



<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

**DECISION MAKING IN THE CAREERS SERVICE WITH
SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO HEALTH AND OTHER
ATTRIBUTES: LABOUR MARKET TRANSITIONS FROM
MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS**

Ann McDowell

PhD

**MRC Medical Sociology Unit, University of Glasgow.
1995**

ProQuest Number: 10392313

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10392313

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Thesis
10244
Copy 2

GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Acknowledgements

In many respects, the completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the help of a number of groups and individuals. My thanks and appreciation go firstly to my supervisor Dr Patrick West, and a special mention must also include the late Dr Keith Bakx, a second Ph.D supervisor during the early stages of this study. My thanks also go to all the staff and colleagues at the Medical Sociology Unit, particularly to Carol Nicol for the assistance received during the sorting of quantitative data, to Lindsay Macaulay and Patrica Fisher for help with coding, to Fiona McDonald for typing the tables, and especially to Dr Rory Williams for reading over the thesis and offering invaluable advice. My gratitude further extends to all those individuals contacted during fieldwork for the thesis, particularly the careers staff who gave me so much of their time and assistance whilst in the careers office and during interviews. On a more personal level, this thesis is dedicated to my mother Theresa McDowell and to the very special memory of my father John McDowell. Kind thanks also go to the rest of my family, friends and fellow postgraduates for their constant encouragement and support, most of all, to Christopher.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	
List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xi
List of Information in Appendices	xiii
Synopsis	xv

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Background to Research

Introduction and Background to Research	1
The Careers Service as a Pivotal Gatekeeper During Young People's Transitions	2
An Integrated Theoretical Framework: Theories of Entry into Employment	5
<i>Occupational Choice</i>	5
<i>Opportunity Structures</i>	6
<i>An Integrated Framework</i>	6
The Vocational Preparation of School Leavers: Debate over the Effectiveness of Careers Education	10
Labelling Theory	14
<i>Public (Proactive) De-labelling and Re-labelling Strategies within Labelling Theory</i>	15
A Consideration of Careers Staffs' Proactive (Covert) De-labelling and Re-labelling Strategies as a New Approach to Labelling Theory	19
Health Selection	22
Rationale for Mainstream Focus	30
Conclusion	34

**CHAPTER 2:
Aims of Research and Overview of Research Design and Methodology**

Introduction	37
Aims of Research Study	38
Careers Officers' Links with School Guidance Staff and Receipt of The School Careers Service Report (CS4)	41
<i>Young Person's Pre-interview Form</i>	42
The Vocational Guidance Interview	43
The Aide Memoire (CS2) (7 Point Plan)	45
The School Medical Service	47
The Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS)	50
<i>Employers and the F2404 Procedure</i>	50
Selecting the Research Setting: Some Initial Considerations	51
Sources of Administrative Data within The Careers Service	53
The Ordering of Unit Data	55
<i>Disadvantages of Unit Data</i>	55
Semi-Structured Interviews with Careers Staff	58
Analysis of Qualitative and Quantitative Data	59
<i>Qualitative Analysis</i>	59
<i>Quantitative Analysis</i>	62

**CHAPTER 3:
Young People's Transitions from Mainstream Schools**

Introduction	66
<i>Historical Background to Young People's Transition</i>	67
<i>New Transitions of the 1980s and 1990s</i>	68

Opportunity Structures	68
<i>Segmentation of the Youth Labour Market</i>	68
<i>The Rise in Youth Unemployment</i>	71
Personal Characteristics Associated with Successful Transition	73
The Geographical Debate: Opportunity Structures or Personal Characteristics?	74
The Effect on Selection of Youth Training Schemes	79
<i>The Youth Opportunities Programme</i>	80
<i>The Youth Training Scheme</i>	82
Conclusion	89

CHAPTER 4:

The Role of The Careers Service during Young People's Transitions from Mainstream Schools

Introduction	91
The Careers Service and Client Need	93
Client and Employer Needs in Careers Education in Schools	95
Client and Employer Needs in Youth Training Schemes	98
The Careers Service, Endorsement, and Special Training Needs	103
The Careers Service and the Impact of the 'New Right'	105
Conclusion	109

**CHAPTER 5:
Description and Frequencies of Health and Other Attributes in Careers
Service Units**

Introduction and Background	112
<i>Frequencies of Health problems in Career Service Units</i>	115
<i>Other Attributes in Career Service Units</i>	116
Conclusion	118

**CHAPTER 6:
Attributes and Destinations: Characteristics and Patterns of Careers
Service Units in Two Labour Markets**

Introduction and Background	121
Characteristics of The Sample	123
SECTION 1:	125
Health Problems by Area, Year of Leaving School and Destinations	
<i>Health Problems by Area</i>	125
<i>Health Problems by Area and Year of Leaving School</i>	126
<i>Destinations by Health Problems</i>	126
<i>Destinations by Health Problems by Area</i>	127
<i>Destinations by Health Problems, Area and Year of Leaving School</i>	127
SECTION 2:	130
Major and Minor Health Problems by Area, Year of Leaving School and Destinations	
<i>Destinations by Major Health Problems and Area</i>	131
SECTION 3:	133
Entry into Support and Negative YT and Endorsement within YT by Area, Year of Leaving School and Health Problems	
<i>Entry into Support and Negative Schemes within YT by Area</i>	134
<i>Entry into Support and Negative YT and Endorsed within YT by Area and Year of Leaving School</i>	134
<i>Entry into Support and Negative YT and Endorsed within YT by Health Problems</i>	135

SECTION 4:	137
Entry into Mainstream YT by Area, Year of Leaving School and Health Problems	
SECTION 5:	137
Reference to Various Negative and Positive Attributes by Area, Year of Leaving School and Destinations	
<i>Destinations by Total Negative Attributes by Area and Year of Leaving School</i>	138
<i>Destinations by Total Positive Attributes by Area and Year of Leaving School</i>	140
<i>Support YT Schemes according to Negative Characteristics by Area</i>	142
Conclusion	145
CHAPTER 7:	
Changes Affecting The Careers Service: Constraints on and Factors Influencing Decision Making Processes within Contrasting Localities	
Introduction and Background to Qualitative Data	151
Careers Staffs' Accounts of Changes Affecting The Careers Service: The Impact of Wider Opportunity Structures	151
<i>Young People Remaining in or Drifting Back to School</i>	152
<i>Provision of Basic and Premium Youth Training Schemes</i>	153
<i>Waiting Lists for Community Industry</i>	156
<i>Growth in Claims for Hardship Allowance</i>	156
<i>The Local Labour Market Situation as a Constraint for Careers Officers' Recommendations: from Job Specific to Broader Occupational Assessments</i>	157
<i>A Conflict of Interests: Adults Contact with the Careers Service</i>	159
<i>Increased Documentation of Statistical Information and Growing Involvement of Outside Agencies</i>	160
<i>Perceptions of Changes in Operational Philosophy</i>	163
Careers Staffs' Accounts of their Role within The Careers Service	164
<i>Blanket and Open Access System of Careers Interviews</i>	165
<i>Perceptions of Young People's Year at School as a Basis for Receiving a Vocational Guidance Interview</i>	166
<i>Division of Responsibility within the Careers Service: The Role of Employment Assistants</i>	167
Conclusion	169

CHAPTER 8:

Careers Staffs' Perceptions of School/Post School Gatekeepers and Assessment of Information Received about Health and Other Attributes

Introduction	172
Relationship with School Guidance Staff and Assessment of Information on the School Careers Service Report (CS4)	172
<i>Observations of Young People's Year at School as a Basis for the Receipt of the CS4</i>	173
Descriptive Information on the CS4: Careers Staffs Evaluation of information from the School Careers Service Report	176
<i>Accepting and Non-accepting Orientations in Relation to Information Documented on the CS4</i>	178
<i>Employment Assistants Decision Making from Information on the CS4</i>	181
<i>The Concept of a Pre-selection Service to Employers as a Characteristic of the Careers Service Role</i>	182
<i>Careers Officers' Rationale for De-labelling Negative Information from the CS4</i>	182
<i>Information as Circumspect Knowledge: Variations in Accounts of Formal and Informal Communication from the CS4</i>	183
Perceptions of The School Medical Service and Receipt of Health Information	189
<i>Perceptions of The School Medical Service and Receipt of Y9/Y10 Forms</i>	190
<i>The Y9 Form as a Health Indicator</i>	193
<i>Impressions of 'Coded' Health Information on the Y9 Form</i>	194
<i>The Y10 Form and Critique of Medical Terminology</i>	195
Contact and Advice from The Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS)	198
Conclusion	202

**CHAPTER 9:
Careers Staffs' Perceptions of Health: Mainstream Transition within
Contrasting Localities**

Introduction	203
The Importance of Health Information: Variations in Careers Staffs' Accounts	203
Health as a Problematic Event	207
Proactive Approaches to Young People's Health Problems	209
Observations about Negative Health Labels	212
The Placement of Young People with Health Problems in Contrasting Labour Markets	215
Conclusion	217

**CHAPTER 10:
Information Management in The Careers Service: Perceptions of
Factors Influencing the Documentation and Placement of Young
People from Information on the Aide Memoire (CS2)**

Introduction	220
Variations in Decision Making Regarding the Completion and Assessment of Information Recorded on the Aide Memoire: Influences and Dominant Issues	221
The Significance of Careers Officers' Training and Experience as a Basis for Completing the Aide Memoire	225
Attempts at De-labelling their Client: The Censoring of the Aide Memoire by Modification or Exclusion	228
Use of Information on the Aide Memoire for Career Recommendations and Selection Processes	232
Perceptions of Idiosyncratic Information in the Aide Memoire: The Concept of Mental Visualisation as an Explanatory Factor	238
A Question of Discretion? Young People's Background Circumstances as a Consideration for Careers Staff Inquiry	241

Potential Destinations as Contexts for Decision Making: The 'Two Scenarios' as an Explanatory Factor	244
The Placement of Young People into 'Premium' and 'Basic' Youth Training Schemes: A Consideration of Negative and Positive Criteria from the Aide Memoire	247
Conclusion	251
CHAPTER 11: Conclusion And Review of Findings	259
References	296
Appendices	312

LIST OF FIGURES: CHAPTER 2:

- Figure 1 Careers Staffs' Links with Other Gatekeepers: Potential Sources of Health Information Flow During Mainstream Transition
- Figure 2 Summary of Employment Structure in Area 1 and Area 2
- Figure 3 Unemployment Patterns in Area 1 and Area 2

LIST OF TABLES: CHAPTER 5:

- Table 1 Frequency (and percentage) of reference to health in Careers Service Units
- Table 2 Frequency (and percentage) of reference to other attributes in Careers Service Units

LIST OF TABLES: CHAPTER 6:

- Table 1.1 Characteristics of The Sample
- Table 1.2 Reference to Health Problems in Area 1 and Area 2
- Table 1.3 Health Problems by Year Left School
- Table 1.4 Health Problems by Area and Year Left School
- Table 1.5 Destination by Health Problems
- Table 1.6 Destination by Health Problems by Area
- Table 1.7 Destination by Health Problems by Area and Year Left School
- Table 2.1 Reference to Major Health Problems by Area
- Table 2.2 Reference to Minor Health Problems by Area
- Table 2.3 Major Health Problems by Area and Year Left School
- Table 2.4 Destination by Major Health Problems by Area
- Table 3.1(a) Support YT by Area
- Table 3.1(b) Negative YT by Area
- Table 3.1(c) Endorsed YT by Area

- Table 3.2(a) Support YT by Area and Year left School
- Table 3.2(b) Negative YT by Area and Yearleft School
- Table 3.2(c) Endorsed YT by Area and Yearleft School
- Table 3.3(a) Support YT by Health Problem by Area
- Table 3.3(b) Negative YT by Health Problem by Area
- Table 3.3(c) Endorsed YT by Health Problem by Area
- Table 4.1 Mainstream YT by Area
- Table 4.2 Mainstream YT by Area by Year left School
- Table 4.3 Mainstream YT by Health Problem by Area
- Table 5.1 Destination by Total Negative Criteria (Yes/No) by Area and Year Left School
- Table 5.2 Destination by Total Positive Criteria (Yes/No) by Area and Year Left School
- Table 5.3 % in Support and Other YT Schemes of young people in YT Schemes who were and were not ascribed negative characteristics, by Area

LIST OF INFORMATION IN APPENDICES

- 1.1 What Employers Look for in School Leavers¹
- 2.1a-e Examples of the School Careers Service Report (CS4)
- 2.2a-d Examples of Young Person's Pre-Interview Form (CS18a/b)
- 2.3 General Duties Of Employment Assistants And Clerical
Workers Within The Careers Service
- 2.4a-c Examples of the Aide Memoire (CS2)
- 2.5 The Careers Service: Links With Other School/Post School
Gatekeepers
- 2.6 Y9 Form (School Medical Service)
- 2.7 Y10 Form (School Medical Service)
- 2.8 Careers Service Request Form to EMAS for Health Information
- 2.9 F2404 Form
- 2.10 Statistical Information from SRC: Young People With Health
Problems In Mainstream and Special Schools
- 2.11 Potential Sources Of Data In Careers Service Units
- 2.12 Catalogue Frame
- 2.13 Example Of Questions From Young Person's Vocational
Guidance Interview
- 2.14 Careers Service Interview Notes (CS19 Form)
- 2.15 Interview Schedule
- 2.16a Codes for Total Negative/Positive Attributes
- 2.16b Coding List
- 2.17 Coding Record
- 2.18 Careers Service List of Support YT schemes
- 2.19a-h Methodological Appendix
- 4.1 Changeover from YTS to YT: Summary of New Initiatives

¹Table shown in Appendix 1.1 is from a study carried out by the Recruitment and Training Research Unit at the Polytechnic of Wales.

- 4.2 YT Endorsement Form (Y20) And Criteria for Endorsement Categories A, B, and C
- 6.1a-6.7a Examples of the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) documents
- 8.1 Work Experience Pupil Assessment Form
- 9.1 Health Notes Issued by (Mainstream) Head Teacher
- 10.1a-d Examples of Young Person's Pre-Interview Forms (CS18a): Which Jobs Have You Considered And Why?

SYNOPSIS

DECISION MAKING IN THE CAREERS SERVICE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO HEALTH AND OTHER ATTRIBUTES: LABOUR MARKET TRANSITIONS FROM MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

This research examines the way selection operates during the course of young people's transitions from mainstream school to youth training (YT) and the labour market, with particular reference to health and other attributes, including, appearance, personality, speech, physique, and academic ability. Among the network of school/post school gatekeepers, the Careers Service is identified as a crucial mediator during this process, in that it is strategically placed to negotiate both with school leavers and educationalists, and also with the providers of YT schemes and employment opportunities. At present, a focus on the Careers Service is particularly relevant; youth training schemes form a more permanent bridge between school and work, and unemployment affects a growing number of school leavers. Within this context, the Careers Service is under great pressure to service the needs of employers and managing agents, whose recruitment criteria based on the above attributes have become increasingly rigorous. At the same time, and in line with their unique 'client-centred' orientation, the Careers Service attempts to play the role of advocate and proactively to meet a range of client need. This constitutes the dilemma of careers staffs' role; by being what it is (a pre-selection service to employers) and by its duty to fulfil what it should be (a client-centred service committed to individual need), the Careers Service faces in many directions at once.

Research has identified certain characteristics associated with young people making a successful transition into the labour market; however, debate continues over the extent to which area or client characteristics (particularly young people's qualification level and fathers' employment status) have the greatest effect during the transitional process. In the present study, an integrated theoretical framework is developed to incorporate alternative theories of entry into employment, wherein the role of opportunity structures is identified as vital, as well as the role of personal attributes. A central issue concerns whether the Careers Service responds effectively to those with health problems and other (negative and positive) attributes, in the sense that careers staffs' decisions make a difference to placement

outcome when opportunity structures are taken into account. Analysis of careers offices in contrasting labour market contexts is seen as essential, and the study is therefore located in two areas, one with good training and employment opportunities (Area 1) and a more disadvantaged area (Area 2).

Within this comparative context, six aims are outlined in chapter two, relating to Careers Services selection of work or training opportunities in the two areas by health attributes and other attributes of school leavers:

1. to establish what information about health problems of school leavers is available to the Careers Service.
2. to show whether this health information is related to selection of school leavers into available placements.
3. to show whether health selection varies within the contrasting opportunity structures in the two areas chosen.
4. to examine the information about other attributes of school leavers available to the Careers Service, and the extent to which this is routinely encoded into permanent labels.
5. to show whether this information is related to selection of school leavers into placements, and if mandated labellers nevertheless engage in covert de-labelling or re-labelling of clients.
6. to show whether this selective process also varies by area.

In order satisfactorily to place young people with health problems into available vacancies, careers staff require relevant information. In contrast to pupils in special schools where detailed information (Record of Needs) and formal structures (Future Needs Assessments) exist to prepare young people on leaving school, in the mainstream setting the communication of health information and advice to the Careers Service is problematic, particularly from the School Medical Service, and to a lesser extent, EMAS (the Employment Medical Advisory Service). Following the Warnock Report, more young people with health problems were integrated within the mainstream system. The evidence of the present study shows that a large volume of health references was recorded in Careers Service units, and health problems were mentioned for at least 20% of school leavers. Although some problems were elicited by careers officers themselves, the majority had already been noted by school guidance staff, and the Careers

Service was highly dependent for health information on schools. This indicates the importance of the problematic relationship of the Careers Service with the School Medical Service.

Previous research evidence has also shown how those with serious health problems are more likely to face discrimination in the labour market. However, in line with their 'client-centred' role in promoting equal opportunity, this study shows that careers staff were able to secure placements for young people with health problems, even in an area with limited training and employment opportunity (Area 2). Quantitative findings show that in both areas, more 4th year leavers with health problems (including major health problems) entered youth training (though not the worst types of premium schemes), and that fewer with health problems were unemployed, particularly in the disadvantaged area. Interviews with careers staff and analysis of information in the Aide Memoire (CS2) document supported this proactive orientation, in that processes of positive health selection appeared to take place at least during this stage of the transitional process, even though this might involve a 'hard sell' by careers staff to employers.

In addition to health, the significance of other attributes, specifically information received from school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and information recorded by careers officers on the Aide Memoire (CS2) is examined. Analysis of information recorded in young people's units underlines how 'routine labelling' occurred within the Careers Service as part of the administrative process and information management. However, in assuming that labels are typically negative and permanent, traditional labelling theory is overtly deterministic and makes no allowance for more complex decisions being undertaken by mandated labellers. Evidence of re-labelling and de-labelling was found in this study. Vital questions therefore related to what influenced careers officers' completion of the Aide Memoire (CS2) and how information in Careers Service units affected decision making in terms of placement. For example, detailed attention to completing all sections of the Aide Memoire facilitated employment assistants in their pre-selection role, but could also thereby lead to increased labelling and potential (unintentional) discriminatory practices resulting from recording by careers officers.

Research has highlighted how certain 'types' of young people are more likely to enter premium or 'sink' youth training schemes and that a wide range of attributes play a role in selection processes. Opportunity structures are also thought to play a vital role in determining young people's routes in the labour market. In the present study, strikingly more young people in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) entered premium schemes. There was also evidence suggesting that, within the context of their pre-selection role, careers staff focused more attention on non-health attributes of young people in Area 2 than Area 1, and the relationship between these attributes and selection into premium schemes was greater in the disadvantaged labour market.

Against the conflicting structural and moral constraints affecting careers officers' recording practice and placement decision making, varying processes of proactive public (official) labelling and covert re-labelling and de-labelling strategies are identified as central research findings in the present study. Implications of careers officers' attempts to 'protect' their client are that potential negative health selection processes were negated at this stage in the transitional process, even though negative selection based on other attributes was clearly apparent, especially in the disadvantaged area.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH

This research aims to investigate the way selection operates in practice during the course of the youth-adult transition with particular reference to health. The focus is on the processes by which an occupational agent or gatekeeper¹ takes account of health and other attributional information (such as appearance, personality, height, physique, speech and academic ability etc.,) when making decisions about young people's career placement. Young people's transitions from school are among the more significant events of their life. Employment provides the means to earning a livelihood, as well as structuring certain categories of experience, such as imposing a time structure on the day, increasing the scope of social relations beyond that of the family, assigning social status and clarifying personal identity (see Jahoda 1982). In short, it represents the movement from one stage in the life cycle to another and has important implications for social class position and future health potential.

Chapter one provides an overview of the central issues and theoretical approaches which have been followed in the present research. This includes identifying the Careers Service as a main gatekeeper during young people's transitions from school and sketching an integrated theoretical framework to incorporate alternative theories of entry into employment. This framework suggests that processes of selection and labelling of young people are important. Essential components within Labelling Theory and Health Selection are introduced and the underlying rationale for selecting young people making the transition from mainstream (and not special) schools explained. Chapter one, therefore, serves as a useful framework in setting out how the research was developed before outlining the study's main research aims. More detailed familiarisation with the research setting, and description of the research design and methodology follow in chapter two.

¹ 'Actors with control over key resources and avenues of opportunity'. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:38).

THE CAREERS SERVICE AS A PIVOTAL GATEKEEPER DURING YOUNG PEOPLE'S TRANSITIONS

In the present research, within the perspectives outlined and available evidence, the Careers Service appears to be a pivotal gatekeeper. Indeed, Bazalgette (1982) suggested the Careers Service was *the* key service for young people. This agency occupies a strategic position in that it can negotiate both with school leavers and School Guidance staff, and also with the providers of youth training schemes and employment opportunities.

Currently, a focus on the Careers Service is particularly relevant; youth training schemes form a more permanent bridge between school and work, and unemployment affects a greater number of school leavers. Within this context, the Careers Service is under great pressure to service the needs of employers and managing agents, whose recruitment criteria have become progressively more rigorous. Notwithstanding these constraints, careers staff are also supposed to respond effectively to client need. Within areas of high unemployment this task is increasingly difficult, and for those young people with health problems, it is doubly so. Research shows how young people with disabilities and special educational needs tend to have the greatest difficulty in finding employment (NACEDP 1985; Ward et al 1990), and that non academic youth return to the Careers service more frequently than academic pupils and those from middle class backgrounds (DE 1992a). Given these considerations, a central question in the present study relates to whether careers staff make any difference to the pattern of placements, particularly in disadvantaged areas.

