteristics in each area, which would have proved a more stringent test of the impact of area residence on employment probability.

11.3 RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Our findings noted that females were slightly more likely to be in employment at contact, with 55 per cent (52) of females in work compared to 47 per cent (43) of males. Similarly, employment levels varied spatially with only 38 per cent (23) of Castlemilk youngsters in jobs, compared to 55 per cent (34) in the Inner South and 59 per cent (38) in East Kilbride. The gender difference was not found to be statistically significant, but the area difference did prove to be significant at better than the 10 per cent level.¹

Employment was the most important destination at contact, with males and females tending to follow different routes into employment. Females were twice as likely to move directly into employment from school. Similarly, these routes also differed between the three areas with young people from Castlemilk more likely to experience unemployment before moving into work. More than half of the Castlemilk group in work had experienced unemployment at some point, compared to just over one-third in each of the other areas.²

In terms of the characteristics of those in jobs at contact, these young people tended to be the better qualified and were less likely to have experience of unemployment in the family, as well as being more likely to have had experience of part-time work at school and less likely to have missed school through truancy. These 'positive' characteristics are correlated strongly with employment in the initial correlations performed in Chapter Ten. Qualifications appeared to be particularly important. These generalisations, however, did not always hold in that females and young people from East Kilbride were more likely than other groups to be in employment. Yet they were not the best qualified.

Young people from Castlemilk appeared to form a distinctive group, both inside and outside employment. In both cases they were poorly qualified and were likely to have experience of familial unemployment, although in relative terms those in employment were probably less disadvantaged in respect of these characteristics than their non-employed peers in the area. The negative characteristics suffered by Castlemilk youngsters (even when in employment), such as the lowest levels of educational attainment; highest levels of familial unemployment; smallest proportion of fathers in skilled manual work, may have been the major explanation for their location in the lower echelons of a segmented labour market.³

Chapter Four and Chapter Five looked at the type and 'quality' of employment entered by young people. Young people in the three areas did tend to enter different occupations and industries. Those from East Kilbride were particularly heavily concentrated in skilled manual work and manufacturing. This raised the question of whether this group actually moved within the same local labour market as the other young people. The three areas were originally chosen because of: the expected variation in the availability of employment opportunities; their location in the South East transect of the city; and, of course, the co-operation of the schools in the area. While it was acknowledged that East Kilbride was some eight miles from Glasgow, the dominance of the city as a source of employment opportunities was expected to have some impact on where young people from the area worked. Chapter Nine, however, tended to confirm that East Kilbride youngsters conducted their job search largely within the town, moving within a separate but adjacent local labour market to that of Castlemilk and Inner South youngsters.⁴

We considered the way in which the segmentation of employment entered, differed on an area and gender basis. We were unable to test the significance of area in determining the segment entered because the sample sizes of young people in employment in the three areas would have been too small. In terms of the three indicators selected:- wage levels; training levels; promotion prospects in the job, there were area and gender differentials. The gender differentials in wage levels, training levels and promotion prospects were all found to be statistically significant. Females were found to be disadvantaged in each of these respects. Area differentials that existed: Castlemilk youngsters on average receiving lower relative wages; and receiving less training in the job did not demonstrate statistical significance. However, the difference in perceived promotion prospects between areas (with the Castlemilk group less likely to perceive promotion prospects) did prove to be statistically significant.

Given the large differences which existed between young people in the three areas in terms of personal characteristics, (even when in employment), it would be impossible to deny these a major role in determining the segment of the labour market entered. Entry into a particular segment has future implications for the labour market experience of the individual, in that they further develop characteristics which fit them for work in a particular segment, but make movement between segments difficult (particularly upward movement from secondary to primary segments). Area could play a role if it was the case, that similarly qualified young people in each of the three areas were faced with a different range of employment opportunities, either because they searched for work over a different area, or because of differential access to job information networks. As noted,

we were unable to test the significance of area in this respect because of the small sample size, and the wide variation in personal characteristics between the areas.

The gender differential in terms of entry to particular segments emerged as more statistically significant than that of area, and although this was not the main focus of this thesis (except to the extent of comparing gender groups across the three areas), these differences were certainly worthy of note.

The YTS proved to be a major route into employment for the cohort, and this was the case for young people in all areas. The question posed in Chapter Seven was whether young people from the three areas tended to enter different types of scheme, with differing post-scheme employment rates. YTS formed such a major part of early labour market experience that this is a very important question. Our results did indicate that employment levels did differ by both area and gender. With regard to all ex-YTS trainees, employment levels varied from 48 per cent in Castlemilk; 88 per cent in the Inner South; and 90 per cent in East Kilbride. Unfortunately, it was not possible to test the statistical significance of this observation, because the number of ex-YTS trainees not in employment in the Inner South and East Kilbride were too small. Direct employment from the scheme (where young people left specifically to move into employment, whether with a scheme sponsor or some other employer) amounted to 42 per cent in Castlemilk, 82 per cent in the Inner South and 60 per cent in East Kilbride.

YTS trainees from the three areas also tended to have widely differing personal characteristics, most notably in educational attainment. Whereas only 16 per cent of current YTS trainees in Castlemilk

obtained one O'grade, the relevant proportions in the Inner South and East Kilbride were 83 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. Those taken into employment by their sponsor tended to be similar in terms of characteristics to those who moved directly into employment from school; these young people tended to be the best qualified or most advantaged youngsters in the sample. The YTS was being used by rational employers as a screening process. The scheme seems to be unable to alter the overwhelming dominance of qualifications in determining fate in the labour market. Employment rates from the scheme for the unqualified (or disadvantaged youngster) were well below those of the qualified. Unfortunately, in our sample the majority of unqualified young people were resident in Castlemilk.