Ryrie (1983:45) is right to point out that the question of measuring 'effectiveness' in careers guidance is difficult. We need to be clear about the aims and purpose of guidance, and the varying criteria by which 'effectiveness' is to be evaluated. Studies have either measured and assessed young people's career outcomes or examined client satisfaction with career programmes. Depending on the criterion employed, varying interpretations of effectiveness are found. For example, research has suggested that little of

the occupational information given during a Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI) is retained by the student even a short time later.² Jahoda and Chalmers' (1963) research found that on three criteria (knowledge of local job opportunities; the range of criteria used in forming job preferences; and realism of knowledge of wages), young people appeared to be just as inadequately prepared for making decisions after the interview than before it. Other research into the Youth Employment Service (Carter 1962) indicated that school leavers did not regard this agency as particularly useful.

Overall, in terms of 'learning outcomes', evaluative research findings show statistically significant but modest gains regarding the effectiveness of careers guidance (Fretz 1981; Holland et al 1981; Killeen and Kidd 1991). The individualistic character of the Vocational Guidance Interview, methodological limitations, and inappropriate criterion measures have been cited as possible explanations as to why careers guidance has not been more effective (see Killeen and Kidd 1991:6-7).

Early studies (Watts and Kidd 1978:246) stressed investigations into careers guidance should examine certain issues which have not received much research attention. A recognition of 'situational' variables, such as the relative effectiveness of particular guidance interventions in areas with varying levels of unemployment, was suggested. Alternatively, a consideration of 'client' variables and why some clients benefit from guidance interventions and others not, was put forward. More recent research, which examined whether careers guidance was worth having, made similar observations. Strategies for helping particular types of client should therefore be explored; an approach which recognises the Careers Service as having a proactive 'client-centred' perspective. Of vital interest was an emphasis placed on the need to consider client's starting points and characteristics, and the way in which these might temper guidance interventions (Kidd and Killeen 1992:224-225):

² At present, it is less likely that pupils will forget information from their VGI. They receive a copy of what was discussed between them and careers officer (on the CS19 form) which also highlights subsequent action to be taken.

'Few evaluation studies take account of either the client's starting point or client characteristics and the way this might moderate the effectiveness of guidance interventions generally, or influence the effectiveness of one method over another. Not surprisingly, particular treatment methods are more helpful to some individuals than others. The implication of these studies is that guidance practitioners may need to adjust interventions according to these criteria'.

Research has also indicated how disadvantaged and lower ability pupils may be less likely than those more able students to demonstrate improvements in occupational knowledge (Melhus et al 1973). This brings into focus the wider determinants which impact on careers staffs' decision making. A study of the Careers Service must therefore do two things: examine how they construct meaning from the attributes and actions of clients, and at the same time, take sufficient account of specific structural forces impacting on local areas.

Among sociologists of education the interpretation of such connections has come to be known as 'the micro-macro problem'. Broadly, it is a matter of 'linking structural questions to interactionist concerns' (Hargreaves 1985:21). Hence, a synthesis of theoretical perspectives which emphasise on the one hand the interaction between careers staffs' decision making and working practices, and on the other, the impact of opportunity structures, is potentially a more useful way forward.

The central research focus is therefore on the Careers Service, and young people's views, except as represented by the careers officers, are not included in the present study. Previous research into pupils' perceptions of their relationship with educational and counselling professionals has received detailed attention elsewhere (for example, Willis 1977; Gray 1980; Porteous and Fisher 1980; Siann et al 1982; Cherry and Gear 1987). Careers staffs' attention to clients' occupational choice during placement decision making will however be an important consideration.

AN INTEGRATED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THEORIES OF ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT

Inevitably, the present research has been influenced by the broader debates and research findings from a wide range of investigations into young people's transitions from school. Theoretical analysis of young people's career development has contributed to a greater understanding of the transitional process. The influential work of Ginzberg et al (1951) and Super (1957) emphasised the significance of the socialization process and occupational choice during young people's transitions into the labour market; whereas the work of Roberts (1968;1977) identified opportunity structures as playing a major role during this time.

Occupational Choice

Ginzberg's (1951) hypothesis of labour market opportunity structure implied that young people move by stages from 'fantasy' jobs through tentative job 'choice' to a realistic assessment of their own abilities. He further described occupational choice as an irreversible process arrived at through some sort of 'compromise' in the 'realistic' period of late adolescence. Super (1957) envisaged occupational choices similarly to Ginzberg but disagreed that occupational choice was simply a *preference* for one type of work that need not be acted upon. His major contribution to the theory of occupational choice was in the introduction of the 'self concept' which placed more emphasis upon the role of an individual's social environment in structuring career interests and potential. Later work by Super (1981) also acknowledged the significance of 'situational' factors such as employer's recruitment practices impacting on young people's career choice.

Both theorists agreed that occupational entry was concerned with taking account of reality, not just individual vocational choice. Given that occupational choice was 'realistic', the person should be able to enter the employment of their choice. However, this was at a time when employment opportunities were more readily available. In examining the declining demand for youth labour, Furlong (1987:59) pointed out how (occupational)

'...self concepts are not purely subjective, but develop out of a person's experiences with objective structures'. By contrast, 'the opportunity structure model shows how the scope for human action is a variable constrained by structure' (Furlong 1987:69). The work of Roberts (1968;1977) is highly relevant to this debate in that opportunity structures are identified as playing a major role during young people's transitions from school.

Opportunity Structures

Roberts (1968:168) considered the work of both Ginzberg and Super as important; they both stressed the need to consider entry into employment as a '*process*' which suggests a relationship between ambitions and determinants. In an alternative theory, the 'opportunity structure' model, Roberts proposed that the direction of school leavers' careers is derived from the way in which their job opportunities become cumulatively structured. In other words, 'Different groups of school leavers are presented with totally different opportunity structures upon entering the labour market' (Roberts 1968:176).

With the onset of growing unemployment and introduction of youth training schemes, more recent research has highlighted the structure of opportunities operating within contrasting labour markets and impacting on young people's transitions (see Ryrie 1983; Roberts Dench and Richardson 1986; Coles 1986; Ashton et al 1988 and Roberts and Parsell 1989b).

An Integrated Framework

An example of recent attempts to integrate the insights of Ginzberg and Roberts, and one focussed on a similar locality to the present study, is Ryrie's (1983) research in North Lanarkshire. This distinguished three broad factors in entry into employment, each representing different stages in the transitional process. Significantly, these factors were identified by Ryrie as having important implications for the practice of Careers Education and Vocational Guidance. As such, they are presented here to provide a basis for

considering some of the broader issues of relevance to young people's transitions, and to provide a useful framework for the analysis of various labelling strategies and potential health selection processes operating within the Careers Service.

1. *Channelling by the school system.* Ryrie's study (1983:159) found that while the channelling process, which operates through school assessments, served broadly to perpetuate or reproduce social class divisions, in practice, this operated largely through the differential performance of students of different social class origins from a very early stage in the schooling process. For example, no evidence was found that the minority of working class pupils who performed well were channelled by the system into working class jobs. Schooling involved a very real sorting and channelling of young people, and this took place through a mutual tacit acceptance on the part of all concerned that the students' paths and decisions should follow their 'ability'. In this way, the schooling process not only was the first major factor to exert an influence on what eventually happens to young people, but it also continued to reinforce this influence as the process of schooling progressed.

Educational sociologists have also drawn attention to typing by social class and examined how this takes place within schools. For example, a study which analysed the banding system within a comprehensive school (Ball 1981) found factors other than academic criteria were employed for pupils of similar measured ability. In particular, there was a strong relationship between social class and banding; those pupils whose fathers were non-manual workers had the greatest likelihood of being placed in the top band, whereas working class pupils tended to '...percolate downwards in the processes of academic and behavioural differentiation'. Related observations were found when streaming within single subjects (Keddie 1973), and when examining seating arrangements in school (Rist 1970).

Hargreaves, Hestar and Mellor (1975) analysed how teachers arrived at typifications of pupils, both in general, and with particular reference to deviant pupils. Seven factors were identified by which initial typing was

based. This included: pupils' appearance, personality, how they reacted to discipline and interacted with peers, how likeable they were, their ability for school work and whether they were deviant.

Others have shown how slow learners can be victims of socio-emotional disadvantage, which can lead to unacceptable forms of behaviour and/or high absenteeism rates (Rees 1984). Research into 'family climate' and 'material circumstances' (Halsey et al 1980) found these factors having some effect on educational attainment, but that material circumstances significantly affected the length of stay in education, and subsequent levels of achievement. Research has also highlighted how value systems (Hyman 1967; Sugarman 1970) and speech patterns (Bernstein 1961) of the working classes act as barriers to advancement. Those pupils labelled as non-examination material may respond to such anticipated failure by truanting or disruptive behaviour, whereas others 'sit quietly and fail' (Varlaam 1984:27).

Ryrie (1983:165) therefore correctly suspected that the school channelling process could be extended *beyond* school, and assessments given added weight particularly with the onset of YOP training schemes. In an attempt to understand further why some young people ended up in certain jobs, a more detailed analysis of the role of careers guidance was suggested:

'Recent developments have, therefore, operated to increase the power of the educational channelling process on the one hand, and the structure of opportunities on the other, thus narrowing or squeezing the area of choice to a still greater extent. This only adds more urgency to the need to reconsider the role of careers guidance, in the light of our understanding of how young people come to occupy their varying positions after they leave school'.

In the research to be presented here, a development of this earlier work is attempted through an identification of the sources and types of health and other attributional information that the Careers Service receives from school guidance staff (and other relevant agencies) which assist them during the selection and placement process. Of interest is the extent to which the subsequent 'handling' of the young person is fashioned by the particular labels generated, and how this in turn affects processes of selection.

The second factor identified by Ryrie (1983) refers to the significance of the young person's 'occupational choice' or 'intention'.

2. *Occupational choice*: This is constrained by the young person's understanding of what is the appropriate level for them and may change as self-understanding develops. Nevertheless, even within a very tight labour market, with the assistance of careers officers, parents and other family members, Ryrie (1983:160) argued that at least a small proportion of young people can successfully find openings in the labour market which are in keeping with their original intentions. It was those young people with few or no 'O' grade qualifications who tended to have the greatest difficulty in finding work and who returned to the careers office more frequently.

Over a decade later, with structural constraints further limiting young people's career choice and Careers Service working practices, the present study will outline how careers staffs' decision making and placement role have become even more difficult (ch.4). Analysis of careers staffs' proactive and reactive decision making, particularly among those with and without health problems in contrasting labour markets is crucial. This brings into focus the 'client-centred' role of the Careers Service as an equal opportunity provider, in aiming to maximise the chances of young people within society. Significantly, when it came to placement into employment, reactive decision making within careers guidance was identified by Ryrie (1983:41):

'That there is an element of social control or of steering of individuals into socially useful directions in much of careers education is something that is often not recognised'.

3. *Structure of opportunities*: This played a very large part in determining what particular job a young person would get and varied within contrasting labour market conditions. To Ryrie, opportunity structures had more of an influence when young people approached the time of leaving school and inevitably, had "the last word", though the intentions of young people were not totally without significance in determining what happened. His

conclusion was that each of the three factors (channelling by the school system; young person's occupational choice, and structure of opportunities in the labour market) all played a part in the transitional process, though they were not all of the same kind and operated in different ways. Moreover, and of particular interest, each had implications directly and indirectly for the practice of vocational guidance (1983:167):

'Students at school will be seen not simply as young people who need to take choices or decisions but as people subject to powerful determining forces. The main question for those involved in careers guidance, therefore, will be not 'How can we help young people to make choices?', but rather the more open question, 'In what way can we be of help to young people who are going through this kind of process?'

Theorists concerned with young people's career development have suggested how careers practitioners might best develop guidance programmes for pupils when entering the labour market. As a central aim is to ask whether the Careers Service is an effective gatekeeper, in the sense that their responses make a difference in terms of placing young people with and without health problems into employment, it is useful to revisit in more detail the evidence on whether careers education is worthwhile or a waste of time.

THE VOCATIONAL PREPARATION OF SCHOOL LEAVERS: DEBATE OVER THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CAREERS EDUCATION

A concern over the adequacy of the vocational preparation of school leavers has brought about considerable disagreement among academics and again highlighted the role of opportunity structures. The opposing perspectives of this debate were illustrated by two papers (Roberts 1977; Daws 1977) in the same edition of the *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*. The first of these, 'The Social Conditions, Consequences and Limitations of Careers Guidance' was initiated by Roberts (1977). Here, Roberts argued that the impact of careers education and guidance on the jobs young people enter is marginal. Many young people do not typically 'choose' occupations in any meaningful sense; they simply take what is available. '...Job preferences are

not mere matters of individual taste but are determined by a system of stratification'. Careers education and guidance could therefore do little to counteract the powerful effect of opportunity structures. Commenting on the role of careers officers, he suggested that 'guidance merely lubricates more basic processes of occupational selection' (1977:6). Consequently, help for young people should be concentrated at their point of entry into work. What was required was not a careers educational programme, but an efficient youth labour exchange:

'...The Careers Service has been sardonically mistitled for many of its clients. Opportunity structures limit the genuine careers that are available, restrict the scope for individual occupational choice, and likewise circumscribe the role available for vocational guidance'(p4)... The role of careers guidance is so structured by other influences upon the entry into employment that its own contribution must be inevitably incidental. Careers teachers and careers officers are not going to change fundamentally the forces which govern the movement of young people into work' (p7).

Roberts (1977:2) argued that 'the prescriptions for careers work are therefore unlikely to have their intended benign consequences' - a view consistent with the Careers Service adopting a 'non-directive' approach to guidance (see Watts and Herr 1976; Watts 1978; and Dunn and Grimwood 1984).

Moreover, school based guidance services were seen as discriminating against those more disadvantaged youth. A request for vocational services to help those in most need of guidance was highlighted in Roberts' (1977:8) concluding comments:

'In many ways, the increasing development of school-based guidance services is discriminatory. Those who have the most to gain from such services are the students who prolong their education beyond the statutory leaving age... it is they who have the greatest scope for occupational choice. Designing vocational services to meet the needs of these particular young people, however, adds yet further disadvantages to those already suffered by the educationally and occupationally less privileged. Vocational embellishments in the school curriculum are not intrinsically undesirable, but a greater need for the majority of young people, who leave school at the earliest opportunity, is to be offered an employment service that treats their employment problems seriously.... Casualties of these crises are still often left

unattended on the fringes of the labour market, and in danger of growing adrift from other social institutions'.

Daws (1977) on the other hand argued that careers educational programmes were not a waste of time, but capable of making a significant contribution to the vocational development of young people. Unlike Roberts, Daws argued that most pupils do have a choice about jobs, but need guidance to make this choice wisely - a view which fits more closely with the social-political function of the Careers Service as an agent of social and individual change (see Watts and Herr 1976; Watts 1978). This was also similar to Katz's (1969) observation that: 'in guidance we should be concerned not with helping individuals to make wise decisions - since this assumes that we know what those decisions should be - but with helping them to make decisions wisely'. In a reply to Roberts, a more proactive approach to careers guidance was advanced (1977:17):

'Roberts in my view has not understood that the relationship between the practice of vocational guidance and the processes of transition from school to work cannot be a simple one because there are two important prescriptive elements in guidance. One is *moral*, and reflects the values to which the practice of guidance is committed - labour market needs, the optimal deployment of talent, individual human fulfilment, and the removal of discriminative practices have all been canvassed as important guiding principles in recent times. The second prescriptive element is *technical*, and refers to the means by which the valued purposes might best be achieved'.

The above debate reflects the difficult role confronting the Careers Service. In trying to service the needs of employers in offering a pre-selection service according to *their* recruitment criteria, whilst at the same time striving to fulfil their 'client-centred' role in promoting equal opportunity and fair practice - within constraints from wider opportunity structures limiting training and employment availability in different labour market contexts - careers staff face in many directions at once.

Since the introduction of YTS, the Careers Service's selection role has become more significant:

'Individual careers officers and Services intend to serve the needs of young people, yet the Service in spite of such purposes can function to reproduce the rules and structures which are designed to classify, select, differentiate and control an age group during a period of historic and cultural change in society and the economy' (careers officer quoted in Ranson and Ribbons (1986:103)).

The present research therefore examines the Careers Service's selection and placement function, particularly for those entering youth training and employment. The need to look at the process of guidance 'inside' systems, in order to present a fuller interpretation of the administrative and support processes which individuals have passed through has been highlighted in recent research (Killeen, White and Watts 1992:82). This study will outline the way health and other attributional information play a crucial role during Careers Service information management and selection procedures. This is particularly applicable in respect of limited ability and non-certificate early leavers entering youth training schemes for the first time. Research into the Careers Service (DE 1992a:27) pointed out how working class pupils were more likely to have contact with a careers officer compared to their middle class counterparts:

Those students least likely to have had contact with a careers officer were the most advantaged students. Almost three fifths (59%) of students in the private sector had never had contact with a careers officer, compared with only 10% in the state sector. Moreover, students from middle class backgrounds were twice as likely not to have seen a careers officer as those from working class backgrounds. Similar findings were shown for students on advanced and academic courses compared with non-advanced and vocational courses'.

Functions of social control and social selection may thus be hard to avoid, yet Careers Service ideology remains client-centred. This dilemma is potentially significant to various strategies within labelling theory, and also has particular relevance to the case of health selection.

What follows is a brief review of the main issues pertinent to labelling theory and the underlying rationale as to why it is particularly relevant to the present study. Within the boundaries of this research, limitations of

traditional labelling theory are examined and solutions to its theoretical constraints explored. After this, a consideration of the main issues within the inequalities and health debate as outlined in the Black Report (1980) are examined, and specific attention is given to assessments of health selection since this time.

LABELLING THEORY

Labelling theory, drawing heavily from symbolic interactionism, offered a critique and departure from traditional positivist explanations of crime and deviance. Although there are diverse theoretical concerns contained within labelling theory, there is congruence among sociologists that what is required is an analysis of the social processes by which the attributes and behaviour of some individuals in certain contexts come to be labelled and the subsequent consequences and implications of this process on the individual. In short, it raised the issue of who has the power to label acts and individuals as deviant.

Through the labelling process, stigmatisation subsequently occurs which views the individual as an 'outsider' (Becker 1963:9). This new status oversimplifies the person as a certain 'type' and is based on socially conferred values and judgements, wherein the individual is publicly recognised as 'deviant' (Becker 1963:31-2):

'One of the most crucial steps in the process of building a stable pattern of deviant behaviour is likely to be the experience of being caught and publicly labelled as a deviant... Being caught and branded as a deviant has important consequences for one's further social participation'.

However, as Cohen (1972:14) rightly reminds us, 'being caught and publicly labelled is just one crucial contingency which may stabilise a deviant career and sustain it over time'. Whereas Becker (1963) defined becoming deviant as a 'sequential' process, other studies on labelling theory, for example Scheff's (1966) work on the mentally ill, implicitly assumed that deviant

careers were typically permanent. By closing off legitimate opportunities and forcing them to resort to social groups or institutions which offer support but perpetuate their deviant role, individuals were locked into their deviant careers, thus reinforcing and confirming their 'outsider' status.

A valuable conceptualization of the development of deviant careers whereby a 'primary deviant' becomes a 'secondary deviant' is outlined by Lemert (1967). In brief, primary deviance may arise from diverse sources but does not exceed public tolerance levels or lead to apprehension and labelling. Deviance that is visible and which may bring the individual to the attention of mandated labellers such as social workers, psychiatrists, and clinical psychologists, results in a revision of the individual's self concept as well as a revised social definition of the individual in the community. In short, the deviant becomes confirmed in the deviant role. The significance of societal reaction to deviance was crucial to Lemert's analysis (1967:55):

'...older sociology tended to rest heavily upon the idea that deviance leads to social control. I have come to believe that the reverse idea, ie. social control leads to deviance, is equally tenable and the potentially richer premise for studying deviance in modern society'.

The responsibility for deviance therefore lies with the agents of social control rather than with the deviant. This perspective has led to the conclusion that labelling often results in *negative* sanctions and that some deviant careers are typically *permanent*.

Public (Proactive) De-labelling and Re-labelling Strategies within Labelling Theory

To others such as Trice and Roman (1970:539), one consequence of the more traditional and deterministic approach to labelling theory is that consideration of types of public proactive de-labelling and re-labelling strategies has been neglected:

'Previous research and theoretical literature appear to indicate that this (labelling) process is irreversible, particularly in the cases of mental illness or

so called residual deviance (Millar 1965; Myres and Bean 1968). No systematic effort has been devoted to a consideration of the way social mechanisms might 'return' the stigmatised secondary deviant to a 'normal' and acceptable role in the community. In other words, de-labelling and re-labelling have received little attention as a consequence of the assumption that deviant careers are typically permanent'.

Alcoholics Anonymous was identified by Trice and Roman (1970:545) as a unique agency whereby a type of social processing resulted in successful de-labelling and re-labelling of stigmatized deviants. This was possible by constructing a 'come-back' for 'repentant' alcoholics, and in promulgating an 'allergy concept' of alcohol addiction which emphasised the illness concept of such disorders:

'...Alcoholics Anonymous possesses, as a consequence of the nature of the disorder of alcoholism, its uniqueness as an organization, and the existence of certain value orientations within American Society, a pattern of social processing whereby a labelled deviant can become 'de-labelled' as a stigmatized deviant and re-labelled as a former and repentant deviant'.

Conceptually, Trice and Roman (1970:539) go on to outline a number of ways whereby successful public (or 'civic' / 'open') de-labelling can occur. First, organisations of 'deviants' (for example, homosexuals) may develop in order to attempt to change the norms of society, such that the originally offending behaviour becomes acceptable. Second, mandated professionals and organisations who initially label deviant behaviour and process the deviant through 'treatment', may create highly visible and explicit 'de-labelling' or 'status-return' ceremonies which constitute legitimized public pronouncements that the offending deviance has ceased and the individual is eligible for re-entry into the community. According to the authors, such ceremonies could presumably be the reverse of 'status degradation' rituals (Garfinkel 1957). For example, some ex-mental patients are able to fight successfully against this label and convince others that they have returned to normal (Goffman 1974). A third possible means of de-labelling is through the development of mutual aid organisations which encourage a return to strict conformity to the norms of the community, as well as creating a

stereotype which is socially acceptable (an example being the aforementioned Alcoholics Anonymous).

This work is very important in challenging the assumptions on which earlier labelling theory was based and highlights the way wider social attitudes in respect of, for example, homosexuals, alcoholics, the mentally ill and disabled affect the (negative and positive) interpretation of social meanings. It is also representative of successful forms of official or public processes of re-labelling and de-labelling strategies being implemented by 'deviants' and by mandated 'labellers' also.

Two examples of re-labelling were evident in the present study. First, in an area of high unemployment, a young person's premium youth training endorsement category might be modified by careers officers. For example, young people might be assessed as 'category B' YT trainees, but if no such placements were available, were re-labelled officially as 'category C' so they had the opportunity to enter an endorsed category C placement³. A second example involved the parents of a young person with cerebral palsy who stressed to careers staff that this should be referred to as 'ataxia' as the latter term was perceived as being a less stigmatising label.

Elsewhere, Rogers and Buffalo (1974) examined the way individuals might react to societal labelling and outlined nine 'fighting back' modes of adaptation to a deviant label. Among the perspectives discussed, the three modes described as modification, redefinition, and alteration, share strikingly similar elements to the de-labelling and re-labelling strategies outlined earlier by Trice and Roman (1970:539).

Modification: This adaptation attempts to exchange a negative label for a 'better one' (in other words, re-labelling). This might be accomplished through a manipulation of name, adjective, image or form (a good

³ Appendix 4.2 at the end of the thesis gives an example of the YT Endorsement Form (Y20) and criteria for endorsement categories A, B and C.

illustration being the previous example of careers staff re-labelling 'cerebral palsy' as 'ataxia').

Redefinition: Corresponding with de-labelling processes outlined earlier, this occurs where there is a constant rejection of the negative label, so that which was previously called deviant comes to be called normative. Examples given are changes in the world of fashion, sexual behaviour and beauty. Rogers and Buffalo (1974:113) further illustrated this process by highlighting the judiciary system which '...serves as a daily reminder of re-labelling in action, whereby those persons who were called guilty are later proclaimed not guilty of wrong doing'.

Alteration: Similar to Trice and Roman's(1970:539) identification of Alcoholics Anonymous, this mode assumes a rehabilitative approach to correction. Society seeks to change the deviants' behaviour, identity etc, for example, by establishing conditions of parole rules to 'help' reform deviants into law abiding citizens. According to Rogers and Buffalo (1974:113) if such strategies are successful the deviant label should be abolished.

The above are examples of public proactive de-labelling and re-labelling strategies being adopted by 'deviants' who attempt neutralising (Sykes and Matza 1957) or 'fighting back' techniques (Rogers and Buffalo 1974) to try and eliminate the 'deviant' label and change the norms of society. Similarly visible re-labelling and de-labelling strategies are also adopted by mandated professionals and organisations who initially label deviant behaviour and then process the deviant through 'treatment'. Such tactics provide a valuable counter to traditional labelling theory wherein actors operate in a negative and deterministic fashion.

Goffman's work (1963) has also been highly influential in drawing attention to types of *covert* de-labelling and re-labelling strategies being employed by stigmatized individuals within specific social contexts in order to manage a 'spoiled identity'. For example, the term 'covering' is used to illustrate the way someone might be willing to concede their 'deviant' label, in many cases

because it is known about or immediately apparent, (Goffman 1963:125), but nonetheless sought to keep the defect from looming large. 'Passing' described how those with health problems might feign a non-existent hearing ability, a reduced limp, or minimise a serious illness or speech impediment in an attempt to avoid or reduce stigmatization (see Goffman 1963:92). Analysis of such strategies are also relevant in the present study. Chapter 5 outlines how health information recorded by pupils on their Pre-interview form (CS18a) is lower compared to health information recorded by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and careers officers on the Aide Memoire (CS2), particularly for health conditions such as epilepsy and diabetes.

Analysis of semi-structured interviews with careers staff (ch.9) will reveal how young people attempt to conceal health problems from careers staff (and also if they are under social work supervision and have behavioural problems) as this might limit career opportunities, particularly in areas of high unemployment. This research will highlight the potential negative consequences of such action on young people themselves and on careers staffs' relationship with employers and managing agents. Of greater interest however, is the way the 'labellers' (in this instance, the Careers Service), 'manage' clients' health and other attributional information and the potential impact on careers staffs' decision making and placement outcome.

A CONSIDERATION OF CAREERS STAFFS' PROACTIVE (COVERT) DE-LABELLING AND RE-LABELLING STRATEGIES AS A NEW APPROACH TO LABELLING THEORY

In the course of their dealings with school leavers, school guidance staff and careers officers construct various positive and negative 'labels' about pupils' health, appearance, speech, behaviour, and physique etc, which may not be conveyed to young people, but (as subsequent chapters will reveal), are communicated on official records and files within the Careers Service. The present research is therefore interested in investigating a number of sociological questions related to aspects of 'routine' labelling as part of the administrative process within the Career Service.

Cicourel and Kitsuse's (1963) study of American High School counsellors highlighted how routine labelling had unfavourable consequences for pupils, and that negative information was uncritically accepted by successive teachers. This research will show how the Aide Memoire (CS2), or seven point plan, used routinely by careers officers during the Vocational Guidance Interview, actually generates labelling and may even lead to unintentional discriminatory practices. Hence the paradox that although careers staff are meant to open up opportunities for their client, administrative practices and wider social constraints may potentially limit this role.

Nevertheless, research has illustrated how counsellors can share misgivings over certain aspects of their task, such as 'the systematic compilation of dossiers in the service of 'help' (Halmos 1970). Notwithstanding this, little or no research has examined whether proactive covert de-labelling and re-labelling strategies are employed by those undertaking the labelling process, or reasons explored as to why such practices might occur.

Halmos (1965;1970) also claimed that the ideals of professionalism inevitably 'rub off' on (counselling) practitioners, tempering their attitudes and behaviour and guiding them in genuinely altruistic and caring directions. For example, covert de-labelling strategies may be used as an attempt to prevent new negative labels from emerging, ie 'once a criminal, always a criminal'. In practice, however, resistance to stereotypes by 'normals' and negation of stigma seldom occur easily (Goffman 1963:41). However, if a 'normal' individual's particular situation allows a measure of sympathy and acceptance of the 'deviant' (the latter subsequently being referred to as 'the wise') various proactive strategies may ensue. Arguably, such a role can incorporate careers staff. Elsewhere, careers officers have been identified as adopting a number of important roles (see Dunn and Grimwood 1984:136). These have included *consultant* to schools on the planning and implementation of careers programmes, *counsellor* to young people and particularly the unemployed, *vocational guidance specialist*, within an all-age guidance service, *advocate*, from the community to local authorities and

Government, and finally, *change agent*, both in education and especially in areas of high unemployment.

Of relevance to the present research is an examination of the way some careers staff might, for example, act in accordance with the demands of specific situations and needs of young people, regardless of whether this violates recommended practices. For example, they might make the decision to de-label or re-label information recorded in young people's files if this is perceived to be morally unjustifiable or potentially discriminating. (In areas of high unemployment, other strategies may involve *not* informing the DSS if young people fail to attend a pre-arranged interview as their benefit would be stopped). As will be shown, a label is not neutral; meanings are not fixed or clear cut, but are modified and developed during the interaction process. Thus, the exigencies of the situation, rather than official rules and norms may prevail.

To conclude, labelling theory needs to be examined from a number of perspectives. By restricting analysis to a pre-defined range of subject matter and responses, traditional labelling theory can be viewed as being overtly deterministic, particularly in assuming that labels are typically negative and permanent. More important, traditional labelling theory has failed to take account of those more complex forms of decision making which may incorporate proactive, public and covert re-labelling and de-labelling strategies among 'deviants' and, particularly in respect of the present study, mandated 'labellers' also. Nor has traditional labelling theory explored why such strategies might actually emerge. While accepting many of the insights of micro-sociological labelling analysis to a study within the Careers Service, emphasising interaction and the construction of social meanings, particularly in respect of 'routine' labelling as part of the administrative process, this must be considered alongside macro-sociological aspects of those wider economic, societal and political structures which operate in conjunction with the application of labels. Only then will a deeper understanding of the way routine, public *and* covert labelling and de/re-labelling strategies emerge.

A more considered assessment of the significance and consequences of labelling for processes of health selection can now be fully examined. For example, de-labelling and re-labelling strategies suggest 'routine labelling' and negative selection processes might be negated or reduced.

HEALTH SELECTION

'The process of selection, as well as the process of choice, must be taken into account, in order to explain why people end up in different occupations' (Blau et al 1956).

In order to understand transitions, we need not only to know what influences occupational choice and how structural factors impact on routes into the labour market, but also what role gatekeepers play in selecting young people for training and employment. As the quote by Blau et al as early as 1956 made clear, the process of selection is potentially a crucial variable in determining differential occupational outcome. Its relevance for health has been identified by the Black Report (1980).

What follows is an outline of theoretical issues within the inequalities and health debate which have emerged since the publication of the Black Report (1980). Of particular interest are those aspects considered most relevant to health selection as an element of what is sometimes termed, 'social' or 'natural selection'. A critique of the Black Report's assessment of this theory is outlined and assessed in relation to the present research.

Differences in the health of people from different social classes have long been known and continue to exist. The Black Report's (1980) influence in developing an explanatory framework for examining inequalities in health is undeniable. The Report identified four main explanations for the causes of inequality in health: artefact, natural or social selection, cultural/behavioural, and materialist/structuralist explanations. A summary of these explanations is outlined below.

1. *Artefact Explanation*

There are several aspects of the artefact explanation, including numerator/denominator biases and problems of measurement of health and class. This explanation suggests, for example, the relationship between health and class is artefactual, constructed in the process of measurement of social phenomena, typically using the Registrar General's (social class) classification, which is considered unreliable. The Black Report (1980) pointed out how research evidence using different measures of inequality (such as income, housing tenure etc) continues to show marked differences in health between social groups which strongly suggests the artefact explanation is limited. Bloor et al (1987) highlighted how empirical studies of artefactual biases are lacking from the research agenda.

2. *Natural and Social Selection*

This explanation suggests that health is antecedent to occupational class, which has the status of dependent variable. The occupational class structure is seen as a filter and a major basis of selection is an individual's health (particularly physical strength). Thus the most vulnerable 'drift' to class V of the Registrar General's occupational classification, whereas those in social class 1 comprise more robust individuals. A consequence of having poor physical and mental health is that such individuals are more likely to be unemployed or to have unskilled or low paid jobs than their more able counterparts, and in turn experience downward social mobility. Social mobility has been defined as: 'The movement of individuals between different categories within a social stratification system' (OUP:1972:55).

3. *Materialist or Structuralist Explanations*

In this explanation, the role of economic and socio-structural factors is highlighted as causes of (ill) health. For example, unhealthy environmental factors such as inadequate housing and overcrowding, poor working conditions, low income and unemployment, unsafe play areas for children etc, all impinge on people's life-chances, health and psychological well-being (there is also reference to stress as a more direct link to ill-health). Due to continuing health inequalities, which still exist in society at present, the Black Report argued that policy implications should attempt to improve the social, physical and local environment as well as the socio-economic structure of society in general.

4. *Cultural/Behavioural Explanations*

This explanation attributes differences in health to individuals' behaviour and lifestyles. Here, explanation takes an individual form. Inequalities in health exist because of the way lower social groups adopt more risk related patterns of behaviour than higher social groups. For example, excessive smoking and/or drinking and unhealthy eating habits, lack of exercise in leisure time, and the under-utilization of preventative health care may be viewed as irresponsible behaviour on the part of the individual concerned, leading to a 'victim-blaming' voluntaristic model of health.

Overall, when assessing the four explanations, concluding comments from the Black Report (1980:125) gave priority to the materialist/structuralist explanation for inequality and health:

'...while cultural and genetic explanations have some relevance - the latter is particularly important in early childhood - more of the evidence is explained by what we call 'materialist' or 'structural' explanations than by any other'.

The four explanations of inequalities in health outlined by the Black Report (1980) were reviewed again in the light of new evidence in the most recent edition of 'The Health Divide', (Whitehead 1992). Commenting on the four

explanations, this report also argued that inequalities between social groups were genuine and could not be explained away as artefact. As regards the health selection explanation, serious illness in childhood was linked to lower social class in later life and evidence of selection for height at marriage was also cited. However, conclusions were similar to the Black Report's (1980) initial observations, in that overall, the health selection effect was regarded as small in affecting social differentiation in health, priority again being given to socio-economic circumstances in affecting health differences. The way in which behaviour cannot be separated from its social context (social causation) was again stressed. However, although health selection may not be the most important explanation within the broader inequalities debate, its significance is as yet not fully known and merits investigation.

Evidence of inequality across a range of dimensions is strong (Blaxter 1987). As Carr-Hill (1987) pointed out, no one disputes the existence of inequalities in health; debate concentrates mainly on the validity of comparisons over time and on the relative weight which should be attached to the different explanations. Since the publication of the Black Report (1980), debate over some of the issues it raised has developed, particularly in respect of new data to test the adequacy of competing explanations. As Macintyre (1986:411) observed:

'There is no *a priori* reason to suppose that (the different types of explanatory model) could not operate independently, consecutively or interactively to produce observed patterns of social differentiation in health'.

There has also been a divergence of views on whether inequalities between the social classes have widened (Hart 1987; Fox and Goldblatt 1986; Marmot and McDowell 1986; Wilkinson 1986) or reduced (Le Grande and Illsley; 1986) although most commentators favour the former. Research using a range of measures of health and different indicators of social position has emerged to test the adequacy of competing explanations (eg Macintyre 1986; Bloor et al 1987; Blaxter 1987). In addition, the assumption in the Report that class differences in mortality and morbidity are a persistent invariant of the entire life span has also been questioned (West 1988; West et al 1990).

Estimates of the contribution of health selection vary. For example Power et al's (1986) research suggests a minor but significant independent effect of height on achieved social class for both males and females. Measures of school absence due to ill health at sixteen also slightly reduced class differences in health at age twenty-three (Power et al 1986;1990). Other studies have shown how those without health problems are more likely to be upwardly mobile (Illsley 1987). According to Carr-Hill (1987:527) 'the issue is whether social mobility discriminates in favour of the healthy and against the unhealthy, even by a small amount'. Research has also found evidence that in youth there is less class differentiation in health and goes on to suggest this may increase health selection's potential significance (West 1988; West et al 1990; Macintyre and West 1991).

The Black Report's assessment of health selection was that it had limited applicability when accounting for inequality in health. Commenting on the Report's findings, West (1991:375) pointed out how health selection was '...given short shrift, the tone is dismissive, and their understanding of the mechanisms involved is clearly that it is a Social Darwinist view of the world'. Others (Vagero 1989) argue that if we were to treat health-related social mobility itself as a social phenomenon, embedded in the social fabric of modern society, this would enable us to challenge the legacy of the past associating selection with Social Darwinism (eg Spencer 1884; Wilson 1975; Himsworth 1984).

Debate over the interpretation of data surrounding health selection is not new and was most evident in an acrimonious dispute between Wilkinson (1986;1987) and Illsley (1987) in the mid 1980's. The dispute concerned a number of issues relating essentially to the importance of selection in the explanation of health inequalities. Summarising the evidence several years on (Blane et al 1993:2) this debate continues:

'There is thus little doubt that illness can result in downward social mobility and that, in consequence, those in good health are relatively more likely to be

upwardly mobile... The question that remains concerns the size of the contribution which social selection makes to class gradients in health'.

The relative merits of health selection were assessed by Stern (1983) and a reconceptualisation of health selection has been proposed by West (1991), who asks if there might be more indirect ways that health, via associated attributes, is selected with a greater effect on health differentials. Direct health selection refers to health; indirect health selection refers to attributes such as height, physique, appearance, behaviour etc, which may be indicative of health potential. When referring to indirect health selection, Blane et al (1993:7) suggested this 'leads to the question of which factors affect known determinants of social mobility and predict adult health'.

There are two key components of indirect health selection's effect on health potential. 1) How does the attribute link to health, either currently or in the future? 2) During young people's transitions from school into the labour market, how might (in this instance) the Careers Service's selection and recruitment processes result in indirect health selection and potentially affect young people's achieved social class position?

The kind of indirect mechanisms of health selection which might impact on social mobility have been outlined by West (1991). Examples include health behaviours such as smoking, where an association between smoking, lowered educational achievement and anti-school orientation was highlighted (also see Power et al 1990). The relationship between height and subsequent social mobility was also linked to a potential process of selection by attractiveness. Certain behaviours (for example, if a young person is very withdrawn or very aggressive) may also accompany emotional and psychological health problems. Adults' responses to behavioural issues have indicated boys are perceived as being more problematic, especially in their adolescence (Rutter, Tizard and Whitemore 1970).

The present research does not set out to resolve the question whether selection by non-health attributes like these is also an indirect form of health selection. It is enough that the question has been raised, and that such

attributes may in the future have health relevance. The question considered here is whether such attributes affect placement.

There is evidence that similar attributes are very significant during selection processes. For example, a study carried out at the Polytechnic of Wales, 'What Employers' Look for in School Leavers', (1987) showed how young people's positive personal attributes such as reliability and trustworthiness, punctuality, willingness to learn, and clean and tidy appearance, received higher ratings from employers than qualifications and work experience (see Appendix 1.1 at end of thesis). Ashton and Maguire (1980) examined the function of academic and non-academic criteria in employers' selection strategies and found evidence that not all employers found qualifications important and some perceived them negatively.

Another study which examined employers' attitudes and behaviour towards the Careers Service and young people (DE 1981a:15), highlighted some 'essential characteristics' of recruits. For non-manual jobs, a higher level of basic education and specific qualifications were emphasised by employers, with less importance being placed on 'physical abilities'. However, willingness to work, appearance and ability to communicate were considered important for shopwork and other services. According to the employers, young people were regarded as failing more often on those attributes regarded as 'most essential' - attitude and personality, including willingness and motivation to work. Young people were also rejected on account of their appearance and manners and because of a lack of basic education, including the 3R's, numeracy and speech (DE 1981a:17).

Others collected information on careers officers' assessments about 5th form school leavers entering the labour market in South-East England, where impressions regarding appearance, attitudes, presentation, manners, and speech were gathered (Doogan 1984). Findings revealed how young people's rating on these assessments tended to be one of the most important factors predicting whether they found work, participated on YTS or became unemployed. Also, when the study examined the characteristics of young

people who were retained by employers on completion of their first work experience programme, the most significant feature of this group was their high (positive) ratings on these assessments. Similarly, Livock's (1981:22) research observed how employers pay more attention to criteria other than young people's qualifications, particularly during periods of high unemployment:

'Higher unemployment and increased competition for vacancies suggest employers can be more selective in recruitment. This does not necessarily imply this will be based on increased formal qualifications requirements but may be based on observing or testing other personal and more subjective aspects such as appearance, alertness, motivation and social skills'.

These studies suggest that attributes other than qualifications and direct health references are also very important to selectors.

However, it is important to remember that the Careers Service is only one agency among many engaged in decision making about young people's destinations. Findings might reveal only a very minor role for health selection, whereas other factors, particularly opportunity structures within the labour market might, as Ryrle (1983) suggest 'have the final word'. Alternatively, the major mechanisms by which young people are allocated into different occupational roles may lie beyond the Careers Service, at a later stage when young people enter the broader labour market.

Finally, in order to identify practices of 'routine' labelling and potential health selection processes, a major consideration was to select a research sample which would permit analysis of the whole range of health problems and other attributes (including appearance, personality, behaviour, height, speech, and academic ability) recorded within the Careers Service. What follows is the underlying rationale for selecting young people attending mainstream schools and why this focus is currently so vital to issues identified within the present research.

RATIONALE FOR MAINSTREAM FOCUS

Excluded from this research were young people with special needs attending special schools, and the network of agencies associated with this group. As a specific interest of this research is in health selection, their exclusion might seem rather unusual. However, a number of factors suggested that a focus on those individuals/agencies working with young people from mainstream schools might be interesting and analytically important.

Transitional research into those with health problems has tended to be on physically disabled youth and those recorded as having special educational needs within special schools, of which a number of studies (eg Rees 1984; Hirst 1987; Corbett 1989 and Ward et al 1990) are representative. Other studies have examined policy and provision available for young people with special educational needs (DES 1978; Tomlinson 1982; Swann 1988; Thompson et al 1989), as well as the additional employment problems of young disabled people (MSC 1984; NACEDP 1985; DE 1989). For example, research findings cited in Ward et al (1990:6) highlighted how transitions for those with special educational needs are often uncertain:

'...young people with special educational needs stay on at school past statutory school leaving age and then engage in prolonged work training. Paid employment is postponed, perhaps indefinitely'.

Since the early 1980's, growing rates of youth unemployment have meant the above situation also occurs among youth without any particular special needs (Jones 1983; Coles 1986; Furlong 1987), though young people with special educational needs are known to be further disadvantaged by the low-level nature of employment gained. By comparison, the role of educational, health and particularly occupational gatekeepers during mainstream transition has received little research attention. This study attempts to confront and redress this imbalance.

A second reason for focussing on mainstream rather than special schools is that in the latter, since the Warnock Report (DES 1978), there has been an

effective system of 'recording' the needs of children and young people with severe, complex or long term disabilities. This is carried out by a range of educational and medical specialists and generally relates to those attending special schools (Thompson, Dyer and Thompson 1987). In addition, when pupils are between 14-15 years old, the education authority must prepare a 'Future Needs Assessment'. This refers to a statutory procedure to review and plan for young people's last two years of formal schooling and entry into a range of placements, including: sheltered workshops, special further education, continuation at school, open employment or work training/experience. As with the Record of Needs, the majority of Future Needs Assessments are carried out for those attending special schools. Reports from various professionals include the social work department, educational psychologist, school medical officer, head teacher, principal guidance teacher, special needs careers officer, and the young person's GP and parents.

In respect of information gathered during the Future Needs Assessment, research by Ward et al (1990:13) found that although assessments were sometimes held after young people's sixteenth birthday (and therefore criticised for failing to plan for young people's last years of compulsory education), in all authorities included in the research study the researchers' appraisal of this information was very positive:

'There was a volume of evidence indicating involvement of parents and young people in the procedures and the extensive compilation of reports, observations and assessments from a wide range of agencies'.