Area of residence though did seem to play a role in the allocation of young people to schemes in the case of Castlemilk youngsters. These young people appeared to be concentrated into particular schemes or areas in close proximity to the estate. Young people from other areas on the YTS appeared to be more widely distributed across the urban area. There were no YTS trainees from Castlemilk based north of the city centre; 61 per cent of YTS trainees from the estate were based in that sector of the city containing the estate. Even in East Kilbride, only 43 per cent of YTS trainees were based in the town. Given the evidence from Chapter Nine on job search patterns of young people from Castlemilk there may be very real advantages to dispersing trainees over a wider area of the city than has previously been the case. This may encourage them to seek work over a wider area after the scheme, thus possibly widening access to employment opportunities.

This brings us to the final point in this section. Our analysis on patterns of job search behaviour showed that Castlemilk young people

were restricted in terms of the spatial area of their job search. The bulk of Castlemilk applications were restricted to that sector of the city containing the estate. Young people from Castlemilk made fewer job applications and searched for work over a more constrained spatial area, than say that of Inner South young people. It should be acknowledged however, that the postcode sectors used for the analysis may vary in size. This spatial restriction of job search was also found to be the case for East Kilbride youngsters, although it did not present such a problem for them because of the apparent availability of local job opportunities.

Even though Castlemilk youngsters appeared to move within a more restricted local labour market area, they also faced, on average, the longest and most expensive journey to work (although this observation did not prove to be statistically significant). This reflects the heavy dependence of families in the estate, on public transport. Chapter Five also noted the location of these young people in low paying occupations and sectors. These two factors, the heavy dependence on public transport and the location of young people in (on average) low paid work, may restrict job search to a smaller area than is the case for young people in other areas. The question then arises as to the extent to which this could be construed as an area effect that has a detrimental impact on employment chances. Young people with a restricted spatial job search could be further disadvantaged, as a result of residence in the area, given that: there are few employment opportunities in the estate itself; the estate is located on the edge of the urban area; is off the train line; and is on the opposite site of the river to the main source of employment opportunities. Inner South young people were also located south of the river, but car ownership was much higher in these areas, and most

of them were reasonably well served with underground and rail connections. It may be that were Castlemilk youngsters located elsewhere in the urban area, they would have had access to a wider range of available job opportunities even though their spatial job search was more restricted. Possible explanations for this observation could be, the dependence on public transport and the relatively low level of wages these young people earned or expected to earn.

The multivariate analysis in Chapter Ten failed to support the hypothesis that area of residence has a significant independent effect on the probability of employment for 16 year old school leavers. Neither of the two area variables, denoting residence in East Kilbride or residence in Castlemilk, achieved significance in the regressions performed. Between the three areas then, employment chances were largely determined by personal or household characteristics. Our analysis tended to support the results of previous research in terms of the variables or characteristics which proved to be most significant. Only a small number of variables proved to have a statistically significant effect on the probability of employment. Variables were entered in the regression in groups of personal, household and area level variables. Variables or characteristics which proved to be significant were: attainment at the level of three O'grades; having a father classified as non-manual; having a father classified as skilled manual. These were all significant at the 5 per cent level. Having sat O'grade examinations (regardless of whether passed or failed) was significant at the 10 per cent level. When all variables were entered together, rather than in groups, the dominance of household level variables was emphasised with the occupational

status of father (both non-manual and skilled manual) proving to be the only variables to achieve statistical significance at the five per cent level. In this respect they outperformed all personal level variables.

Controlling for gender, having held a part-time job while at school proved significant (at the 5 per cent level) for females in determining employment status. Again this variable proved to be more significant than that of academic variables in the regression. Having a non-manual father also proved significant for females, although not as significant as experience of part-time work. This latter observation could be construed as an area effect, if young people were disadvantaged in obtaining such work because of the lack of employment opportunities in their local area. It would also be possible, however, to argue that the probability of obtaining part-time employment may depend on the same personal and household characteristics that determine employment status in the full-time youth labour market.

There are a number of possible explanations of why our analysis may have failed to reveal any disadvantage in employment probability for those leaving school in a peripheral housing estate compared to school leavers elsewhere. Firstly, the striking contrast in personal and household characteristics between our samples, but also between our areas. The study by Gray et al (1990) of employment disadvantage associated with residence in the inner city, showed area of residence to have a significant effect although there was not the wide variation in characteristics which existed in this thesis. Gray (1990) notes that not all inner city youngsters (in his sample) were uniformly disadvantaged. Just under one in five came from non-manual home

backgrounds. In our own sample, no young person from Castlemilk had a father employed in a non-manual occupation.

Similarly, the difference in educational attainment between areas was far greater in this thesis than in the study noted above (Gray et al, 1990). In Gray's study, 36 per cent of inner city young people achieved one or more Ordinary passes (GCSE equivalent to O' Grades), compared to 50 per cent in the other non-inner city areas. In our own sample, while 35 per cent (8) of Castlemilk youngsters achieved one or more O' Grade passes, 76 per cent (26) did so in the Inner South and 74 per cent in East Kilbride. It may be that this large difference in personal and household level variables between areas, completely swamped any impact that area of residence (directly) may have had.

It may also be the case that any disadvantage to Castlemilk youngsters caused by the lack of locally available employment opportunities may have dissipated by the point of contact. Young people were interviewed between 18 and 22 months after leaving school. It may be that had they been interviewed at an early stage, say between 6 and 12 months after leaving school, that the effect of area of residence may have proved to be more significant. Although the numbers are small Chapter Three revealed that, young people from Castlemilk who were in employment at contact, were more likely to have experienced unemployment in the early period in the labour market. More than 50 per cent (13) of the Castlemilk group experienced unemployment, compared to 32 per cent in the Inner South and 34 per cent in East Kilbride. Studies which have shown area to have some significance (such as Gray et al (1980) and Richardson (1982)) have used a diary approach, tracking young people over a period of time and have contacted them at an earlier stage. Richardson concluded in his

analysis that any disadvantage suffered by inner city young people did dissipate over time, so that eventually (more than 12 months after leaving school) there was little statistical difference in employment chances between inner city and non-inner city youngsters.