Formal structures therefore exist within special schools whereby a wide range of information is gathered to prepare young people during a transitional process which includes a number of special destinations. In response to the Consultation paper, the Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers in Scotland (1990:1) emphasised that in comparison to those in special schools, less health information is available to the Careers Service regarding young people in mainstream schools. More input from other agencies including the School Medical Service was essential:

'The aim of improving the flow of information to the Careers Service is supported, but firmer guide-lines are required from the Department of Health to the School Health Service. This is made all the more necessary because of the progressive integration of young people with less severe disabilities into mainstream education who may not be the subject of Future Needs Assessments carried out in special schools'.

This situation highlights the contrast between an effective communication network operating at present in special schools, and the problematic information transfer within the mainstream setting. It is important therefore to look at the large number of mainstream pupils with less severe health problems (and also to identify those with more serious health problems), for whom information transfer is problematic and destinations are sought in competition with the healthy.

Finally, a third reason for focussing on mainstream pupils is that a lack of any operational definition for the concept of 'special educational need' has resulted in educational authorities varying in their definition of this term. Consequently, not all pupils with special educational needs are recorded or receive a Future Needs Assessment. (An argument against making the laws too prescriptive is that this would again lead to the labelling or categorisation of pupils, contrary to the spirit of the Warnock Report). Research into the practice of recording (Thompson, Dyer and Thompson 1987:12) found wide regional variations in whether a child or young person after recording was attending a special or a mainstream school:

'It seems reasonable to suggest that these placement patterns are related to an individual recording policy in each area, given that the different patterns of recording have evolved from a standard piece of legislation and standard guide-lines'.

Moreover, following further recommendations from Warnock (DES 1978), a growing number of young people with special needs were integrated within mainstream schools. Thus, the distinction between young people in special and mainstream schools is less apparent now than it once was. Although acknowledging that the Careers Service is not always informed about their

clients' health problems, this agency was identified as crucial during the transitional process:

'The majority of young people under 18 are placed in jobs or YTS by the Careers Service. In certain cases the Careers Service may not be aware of a young person's disability. Nonetheless, they are generally well placed to act as a first point of contact for these young people and to identify those who might benefit from specialist advice. Indeed, encouraging their clients to obtain appropriate advice on the medical implications of particular types of work would seem entirely consistent with the Careers Service's guidance role. There are likely to be many cases where the Careers Service itself, particularly if it is given guidance and training, could offer advice to young people on the types of job to avoid and on the suitability of specific job opportunities, and there would be no need to seek specialist help. However, the Careers Service would not be expected to make judgements on matters of occupational health for which it was not qualified'.

Nevertheless, research (DE 1989:8-9) has shown how some young people within the mainstream system enter employment which could make their health condition worse.

It is therefore to those young people with health problems attending mainstream schools that this research is directed. As identified previously, a potentially crucial role is that of the Careers Service as health selector, particularly in respect of its function in pre-selecting young people into youth training and employment. Analysis of the way the Careers Service attends to health problems within a context of uncertainty, and how this impacts on careers staffs' decision making, and their relationship with other (health) gatekeepers, such as the School Medical Service and the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS), has not been the subject of previous research. The present research therefore breaks some new ground with an analysis of Careers Service decision making, recording practice and placement outcome in relation to health and other attributes.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has set out the main issues and theoretical approaches to be followed in the present study. The Careers Service is identified as a pivotal gatekeeper during young people's transitions from mainstream schools in that it is strategically placed to negotiate with young people, school guidance staff and with the providers of training and employment opportunity. Its effect on placement has nevertheless been questioned, and, in assessing this, it is essential to consider both attributes of clients and the impact of opportunity structures.

An integrated theoretical framework was outlined to incorporate alternative theories of entry into employment, and the role of opportunity structures identified as vital. Whilst attempting to place young people into available vacancies, careers staff are under pressure to service the needs of employers and managing agents whose recruitment criteria has become increasingly rigorous, especially in areas with limited youth training provision and high unemployment. A crucial issue is whether careers staff pay more attention to young people's health and other attributes, particularly within disadvantaged areas. Drawing on evidence from the sociology of education, the importance of young people's appearance, personality, social background, speech, motivation and attitude to work, as well as their academic ability, were identified as potentially very relevant to selection processes, particularly in respect of early leavers.

Within Careers Service information management, 'routine' labelling is viewed as part of administrative procedure. As will be shown, this function is also vital in assisting careers staff in their pre-selection role to employers when selecting young people for available vacancies. From an orthodox labelling perspective, careers officers' decision making regarding placement based on a health label (eg 'epilepsy') may directly determine (occupational) outcome in line with expectation. However, in assuming that labels are typically negative and permanent, traditional labelling theory is overtly deterministic and makes no allowance for more complex decision making on

the part of the 'labellers'. Against the wider social and moral constraints affecting careers staff selection and placement decision making, varying processes of proactive public (official) *and* covert de-labelling and re-labelling strategies are identified as being potentially more significant in the present research.

Labelling therefore has a number of consequences, though the direction and effect may be unpredictable. Once labelled by reference to either health or other attribute, a number of directions open to young people may be extended or foreclosed. For example, de-labelling and re-labelling strategies suggest 'routine' labelling and health selection processes may be reduced or negated.

Although the Black Report (1980) argued that overall health selection effects were small in affecting patterns of social differentiation in health, with more priority being given to materialist/structuralist explanations, in truth, the relative importance of each of the explanations, including that of health selection, remains to be assessed.

Finally, the present study draws attention to detailed information being documented (Record of Needs) for young people in special schools, and formal structures (Future Needs Assessments) developed to assist transition. By contrast, no research attention has examined the transitions of young people with health problems and other attributes in mainstream schools, or what consequences this may have for employment outcome.

This is even more relevant given that more young people with special needs are being integrated within the mainstream system (DES 1978). This focuses attention on how adequate information transfer is within mainstream settings as well as the need to understand why this situation has developed as it has. The present research examines the realities of this situation further by investigating how careers staff 'manage' those with health problems within a context of uncertainty.

In chapter two, specific aims of the project are outlined and a more detailed familiarisation with the research setting described. Implementation of the research design and methodology include an outline of how access to the research setting was negotiated, a description of sources and types of administrative data available within the Careers Service, and how quantitative and qualitative items were analysed.

CHAPTER TWO

AIMS OF RESEARCH, AND OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The main aims and research methods of the present study are outlined in this chapter. The project is essentially qualitative, an approach usually associated with such methods as interviewing and participant observational fieldwork (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979). Qualitative sociology has also been influenced by an interactionist approach termed 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Silverman 1985), the focus of which is on meaning, social action and actors' accounts in a social system. This emphasis has connected qualitative sociology to phenomenological sociology through the works of Schutz, and to Blumer's symbolic interactionism, influenced by the work of G. H. Mead (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979). However, in order to contextualise the research against the broader issues impacting on labelling strategies and selection processes, it was also necessary to collect quantitative data about the Careers Service, as quantitative information specifically relating to young people's health and negative/positive attributes was not available from any other source.

Within sociology there has been and continues to be much debate about the nature of reality. There seems to be no one undisputed or self-evident research strategy to be adopted. Practical considerations can have as much influence on the choice of research methods as theoretical considerations. Increasingly, sociologists are combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches and a plurality of methods - 'triangulation' - has been used to examine research findings to form a more complete representation. This combination is noted by Bryman (1988:12):

'A division of labour is suggested here in that quantitative research may be conceived of as a means of establishing the structural element in social life, qualitative research the processual'.

Before describing how the research design and methodology were implemented, the main aims of the present research are outlined below.

AIMS OF RESEARCH STUDY

A first aim relates to assessing how much health information and advice is available to the Careers Service, particularly from the School Medical Service and EMAS (Employment Medical Advisory Service). Chapter one focused attention on aspects of problematic (health) information transfer to the Careers Service for young people in mainstream schools. The present research will examine what the implications are for the Careers Service in having to work within a context of uncertainty and why this situation has developed as it has.

A second aim is to examine how careers staff respond to client's health and its relationship to destination. This includes the extent to which serious as well as minor health problems impact on careers staffs' placement decision making. In respect of young people's health problems, research into discrimination in the labour market has highlighted the greater likelihood that (negative) health selection will take place for more serious health conditions (NACEDP 1985; Morrell 1990). However, in line with their 'client centred' role in promoting equal opportunity, a plausible hypothesis is that careers staff work proactively for those with (major and minor) health problems, and that at least during this stage in the transitional process, are able to secure placements for these individuals - even if this means a 'hard sell' to employers. In terms of destinations, a related issue is whether health is a more important component of decision making with regard to young people entering employment or youth training, compared to those going on to further and higher education, particularly in areas of limited training and employment opportunity.

A third aim is therefore to examine careers staffs' decision making within contrasting labour markets. The vital impact of opportunity structures affecting young people's entry into the labour market has led to suggestions

that greater consideration be given to the proactive role of careers guidance during the transitional process (Ryrie 1983). Health is an area where this role might be evident. In a crucial sense, it is this unique 'client centred' approach and the fact that the Careers Service is strategically placed to negotiate with school guidance staff, young people, and the providers of employment and training opportunity, which distinguish it from other school/post school gatekeepers. However, without taking into account the powerful effect of opportunity structures, the strategic role of the Careers Service is unlikely to be revealed.

A fourth aim is to identify patterns and sources of other attributes (for example information about young people's appearance, personality, physique, speech, social background and academic ability etc.) that careers staff receive from various school/post school gatekeepers, as well as types of information recorded by careers officers themselves in the young person's 'unit' (CS1), particularly the Aide Memoire (CS2). This would be a valuable means to examine practices of 'routine' labelling within the Careers Service as part of the administrative process and information management.

A fifth aim is to investigate whether, in addition to health problems, other attributes recorded in young people's units¹ affect destinations. In attempting to fulfil employers' recruitment specifications whilst at the same time play the role of advocate and secure suitable placements for those with and without health problems, the moral dilemma faced by careers staff is underlined. Of vital importance is what the implications might be for labelling strategy, (including careers officers' potential proactive de-labelling and re-labelling practices) during the selection process.

Finally, a sixth aim is to examine whether wider opportunity structures and institutional pressures to document information in young people's 'units' affect recording practice and selection processes within the Careers Service.

1 The 'unit' (CS1) is an official document used within the Careers Service which contains a range of documentary information about young people.

Educational sociologists have examined the way pupils in school are 'typed' according to appearance, speech, personality, behaviour, social class and academic ability (see ch.1). Research has also shown how not all employers base their selection process on formal qualifications (Ashton and Maguire 1980) and that in areas of high unemployment, they can be more selective in respect of non-academic attributes (Livock 1981). Since the onset of YTS however, more recent research (Roberts 1989a; Lee et al 1990) has highlighted how employers' selection procedures have become increasingly more rigorous; academic qualifications are used as a measure not only of ability, but of other attributes as well.

Relying on information from the units, part of careers staffs' role is to pre-select young people according to employers' recruitment criteria, particularly for entry into various youth training schemes. A central issue related to the sixth aim of the study is whether careers staff pay more attention to health and other attributes in areas of limited training and employment opportunity and if this affects placement outcome, particularly among disadvantaged youth. Analysis of careers offices within contrasting localities is therefore essential.

What follows is an overview of the research design and methodology adopted in the present research. Early implementation of the research design involved a familiarisation with careers staffs' links with school guidance staff and receipt of the School Careers Service Report (CS4). This is followed by an analysis of what takes place during young people's Vocational Guidance Interviews (VGI's) and a description of types of health and other attributes available within Careers Service units (examples of these data and all other appendix information shown in this study appear in relevant appendices at the end of the thesis). This includes careers staffs' receipt of health information (Y9 and Y10 forms) from the School Medical Service and contact with EMAS (The Employment Medical Advisory Service). The selection of the research settings, access to administrative data within the Careers Service, and the ordering and analysing of quantitative and qualitative data is then outlined.

For a more detailed account of certain components of the research design and methodology described in this chapter see the methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19a-h). Grouped under relevant sub-headings, this information relates to:

- a) preliminary interviews undertaken during the early stages of the research process
- b) types of interview systems adopted within the Careers Service
- c) the organisation of Vocational Guidance Interviews in schools and an outline of questions asked by careers officers during the VGI (see Appendix 2.13)
- d) negotiating access within the research setting
- e) confidentiality and research data
- f) the categorisation of units within the Careers Service
- g) research setting and researcher influence
- h) a more detailed account of topics discussed during interviews with careers staff

To begin with however, consideration is given to careers staffs' relationship with guidance staff in school, who are responsible for making assessments of potential school leavers with respect to future careers.

CAREERS OFFICERS' LINKS WITH SCHOOL GUIDANCE STAFF AND RECEIPT OF THE SCHOOL CAREERS SERVICE REPORT (CS4).

When making assessments on potential school leavers, the guidance teacher compiles a School Careers Service Report (CS4) for pupils during their 4th, 5th and to a lesser extent, 6th year at school. The CS4 documents a range of information including: personality (eg ability to mix, behaviour, and reliability), verbal communication, activities in/out of school, timekeeping and attendance, health, personal appearance and hygiene, academic

performance, potential for further study, school/work experience and recent career interests; and concludes with a general comment from the guidance teacher summarising his/her overall views about the pupil.

The CS4 is then given to the careers officer before the young person's VGI. As can be seen from Appendices 2.1a-e, as well as health problems (Appendix 2.1a), information recorded on the CS4 may contain a range of negative (Appendix 2.1b) and positive (Appendix 2.1c) attributes about young people, as well as information about home background (Appendix 2.1d) and comments from the guidance teacher about the young person's suitability for certain types of employment. (Appendix 2.1e). It is this information which may impact on careers staffs' selection processes, particularly within contrasting labour markets.

Young Person's Pre-Interview Form (CS18a/b)

Young people complete a Careers Service Pre-Interview (CS18a) form during their 4th year (Appendices 2.2a-c) and (CS18b) form if in their 5th or 6th year at school (Appendix 2.2d). This, too, is given to careers officers before the young person's VGI and contains information about subjects studied and level (eg standard grade, 'O' level or non-certificate). Pupils also give details about when they intend to leave school, what career interests they have, and (only on the CS18a form) if they have any health problems, serious illnesses or if they are colour blind. Three points are of interest; one is whether young people reveal their health problems to careers officers and if more serious health problems are omitted from the Pre-Interview form because of a fear of stigmatisation. For example, in the health problem section in Appendix 2.2b, the young person wrote 'catarrh'; however, analysis of his School Careers Service Report (CS4) revealed he had 'ataxia', a mild form of cerebral palsy. A second issue is whether all information about young people's health is of relevance to careers staff, particularly minor health problems and those no longer relevant (see Appendix 2.2c). A third point is that as no health information is recorded on 5th and 6th year leavers' Pre-Interview forms (the CS18b form), this is yet another justification for the focus on 4th year leavers.

Young people can also use computer aided guidance such as Cascaid and Jobwise² before meeting the careers officer. Computer aided guidance in school is generally viewed by careers and guidance staff as being complementary to the careers interview and this, as well as careers education programmes, are not considered as alternatives to it.

THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE INTERVIEW

While school guidance teachers have a crucial role to play in careers education and work very closely with the Careers Service in schools, it is the careers officer who mediates their detailed knowledge of employment and the labour market through the Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI). The VGI has been seen as being one of the careers officers' main roles (Reddy and Brannigan 1979) and is a crucial stage in the total process of careers information.

In general, careers officers give pupils an initial career options talk in school in December. Vocational Guidance Interviews with 4th year pupils then begin in January and are usually completed by early March. After Easter, 5th and 6th year leavers are contacted and asked if they wish to have (another) careers interview. Careers officers also interview young people in the careers office and fulfil other duties³ such as giving vocational information and conducting diagnostic and follow up interviews where necessary. When planning the overall programme of careers education within schools, careers officers generally negotiate on an individual basis with school staff what guidance will be carried out. This is usually agreed within the parameters set at PCO (Principle Careers Officer) level. Careers officers, as well as school guidance staff and/or House staff, work out the School-Year

² Compared to Cascaid, Jobwise is used with less academic youth.

³ General duties of employment assistants and clerical workers within the Careers Service are outlined in Appendix 2.3 at the end of the thesis.

Programme of careers education at an annual review meeting, where the work of the previous year is discussed and the following years' work planned. This includes guidance methods, talks, time allocations for parents' evenings and career conventions. Careers staff stress the importance of educating teachers about the role of the Careers Service and the purpose of Vocational Guidance Interviews in aiming to provide an impartial, professional and client-centred service. Building up trust within the educational institution is considered very important among careers officers, whose relationship with school staff can affect their day to day work in schools.

A high degree of personal autonomy is exercised by careers officers when conducting Vocational Guidance Interviews. Careers officers use their own discretion in managing the interview process and in the amount of time spent (on average each interview lasts between 20-30 minutes), the process being influenced by the needs of the individual concerned. Further information relating to the types of questions asked by a careers officer during the VGI is outlined in the methodological appendix (see Appendix 2.19c). As will be outlined later, in the present research a system of selective interviews⁴ was conducted by careers officers in schools.

In most divisions there are broad guide-lines which allow careers officers to prioritise which young people they initially interview. These include: young people leaving school at the earliest opportunity who require early applications for employment and YT (4th year leavers); situations where a young person's career choice does not match academic ability (often highlighted by guidance staff); those who are vocationally immature, or who have no ideas about career options; and, those identified as having special needs (for example, poor social, literacy and numeracy skills, or who have health or behavioural problems). Such prioritising is left up to the individual careers officer and is not laid down centrally. Developing a good working

⁴ The methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19b) describes what is meant by the 'open access' and 'blanket' interview systems within the Careers Service.

relationship with school staff and gaining access to relevant information is crucial to careers officers during this stage.

During the Vocational Guidance Interview, careers officers complete a written assessment of the young person being interviewed. This information is recorded on the CS2 form, more commonly referred to as the Aide Memoire or '7 point plan', because it consists of a series of information gathered together under 7 headings.

THE AIDE MEMOIRE (CS2) (7 POINT PLAN)

All careers officers are trained in the procedure of structured assessment interviews. Most base their interviewing on models or theories of interviewing learned during their post-graduate training. However, in general, there is no set policy on which specific interviewing model should be followed. The main criteria are that interviews are concerned with diagnosing young people's need and moving towards client-centred outcomes. The model used by careers officers in the present study included the Aide Memoire (CS2). This was developed by Professor Alex Rodger and originates from differential psychology. The aim of the Aide Memoire was 'to provide a simple but scientifically-defensible assessment system' (Rodger 1968:359).

The Aide Memoire contains information on specific characteristics of young people including height, physique and health. Rodger (1968) also referred to types of 'pseudo-health' information being recorded, such as appearance, behaviour, personality and speech - information described in the present research as 'other attributes'. Further information relates to the young person's interests, special aptitudes, disposition, and circumstances, as well as an additional section for more detailed interview notes (for examples, see Appendices 2.4a-c at the end of the thesis). The device of splitting a person's attributes and circumstances into seven sections was perceived as:

'a rather regrettable necessity... the divisions made are for convenience. We must freely admit that a shortcoming of any scheme of this sort is to be found in the fact that it may encourage us to think of an individual as a mere bundle of 'qualities'. ...this is not an argument for disdaining the use of such a plan: it is an argument for using it sensibly'(1968:359-360).

It was also very important to remember that young people's attributes and circumstances may be continually changing; the problem is essentially one of forecasting. As a result, items on the 7 point plan should conform to the following four criteria (1968:361):

1. They should be relevant in that it should pin-point influences commonly and demonstrably connected with occupational success and failure.
2. They should be independent, in that the sections should be sufficiently separable from one another to avoid overlapping assessments that would be wasteful.
3. They should be assessable in the circumstances in which the assessments have usually to be made.
4. They should be few enough to keep the risk of hasty, superficial judgment to a minimum, but numerous enough to cover the ground adequately.

The sequence in which the headings appear is not meant to carry any implications about the order of their importance. This will depend to a considerable extent on the nature of the employment or training for which the applicant is being considered. In examining the role of the interviewer, the following observations were made by Oldfield (1941) quoted in Rodger (1968:362):

'The interviewer after the interview (and in general any person after an encounter with another) possesses and carries about with him a kind of homunculuslike representation of the candidate. This is essentially a 'working model' a 'living image', and when occasion demands it can, so to

speak, be taken out of its box and be made to perform. It is by placing this creature in imagined circumstances, and watching its behaviour, that the interviewer is enabled to make predictions about the candidate's probable behaviour in those circumstances.

Oldfield's notion is an extension of the thought in many people's minds when they say, for example, 'I can't see him/her doing that, but he/she might be very good at, eg clerical work'. This process has relevance to the issue of selection inasmuch as information recorded on the Aide Memoire may influence the pre-selection of young people into available vacancies. For example, when interviewing, careers officers might not think of a particular clerical post, but of a clerical *type*. In addition to quantitative analysis of unit data (ch.6), the present research will examine examples of the Aide Memoire document, specifically those which relate young people's health and other (negative/positive) attributes (such as appearance, behaviour, height, physique, speech and academic ability etc) to certain types of youth training and employment opportunity in contrasting labour markets.

In order for the Careers Service to function effectively, the receipt of health information regarding their clients is vital. The potential sources and patterns of health information which flow to careers staff during mainstream transition is diagrammatically represented in **Figure 1** (overleaf). These formal procedures disguise a number of issues in respect of the input of adequate health information and advice to the Careers Service, particularly from the School Medical Service and Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS)⁵.

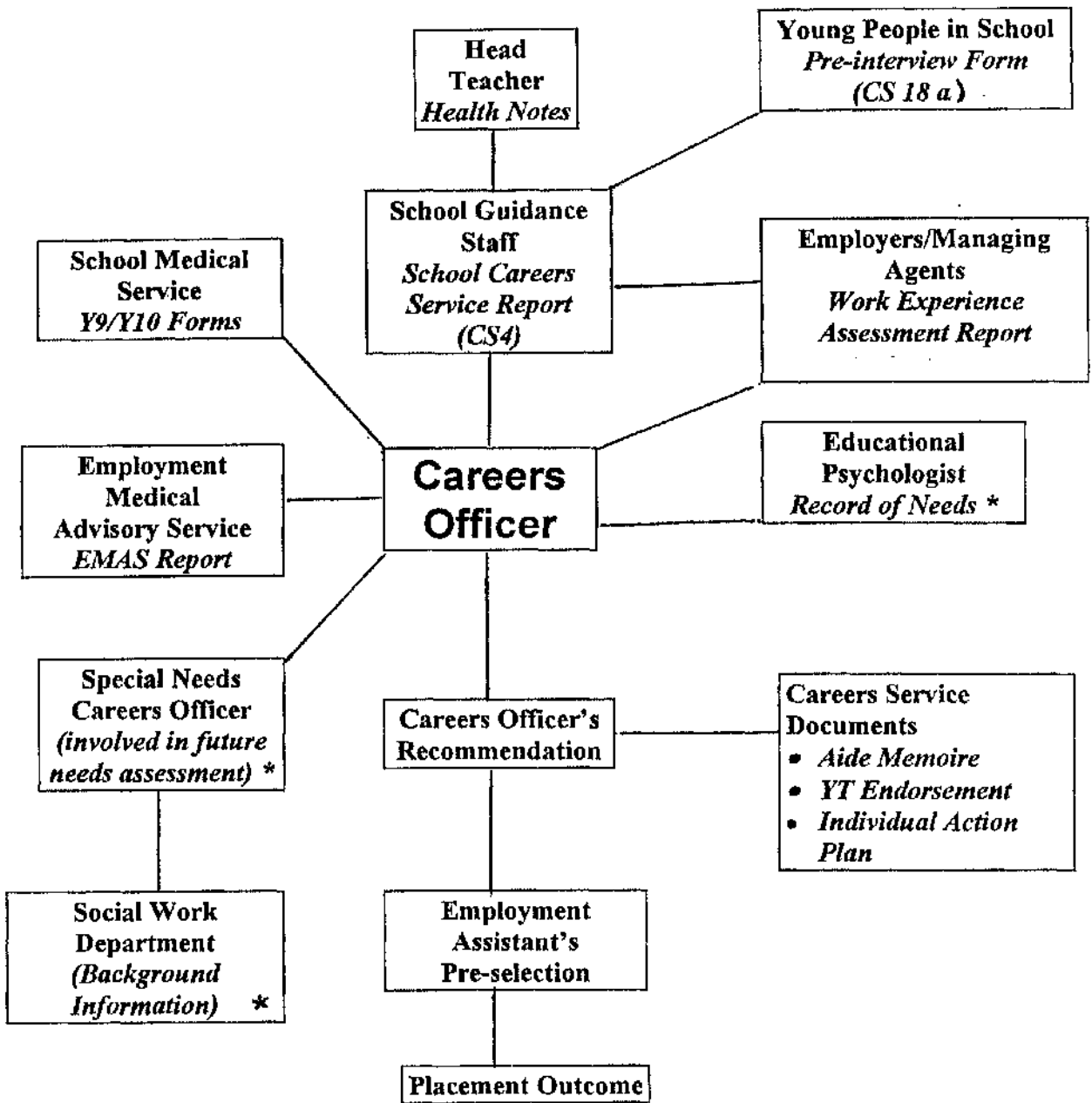
THE SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE

The aims of the School Medical Service have been identified by the Scottish Home and Health Department (1973:24) as follows:

⁵ A list of other gatekeepers who have links with the Careers Service and a brief summary of their working relationship with careers staff is outlined in Appendix 2.5.

FIGURE 1

**Careers Staffs' Links With Other Gatekeepers:
Potential Sources of Health Information Flow
During Mainstream Transition**



* Generally for pupils in Special Schools

'... to maintain the health of school children, to identify and treat the handicapped and, by working closely with teachers and psychologists, to promote the study and understanding of the area where sensory, physical, intellectual, emotional and cultural factors merge and contribute as variables to specific learning disabilities and to general educational failure or success'.

In theory, school medical officers carry out routine examinations of pupils and provide medical reports (Y9 and Y10 forms) when they identify a health condition which may affect suitability for work. A Y9 form is completed for young people who may require special consideration on medical grounds during employment placement; a Y10 form relates to severely disabled school leavers (see Appendices 2.6 and 2.7).⁶ These forms should be distributed to the young person's GP, the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS) and the Careers Service.

When the structure of the Y9 form is examined in more detail, it is arguably the best evidence that the formal processes of careers officers' work involve direct health selection by excluding certain types of work situations which might be unsafe for their client. The deficiencies surrounding the Y9 procedure in potentially limiting a young persons' chances of employment were identified in the editorial section of *Community Medicine* (Wild and Williams 1983:1):

'The Y9 system, which lists the kinds of work for which the young person is unsuited, is reported to be unsatisfactory... the question arises whether the dubious protection against unsuitable employment offered by the Y9 is not more than offset by the likelihood that in the current employment situation, its possession would restrict the chances of any job at all? This is a difficult problem for a doctor and, with the general interest of the patient at heart, he may well decide not to issue a Y9 to someone whose disability is quiescent or well-controlled'.

As there is no statutory requirement on school medical officers to examine all young people in their final year at school, Y9 and Y10 forms are not

⁶ Also included in Appendices 2.6 and 2.7 are the Notes of Guidance used by School Medical Officers when completing Y9/Y10 forms.

completed for all school leavers. During preliminary interviews⁷, careers staff claimed they rarely received Y9 or Y10 forms and, when available, were very critical of their content. Research has investigated the role of school medical officers in Secondary schools (see Crouchman 1986), and shown how the timing of school medical examinations varies considerably. In some areas, only those with known medical problems are seen in the final years of secondary education (Cherry, Gear and Waldron 1983). Although the aim of the Y9 form is to alert careers officers if a young person's health problem may affect suitability for work, ironically, *no* health information is recorded on this document. As can be seen from Appendix 2.6, instead, a list of 'clues', or coded medical information (Antoniou 1990) about potential work contexts which may be hazardous to their client are outlined. For example, a pupil might not be suitable for: "work at heights or near vehicles or machinery" (implying epilepsy), or "work involving exposure to dust and fumes" (implying asthma or bronchitis etc). This is a very good example of official de-labelling processes being adopted by the School Medical Service when communicating information to the Careers Service and underlines the way careers staff have to operate within a context of uncertainty.

In contrast to the Y9 form, the Y10 form (Appendix 2.7) does contain health information. However, preliminary interviews with careers staff again revealed dissatisfaction with the receipt and content of this document; the latter because medical terminology was often difficult to interpret on the Y10 form. Further analysis is required to examine these issues in greater depth. Of interest is careers staffs' perceptions of their relationship with the School Medical Service and why information is apparently so ill-adapted to Careers Service placement decision making for those with health problems.

Another agency careers staff might contact when dealing with health problems is the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS).

⁷ For more information on preliminary interviews see the methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19a).

THE EMPLOYMENT MEDICAL ADVISORY SERVICE (EMAS)

Briefly, the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS) is run by the Health and Safety Executive and is staffed by doctors expert in the field of occupational medicine. Careers officers can contact EMAS for advice about the suitability of a job in relation to a particular illness or disability affecting their client (see Appendix 2.8). Statutory authority for the disclosure of medical information by the School Medical Service to EMAS is given in Section 1 (6) of the Employment Medical Advisory Service Act 1972. However, this does not extend to the Careers Service who have no medical personnel. Procedures devised for the co-operation between school medical officers, employment medical advisers (EMAS) and careers officers are outlined by the Department of Education and Science to Local Education Authorities.

Employers and the F2404 Procedure

Another formal arrangement for the medical supervision of young people entering employment is the F2404 system. Under Section 119A of the Factories Act (1961), this provides that employers notify their local Careers Office within seven days of all young people under eighteen who start work or a youth training scheme in factories. On receipt of the F2404 form (see Appendix 2.9), the Careers Service should check if there is a Y9/Y10 form for the young person concerned. If available, the F2404 form and Y9/Y10 form are both sent to EMAS who considers if the young person is in suitable employment, or whether a medical examination or discussion with the employer is necessary (see DE 1989:3-4). Researchers who investigated the F2404 system (Cherry, Gear and Waldron 1983:8) described it as being 'inadequate and in disarray', and pointed out that without the Y9/Y10 forms being sent to the Careers Service, such measures to protect young workers in occupations covered by the Factory Act cannot be set in motion by the Careers Service. Moreover, the Factory Inspectorate does not prosecute employers who fail to comply with the F2404 procedure. This is, then, yet another example of inadequate communication input to the Careers Service.

The next stage of the project was directed towards implementing an appropriate research design and methodology to address the aims of the present research. Specifically, this involved obtaining access to careers offices within contrasting labour market contexts.⁸

SELECTING THE RESEARCH SETTINGS: SOME INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

All research designs are dependent on what is known about a phenomenon, as well as what is manageable given the limited time available for fieldwork. As a starting point in selecting an appropriate research setting, information regarding the destinations and unemployment statistics of school leavers for the twelve Careers Service Regions within Scotland, and numbers of young people registered at Careers Offices and on YTS within Careers Service Regions and Divisions, were obtained from Strathclyde Regional Council Education Department and the Scottish Education Department respectively.

Practical as well as theoretical issues affected decisions about which Career Service Division to select in the research design. Strathclyde Region's Career Service Divisions were more geographically accessible from Glasgow compared to other Regions. Preliminary interviews (see Appendix 2.19a) had also taken place within this region, and it was an area known to the researcher. Information was therefore obtained on young people's destinations from Career Service Divisions within Strathclyde Region. Overall, there are 39 full-time and 18 part-time Careers Offices within the six Careers Service divisions in Strathclyde. In order to select the research setting, the next step was to carry out more detailed analysis on types of employment and training opportunities within each Division.

Further information regarding individual Careers Offices within each Division was obtained by contacting the appropriate Careers Service

⁸ The methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19d) outlines how access to both Careers Office areas was negotiated.

Headquarters. Information on 'School Leaver's Destinations and Unemployment Statistics by Careers Office Area: 1990-1991' was gathered. The Division and subsequent Careers Offices selected for further analysis met the criteria of operating within very different labour market contexts (due to issues of confidentiality these are not identified in the present research). This included a careers office with more favourable employment opportunities within the Division, from here on identified as Area 1, and another with less favourable employment opportunities, referred to as Area 2. A comparison of the employment structure and recent male/female and overall unemployment rates within Area 1 and Area 2 is shown in Figures 2 and 3 respectively (overleaf). As can be seen from Figure 2, the opportunity structures within the contrasting localities are very different in terms of training and employment available.

Finally, of interest was whether there were any health statistics available for young people in mainstream schools. The only source of health information uncovered within Strathclyde Careers Service Divisions included those young people registered/not registered disabled in mainstream as well as special schools (see Appendix 2.10). This information was from part of a study being carried out for the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS). However, as can be seen, there was no mention of types of health problem available and even with this data it was not possible to link health with destinations. Nor was health information shown for individual careers offices. Statistics were only available for:

- a) those young people registered disabled;
- b) those young people who could be registered but chose not to, plus those with minor problems.

Furthermore, Strathclyde Regional Council pointed out that the above figures 'would not be available from July 1990 onwards as these figures were no longer collated'. It was therefore essential to abstract health information (and other relevant data) from Careers Service 'units' for young people in mainstream schools within contrasting localities.

FIGURE 2

SUMMARY OF EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE WITHIN AREAS 1 AND 2.

Area 1

1. Reliant on manufacturing in the 1970's.
2. Diversified economic base to include service sector.
3. Banking, distribution and financial services were leading employment providers.
4. By 1987, 55% of the workforce were in the service sector and 30% in the electronics sector, compared to 27% in the manufacturing industry.
5. Demand for more well qualified school leavers increased.
6. Employment opportunities for the less qualified contracted.

Area 2

1. Heavy dependence on iron and steel manufacture and mechanical engineering.
2. In 1970's, largest group of workers was skilled manual workers (25%), with 15% in semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual labour. In the 1980's, over 50% of the labour force were in skilled manual jobs.
3. A major employer was the British Steel Corporation.
4. In the 1980's/1990's, job losses in the core industries increased.
5. Skilled prime-age men formed a high proportion of total unemployment.
6. School leavers and unskilled youth were in an even more vulnerable position, with waiting lists to go on YTS.

FIGURE 3

MALE AND FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (1990/1993)

AREA 1

	MALE	FEMALE
1990	8.8%	4.5%
1993	11.4%	5%

AREA 2

	MALE	FEMALE
1990	15.2%	6.6%
1993	17.2%	5.3%

OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (1990/1993)

	AREA 1	AREA 2
1990	7%	11.8%
1993	8.6%	12.2%

Source: Strathclyde Regional Council, 1993.

SOURCES OF ADMINISTRATIVE DATA WITHIN THE CAREERS SERVICE

The unit (CS1) is an official file used within the Careers Service to record general background information about young people (ie name, address, school, sex, date of birth, careers officer's recommendation and placements). The unit may also contain a range of documents, most notably, the Aide Memoire (CS2) and information received in school, including the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Young Person's Pre-Interview forms (CS18a/b). Appendix 2.11 outlines potential sources of documents available in young people's units, though data vary according to individual need.

Previous units and/or units presently being completed by careers staff (Summer 1991 School leavers) were available for analysis. Although Summer 1991 units contained relevant information (such as the School Report, Pre-Interview forms and Aide Memoire), this yeargroup was still at school. As a vital interest was in the extent to which health and other attributes impacted on young people's labour market outcome, the units of young people leaving school in Summer 1990 were selected as these also included data specific to destinations.

With regard to the types of data analysed in the present research, Hakim (1993:136) observed that research based on administrative records involves a large element of 'knowing what is available and making the most of it; opportunistic designs are almost a requirement'. Administrative records have therefore been described as:

'...collections of documents containing mainly factual information compiled in a variety of ways (directly from those concerned, or indirectly from employers, schools, doctors and others acting as informants) and used by organizations to record the development and implementation of decisions and activities that are central to their functions. They are typically large in number; are usually high in content rigidity and narrow in content scope; and are often available for considerable stretches of time' (Hakim 1993:131).

The above observations apply strikingly to the types of administrative records held within the Careers Service, (apart from the reference to length of time; units were usually kept no longer than five years). After a period of familiarisation with the various documents available in young people's units, a catalogue frame was developed and specific sections drawn up to allow abstraction of data (Appendix 2.12). Included on the catalogue frame were:

1. Background information about the young person: date of birth, sex and school leaving date.
2. School attended and (if available) code relating to careers officer who completed the unit.
3. Sections for various documents available in the units: for example, the School Careers Service Report (CS4); Aide Memoire (CS2); young persons' Pre-Interview form (CS18a/b), and if available, EMAS report; Y9/Y10 forms; YT STN's (Special Training Needs) Endorsement Form and F2404 form. Other documents such as the YTS Review (which assessed young people's progress within YT) and the Bridging Allowance form⁹ applied only to certain individuals and were not always available in the units (nor did they contain information relating to health or other attributes). Finally, other documents such as the ERC (Employment Rehabilitation Centre) Report and the Future Needs Assessment Report were more likely to be found in units of young people attending special schools.
4. Information about destinations. This included a description of YT, employment, further and higher education and information about the employer or training provider.

⁹ Applicable for 8 weeks to those under 18 who left/lost a job or YTS and are not covered by Child Benefit or have CB extension payment and not in receipt of Income Support.

THE ORDERING OF UNIT DATA

Overall, there were 788 Summer 1990 school leavers' units from the 7 schools within the remit of the Area 1 Careers Office, and 311 Summer 1990 units from the three schools included within the remit of Area 2 Careers Office, which had a smaller catchment area. The overall total of 1099 Summer 1990 leavers' units included young people leaving in their 4th, 5th and 6th year at school. The only practical difference in undertaking fieldwork in Area 2 was that the procedure used to file young people's units varied slightly from Area 1. The much more important difference related to careers staffs' perceptions about the social and economic environment in which they worked¹⁰. In Area 1 there existed a more positive attitude to young people's future training and employment opportunities. The contrast in Area 2 was quite striking and served as a reminder of early observations set out by Allen (1968:320):

'The social position of youth cannot be separated from the overall structure in which it is located.... age relations (including youth) are part of the economic relations and the political and ideological structures in which they take place'.

Disadvantages of Unit Data

Disadvantages associated with unit data related to the fact that information was individualistic and often came from a range of sources. Consequently some units were crowded with information, whereas others had very little or sometimes no information at all. Hakim (1993:137) made some useful observations on the nature and quality of data from administrative records which were of relevance to research methods employed in the present study:

'Records kept in the context of implementing rules, regulations or legislation with *universal applicability*, such as car registration, will contain more complete and standardized information on all cases, to ensure consistent and

¹⁰ The methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19g) outlines in more detail aspects relating to the surrounding context of the research setting and researcher influence.

uniform treatment. Other records are kept in the context of *service delivery* activities, where there is no precise, or minimum entitlement and the nature of the service depends on the individual case, so that information in the records is not standardized and may vary greatly in quantity and detail. The degree of standardization, consistency and quality of information also varies between records that are routinely compiled and those compiled on a one-off basis for some special exercise or study' (*emphasis in text*).

During data abstraction, a number of potential limitations for quantitative analysis were identified. For example, not all careers officers put their name on the Aide Memoire or unit card. Hence, the identification (and subsequent coding) of some careers officers was not always possible. Although after a few weeks fieldwork it became easier to identify the particular handwriting of careers officers, some units were completed by careers staff who were either seconded to another Careers Division, or were on maternity leave at the time fieldwork began. The opportunity to interview these careers officers was therefore lost.

Further limitations of the data reflected the incompleteness of information available to careers officers from those acting as informants to the Careers Service, such as school guidance staff who completed the School Careers Service Report (CS4). The CS4 generally includes information about young people's subjects and qualifications gained at school. However, because Vocational Guidance Interviews took place *before* results were available, careers officers did not have adequate information regarding young people's results when making decisions about placement into training or employment.

Thus, in respect of fourth year leavers, while careers officers might receive information on the CS4 about subjects being studied in 'O' grade and/or standard grade level (ie credit/general or foundation) and perhaps predicted results, they did not have actual qualifications gained. For 5th year leavers, 'O' grade and standard grade passes would be available from 4th year, as well as possible prelim results for higher, but again, not actual higher grades, a situation repeated for 6th year leavers (in Appendix 2.1c the

guidance teacher even points this out by writing on the CS4 "predictions not possible at this stage").

Consequently, data regarding young people's academic qualifications were either not available at all to careers officers, or in the case of 5th and 6th years, were always only partial. Other research (Lee et al 1987) pointed out that because school leavers actual examination results are not always available, some employers relied on the fact that pupils were on an 'O' level course, or substituted their own tests instead. In Lee et al's (1987:151) sample, those with good leaving results were concentrated in the top schemes, though this group had either '...not got the results expected or were 'cleared' by the Careers Service'.

School Guidance staff did however evaluate pupils 'potential for further study' on the CS4 and usually summarised overall academic ability in the 'General Comments' section of the report (for example, if the young person was of limited or average academic ability or university potential (see Appendices 2.1a-e).

A further limitation was that particularly for non-academic youth entering specific youth training schemes, the recording of information about academic ability might be considered secondary to other attributes such as behaviour and reliability. It was important therefore to assess careers staffs' views of this information and its relationship to placement outcome.

Although all those leaving in Summer 1990 from both careers offices had a unit card, more information was available in 4th year leavers units compared to those in 5th and particularly 6th year. As all 4th year leavers received a Vocational Guidance Interview whereas 5th and 6th year leavers had to request one, there was not always a School Careers Service Report (CS4) available (it was pointed out by careers staff that if guidance staff had already written a report in 4th or 5th year, they might not write another for 6th year leavers). In addition, if young people had definite career ideas and had decided to stay on in school and eventually enter university, they might

not attend their Vocational Guidance Interview (this also meant there wouldn't be an Aide Memoire (CS2) in the young person's unit). The opportunity to examine processes of 'routine' labelling and potential health selection in this yeargroup was therefore reduced.

Because of this, the major focus in the present research particularly relates to 4th year leavers, where overall, information was complete. Given careers staffs' pre-selection role, it is also plausible that compared to those going on to further and higher education, more attention is given to references about young people's physical fitness, general health condition and negative/positive attributes if entering employment or YT, particularly in the disadvantaged area.

Once observational interviews of the VGI in schools and abstraction of quantitative data in the Careers Office was completed, the next stage in the research design required a consideration of careers staffs' views on a range of issues within the Careers Service.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH CAREERS STAFF

Taped recorded semi-structured interviews with careers staff began with general background information, for example; level of employment in the Careers Service, qualifications, age and biography (see Appendix 2.15 for a copy of the Interview Schedule used during interviews). Topics then incorporated descriptions of careers staffs' working role, and whether wider economic and political changes affected decision making and working practices within the Careers Service. Careers officers' views of their relationship with other gatekeepers, including guidance staff in schools, and types of health problems and other attributes regarded as most important during selection processes were also considered. Other questions related to the training careers officers' received and examined the Careers Service's pre-selection service to employers and managing agents and perceptions of various proactive and reactive decision making . (For a more detailed outline

of the topics covered with careers staff during the interviews see the methodological appendix (Appendix 2.19h).

Using a semi-structured conversational style approach, a total of 14 careers staff from the two localities were interviewed. These consisted of area, senior and mainstream careers officers, as well as two special needs careers officers and four employment assistants. Among the employment assistants, three were female, one (Area 2) was male. The careers officers were divided equally between males and females. In addition, brief interviews were carried out with clerical workers within the Careers Service. This was useful in order to specify exactly what their role was within the careers office (although the interview schedule was not used as the majority of questions did not directly apply); clerical staff had detailed working experience of the Careers Service which provided useful background information concerning a range of issues.¹¹

The final section briefly summarises how analysis of qualitative and quantitative data was developed.

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

Qualitative Analysis

The researcher's background knowledge of the types of health and other attributes recorded in young people's units meant specific issues could be checked with careers staff during interviews. For example, when interviewed, careers staff sometimes stressed that appearance or speech was not that important to employment placement. However, analysis of unit data revealed a wide range of negative and positive attributes relating to young people's appearance, personality, behaviour and speech etc, being recorded

¹¹ The main duties of clerical workers and employment assistants are outlined in Appendix 2.3.

in the Aide Memoire, which might have important implications for selection processes. The researcher was therefore able to point out to careers staff types of negative attributes in young people's units, which in turn led some careers officers to reveal there was certain information they would not record on the Aide Memoire (for example, subjective attributes about their client's appearance or personality), as this might limit training and employment opportunity. Such practices were obviously not evident from analysis of unit data alone. By censoring negative attributes from young people's units (or by passing this information on verbally) potential processes of (negative) selection might be negated or reduced.