Our results, then, lead us to conclude that differences in personal and household characteristics explain the largest part of variations in the probability of employment which exist between the three areas of Castlemilk, the Inner South and East Kilbride. It is also likely that personal and household characteristics explain a large part of the variation between area groups in the types of work that young people entered; the segment of the labour market entered, as defined by our criteria in Chapter Five; the level of employment following YTS both directly and indirectly. It is also possible that the differences observed between area groups in the spatial extent of job search may be partly or wholly explained by personal or household factors. Jones (1985) found that poorly qualified youngsters were likely to make fewer job applications than other better qualified young people and tended to use different job search methods. It is possible, then, that such young people also search for work over a more constrained spatial area.

11.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Our research findings will have particular policy implications. The main finding from the research is that area of residence has little or no impact on the probability of employment more than 18 months after leaving school. The probability of being in employment is largely dependent on the personal and household characteristics of the individual. These results then tend to lend support to the personal

characteristics approach to problems of concentrated unemployment. This approach tends to view the problem in individual terms ignoring any externalities that may exist as a result. For example, areas of high unemployment may suffer from a poor image or a stigma.

Externalities may also result from the individual level solutions suggested by the personal characteristics approach. The policy implication of this approach is that the skills of residents should be improved enabling them to compete more fully in the labour market and improve their chances of gaining employment. Many commentators on area unemployment problems have recognised the links that exist between housing and labour markets. Those at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (in secondary sectors of employment) whose experience in the labour market may be low paid and ~~inconstant~~ will be concentrated in areas where housing is cheapest. It is clear that an improvement in the labour market position of such individuals is likely to lead to an exodus from such areas by those most able to exercise mobility, leaving behind a more concentrated problem of disadvantage. A solely individual approach to the problem then is unlikely to be the solution in areas such as Castlemilk.

Areas such as Castlemilk face an image problem which in part arises ~~as an~~ externality resulting from the unemployment of individuals. The existence of such an ~~externality~~ provides some credence for an area-based approach to the multi-faceted problems of areas of deprivation. In addition to improving the competitive advantage of individuals, facilities within these areas need to be improved in order to hold the population in the area. Housing needs to be improved and tenure widened to give people the option of home ownership which may become desirable once labour market position is improved. Services need to

be improved as part of the strategy of making the estate an attractive area to remain in. In addition to this people will need to be convinced that there are opportunities in and around the estate for their children when they leave school. Such issues form the rationale for initiatives such as the Castlemilk urban partnership and other area-based policies.

The following paragraphs discuss policy solutions in relation to the findings of this study. These are mainly aimed at the level of the individual, but would be undertaken as part of a multi-faceted approach that would include an area-based initiative. The factor which appeared to have the most significant impact on the probability of employment was the occupational status of father. Young people with a father classified as non-manual or skilled manual were more likely to be in employment. There are a number of reasons as to why this should be the case. Firstly, informal networks in the labour market are thought to be particularly important for school leavers in finding the first position in the labour market. Workers (or fathers) in such occupational groups may have access to wider networks. Certainly those whose fathers are unemployed or absent from the household will find access to such networks limited and consequently may take longer to find employment. Secondly, it may be that fathers in non-manual or skilled work are more able to offer financial support for prolonged or intensive job search. Young people whose fathers are not classified as non-manual or skilled manual may be disadvantaged in the labour market because of the more limited access to information networks and financial support that this implies. For these reasons then these young people may require more intensive support from other agencies upon entering the labour market. Such support would be in terms of help in identifying possible employers and in the types of

approach required. Also, financial backing for job search and travel to interviews. Part of this could be achieved through the support services of the school (ie pastoral care) and the careers service. The careers service is well placed to offer these young people a more intensive service including more contact both before and after leaving school (although this will be conditioned by the co-operation of the young person). Also, spending more time (in interview) with this group, and lobbying for financial reimbursement for travel where the careers office is some distance from the place of residence. There may also be benefits to gain from interviewing young people at home. Large proportions of young people living in Castlemilk indicated that this would be helpful (see Chapter Nine).

In terms of individual level variables, the level of educational attainment proved to have a significant impact on the determination of employment probability. There was wide variation in the level of educational attainment by area. As Gray et al (1990) note a substantial part of the difference in academic attainment is potentially attributable to differences in social background. In Gray's study, however, differences in performance between inner city and non-inner city young people still existed after taking into account individual and household characteristics. It is likely that in the current study, area also plays some role in educational attainment of young people. This may be communicated through the resourcing or quality of teaching in the schools. It may be that schools in such areas (where high proportions of pupils are from disadvantaged backgrounds) require additional resources in order to achieve even average levels of attainment. Alternatively it may be that a large part of the gap in attainment levels is due to the poor

motivation that results from a lack of identified opportunities. Employers use educational attainment as an indicator of trainability and employability. It is imperative, therefore, that the startling lack of attainment of ^{these} young people is rectified. This may involve extra resourcing of the schools in the area, or the devotion of resources to 'out of school' academic support, whether in the form of subject tutors or study units. A large part of the work will no doubt be in raising the aspirations of these young people and convincing them of the efficacy of qualifications in the labour market.

Compacts between employers and schools have arisen, in part, in response to the low levels of attainment in inner city schools (for example, the Boston Compact). This is an arrangement whereby employers agree to set aside a number of job or training opportunities for which inner city young people will be considered. The young people in the final year of school have to reach a certain level of attainment both in academic terms and in levels of attendance and punctuality. While young people are not guaranteed a job or training place on reaching these goals, they are guaranteed an interview. This arrangement is thought to improve the motivation of pupils in indicating that there are opportunities for those who achieve a certain standard.

There are currently over 60 Compacts operating nationally. As this is a relatively new initiative, limited evaluation has been undertaken at this stage. However, it is clear that the impact will be governed by the extent to which disadvantaged young people are particularly targeted. Initial results from Compacts show that high proportions of the young people achieving employers standards opt to stay on in education beyond the age of 16 years. It is possible that many of

those achieving the set goals are those more likely to move into employment regardless. Accepting this possibility, Compacts could have a real impact on the problems of areas such as Castlemilk to the extent that disadvantaged youngsters are targeted and helped to achieve the goals, and to the extent that good quality training and employment opportunities are forthcoming. Such initiatives, however, have to be undertaken as part of an integrated policy (as detailed) that will prevent a haemorrhaging of youth and talent from the estate.

The final potential focus of policy arising from our results is that of the spatial area of job search of Castlemilk young people. Young people from the estate did appear to search for work over a more constrained spatial area than did young people from the other areas of study. This constrained spatial search may have an effect on the probability of employment as it may be assumed that the wider area of search the greater the number of employment opportunities identified. In the case of Castlemilk there are few locally available employment opportunities. There are a number of possible explanations for this observation. The pattern of job search may in part result from the heavy dependence on public transport in the estate. Levels of car ownership among households in the area were particularly low (1981 Census, see Chapter One of this thesis). Young people in the estate, without access to a private car, were restricted to using the bus service as there is no rail or underground terminal in the estate. Further, young people from the estate in employment tend, on average, to have a lower weekly wage than those from other areas. This lower (actual or expected) average wage may also affect the spatial extent of job search.

In addition to the observed pattern of job search the analysis

revealed that YTS trainees from Castlemilk did tend to be concentrated in the area immediately adjacent to the estate or in the estate itself. There was only a small number of young people from the estate remaining on the scheme at contact. It is unclear the extent to which this may have been supply determined with young people refusing places that were a certain distance from the estate, or determined by the allocation processes of the careers service. If the latter is the case (and ^{if} current YTS trainees form a representative picture of all trainees in terms of spatial distribution) then there may be some benefit to be gained in future from encouraging young people from Castlemilk to take up YT places beyond the area surrounding the estate. YT trainees do receive travel expenses where the weekly expense is above a certain level. This initiative may broaden the youngsters knowledge of the city and make them more aware of job opportunities that exist in other areas.

In general, Castlemilk youngsters should be encouraged to look further afield in search of work and the allocation of YT trainees may be one step towards achieving this. The broadening of horizons could also be achieved through the Compact arrangement mentioned earlier, where employers outside that area adjacent to the estate (yet still within acceptable daily travel distance) are encouraged to become involved. A further factor in encouraging the widening of spatial search will be providing help towards daily travel expenses either to interviews or to employment secured beyond a certain boundary surrounding the estate. These facilities already exist to some extent but need to be extended and more highly publicised. The Careers Service then will have a role to play in encouraging young people to look beyond their immediate area for work by allocating YT trainees over a wider area (where possible); stocking information on employment opportunities

across the city; providing information on financial help available for travel. The job prospects of Castlemilk youngsters could be notably improved by encouraging them to include the nearby new town (East Kilbride) in their job search. This would have to be undertaken in conjunction with the policy initiatives outlined such as improving levels of educational attainment in the estate, so that these young people compete on a more even basis for the jobs available.

FOOTNOTE TO CHAPTER ONE

1. The YTS formed only part of the New Training Initiative, which was aimed at improving the skills of the workforce as a whole. The YTS was that part of the initiative aimed at young people.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Chapter Three describes the destination at the time of interview of the sample. It can be seen immediately that there are far fewer young people unemployed in our sample than would have been expected. It should be stressed that this is due to the legislative changes that occurred in September 1988 with respect to young people's entitlement to income support. The changes ensured that young people no longer appeared on the unemployment register and as such could not be described as officially unemployed. Young people could only receive financial support by entering the YTS. By the time we entered the field many young people who had previously been unemployed had entered the YTS. Had we entered the field some months earlier then unemployment rates among the sample would undoubtedly have been much higher. Assuming that the changes in the legislation had a similar impact nationally (and there is no reason to believe otherwise) then our specific sample is reasonably representative of the national sample at that time.

2. ERRATUM

Furlong and Raffe (1989), criticised the notion of a trajectory from school into the labour market, rather than the transition from school to work.

3. It should perhaps be noted that the differences between males and females with respect to employment and YTS may reflect in part, the differing structure of male and female labour markets. Males were perhaps more likely to stay on the YTS because of the way the scheme has

'colonised' the apprenticeship system, open mainly to males. For females, the YTS was a more transitory phenomenon.

4. ERRATUM

The diary question was actually introduced into the survey at a later date than that to which the figures refer. Information on the different paths taken by young people was collected by asking about destination at two different time points.

FOOTNOTE TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. The observed lesser achievement of females in the qualification stakes may be a bias in our sample. National statistics show that females tend to outperform males in this respect up until the level of 'Highers'.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. It should be acknowledged that many young people (particularly males), remaining on the scheme at the point of contact were those receiving extended training under the apprenticeship system which would lead to skilled employment. These schemes were the better schemes and tended to recruit the more advantaged youngsters.

2. Some young people who were on the YTS at contact will have been given employee status with their employer and so may be classed as being in employment. Some attempt was made to gauge this in the questionnaire by asking specifically about the allowance the young person received. Trainees with employee status usually have their allowance 'topped up' by their employer so that they receive more than the standard YTS allowance at any particular age. This information was unfortunately rather patchy. However the main point to note is that employee status on the YTS at the time of the fieldwork was not particularly wide spread and has only really received emphasis over the last couple of years with the emergence of the threat of the demographic timebomb (ie. the projected shortage of school leavers coming into the labour market). It is thought that only a very small group of youngsters covered by the survey would have had employee status.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. Multiple regression analysis was used to determine the significance of area of residence on the probability of employment of the school leavers. The regressions were performed on SPSSx (the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Similar work in this field of research has been done using a variety of statistical methods. For example Garner, Main and Raffe (1988) use multivariate probit techniques to estimate the effects of various family and educational characteristics of school leavers, and various characteristics of the areas they lived in, on the three outcomes of full time education, employment, and having a skilled job. Gray, Jesson, Pattie and Sime (1989), compare young people's experiences of staying on in full time education or of entering the labour market who differed only in respect of whether they were from 'inner city' backgrounds or not. To do this they used the statistical procedure known as logit modelling; this procedure calculates for each outcome of interest, the probability of respondents with given characteristics achieving that outcome. Both of the research projects mentioned here used samples of much greater magnitude than that used in the present study. Gray et al used a sample in excess of 14,000, and Garner et al, a sample of more than 6500. Such statistical methods were likely to be more problematic with a sample of the size used in our own work (ie. there were only 187 cases). Given therefore, that there were no extremes in our data and that the data were approximately normally distributed, we feel justified in the use of multiple regression analysis in this thesis.