Subsequently, a greater awareness of different strategies careers staff might employ to re/de-label certain types of information from Careers Service units developed. This knowledge could be incorporated into further interviews with careers staff to gain different perspectives concerning various moral and technical issues which affect information management within the Careers Service. Vital to this debate was the way wider opportunity structures impacted on careers staffs' proactive and reactive decision making, particularly within the contrasting localities.

De-labelling strategies also raised the issue of assessing the completeness of data in Careers Service units. The extent to which proactive de-labelling by some careers officers significantly affects the recording of information is unknown. However, as will be shown (chapter 5, Tables 1 and 2), careers officers do record a great amount of information in young people's units. Although they are aware that potentially stigmatising information is recorded, and emphasised that caution should always be exercised when interpreting certain information from the Aide Memoire (and other sources, most notably the School Careers Service Report), careers officers pointed out that recording a range of (negative and positive) information about their client was part of the routine administrative process within the Careers Service, and in line with post-graduate training, which promotes the documentation of detailed notes in the unit.

As will be developed further, information is necessary so that careers officers can make informed decisions when negotiating career recommendations for their client. It is, however, particularly relevant in helping employment assistants fulfil their pre-selection service to employers and managing agents who specify to careers staff the 'type' of young people they are looking for.

It was also crucial to focus on the potential variability of the respondents' discourse and to examine how this was socially generated. Once the taped interviews had been transcribed, the organising constructs consisted of broad themes and sub-themes related to the main research questions. These incorporated topics discussed by careers staff during interviews, and from a participant observational phase of careers officers VGI's in school.¹² For example, from a broad theme such as 'External Constraints Affecting the Careers Service', all material relevant to this category was ordered within this sub-heading and individual careers staffs' responses identified by a code number. At this stage, material was also sorted by area and employment status within the Careers Service.

Characteristics such as employment status and length of time spent in the Careers Service were important considerations during qualitative analysis. Hammersley (1979:20) stressed how the 'target role-identity must be clearly specified and data analysed for the degree to which it represents that identity'. For example, careers officers' decision making when completing the Aide Memoire contrasted according to past and present employment status. Information was also collected about employment assistants' pre-selection role, and how careers officers perceived and 'exercised their professional judgement', the latter varying according to length of time spent within the Careers Service.

Simple numerical checks of careers officers' and employment assistants' responses to a range of relevant issues were made, which enabled

¹² The methodology appendix (Appendix 2.19c) outlines information relating to observational fieldwork of careers officer's VGI's in school.

triangulation with quantitative data. An example was, 'What are your perceptions of the receipt of Y9 and Y10 forms from the School Medical Service?'. As the majority of careers staff complained that they did not receive adequate health information from this source, and analysis of unit data showed similar findings, careers staffs' response was given greater validity.

Quantitative Analysis

A further aim was to investigate by quantitative analysis whether young people's transitional outcomes were associated with health and other attributes recorded in the units. From the total 1099 catalogue frames which incorporated information from each young person's unit, a very detailed coding list was developed (Appendix 2.16b). Information from these frames was then coded and subsequently transferred on to coding records (Appendix 2.17), and finally analysed using SPSSx. Owing to the large amount of information recorded in the units, these were subsequently recoded and grouped into more general variables for analysis.

In order to test the hypothesis that the severity of health problems was related to outcome, new variables were created for major and minor health problems. The criteria used to define major health problems were based on ICD serious health codes, together with guide-lines on the Y10 form issued by the School Medical Service; those for minor health problems were based on guide-lines from the Y9 form.

Included within the minor health problem variable were conditions related to poor eyesight, such as colour blindness, short/long sighted, lazy eye etc (see codes 053-062 on coding list, Appendix 2.16b). Also included were headaches, period problems, minor chest complaints, nose bleeds, colds, mouth/throat problems, weight problems, minor infections and allergies such as hayfever, eczema and acne (see codes 066-072 on coding list). In

respect of major health problems, conditions such as heart trouble, joint problems, diabetes, epilepsy, spinal problems, club feet, Crohn's disease, hepatitis, haemophilia, grumbling appendix, kidney removed, meningitis, bronchitis, asthma and psoriasis were included (see codes 073-082 and 091-124 on coding list). Young people's attributes were also included on the coding list and categorised into various groups. For example, all specific references to appearance, physique, speech, behaviour, and academic potential etc, were coded into more general groups to reflect negative and positive types.

From information relating to young people's destinations in Careers Service units, variables were created to reflect five main groups (higher education, further education, employment, YT, and unemployed). Within the Careers Service, the type of youth training available for young people is broken down into broad 'Occupational Training Families' (OTF's), which include: Sales/Distribution; Engineering; Construction; Garage; Outdoor/Practical; Warehousing; Retail; Manufacturing; Hairdressing; Artistic; Catering; Social/Caring and Clerical work. Unfortunately, it was not possible to do statistical analysis on the content of youth training schemes as numbers were too small. However, following criteria outlined by careers staff (Appendix 2.18), it was possible to sub-divide YT into 'premium' (support and negative) and 'basic' (mainstream) schemes. Support YT schemes included: Springboard, Link, Community Industry, Midscott, LAGTA, Strathclyde Training Agency (STA) and J.C.S. Negative YT schemes included the Training Workshops and Community Project Agencies (CPA's). Analysis also included those endorsed within youth training.

Specific information from young people's units not amenable to quantitative analysis (in terms of possible relationship to destination) included attributes such as physique and height (frequencies for these variables are, however, shown in chapter five). Their relevance for Careers Service selection purposes resides in their relationship to certain occupational settings, (for example, heavy labouring work or entry to police force etc), and while potentially very interesting, low numbers would not permit an analysis with

respect to specific types of employment. Elsewhere, research has shown how taller adolescents were rated as being more attractive than their shorter counterparts (Macintyre and West 1991) and suggested selection processes might result from the attribution of attractiveness based on height. Here, though, the focus is on attributes perceived by careers officers as directly relevant to selection.

Examples of documentary sources from Careers Service units, specifically from the Aide Memoire (CS2), will be used to complement macro-sociological analysis (ch.5-6). The Aide Memoire is not only an excellent example of how aspects of 'routine' labelling occur as part of Careers Service information management; it also allows an analysis of the way health and negative/positive attributes, including references to young people's appearance, personality, physique, height, and speech etc., impact on careers staffs' placement decision making on an individualistic, micro-sociological level. In this way, a synthesis of macro-micro theoretical perspectives is achieved.

EMAS reports and Y9 and Y10 forms were also not included in quantitative analysis as numbers were too low to include (and confirm careers staffs' views regarding the scarcity of these data). The quantitative analysis of data contained in Careers Office units was therefore limited to simple frequencies and (two and three-way) cross-tabulations principally involving the variables labour market (Area 1 and Area 2), year of school-leaving (4th, 5th, 6th year leavers), health and other attributes, and labour market destinations. The significance of associations has been tested by the chi-squared statistic using the 5% level as the cut-off point. Since comparisons refer to all school-leavers in 1990, the use of statistical tests to establish the probability that such associations are true in populations in Area 1 and 2 is not a formal requirement. However, considering the cohorts of school-leavers as samples of broader populations, the results of statistical testing are interpretable in terms of the generalisability of findings to other settings of which Areas 1 and 2 (in 1990) are representative. Hence, the quantitative findings may be generalisable, but the qualitative findings suggest they may be produced by

specific contextual features. Although preliminary interviews were conducted with a range of gatekeepers, the focus is on an intensive study of the Careers Service within one specific Region (Strathclyde), hence a distinctive 'Careers Service' perspective is advanced.

A complex of issues affects young people's transitions. Before quantitative and qualitative findings are described and analysed, it is essential to examine what transitional literature reveals about those factors which affect transitions, including being unemployed. For example, research has identified certain characteristics associated with young people successfully gaining employment (Raffe 1988). In chapter 3, a vital issue relates to the extent to which wider opportunity structures impact on young people's routes into the labour market, particularly entry into basic and premium youth training schemes.

The screening and stratification of YTS is also vital to the pre-selection role of the Careers Service, particularly in respect of disadvantaged youth and those with special educational needs. In chapter four, attention turns to an examination of the way careers guidance has altered as a result of the new initiatives introduced with the changeover from YTS to YT. 'New Right' policies have led to selection processes becoming even more rigorous and subsequently the 'client-centred' role of the Careers Service has come under threat. This leads to the question whether careers staff pay more attention to young people's health and other attributes in the disadvantaged area (Area 2). In chapters five and six, analysis of quantitative and qualitative data will, however, show that despite numerous constraints, the Careers Service has a differential effect on placement of clients with and without health problems into available vacancies.

CHAPTER 3

YOUNG PEOPLE'S TRANSITIONS FROM MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of chapter three is to examine in more detail the wider issues relating to young people's transitions from mainstream schools. Of particular interest is what research has shown regarding, on the one hand, the impact of opportunity structures on young people's routes into the labour market and the likelihood of becoming unemployed, and on the other, the extent to which the characteristics of young people also play a part in this process.

In respect of young people's characteristics, the introduction of youth training schemes is identified as crucial to the selection and occupational allocation of youth. Of vital importance to the present research is the fact that YOP and later YTS were used by employers as a means of screening young people for employment, and that non-educational criteria (including appearance, personality, speech, and social background etc) played an increasingly important role during selection processes. Such issues have crucial implications for young people's achieved social class position, health potential and future life chances, particularly in respect of entry into various types of 'premium' and 'basic' youth training schemes in contrasting labour market areas.

To begin with, a brief outline of the historical changes which have taken place regarding young people's transitions from school is given. The transitions of school leavers in the 1960's and 1970's were viewed as being a relatively smooth process (Ashton and Field 1976) in comparison to today's more 'protracted' transitions (Roberts et al 1986). Literature on labour market segmentation has shown how changes in the broader labour market have progressively limited opportunities for young people, especially in areas of high unemployment, with consequences for selection procedures.

Historical Background to Young People's Transitions

An examination of young people's transitions from mainstream schools should briefly acknowledge historical context, as generalisations from the experience of post-war to today's youth could be misinterpreted. For example, early research into job attitude and choice among secondary modern school leavers (Jahoda 1952), outlined how parental influence proved decisive in a majority of cases, whereas institutional influences operated when job attitudes had already been hardened. In the 1950's and 1960's, the main problems were not so much the movement from one job to another, but rather concerned the quality of available jobs in an era of full employment. Many young people moved into and between successive occupations, a factor which related more to unstable jobs than unstable workers (see Raffe 1983a:21).

Over a decade later, Ashton and Field (1976) pointed out how young people's experiences at home and in school prepared them for their future role within the workplace. Subdivisions within the middle and working classes operated so that upwardly aspiring youth headed for short-term non-manual or skilled manual careers via apprenticeships or clerical training, whereas the 'rough' youth headed towards unskilled labouring jobs. As indicated in the Youthaid Report (1979:5), such studies regarded young people's transitions as a relatively straightforward process:

'...it is the cultural pattern of socialisation, in particular parental and peer group influence which determines the structure of occupational aspirations, and it is the economic structure of the labour market which determines the structure of opportunities'.

The significance of young people's early transitions as a process central to the reproduction of class based inequalities was therefore identified, and further examined, against the context of the 'new transition' taking place in the 1980's and 1990's (Furlong 1992).

'New Transitions' of the 1980's and 1990's

At present, school-leavers' trajectories and outcomes have become more complex and protracted, with the transition from school to youth training schemes, or to employment, often interspersed with periods of unemployment. Consequently, there has been a shift towards transitional research studies examining the problems that school leavers experience when entering a collapsing youth labour market (see Ashton and Maguire 1983; Ryrie 1983; Roberts et al 1986; Furlong and Raffe 1989; Bynner 1991; Furlong 1992).

Bynner's (1991:193) analysis of four British labour markets concluded that 'the picture of British occupational transitions is one of opportunity structures that are strongly dependent on where you live'. Further research therefore examined the spatial aspects of unemployment (Ashton et al 1988), as well as potential characteristics associated with success in finding employment (Garner et al 1987;1988; Raffe 1988). Hence, in view of the way the work situation facing young people has worsened in recent years, this chapter will attempt to assess what factors influence young people's present position in the labour market.

The increased empirical enquiry into the youth labour market, together with developments in segmentation theory, have made it possible to examine with whom young people compete for jobs, and the type of jobs school leavers enter. Such analysis furthers our understanding of the dynamics of stratification, and in turn, inequality.

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

Segmentation of the Youth Labour Market

The labour market is composed of a multiplicity of sub-markets demarcated by various criteria, but linked by occupational mobility. Moreover, labour is perhaps the most heterogeneous of all commodities, displaying qualitative

differences within as well as between the major groups. That labour markets are imperfect is *prima facie* a statement of the obvious (Goodman 1970:180).

For most young people, the experience of work is contained within one of three broad clusters of occupations (characterised by differences in earning levels, prospects, promotional chances, skill requirements and security). These types of occupations have been described by Ashton and Field (1976) as 'careerless', 'short-term careers' and 'extended careers'. Others (Doeringer and Piore 1971), made the distinction between the primary and secondary sectors in the labour market. Briefly, the primary sector consists of high technology firms and mass producers of consumer goods and services. Entry into this sector is usually at an early career stage where skills are generally acquired on the job. An internal labour market is evident and good working conditions and job security are inherent features. By contrast, the secondary labour market consists of small industrial units such as the construction and retail sectors of the economy, where few skills are required and wages are relatively low. There is also an absence of career structures and entry into this sector can be made at any time.

This dichotomy in the organisation of jobs is reflected in a basic duality in the labour force. The primary labour market generally employs 'prime-age' white males who are educationally qualified, disciplined and loyal workers (Ashton et al 1982), though Raffe (1984) has highlighted how young people do enter the primary sector. By contrast, the secondary labour market has significant numbers of ethnic minorities, women and young people. Ashton et al (1982), however, rightly pointed out that the two-sector model is inadequate to explain the complexity of segments within the labour market or how young people face restricted entry. A similar criticism has also been made in respect of Thurow's (1975) model of 'job opportunity', which suggested skills and productivity exist only in relation to jobs, and that workers are ranked in a labour queue according to their trainability, as denoted by qualifications, age and experience.

In their later research, Ashton et al (1987) identified a labour market comprising eight main segments, each having its own entry criteria which influence the allocation of young people and their subsequent career movement. Differentiation between the youth labour market and adult labour market is the outcome of three types of competition. At the point of entry to jobs, young people may be:

1. Excluded from competing with adults in a large part of the labour market.
2. Sheltered from competition by the imposition of age barriers, e.g. apprentices.
3. Allowed to compete directly with adults in a limited part of the labour market.

Besides this differentiation brought about by age discrimination (see also Furlong 1990a), the labour market is further segmented by sex and skill level. As a result, each segment of the youth labour market has its own distinctive pattern of entry. The four major labour market segments of professional and managerial jobs, clerical occupations, skilled manual work, and semi-skilled and unskilled manual and sales jobs, are further divided by sex to create eight labour market segments, which constrain young people's opportunities in the labour market.

When recruiting young people within the various labour market segments, Ashton et al (1987:169) also highlighted how employers used educational qualifications in different ways. For example, in unskilled manual, semi-skilled manual, and sales jobs, qualifications were considered irrelevant, whereas for those entering skilled work, they were seen as a useful device in indicating pupils had 'some academic potential' (though whether this was actually realised in exam results was not important). By contrast, for jobs in the professional, technical and managerial sectors, qualifications were crucial. Employers were therefore consciously using different criteria to determine entry to each of the segments, a situation which varied in areas with high and low levels of unemployment.

The Rise in Youth Unemployment

Since the early 1970's, youth unemployment has risen to much higher levels than general unemployment. In 1974, 61% of Britain's 16 year olds were employed; ten years later in 1984, the figure had fallen to 18% (Ashton and Maguire 1983). In Scotland, the most striking change was the decline in the percentage of young people entering full time employment; evidence from the Scottish School Leavers Study showed that in 1977 more than seven in ten minimum-age school leavers were in full-time employment compared to three in ten in 1987 (Furlong 1992:38). The following observations were made by Roberts (1984:64) in his assessment of youth unemployment:

'When youth unemployment begins to rise, school leavers' situations 'tighten'. Young people with good qualifications cease to receive several job offers, and have to accept sole (job) offers some time after leaving school. They may find it necessary to take stop gaps or settle for second best jobs. Meanwhile, at the bottom of the educational procession, young people with poor or zero qualifications, who would have obtained unskilled jobs in times of full employment, face sub-employed early careers'.

This effect was further aggravated by the tendency of employers to reduce investment in training. For example, in the 1960's 40% of males leaving school at 16 or earlier entered apprenticeships; by 1980, this proportion had been halved (Roberts 1984). There is also a wide range of jobs which young people are capable of filling but in certain cases employers tend to prefer adults (Ashton et al 1990). This includes the cost disadvantages of employing young people full-time; the non-wage costs of part-time labour are lower compared to hiring young people in full-time jobs. In addition, the increasingly technological nature of industry may also reduce the demand for unskilled youth who may be seen as substitutes for rather than as complements to capital equipment (Hart 1988).

Different views have, however, emerged to explain youth unemployment. The 'structural thesis' argues that youth unemployment is a product of the structure of the economy. A fundamental change affecting the youth labour

market was the continuing loss of full-time jobs in manufacturing and retailing and the growth of part-time jobs in other parts of the service sector. In the lower segments, underlying occupation changes were reducing opportunities available to young people. Many sectors of manufacturing industries such as textiles, footwear and clothing, were badly hit by the recession. Their decline resulted in the loss of main sources of employment for unqualified school leavers, hence the talk of a 'vanishing youth labour market' (Ashton and Maguire 1983).

A second explanation is that young people are failing to move into sectors where employment is stable or expanding because they lack the necessary vocational preparation. This has led to claims that the bottom, but not the top, has fallen out of the youth labour market (Roberts et al 1988; Shelly 1988).

On the other hand, the 'labour queue' hypothesis (see Raffe 1986) asserts that although youth unemployment has risen well above adult levels, the ratio between the two has remained constant. It is the impact of the recession and subsequent aggregate fall in the demand for labour that has been viewed as the most significant factor affecting youth unemployment.

However, researchers who examined school leavers' post-school destinations were in no doubt that changes in the youth labour market had affected young people in various ways. Those with qualifications had different post-school experiences from non-academic youth, and compared to working class youth, young people from middle class backgrounds still entered the best jobs. Thus, although at present there is a greater variety of pathways available to young people leaving school, social class continues to affect educational outcomes and qualifications, which still have a powerful effect on labour market experience (see Furlong 1992).

Others have shown that those young people who are disadvantaged either academically, physically or mentally, or who have difficult home backgrounds are more susceptible to unemployment (Casson 1983). Young

people with disabilities are also likely to be long term unemployed¹, particularly during an economic recession. Jones (1985) drew attention to the possibility that school leaver unemployment was accompanied by an employers' rationale that the unqualified, particularly those young people with discipline problems, were viewed as the 'least deserving' of employment.

While young people's chances of unemployment were strongly affected by overall levels of unemployment within the local labour market, researchers have been able to make fairly reliable predictions about which types of young people are potentially most vulnerable to unemployment on the basis of educational achievements, personal and family characteristics, and prior labour market experience.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION

The following characteristics were identified by the Scottish School Leavers Survey (see Raffe 1988; Furlong and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992) as being consistently associated with young people successfully finding employment: level of qualifications, particularly 'O'grades (or standard grades) gained at the end of compulsory schooling, the curriculum or subjects studied, and age. For example, in 1987 three in ten young people with no 'O' grades were unemployed compared to those with 'O' grades. Other things being equal, boys who left school at 16 had a higher probability of employment several months later than those leaving at 17 or 18. School leavers' family background was also identified with occupational success, an independent effect of parental education or of fathers' social class being found. Those young people whose fathers were unemployed were more likely to be unemployed themselves (see also Garner et al 1987;1988). The survey found

1 Department of Employment (1990c:15) 'Employment and Training for People with Disabilities'. Consultative Document.

that among the 16% of the cohort unemployed in 1987, over one in four had a father who was unemployed or unable to work. Of those unemployed in 1986, 63% had previously been in low skilled occupations (Furlong 1992:85-86). Those young people who had previously experienced unemployment were also more vulnerable to unemployment. Finally, area was of significance; local youth employment levels depend primarily on the opportunity structures in the local all-age labour market (see Main and Raffe 1983; Raffe 1988).

The study concluded that while those young people with the appropriate combination of personal characteristics have the best chance of employment, an additional effect was attributable to the local labour market. This in turn focuses attention on the impact of opportunity structures within different local labour market contexts and their effect on young people's transitions from mainstream schools.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DEBATE: OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES OR PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS?

Just as youth and adult unemployment rates are correlated over time, so they are correlated across space, particularly in the inner cities. Ashton et al (1988) pointed out how differences within local labour markets were of fundamental importance in affecting not just the chances of an individual obtaining work, but also the type of job available, the chances of moving between jobs and the length of time spent unemployed.

The importance of the spatial level of unemployment as a determinant of the employment prospects of young people has been the focus of a number of research studies in the 1980's and 1990's (of which Ashton, Maguire and Garland 1982; Ashton and Maguire 1986; Roberts, Dench and Richardson 1986; Ashton et al 1988; Garner et al 1987;1988, are representative). Such studies have been concerned with aspects of youth unemployment, particularly among disadvantaged youth who tend to experience more difficulty in finding work.

For example, Ashton, Maguire and Garland's (1982) study showed how a quarter of young people in Sunderland became unemployed, with only 23% remaining in school after 16 years; this contrasted with 60% staying on in school in St Albans. Moreover, young people in Sunderland had less than half the chance of entering professional and managerial occupations compared to those in St Albans.