2. This lack of significance attached to qualifications in determining the probability of employment contradicts the findings of other studies done in the same area of research. The level of academic attainment is usually shown to be particularly important in the employment equation. The anomolous finding in our analysis may be due to the small size of the sample. It could however also be due to the fact that many of the youngsters in the sample were entering areas of the labour market where qualifications were not important in recruitment. This is likely to be the case in this sample consisting of minimum age school leavers in some very deprived areas.

3. The importance of the variable PTJOB for females (indicating the experience of a part time job while at school) may also reflect the sections of the labour market being entered by these young people. These were areas where work experience was probably more important than qualifications (ie. employers were not looking for qualified labour).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Some of the trends observed in the analysis may have been more easily explainable had there been more qualitative information collected in the questionnaire. All of the questions were however precoded to aid the quantitative analysis. As this analysis was in fact restricted due to the small sample size, qualitative data may well have been particularly useful.

2. The experience of unemployment itself may have been a factor in determining the probability of employment at contact. For example employers may favour young people in a training scheme to the unemployed who may have rejected the YTS. Unfortunately it was not possible to use this data in the regression analysis. It does emphasise however the importance of such qualitative information in explaining observations.

3. Academic attainment was shown to be of particular significance in the employment equation and in this respect it out performed the specific area variables (ie. the variables denoting either residence in a new town or peripheral housing estate). Area itself however may play a role in the achievement process through the schools. Schools in deprived areas may be inadequately resourced. In addition to this however poor academic achievement may also reflect the low value placed on academic achievements in areas where unemployment is high and has remained high for a very long period of time. People may see little value in education when employment opportunities which reward achievement are sparse. Aspirations particularly important in academic achievement and search

will be low in such areas. For this reason the study may have benefitted from the collection of information relating to the culture of the area.

4. Although the statistical analysis did not show area of residence to be significant in determining the segment of employment entered, area could have been important if young people in the three areas were faced with differing job opportunities either because of differential access to job networks or due to differing job search areas. Chapter Eight showed that young people in the three areas did have differential access to informal job networks, with those from East Kilbride making particular use of informal job finding methods. Similarly, Chapter Nine detailed the different spatial areas over which young people in the three areas searched for work. This information, being more qualitative, was not included in the statistical analysis, but may still be of importance in explaining employment levels in the three areas.

APPENDIX

1987 SCHOOL LEAVERS SURVEY

NAME

SERIAL NUMBER

ADDRESS

Tele:

DATE OF BIRTH

Last School Attended

Religious Denomination of School

Catholic 1

Non-Denominational 2

DATE OF INTERVIEW

1987 SCHOOL LEAVERS SURVEY

PERSONAL AND DOMESTIC DETAILS

Sex Male 1 Female 2

1. How old were you when you left school?

15	1
16	2
17	3

2. What time of the year did you leave school?

Summer	1
Easter	2
Christmas	3

3. How many O' grades did you take at school?

SUBJECT

GRADE

1.	_____
2.	_____
3.	_____
4.	_____
5.	_____
6.	_____
7.	_____
8.	_____

4. What is your current marital status?

Single	1
Married	2
Cohabiting	3
Engaged	4

5. Do you have any children (If yes how many)

Yes	1
No	2

6. Is this your parents home?

Parents home	1
Own home	2
Friends home	3
Relatives home	4
Other (state)	5

7. Is the house rented or privately owned?

Rented from council	1
Privately rented	2
Home owned	3
Other (specify)	4

8. How many years have you lived in this house?

Less than 1 year	1
Between 1 and 3 years	2
Between 4 and 6 years	3
Between 7 and 9 years	4
10 years and over	5

9. How many years have you lived in this area?

Less than 1 year	1
Between 1 and 3 years	2
Between 4 and 6 years	3
Between 7 and 9 years	4
10 years and over	5

10. I would now like to ask about the other people that live in the house

RELATION TO RESPONDENT

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Mother	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Father	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Partner	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Brother	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Sister	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Other	6	6	6	6	6	6	6

SEX

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Female	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Male	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employed (FT)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Employed (PT)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Training	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Education (FT)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Retired	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
FT Housewife	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Permanently sick/disabled	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Unemployed	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Other (state)	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

11. If Father or Mother is unemployed, how long have they been unemployed?

	M	F
Less than 6 months	1	1
6-12 months	2	2
1-2 years	3	3
2-5 years	4	4
Longer	5	5

12. If Father or Mother is working, what is their job?

1. Mother
2. Father

13. Did your Father do an apprenticeship?

Yes	1
No	2

14. What area of work did you do his apprenticeship in?

15. Can you remember how much time you had off in your last year?
(session for Easter leavers)

Less than one month	1
Between 1 and 3 months	2
More than three months	3
Can't remember	4

16. Were these absences due to ill health?

Yes	1
No	2

17. Did you think about staying on at school?

Yes	1
No	2

18. Why did you leave school when you did?

Left to take up a job	1
Left to look for a job	2
Always hated school	3
Wouldn't have gained anything by staying	4
Couldn't afford to stay on	5
Thought training would be better	6
Friends all left	7
Other (state)	8

19. After you left, did you ever think about going back to school?

Yes	1
No	2

20. Why?

Miss friends	1
Need more qualifications to get a job	1
Unemployment is boring	1
Other	1

21. Do you think you would be in a better position today if you had stayed on at school?

Yes	1
No	2

22. Why not?

Would not have more qualifications	1
Would have missed the chance of a job	1
Would have missed the chance of a training place	1
Training is more useful	1
Rather be unemployed than go back to school	1
Other	1

23. Did you have a part-time job while you were still at school?

Yes	1
No	2

24. What was your job?

25. How many hours a week did you work?

26. Did you have any particular ideas about what you wanted to do when you left school?

Yes	1
No	2

27. What were these?

Wanted to get a particular type of job	1
Particular type of training	2
Wanted to set up in business	3
Wanted to move away	4
Wanted to go to college	5
Other (state)	6

28. Can I ask what you are doing just now?

Training	1
Unemployed	2
Employed	3
Returned to school	4
Temporarily sick/disabled	5
Family responsibilities	6
Other (state)	7

QUESTIONS TO THOSE CURRENTLY IN TRAINING

29. Were you unemployed at all after leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

30. If you were unemployed more than once how long did each period of unemployment last?

LENGTH OF TIME	SPELL			
	A	B	C	D
Less than one month	1	1	1	1
1-3 months	2	2	2	2
4-6 months	3	3	3	3
7-12 months	4	4	4	4
Longer (state)	5	5	5	5

31. What type of training scheme are you one?

YTS	1
CI	2
CI-YTS	3
Other (state)	4

32. When did you start this training scheme (month and year)

Admin/Clerical	1
Retail services/sales	2
Hotel and catering	3
Engineering/distribution	4
Warehousing/distribution	5
Computing	6
Other (state)	7

34. What allowance do you get? (including any additional amount paid by your employer. To the nearest pound)

35. Is it likely that you will want to find a job in this area of work when you finish your training?

Yes	1
No	2

36. Could you tell me why not?

Don't like the work	1
No jobs available	2
Low paid jobs only	3
Won't be sufficiently qualified	4
No jobs available in this area	5
Other (state)	6

37. Do you think your training will be useful to you in the future?

Yes	1
No	2

38. How will it be useful to you?

It will help me get a job	1
Get a job in this work area	2
An extra qualification	3
Other (state)	4

39. Why won't it be useful to you?

No jobs available	1
Poor quality training	2
Poor work experience	3
Won't be sufficiently qualified	4
No jobs in this work area	5
No jobs in this area	6
Other (state)	7

40. Was this your first choice of training?

Yes	1
No	2

41. What was your first choice?

YTS	1
CI	2
CI-YTS	3
Admin/Clerical	4
Retail services/Sales	5
Hotel and catering	6
Engineering	7
Warehousing	8
Computers	9
Other (state)	10

42. Why could you not do your first choice of training?

No training in this work area	1
Not got the qualifications	2
No places in local area	3
Applied to late	4
Other (state)	5
Other (state)	6

a) Could you tell me where your training is based (what is your training manager called)

b) Is this?

Your employers premises	1
Community Workshop	2
ITeC	3
Local College	4
Other	5

43. Where do you do your off the job training? (Where is your training based? Do you go to college?)

44. Is this?

Your employers premises	1
Community Workshop	2
ITeC	3
Local college	4
Other	5

45. Where do you do your on-the-job training? (What placements have you had, addresses)

46. Again, is this

An employers premises	1	1
Community Workshop	2	2
ITeC	3	3
Other (state)	4	4

47. After your training period finishes will you be looking for a job in a particular area? (CAN RING MORE THAN ONE)

1. Locally (up to 30 minutes walk)	1
2. Glasgow city centre	1
3. Other parts of Glasgow (beyond locality)	1
4. Towns outside Glasgow (travel daily)	1
5. Other parts of Glasgow	1
6. Outside of Scotland	1
7. Other (state)	1

48. Is this the only training you have done since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

49. How many other training places have you had?

50. How long have you currently been unemployed? (months)

51. Have you had a job at all since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

52. How many different employers have you had?

53. What were you doing in each case? (occupational area)

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

54. Where was your job located in each case? (address)

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

55. How long were you employed for? (weeks)

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

56. Could I ask why you left this employment?

REASON	A	B	C
Boredom	1	1	1
Sacking	2	2	2
Made redundant	3	3	3
Too far to travel	4	4	4
Work too difficult	5	5	5
Low paid	6	6	6
Bad relations with other employees	7	7	7
Wanted to get further training	8	8	8
Other (state)	9	9	9

57. Are you looking for a particular type of job?

Yes	1
No	2

58. Is there any sort of job that you particularly would not want to do?

Yes	1
No	2

59. What is this?

60. What type of job are you looking for?

61. Are you looking for?

Full-time work	1
Part-time work	2

62. Have you applied for any jobs in the last six months?

Yes	1
No	2

63. How many?

64. Have you had any job offers at all (since becoming unemployed)

Yes	1
No	2

65. What was (were) this (these)?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

66. Why could you not take this (these) up?

REASON	A	B	C	D	E
Too far to travel	1	1	1	1	1
Pay too low	2	2	2	2	2
Other responsibilities	3	3	3	3	3
Awkward hours	4	4	4	4	4
Bad reputation of employer	5	5	5	5	5
Only part-time	6	6	6	6	6
Other	7	7	7	7	7

67. Are you looking for a job in a particular area? (CAN RING MORE THAN ONE)

Locally (up to 30 minutes walk)	1
Glasgow city centre	1
Other parts of Glasgow (beyond locality)	1
Towns outside Glasgow (Travel daily)	1
Other parts of Scotland	1
Outside of Scotland	1
Other (state)	1

68. How much time would you be willing to spend getting to and from work each day? (MINS in total)

69. How much money would you be willing to spend in getting to and from work each day? (pounds)

70. Do you have a full drivers license?

Yes	1
No.	2

71. Would you have access to a car for work whether as a passenger or a driver?

Yes	1
No.	2

72. If you were to be offered a job tomorrow how much would the wage have to be before you could take it? (Top line before deductions)