Ashton and Maguire (1986) later extended this analysis and showed that in Sunderland, even young adults with 'A' levels had problems in finding work. However, the possession of 'A' levels in Leicester, St Albans and Stafford meant young adults had a good chance of employment. Findings also revealed how labour markets were segmented with institutional barriers. Young adults were excluded from the labour market because they did not have the necessary training, or many of the jobs on offer specified older workers. The importance of location rather than social class was highlighted as a factor in the types of employment taken. Hence, in St Albans, young adults from the lower working classes had a greater chance of entering white-collar work, than those from middle-class families in Sunderland. The opportunity for young people to improve their life chances in areas like Sunderland were much reduced:

'Relationships which tend to be taken for granted, such as that between educational achievement and occupational placement, collapse. Full-time paid employment is the exception rather than the norm. There is no point in pursuing educational qualifications or training because it is unlikely to pay off. In many families two generations have learnt to adapt to a world in which paid employment has little or no part to play in their lives' (Ashton et al 1988:64).

As job prospects were low, there was also less incentive to undertake training in Sunderland; most young people began their job search whilst still at school or college, and were dependent on their careers' advisers for information about the labour market. These findings confirm other studies which show how young people from working class backgrounds and non-academic

youth generally have more contact with the Careers Service than those from middle class backgrounds (Ryrie 1983; DE 1992a).

The changing structure of youth labour markets (in the way that economic and technical developments were altering the types and number of jobs available and how different numbers of young people were affected) were examined in Chelmsford, Liverpool and Walsall by Roberts, Dench and Richardson (1986). Similar to Ashton and Maguire's (1986) findings, the market value of educational qualifications in assisting young people into craft apprenticeships, sales and office jobs, varied according to the diversification of business and level of unemployment in each area. Jobs in Liverpool which required candidates with 'O' levels, were filled in Chelmsford by young people with lower CSE levels. Other research (Payne 1985) has shown how greater division exists between employed and unemployed youth in the Midlands and the North, and suggested the latter are emerging as a distinct 'underclass'. In the more prosperous South, social class divisions were less apparent.

One of the most important contributions of the spatial analysis of unemployment has been the opportunity it has afforded to assess the role of personal versus area characteristics (see Evans and Richardson 1981; McGregor 1980; and Mair and Wood 1981, cited in Garner et al 1988:133). In Garner et al's (1987;1988) research, the variation of unemployment rates within four Scottish cities (intra-urban unemployment) was examined, and a crucial question related to whether areas of very high unemployment reflected the types of individuals resident in that area, or whether area characteristics also played a role. The policy implications of assessing personal versus area characteristics were considered by the authors:

'...if personal characteristics are found to dominate the chances of a given individual being unemployed then some support can be claimed for the notion of the urban labour market being one competitive market. In this case, any areas of particularly high unemployment merely reflect the types of individuals resident in that area. On the other hand, if area characteristics are also found to play a role then there is a basis for policy intervention aimed at particular areas of the city' (Garner et al 1988:133).

Findings from this research suggested that although unemployment among school leavers varied among the cities investigated, this variation was attributable to the characteristics of the people living in these areas, rather than to the distinctiveness of the areas concerned. Two characteristics found to account for the high unemployment rate were first, the low qualifications of school leavers in the disadvantaged areas, and second, whether the school leaver's father was unemployed

Among the policy suggestions outlined, one way forward included educational interventions to remove young people from the labour market, or enhance their relative employment chances by giving those from disadvantaged areas more qualifications or skills:

'...employment initiatives should be targeted at individuals with certain labour market characteristics, eg those with no school-leaving credentials. Policies should therefore not merely focus on the creation of jobs in certain localities, as evidence suggests that these jobs will simply go to the most employable who may or may not live in the locality and who would be more likely to have gained employment anyway' (Garner et al 1988:143).

A second suggestion of particular relevance to the present research involved targeting careers guidance. If local employment initiatives were to be effective they must be tied to the recruitment of individuals of targeted characteristics:

'Another 'characteristic' shown to be important is fathers' unemployment. The employment status of a school leaver's father or other family members, is easily ascertained; it may allow careers officers to focus their efforts on those young people whom our analysis has shown to be particularly prone to unemployment even once other attributes such as qualifications are controlled for' (Garner et al:1987:115).

Of interest is an analysis of careers officers' responses to dealing with disadvantaged clients (ie non-academic youth who live in areas with high overall youth and adult unemployment levels). To what extent are careers staff able to respond proactively to young people like these and secure

suitable placements? Another question relates to whether information about young people's parents or family members' employment status is easily ascertained, or if careers staff are reluctant pursue this issue because of a concern that this might embarrass their client (young people themselves might also object to revealing such personal information to careers officers).

However, Garner et al (1988) also questioned whether educational credentials brought to the labour market are themselves the outcome of a social process in which area characteristics *are* relevant. Hence, the effects of living in a disadvantaged area may impact on young people's educational attainment and subsequent employment opportunity. For example, further research by Garner (1989), cited in Furlong (1992:122), showed how neighbourhood deprivation can affect educational attainment among otherwise (academically) comparable youth by 2-4 'O' grades.

It has been suggested that those possessing certain characteristics only become vulnerable to unemployment under specific economic circumstances; unemployment is therefore caused by a lack of demand for labour, rather than inadequacies in the labour force (see Furlong 1992:87). As the preceding discussion has shown, the pattern of differences between labour market areas is complex. As yet, however, no firm conclusions have been reached on the extent to which it is opportunity structures or young people's characteristics which play a more dominant role during young people's transitions:

'Areas with high rates of unemployment, for example, may have a predominance of declining industries and of people with certain social characteristics. As yet we cannot say which of these characteristics has the greatest effect' (Furlong 1992:135).

In examining qualifications and labour market outcome among sixteen year old school leavers, Jones (1985) has pointed out that the mechanisms which link school qualifications to jobs are also not fully apparent. There is some debate about whether they directly measure relevant job skills, or are used by employers as proxies for other personal characteristics which are more

difficult to quantify, or if their primary effect is via young people's job seeking behaviour rather than employers' selection procedures.

Research which investigates macro-micro-sociological processes during young people's transitions from mainstream school is therefore crucial. The present study will examine in more detail how opportunity structures within Areas 1 and 2 impact on Careers Service selection processes. Moreover, given that research evidence has shown how non-academic youth are more vulnerable to unemployment, further analysis will consider whether more attention is given to health and other attributes in the less advantaged labour market and if this differentially affects placement outcome.

Without question, youth unemployment has been a major catalyst of changes affecting young people's transitions from school. A second trend which accompanied unemployment was the growth of youth training schemes. Of vital importance to the present research is the fact that successive YTS schemes have been used by employers as a direct means of screening potential recruits, and specifically, that non-educational criteria (Raffe 1983b), including appearance, personality, speech, and social background etc, have played an increasingly significant role in the selection and occupational allocation of youth. This section will outline how youth training schemes are internally segmented, especially in terms of the types of training opportunity on offer to young people.

THE EFFECT ON SELECTION OF YOUTH TRAINING SCHEMES

The first Government initiatives involving the introduction of youth training schemes were established as temporary measures to address, it was hoped, a short-lived youth unemployment problem. According to the MSC (1978:1), many of the young unemployed lacked 'some of the basic skills which most of us take for granted'. Youth unemployment was explained in terms of personal inadequacy and skill deficiency and the shortcomings of young people were emphasised. Improved preparation at school and better skill

levels were therefore viewed as potential solutions to this problem (see Raffé 1983b).

The Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP)

In 1978, The Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) was introduced. It aimed to increase options for the individual unemployed young person by 'enabling the individual to do more things, achieve a higher level of skills, knowledge and performance and adapt more readily to changing circumstances or job requirements' (MSC 1977:34). YOP and later YTS recruited mostly non-academic youth. For example, 53% of the Scottish School Leavers Survey cohort on youth training schemes had no 'O' grades (Furlong and Raffé 1989); though more on YTS had 'O' grades compared to those on YOP. A second, rather different objective of the programme was to attack the consequences of youth unemployment - as distinct from its causes. It was thought that unemployment would have a harmful effect on the confidence and motivation of young people and that they would find themselves in a vicious circle of 'no job - no experience - no job' (Raffé 1983b).

Although YOP did help some young people find work - over 80% gained employment within 8 months of entering the programme (O'Conner 1981) - the main obstacle to success was the level of unemployment prevailing in an area, rather than trainees or training itself. This led to deep mistrust of the scheme, with firms exploiting work experience instead of hiring wage earners. When it was introduced in 1978, it was envisaged that YOP would need to cater for 234,000 young people per year. By 1982, the programme was handling over 555,000 trainees (O'Conner 1981). Youtheid (1981) warned that unless its quality improved the scheme would disintegrate as it lost credibility.

Overall, the net effect of YOP may have been to reduce the number of permanent jobs available due to the substitution of some YOP places for regular jobs. The exact extent to which YOP substituted for or displaced proper jobs is uncertain. The Public Accounts Select Committee (HMSO

1983:29; cited in Finn 1987:144) estimated that as a result of 'deadweight, substitution and displacement', between '40,000 and 70,000 jobs enjoying normal pay and conditions may have been lost'.

Even when new jobs were created as a direct result of YOP, this was not necessarily a consequence of the success of the scheme in enhancing skills. Employers were criticised for hiring new applicants after young people had completed their training scheme; by 1981, the employment rate of YOP 'trainees' fell to only one in three (Furlong and Raffe 1989).

More importantly, YOP modified procedures for selecting young people for employment (Raffe 1983b). This occurred because YOP provided a regular stage in the transition from school to work. By increasing information available to future employers on potential recruits, YOP acted as a filter influencing selection criteria.

Furthermore, due to its concern to maintain rates of subsequent employment among former YOP trainees, YOP was used as a pseudo-qualification for employment; a practice encouraged by the MSC at that time. Further selection occurred between different Work Experience Programmes, Training Workshop and Community schemes, with young people being selected to the level of work considered most suitable to them.

The most important impact YOP had on selection procedures was the practice of many employers using YOP as a direct means of screening potential recruits. At the end of six months' work experience, employers could recruit to permanent employment only those young people whom they regarded as most suitable. Alternative means for entering employment, already restricted by the recession, were further diminished. Young people themselves identified an 'informal hierarchy' of YOP schemes which were more likely to lead to routes into full-time jobs (Roberts 1984). As the then MSC needed to maintain high rates of post-scheme employment, it was in its interests that remaining jobs should be rationed in favour of those young people who entered YOP.

Such practices were to place the needs of the labour market above the needs of young people themselves - factors which were to be preserved and enhanced under the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). Employers who had used YOP as part of their recruitment policy were more likely to become YTS sponsors and use YTS as a means of screening young people on completion of their training.

The Youth Training Scheme (YTS)

...despite the YTS goal of equal opportunities, managing agents and employers kept the right to select trainees... As a result, YTS incorporated the screening devices, which employers have always used to discriminate by ability, gender, race or physical disadvantage. The intake of individual YTS schemes (and even placements within schemes) became socially differentiated, varying from skill to skill. The most favoured schemes could pick and choose from the best-qualified and most 'respectable' school leavers. The worst qualified and most disadvantaged trainees finished up with the most dubious schemes and employers' (Lee et al 1990:188).

The introduction of YTS was an attempt to move away from the temporary counter-cyclical job-creation activities that had characterised YOP to a more constructive long-run manpower policy that provided both on-the-job and off-the-job training (Main and Shelly 1988). The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was regarded as a permanent bridge from school to work. Since 1983 it has been continuously developing and was upgraded into a two year scheme in 1986.

Constraints to the scheme's success were that negative attitudes still remained concerning YOP (see Raffe 1989) and doubts were raised about the political motives behind YTS. A further restriction existed in the employment opportunities it provided (or denied) to YTS trainees. Within Scotland, geographical variations in such opportunities were considerable; only 15% of young people in Strathclyde were in full time jobs during Spring

1986 and had not been on YTS - the proportion for the rest of Scotland was 33%. (Raffe and Courtenay 1988).

As with YOP, the advantage YTS had on the recruitment and training practices of employers was that employers could screen young people before offering them permanent employment (a function which also reduced employers' labour costs). If full-time vacancies arose within a firm, trainees could be used as a 'pool' from which the most 'suitable' recruits were drawn (Roberts, Dench and Richardson 1986).

Employer participation rates on YTS also increased in areas of higher unemployment and varied within industrial sectors. For example, within the five survey areas of Sako and Dore's (1986:196) research, the proportion of employers participating in YTS was highest in the Motherwell area (37%), compared to only 14% in Newham. In respect of YTS participation by employers offering manual work, higher than average rates were also evident in the former area (48%).

A hierarchy of youth training schemes where placements could be classified according to their potential job outcome were identified by Raffe (1987:17-19). A 'sponsorship' sector (which mostly consisted of the esteemed employer-led schemes) offered trainees a good chance of employment from their placements; trainees were therefore removed from the pressures of the external labour market. A 'credentialling' sector classified those schemes where trainees did not expect to find employment with their scheme employers, but could use their skills to get similar jobs elsewhere because their competitive position in the labour market was improved by YTS. In the 'contest' sector, however, employers used YTS to screen potential recruits; trainees entered YTS with no guarantee of future employment, as this depended on their performance on the scheme. As Raffe (1987:18) pointed out 'young people enter the contest sector in the knowledge that their YTS experience might help them find employment but that nothing is certain'. Finally, a 'detached' sector (where young people were removed from the process of selection and recruitment within the labour market) is the most

exploitative of placements, mainly incorporating premium, mode B or 'sink' schemes (Roberts and Parsell 1989a). This sector is at the extreme end of those YTS places which incorporate the contest sector, and recruits those young people who are unable to enter the better schemes. YTS is therefore internally segmented (see Lee et al 1987) and in-market processes confirm and extend pre-existing differentials.

For example, research of YTS in Southwich found that scheme managers looked for pupils taking 'O' levels less for the content of the qualification, but as an 'ascriptive indicator' of their potential as a 'good trainee'. 'Social background', particularly parental occupation, was viewed as another ascriptive feature in the selection process (Lee et al 1987:146).

Continuing this theme, Lee et al's (1990) research attempted to locate the causes of inequality within schemes and in doing so, identified how YTS operated as a 'surrogate'² labour market. Evidence showed recruitment methods in YTS varied according to pre-market factors and the most disadvantaged trainees were matched to the least sympathetic and most exploitative small employers. This often resulted in a 'virtuous circle' (Lee et al 1990:75), with an over-abundance of applicants for the employer-led schemes which were very selective. Academic qualifications were used as a gauge not only of ability, but of non-academic attributes as well.

In general, young people with qualifications entered the better youth training schemes with less discriminating recruitment and placement procedures. By contrast, 'premium' Mode B community based schemes 'mopped up' non-academic and disadvantaged youth. The stratification of 'premium' and 'basic' youth training schemes (see Roberts 1986; Roberts & Parsell 1989a), and their inter-relationship with the youth labour market has received a good deal of research attention, of which, Finn (1987); McKie (1990); Heafey & McGregor (1990); Peck (1990a; 1990b) are representative. A useful

² A 'surrogate labour market' is defined by Lee et al (1990:15), as 'a network of work placement created by administrative intervention to remedy deficiencies in labour demand'.

description of basic and premium youth training schemes was summarised by Peck (1990a:19):

'Typically, basic/Mode A provision is well-integrated into the labour market, many of the trainees being screened for employment by their placement providers, while premium/Mode B provision often serves little more than a short term 'warehousing' function for those trainees who would otherwise have been unemployed'.

Roberts & Parsell (1989a:6) also described premium Mode B YT schemes as 'sink schemes' which were mainly composed of Community Projects and Training Workshops, usually most prevalent in areas with relatively high unemployment. Their principal role in the labour market of 'warehousing' meant disadvantaged youth were closed off from entering mainstream youth training and employment:

'The provisions exist only to make good local shortfalls in employer-led training, and to accommodate young people who would be unacceptable on other schemes. They recruit school-leavers who fail to gain entry elsewhere, generally the least-qualified. Rather than locating their trainees in places and social networks which make their subsequent employment probable, or equipping them with skills and qualifications to compensate for their initial disadvantages, these schemes are more likely to confirm the participants' exclusion from the more reliable pathways towards regular employment'.

Earlier research by Roberts (1986:29) into premium provision in Liverpool aptly illustrated how some scheme managers would 'screen' applicants. Those perceived as failures or potential trouble-makers were negatively labelled and either moved to other schemes or sacked:

'Three of the ITEC'S (Information Technology Centres), plus most of the TW's (Training Workshops) and CP's (Community Programmes) with enough applicants to be selective were also weeding-out 'difficult' trainees early on in their programmes. One ITEC had a two week induction course after which the failures, usually 10% or so, were invited to leave. Another ITEC arranged for young people who were not progressing to be transferred to other schemes. Some CP's and TW's with queues of applicants could dismiss the difficult and disruptive without the schemes incurring financial penalties. (Roberts' quotes from a scheme manager) 'They must behave themselves. We sack quite a few for disciplinary reasons... We don't put up with disruptive trainees. The rotten apples are soon moved on'.

As part of their YT training, young people entered work placement. Roberts (1986:37) again showed how premium scheme managers screened trainees and negatively labelled some young people as 'unplaceables'.

'By unplaceable, the managers sometimes meant unacceptable to employers on account of the trainees' appearance, attitudes, resistance to work discipline, or lack of basic skills such as literacy and numeracy. In other instances they meant that the trainees would refuse to go, or would not settle in placements'.

Such findings, highlighted by Roberts (1986) and other studies into the stratification of youth training, are particularly relevant to the present research. The way youth training schemes have developed with different financial underpinning, to cater for certain 'types' of youth, is a logical extension of earlier issues relating to labelling and selection processes.

The operation of negative selection in some schemes was therefore clearly evident, and involved the exclusion of young people from unskilled manual backgrounds from the better Mode A type schemes. Lee et al's (1990:90) study showed how almost half the trainees on Mode B schemes were from disadvantaged backgrounds, and that employers drew attention to similarities between young people from special needs schools and the 'bottom end' of the comprehensive system (in that many shared similar types of learning difficulties). Accordingly, such schemes had to absorb the 'dregs' but needed a hard sell by the Careers Service; the very fact that young people were on Mode B schemes signalled to many employers that they were 'less able'. Placements offered a range of unskilled work (such as catering, warehousing, horticulture, and retail work), usually where trainees would not have to meet the public, and where the opportunity of work placement was limited.

A third of small employers in Lee et al's (1990:58) study who asked for academic qualifications admitted they used this as a means to screen not so much for ability, but personality. The majority of employers also screened by

appearance and speech and looked for young people with the 'right attitude'. Retail work also screened for 'personality' and minimal CSE's as well as 'social polish', which brought in some middle class and better qualified recruits who clustered in the best schemes.

Care schemes, however, mainly recruited from unqualified working class girls, often from disruptive backgrounds. Better qualified girls who were considering care work faced parental and Careers Service opposition to their low status choice (see Lee et al 1990:96). The screening process for care schemes took place at several stages during training. Tutors' reports were significant and involved selecting those working class girls who encapsulated the stereotype of a 'good care assistant' type; a practice clearly identified by Bates (1989:30):

'These processes of prolonged screening would appear to pull girls from 'tougher' sections of the working class through this particular system... Hence, the long transition of YTS, contrary to hopes which have been expressed that it might prove an opportunity for career exploration, can possibly tighten, through its sifting mechanisms, inter-relationships between social class, gender, occupational culture of origin and occupational destinations'.

Recruitment strategies also resulted in many trainees entering surrogate labour markets demarcated by gender. Craft schemes and warehousing were almost exclusively male, whereas girls tended to enter office, hairdressing and carework. Cockburn's (1987) research pointed out how careers officers attempted to reduce sex-segregation within youth training schemes, but because many young people came into the careers office with sex-typed decisions already formed, this role was limited.

Although girls' schemes were more academically selective, they also incorporated more frequent aspects of selection by appearance. Hence girls had fewer opportunities in the 'sponsorship' or 'credentialing' schemes and often suffered 'civic exclusion' (Lee et al 1990) because of the emphasis on appearance in service type jobs. Despite attempts to promote equal opportunities (in race and gender issues) by some 'progressive' careers officers, it has been suggested more priority was given to maintaining the

general quality of YTS schemes themselves (see Cockburn 1987). Others found YTS catered for different types of young people in different areas and that disadvantaged and ethnic minority youth were concentrated in the worst schemes (Banks et al 1992). Where there were more jobs available, those young people who might have gone on YTS found alternative forms of employment.

The stratification and screening of young people within youth training has, then, implications for the subsequent recruitment and future class position of youth. Evidence from Furlong and Raffe's (1989) study found that four in ten males and three in ten females were unemployed after finishing YT. The prospects were better for those young people moving straight into a job with a scheme employer or sponsor; while those who moved from YTS to a different employer were less likely to be in full-time employment at nineteen.

Assessments of the youth training scheme's effect on young people's entry into the labour market are generally negative. According to Furlong (1992), some better qualified youth gained a limited advantage in the labour market, but overall, YTS failed to help those youth in most need of help, who were 'doubly disadvantaged' because of their inability to get a 'proper' job on leaving school and after YTS.

Research into the change and continuity of youth transitions over the past few decades (for example, Furlong and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992) has therefore concluded that despite there being more routes into the labour market, the structure of opportunities for young people has not dramatically changed (Furlong 1992:10). This could be seen in the fact that although some working class youth improved academically, the links between education and social class remained; consequently, disadvantaged youth with poor qualifications were more vulnerable when entering the labour market.

CONCLUSION

This review of young people's transitions from mainstream schools has highlighted a number of issues relevant to the present research. The segmentation of the youth labour market by age, sex, race, occupational shifts and skill level demonstrates how stratification defines opportunities. The local labour market area is also crucial to these considerations as this affects entry and allocation into employment and length of time unemployed. Characteristics associated with young people making a successful transition into the labour market include: qualification level, the curriculum or subjects in which qualifications have been obtained, age, family background and area characteristics. Debate continues, however, over whether personal characteristics (particularly academic ability and fathers' employment status) or area characteristics (opportunity structures), have the greatest impact during young people's transitions into the labour market. In the present research, the relationship between the health and other attributes of young people will be examined within the context of the different opportunity structures of Area 1 and Area 2.

The importance of young people's non-academic attributes has also increased since the introduction of youth training schemes, the most significant aspect of which is employers' use of schemes as a filter into further employment. The stratification of YTS into basic and premium schemes further suggests that specific 'types' of young people enter these schemes, and that, as well as academic ability, other attributes, including appearance, personality, behaviour, speech and social background etc, play a more direct role during the transitional process. A central hypothesis in the present research is that careers staff pay more attention to other attributes in Area 2 than Area 1, and that the relationship between them and premium schemes will be greater in the disadvantaged labour market. Analysis of careers staffs' recording practices and perceptions of information from Careers Service units is therefore essential.