73. How do you find out about jobs that are going? (CAN RING MORE THAN ONE)

Job Centre	1
Careers Service	1
Newspapers	1
Community Centre	1
Friends/relatives	1
Private Employment Agency	1
Speculative applications to employers	1
Other (state)	1

74. Did any of the following ways of looking for work get you an interview for a job? (READ OUT)

	A	B	C	
Careers Service	1	2	3	
Visit to Job Centre	1	2	3	
Newspaper ad	1	2	3	KEY
Spec. visit to employer	1	2	3	
Spec. application	1	2	3	A- not used
Asked relatives about vacs	1	2	3	B - Interview
Asked friends about vacs	1	2	3	C - No Int
Private employment agency	1	2	3	
Other (state)	1	2	3	

75. In a typical week, how much time would you spend in looking for a job? (hours)

76. Do you have to help out around the house at all while you are unemployed?

Yes	1
No	2

77. Could you say roughly how many hours a day this would take up?

Less than 1	1
Between 1 and 3	2
More than 4	3

78. Do you have any particular health problem or disability which may make it difficult for you to hold down a permanent job?

Yes	1
No	2

79. Do you have any particular responsibility (e.g. looking after a child or relative) that may make it difficult for you to hold down a permanent job?

Yes	1
No	2

80. What do you think are the chances of you getting a job in the next six months?

Non existent	1
Slim chance, if lucky	2
Quite likely	3
Very likely	4

81. In the opinion where would be the best place to provide information on jobs or training that would be of use to unemployed people?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

82. I will now read out a list of ways of providing information on jobs and training available. Could you tell me which you think would be most useful to you.

READ OUT (CAN RING MORE THAN ONE)

Leaflets, posters etc	1
Videos	1
Computer display	1
Talk/lecture to unemployed people	1
Talk on a one to one basis	1

83. I will now read out a list of education and training courses. Could you tell me which you think would be of most use to you?

READ OUT (CAN RING MORE THAN ONE)

Basic courses in reading or writing	1
Courses giving specific job skills	1
Courses on job search skills (eg How to apply for jobs etc)	1
Courses for starting your own business	1
Courses on how to make the most of your time (eg Hobbies)	1
None	1
Other	1

QUESTIONS TO THOSE CURRENTLY IN EMPLOYMENT

84. What is your job called? (What does your employer do)

85. Where is your job based? (address)

86. How long have you been working there? (months)

87. How many hours a week do you work in a normal week?

88. During a normal week, including overtime and any other extras what is your take home pay (after deductions)

89. Have you received any specific training for the job you are doing besides qualifications from school?

Yes	1
No	2

90. Did this training take place?

on the job	1
off the job	2
both	3

91. How long did (or will) your training period last? (weeks)

92. Are there any chances of promotion in your present job?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

93. If no chances of promotion could you say why not?

Nothing to be promoted to	1
Firm cutting back	1
Getting no training	1
Not got the qualifications	1
Other	1

94. Can you remember how you 'first' came to hear about your job (how did you find out about the vacancy)?

Careers Service	1
Job Centre	2
Newspaper ads	3
Spec. visits to employers	4
Spec. letter to employer	5
From a relative	6
From a friend/neighbour	7
Private employment agency	8
Other (state)	9

95. How do you normally travel to work? (Record only mode for longest distance)

Walk	1
Bus journey	2
Car (drive)	3
Train	4
Underground	5
Cycle	6
Car (lift)	7
Other (state)	8

96. How long does it take you to get to work? (mins)

97. Does the return journey take the same amount of time? (mins)

98. How much does it cost you to travel to and from work daily (pounds)

99. Does your employer help with travelling costs?

Pays all	1
Pays some	2
Pays none	3

100. Is your current job the only job you have had since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

101. How many other jobs have you had?

102. Could you tell me what your job was called in each case?

1. _____

2. _____

103. Could you tell me where you were working in each case? (address)

1. _____

2. _____

104. Could I ask why you left these positions? (main reason)

Sacked	1	1
Quit (boredom)	2	2
Wages too low	3	3
Left to take another job	4	4
Bad conditions	5	5
Work too difficult	6	6

105. Were you unemployed at all since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

106. If you were unemployed more than once, how long did each period of unemployment last?

LENGTH OF TIME	SPELL		
	A	B	C
Less than one month	1	1	1
1-3 months	2	2	2
4-6 months	3	3	3
7-12 months	4	4	4
Longer	5	5	5

107. Have you been on a training scheme at all since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

108. Have you been offered a place on the Youth Training Scheme?

Yes	1
No	2

109. Have you been offered a place on any other training scheme?

Yes	1
No	2

110. What training scheme were you offered a place on?

CI	1
CI-YTS	2
Other	3

111. What type of training was offered to you?

OCCUPATIONAL AREA	A	B	C
Admin/Clerical	1	1	1
Retail services/sales	2	2	2
Hotel and Catering	3	3	3
Engineering	4	4	4
Warehousing/Distribution	5	5	5
Computing	6	6	6
Other	7	7	7

112. Where were these opportunities based? (type of training agent)

	A	B	C
With an employer	1	1	1
Community Workshop	2	2	2
Local college	3	3	3
ITeC	4	4	4
Other	5	5	5

113. Why did you not take these opportunities up?

	A	B	C
Disagree with YTS	1	1	1
Not interested in this type of work	1	1	1
Too far to travel	1	1	1
Already had a job	1	1	1
Wanted to look for a permanent job	1	1	1
Disagree with CI	1	1	1
Other	1	1	1

114. Are you looking for a particular type of training?

Yes	1
No	2
Not interested	3

115. What tyupe of training are you looking for? (CAN CIRCLE MORE THAN ONE)

CI	1
YTS	1
Administrative/Clerical	1
Retail sales/Services	1
Hotel and Catering	1
Engineering	1
Warehousing	1
Computing	1
Other (state)	1

116. Could you tell me what you were doing on your previous training schemes?

OCCUPATIONAL AREA	A	B	C
Admin/clerical	1	1	1
Retail services	2	2	2
Hotel and Catering	3	3	3
Engineering	4	4	4
Warehousing	5	5	5
Computing	6	6	6
Other (state)	7	7	7

117. How long were you in training for? (in total weeks)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

118. Where did you do your on the job training? (address)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

119. Could you tell me if this was?

	A	B	C
An employers premises	1	1	1
Community Workshop	2	2	2
ITeC	3	3	3
Other (state)	4	4	4

120. Where did you do your off the job training? (address)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

121. Was this -

Your employers premises	1	1	1
Community Workshop	2	2	2
ITeC	3	3	3
Local college	4	4	4
Other (state)	5	5	5

122. What was the main reason for leaving?

REASON	A	B	C
End of training period	1	1	1
Boredom	2	2	2
Forced to leave (sacking)	3	3	3
Too far to travel	4	4	4
Didn't get on with other employees	5	5	5
Left to take up a job	6	6	6
Left to look for a job	7	7	7
Other (state)	8	8	8

123. Would you go on another training scheme?

Yes	1
No	2

124. Could you tell me why not? (main reason)

Just exploitation	1
Training is bad quality	2
No chance of job afterwards	3
Other	4

QUESTIONS 125 ONWARDS TO ALL RESPONDENTS

I would now like to ask a few questions about how well you know different areas of the city, and the different places you may have applied for jobs since leaving school.

125. How many jobs or training places have you applied for since leaving school? (roughly)

None	1
Between 1 and 3	2
Between 6 and 10	3
Between 11 and 15	4
Between 16 and 20	5
More	6

126. Could you tell me where these vacancies were? (address or area)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

127. How many interviews have you had?

128. Whereabouts did you get interviews? (address or area)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

129. Can you think of any areas of the city where you would not apply for a job for one reason or another?

No	1
Yes	2

130. What areas and for what reasons?

AREA	REASON
1.	_____
2.	_____
3.	_____
4.	_____
5.	_____

131. I am now going to read out a list of different areas of the city. I would like you to tell me if you have applied for a job in the area. (If not applied for a job here, would you apply for a job here?) If not then why not?

POSTAL DISTRICTS	A	B	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7
Finnieston/Yorkhill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
City Centre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bridgeton	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Shettleston	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Garthamlock	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Easterhouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Govan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Govanhill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Queens Park	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nitshill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Castlemilk	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Knightswood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ruchill/Maryhill	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Possilpark	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bishopbriggs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Partick	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Anniesland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Drumchapel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Clydebank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Dumbarton	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
And other areas outwith the city:									
Thornliebank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Giffnock	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rutherglen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cambuslang	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lenzie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kirkintilloch	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
East Kilbride	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

- A - have applied
- B - would apply
- C1 - too far to travel
- C2 - con't know area
- C3 - no jobs here
- C4 - no infor on jobs here
- C5 - problems for transport
- C6 - area of bad reputation
- C7 - other (state)

132. How much contact have you had with the Careers Services since you left school?

None at all	1
Letters from them but no formal contact	2
Seen them once every few months	3
Seen them once a month	4
On a regular basis	5

133. Why did you not use the Careers Service more often

Never contacted you	1
Too far away	1
Unhelpful	1
No jobs on offer	1
Never needed them	1
Not interested in using them	1
Other (state)	1

134. I am interested in finding out how useful you feel the Careers Service was to you and if you feel they could be improved in any way. I will now read out a list of statements and I would like you to tell me whether you think these are true or false or if you're not sure just say 'don't know'. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. I am really just interested in your opinion.

(T = 1; F = 2; DK = 3)

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|----|
| A. I would have used the Careers Service more if there had been more jobs going | T | F | DK |
| B. It would be better if the Careers Service were nearer | T | F | DK |
| C. The Careers Service has generally been very helpful to me | T | F | DK |
| D. It would be more helpful if young people could be interviewed in their own homes | T | F | DK |
| E. The Careers Officer should spend more time with each young persons | T | F | DK |
| F. The Careers Service are always easy to get in touch with to arrange an interview | T | F | DK |
| G. The Careers Service could not be improved in any way | T | F | DK |
| H. The Careers Service has never been of any help to me | T | F | DK |

ANY OTHER COMMENTS ON THE CAREERS SERVICE

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

135. Have you taken part in any further education since leaving school?

Yes	1
No	2

136. What classes or courses have you done?

137. Thinking back to your last year at school were you given any advice or information about leaving and looking for a job?

Yes	1
No	2

138. Can you remember if the school provided any of the following?

	Yes	No	DK	Should Have
Interview practice	1	2	3	4
Tips on how to approach an interview	1	2	3	4
Practice in filling out application forms	1	2	3	4
Writing letters to employers	1	2	3	4
Advice on what benefits you should get	1	2	3	4
How to go about claiming benefits	1	2	3	4
Information on different training schemes	1	2	3	4
How to survive unemployment	1	2	3	4

139. Is there any other information or advice the school should have provided that would have made it easier for you?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

140. Why do you think many young people are finding it difficult to get jobs at the moment?

No jobs available anywhere	1
No jobs in this area	1
Problems is they don't want jobs	1
Most are not qualified/trained	1
Employers don't want to employ YP's	1
New technology, fewer jobs	1
Other	1

141. What for you is the best thing about getting a job?

	V. Imp.	Imp.
Having some money	1	2
Being able to plan for the future	1	2
Having something to do	1	2
Meeting new friends	1	2
Being treated like an adult	1	2
Other (state)	1	2

142. When going for a job, have you ever felt that you have lost out for one of the following reasons?

(READ OUT)

Sex	1
Race (colour of skin)	1
Religion	1
Qualifications	1
Area of residence	1
Other	1

143. What do you think you will be doing in a years time?

Married	1
In a job	1
In a better job	1
In same job	1
In training for job I want	1
Education	1
Moved away in search of work	1
Unemployed	1
Other	1

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME. ENSURE ALL DETAILS ARE FILLED OUT ON DATA SHEET

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