Moreover, a review of transitional literature indicates those young people who are more likely to need greater help from careers staff. A combination of factors, including the recession and the tightening of employers' recruitment strategies, operate to the detriment of those deemed to have the least marketable skills. One consequence is that young people's disadvantaged status (and negative labels) might be amplified in areas of high unemployment.

In the light of these issues, chapter four will examine how, on the one hand, careers officers serve employers and managing agents' interests in offering a pre-selection service according to their criteria, and on the other hand, how they attempt to reconcile this role and meet client need, particularly among young people with health problems and more disadvantaged youth in areas of limited training and employment opportunity.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF THE CAREERS SERVICE DURING YOUNG PEOPLE'S TRANSITIONS FROM MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

'The Careers Service provided by Local Education Authorities occupies a unique place in and between the worlds of education and employment. In providing vocational guidance to school pupils and college students and helping to place them into suitable occupations, Careers Service staff are especially well placed to develop working relationships with teachers and employers and to promote effective understanding between both. They also play a decisive part in broadening the mental horizons of young people preparing to enter work'.

Department of Employment (1980b) 'The Careers Service 1974-1979'.

As can be clearly seen from the opening quote, the Careers Service is an important mediator. Its capacity to communicate with educationalists and employers, and offer vocational guidance to school leavers, has for the most part, led to a positive portrayal of this agency. Much is also made of the 'client-centred' role of careers staff in promoting equal opportunity for their clients; a function highlighted in the National Standards and Indicators for the Careers Service (DE 1992b:1) key purpose statement:

'The Careers Service should contribute to the increasing achievement and prosperity of individuals, their communities and the economy through the provision of effective and impartial careers guidance, information services, and assistance in achieving appropriate destinations, and in doing so to promote equality of opportunity'.

In the light of these observations, a main objective of chapter four is to examine whether the 'client-centred' role of the Careers Service, outlined above, has changed since its development in the 1970's to the present day. Within the wider opportunity structures operating in the labour market, is the provision of vocational guidance and placement to school leavers the Careers Service's *raison d'être*, or does it have a wider role to play?

Current developments affecting the Careers Service have received a great deal of research attention, the major aspects of which are briefly considered in this chapter. This includes the changing relationship and subsequent impact of unemployment on careers education in schools (Watts 1978; 1986; 1987), and the growing number of adults contacting the Careers Service (Killeen 1986), issues which have resulted in core concepts such as 'choice' and 'work' being re-evaluated (Killeen 1985).

The impact of the 'New Right' on guidance policy has been to relate careers guidance more closely to market principles (Watts 1991a). This has resulted in the introduction of Records of Achievement, Action Planning, National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's), and Training Credits, all of which have important implications for both policy and practice within the Careers Service. The proposals set out in the Government's White Paper (DE 1991a) 'Education and Training for the 21st Century', concerning the position of the Careers Service in relation to Local Education Authorities and LEC's (Local Enterprise Companies), as well as the introduction of guidance vouchers (Hawthorn 1992), are also significant to the future role of the Careers Service. Thus the implications of 'New Right' initiatives are that the Careers Service is increasingly having to justify its activities by demonstrating its effectiveness in careers guidance (Watts and Kidd 1978; Kidd and Killeen 1992), in learning outcomes of guidance (Killeen and Kidd 1991), and in the economic value of guidance (Killeen et al 1992).

Against the background of growing unemployment, the introduction of youth training schemes, and the implementation of 'New Right' initiatives in guidance policy, the present research addresses the question as to whether such measures affect careers staffs' recording practices and (negative and positive) selection processes, particularly among young people with health problems and those most disadvantaged youth within different labour market contexts. What follows is therefore a brief historical background of the Careers Service, outlining the major changes which have taken place to the present day.

THE CAREERS SERVICE AND CLIENT NEED

The first national initiatives to establish a youth employment service were taken in 1909 when some of the Employment Exchanges, which were set up in that year, introduced juvenile departments to place young people into employment (Carter 1966). In 1910, the Education (Choice of Employment) Act heralded the development of the Juvenile Employment Service and authorised local education authorities to establish a formal provision for the guidance of young people. It was not until the 1948 Employment Act that local authorities were given discretionary authority to provide an advice and placement service for school leavers, and to register pupils before they left school.

In 1973, the Youth Employment Service was transformed into the Careers Service by the Employment and Training Act of 1973. For the first time, the function of providing young people with advice about how to make the transition from school to work became a statutory duty placed upon Local Education Authorities (Showler 1976). The broad aim of the Careers Service, as issued from the Department of Employment's Memorandum of Guidance (1980a), was to 'help individuals leaving full time education to make a satisfactory transition from school to college or work'. The three main objectives were:

1. To seek to ensure that pupils, students and staff of schools and colleges are fully aware of the demands that working life is likely to make on young people entering employment, and on the scope and range of opportunities available to them;
2. To provide vocational guidance to pupils and students at appropriate stages during their educational life, in association with schools and colleges;
3. To help young people leaving school and colleges and those who are unemployed, to find employment, education or training, or places on appropriate social schemes.

In carrying out the above objectives careers officers should:

1. Pay regular frequent visits to schools and colleges and contribute to the development of careers education in these institutions.
2. Stimulate and sustain the interest of parents in the vocational decisions of their children.
3. Establish good relations with employers and their organisations, trade unions and training institutions, in order to build up detailed knowledge of occupations and working environments, employment opportunities and training schemes.

The above guide-lines formed the basis of many working practices within the Careers Service. During the 1950's and early 1960's, the overriding priority for the Youth Employment Service was to place young people into employment; for most young people the transition from school into employment was immediate and direct. In the late 1960's and 1970's however, the primary emphasis focused more on 'vocational guidance' (see DE 1981c). By the early 1980's, Central Government officials and Ministers were often critical of the Careers Service. It was argued that the service was too involved with the education service and emphasised an occupational ethos which was overly biased towards counselling, rather than placement in employment.

In a speech to the Institute of Careers Officers in October 1983, Peter Morrison, the then Government Employment Minister, underlined the Government's position towards the Careers Service when he called for the service to set aside its 'social engineering' ethos and concentrate more directly upon helping employers acquire the trainees they need. The (1982) Department of Employment paper on the Careers Service also voiced concern about the way in which school orientated work was being accorded priority whilst employer

liaison often took a poor second place; views which were reinforced by the Manpower Services Commission:¹

'It is dangerous for the Careers Service if it is viewed by the employers as not only cossetting young people but actually being inefficient...'

The above perspectives should be set in the context of social, economic and political change. In national and local labour markets, structural unemployment was raising fundamental questions about the nature of work (Bakx 1988). Consequently, during this time, there was a perceived need for the Careers Service to rethink its role and purpose. Moreover, in the mid 1970's, commentators suggested that the role of the Careers Service was often open to question: there was at times confusion as to *who* were the real clients of the Careers Service, young people *or* employers (Ashton and Field 1976). Such perspectives reflected in part the conflict of interests which the Careers Service has had to try and reconcile. A practical outcome of these contrasting perspectives could be seen in the changing development of careers education in schools.

CLIENT AND EMPLOYER NEEDS IN CAREERS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

The status and purpose of vocational education in schools is the subject of considerable controversy. Government proposals in the White Paper 'Working Together' (DE 1987) have been criticised within the Careers Service because they again focused on the need for initiatives in education and training to underpin present employer-led training strategy.

Careers education in the last few years has increasingly been linked with three curriculum trends (Watts 1986). First, some schools have integrated careers education with other elements in the school curriculum (termed 'pastoral

¹ From an interview with Geoffrey Holland, conducted by Ball, M. (1983), Newscheck, Careers Service Bulletin, Vol 1 June.

curriculum', in recognition of its role to help *all* individuals, without necessarily giving individual help). Second, careers education has become linked with strengthening school-industry links; and third, it has become linked with broader curricula initiatives designed to introduce a stronger concern with vocational application across the curriculum itself.

This is particularly well illustrated by the introduction the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) (a nationally recognised system of certification introduced for non-academic 16 year olds) and the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI)², which suggested the 'splitting' of the 'personal' and the 'work' elements in career education (Watts 1986). For some, however, these changes had more to do with political and economic education than with individual career development (see Brown 1987). Although positive features have been identified within TVEI, such as the development of an integrated curriculum, new forms of assessment (profiling), and experimental learning, others (Blackman 1987:51), have viewed the onset of 'new vocationalism' as directing 'less able' pupils into courses which restricted their access to knowledge and future occupational choice:

'...State education becomes imbued with a common-sense rationale which directs attention away from the biased order and meaning within principles of selection, and directs an individual's future opportunities to a limited occupational sector... the radical case for new vocationalism must surely amount to the 'velvet glove' over an 'iron hand'.

Others have argued that to some extent schools have also been used as a scapegoat for the country's economic ills. This has resulted in growing pressures on the Careers Service to attach higher priority to employers' requirements as opposed to pupils' needs (Watts 1986; Hillage and Wilson 1992). The effect of these and other changes in schools was the perceived need to persuade more pupils (or in some statements more *able* pupils) to enter manufacturing industry and engineering technology (Watts 1986).

² TVEI was launched with funds from the Training Commission (formerly the Manpower Services Commission). Its purpose was to give young people a general understanding of the world of work.

The quality of careers education and guidance in schools has also come under closer inspection (Cherry 1974; Watts 1986; NACGT 1988; Davis 1991). With the development of the national curriculum, a common fear was that careers education was being squeezed out of the curriculum. In 1991, representatives of the CBI expressed concern to the Institute of Careers Guidance about these issues, and a subsequent report (Cleaton 1993:18) found that '...the quantity of careers guidance training for teacher/co-ordinators remains a national disgrace'. Less than one third of the teachers responsible for careers work in schools had a professional qualification in guidance.

The renewed interest in the vocational preparation of young people and the argument for improved careers education in schools, expressed in 'Working Together for a Better Future' (DE 1987); 'Curriculum Matters 10' (DE 1988); and 'Towards a Skills Revolution' (CBI 1989) has been brought about by the general growth in school-industry links. Political pressures associated with the recession and unemployment have resulted in a tightening of links between education and employment.

Despite some improvements within the educational system, with more 16 year olds among all social classes remaining in full time education, employers tend to underrate vocational credentials in favour of traditional qualifications or, are not able or willing to reward these assets (see Roberts, Siwek and Parsell 1989). It is therefore argued that, overall, vocational education has done little to reduce class and gender inequalities in educational achievement (Furlong 1992).

Schools have also been criticised for isolating the Careers Service from its client group (Kushner and Logan 1985:30). This was the conclusion from the Careers Guidance Integration Project (CGIP), which as part of the European Pilot Programme 'Transition from School to Working Life', sought to extend and improve transitional provision for school leavers:

'School autonomy is still strong - faced with injunctions to counter sexism, racism, credentialism, academicism and whatever else, schools still make choices about where and how they respond. This, indeed, is a function that has

been carefully built into schools to protect the curriculum from arbitrary and spontaneous change'.

To Kushner and Logan (1985:22-23), the wider implications of the difficulties faced by careers officers in penetrating curriculum planning fall into two possible groups. Either schools will be left behind as contexts change, or schools will maintain hegemony over educational values such that outside agencies like the Careers Service and the MSC will only impact upon the school curriculum to an extent permitted by teacher and pupils:

'The unique place of the Careers Service and its apparent capacity to 'promote effective understanding' between various audiences and clients of its service are highly problematic. What we will see is a service reaching towards a curriculum role with adolescents, while being directed towards a system's maintenance role with employers and training schemes. The Careers Service has to face in many different directions at once, and they are beset, as much as teachers, by injunctions to respond to racial and gender discriminations whilst increasingly under pressure to service the counselling needs of both youth and youth training schemes'.

Many of the traditional roles of the Careers Service in terms of vocational guidance and job placement have, then, been extended or altered to meet new challenges of change. As young people were leaving school for an extended period of vocational preparation and training before entering the labour market, the introduction of the new Government youth training schemes had vital implications for the future role and working practices of the Careers Service.

CLIENT AND EMPLOYER NEEDS IN YOUTH TRAINING SCHEMES

In order to understand the situation at present regarding the role of the Careers Service and its involvement with Government youth training schemes, some background knowledge of how they operated in the past is useful. The different contexts of the Careers Service's work with YOP and later YTS, were outlined by a principal careers officer in research conducted by Ranson and Ribbons (1986:48):

'...YOP was a source of power, because, although it was provided by the MSC, it was administered in such a way that the Careers Service were given the role of 'gatekeepers'. Young people could not go directly onto a YOP scheme, they had to be placed by the Careers Service. This meant that we did not have to try so hard with employers because these programmes were delivered to us by the MSC. Whereas in the 1970's we had to get around as many employers as possible to win their goodwill and show them we were an efficient organisation... with YOP, the programmes arrived on our desks. But when YTS came, we were no longer the only gatekeepers to the opportunities available. We had to completely change our philosophy and our image because the programmes were available in Job Centres, in schools... employers could advertise'.

The Careers Service's role in relation to YOP and YTS was a wide-ranging one. With YOP, the service was reported to have recruited approximately 85-90% of entrants (the remainder being placed by MSC's job centres and employment offices). With YTS, the figure in 1983/84 was almost 80%, 229,000 placements in all (DE 1985a in Watts 1986:173). The advent of YTS meant that the Careers Service's work with unemployed 16/17 year olds became less substantial. Nonetheless, in the summer of 1984, 28% of YTS trainees became unemployed at the end of the scheme. Accordingly, work with unemployed people aged 17+ continues to be an important part of the Career's Service's work; in July 1985, 350,900 young people aged under 25 had been unemployed for over a year (DE 1985b in Watts 1986:174).

The task of recruiting young people for placement on YTS is part of the Careers Service role. This is not always straightforward and recruitment has frequently to be negotiated with the sponsor who can have the final say on choice of recruits. The emphasis on the Careers Service in 'fitting' trainees to managing agents' and employers' YTS recruitment criteria, was outlined by the MSC (1982:20) Youth Task Group Report:

'The placing agencies, primarily the Careers Service, would be responsible for submitting to agencies and sponsors young people for places in the scheme and for advising young people on the choices available to them. Employers and other sponsors would agree individual placements, taking into account their own requirements and the suitability of the individual trainee'.

This has led to the claim that the Careers Service placement function has changed from a 'client-centred' orientation towards a more 'manpowered-centred' perspective (see Daws 1978:3 in Doogan 1984:117). For example, a study by Ashton and Maguire (1983) found that three quarters of their respondents in the Careers Service thought employer liaison should be treated as of equal importance to work in schools. Watts (1986) pointed out that the publication of Ashton and Maguire's research, in conjunction with the launching of YTS, had the effect of increasing the number of meetings with employers by 90% and the number of visits to employers by 30% in the single year between 1981/1982 and 1982/1983. One reason why YTS is so popular with many employers is because they can choose their trainees, cost free. Within this context, the Careers Service has been viewed as '...basically an impersonally orientated service whose concepts and procedures are logically the same as selection processes operated within the manpower market. It does the selector's job for him' (Daws 1978:4 in Doogan 1984:118).

Since the changeover from YTS to YT on 29th May 1990, the new terms contained within Youth Training (YT)³ have been a cause for concern in the Careers Service. One criticism is that the introduction of Individual Action Plans (IAP's) and the National Record of Vocational Achievement (NOVRA) are more geared towards all young people achieving vocational qualifications, rather than assessing individual need. According to Watts (1991b), action planning looks very straightforward on the surface; however, in practice it raises many complex issues. For example, although much prominence has been given to the principle of a young person's ownership of the IAP, they are usually open to review by teachers or others in authority. In addition, some IAP's are public in the wider sense in that they are designed for use by external audiences, including other education/training providers and employers. This view suggests IAP's might be a further means of differentiating (and labelling) young people during selection procedures. (Interestingly, however, during the present research careers officers pointed out that because a young person has access to their Individual Action Plan, information is inevitably 'diluted').

³ A summary of the new initiatives relating to the changeover from YTS to YT is included in appendix 4.1.

Other changes included the Government's target that all young people on YT should aim towards at least NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) level 11 by the mid-1990's, and that 50% of young people entering YT should aim to reach NVQ level 3 by 1995 (see appendix 4.1). The introduction of NVQ's has very important implications for disadvantaged youth, in that the main onus of NVQ's is on a young person's 'ability to achieve'. However, it is highly plausible that only those most able youth will meet the required NVQ standards. Commenting on this issue, Roberts and Chadwick (1992) stressed that when higher standards are set, a higher proportion of young people will fail to meet them and inequalities inevitably widen.

In respect of young people with special training and educational needs, the quality of schemes available for those who will not reach NVQ level 2 has been questioned:

'YT starts with a significant disadvantage: the Government is spending considerably less on YT than on YTS and wants employers to provide an increasing share of the funding of YT. Particularly hard hit have been the special training needs schemes. Greater flexibility for employers has led to fewer protections for YT trainees. The scheme has been designed with employers in mind and to make the scheme more attractive to them. Financial incentives to encourage the training of young people who will achieve an equivalent of an NVQ level 2 (or preferably higher level) are likely to lead to greater inequalities. Young people who are unlikely (or perceived as unlikely) to gain a NVQ level 2 may well find themselves even more likely to be relegated to under-resourced and low prestige schemes'. Lucy Ball (1990a:4), 'YT - Graduating From YTS'.

Cutbacks in YT provision have been a further cause for concern in the Careers Service. In some areas an overall lack of provision of adequate youth training schemes has meant some premium schemes have become run down and subsequently stigmatised by careers staff and young people alike. The 'type' of young person entering premium training schemes also has an impact on how the scheme is perceived (see ch.3). Research by Roberts (1986:25) into premium YT provision in Liverpool highlighted how scheme managers were critical of the Careers Service because of the type of young people selected. This process resulted in negative labels being constructed about the young people attending

the schemes, who were viewed as "rubbish", and the premium schemes themselves being labelled as "dustbins":

'The other essential feature of a good relationship, as defined by scheme managers, was the Careers Service ensuring a sufficiently large and 'balanced' flow of applicants to maintain occupancy by school-leavers capable of benefiting from the training. Schemes complained about the Careers Service when they felt starved of trainees, or that they were being used as dustbins. (Robert's quote from scheme manager). 'They're (Careers Service) sending us rubbish. We're being used as an outlet for their difficult-to-place kids... We're being used as a dumping ground... the kids they're sending don't have the basic abilities. How can you teach typing to girls who can't read and write?'

An important consideration in the present research is the extent to which the Careers Service's 'client-centred' role of guidance has altered due to YTS recruitment and screening. Research has shown how careers staffs' survival is dependent on their cooperation with employers and managing agents. For example, in Lee et al's (1990) study, careers officers thought their status was being eroded by having to 'filter' the more able applicants into the 'top' schemes, and 'guide' the others into whatever else was available. If careers staff did not conform to managing agents' recruitment criteria, an 'unsuitable' applicant would simply be rejected by the managing agent and returned (often demoralised) to the careers office. Though some careers officers did try to caution young people about the more selective schemes with poor prospects, it was disadvantaged youth who were more likely to be selected into premium Mode B schemes (see ch.3), and in so doing confirm the negative stereotypes of these schemes themselves. Earlier findings from Lee et al's (1987:151) case study of YTS in Southwich illustrate the difficult role careers staff face in attempting to meet employers' and client need:

'For the bulk of the trainees, most of whom were not particularly well qualified, the role of the Careers Service as an agent of YTS has rapidly become a central one. Many trainees, particularly at the primary end of the YTS hierarchy would speak uncomplainingly, even flatteringly of their advice. Equally, however, very poorly qualified leavers, who had found their own ideas for the future confronted by the realism of the particular Careers Officers who had interviewed them, took the opportunity to scapegoat the Careers Service for what was basically a very difficult labour market for 16 year olds in their situation. In between these two extremes the interaction between school leavers and the Careers Service is affected by the fact that the Service cannot ultimately

go beyond the stipulations and perspectives of Managing Agents and work providers....it is, therefore, partly the ascriptive perceptions of the former which prevail in the intersection of supply with demand'.

Herein lies the moral dilemma faced by careers staff. In attempting to meet employers' recruitment criteria, and at the same time, fulfil client need, careers staff face in many directions at once. This issue lies at the heart of the present research and directs attention to types of proactive and reactive decision making being undertaken by careers staff in respect of their clients in Areas 1 and 2.

THE CAREERS SERVICE, ENDORSEMENT, AND SPECIAL TRAINING NEEDS

When referring a young person with special educational needs⁴ (ie literacy and numeracy problems, poor social skills etc) or health problems to YT, careers officers have to decide whether an individual's training requires a basic or premium placement. Under youth training, recruitment to premium schemes requires the Careers Service to endorse young people (either category A, B or C).⁵ Premium placements are usually viewed as providing a sheltered environment, with a higher supervisor to trainee ratio. They are considered more appropriate for young people with learning difficulties, behavioural problems, those who are emotionally immature, and who have 'special needs' in terms of learning ability and health.

The referral of young people with special needs to YT and endorsement for special funding is largely the responsibility of the Careers Service, but this also depends upon the responses of both the Training Agency Staff and managing agents who run the schemes. Research which examined the recruitment of

4 Young people are said to have special educational needs if, 'compared with others of a similar age, they have much greater difficulties in coping with schooling and need some sort of extra help with their education'. Scottish Consumer Council: In *Special Need* (1989:13).

5 A copy of the Careers Service endorsement form (YT 20) and an outline of types of health, behavioural, educational and social problems related to A, B and C endorsement categories is included in appendix 4.2

young people with disabilities on YTS (Spencer 1988) found that basic-place managing agents might successfully take a young person with a physical or sensory handicap into their scheme, but were often unable to provide the additional support required in respect of those with learning difficulties or behavioural problems. Moreover, the concept of 'special needs' is frequently mentioned during the recruitment of young people into YT, but its remit and relationship to 'disability' varies considerably.

As managing agents are themselves under pressure to train young people to meet required NVQ levels, it is more time-consuming and less financially rewarding to hire someone, for example, with learning difficulties. Young people with special educational needs and disabilities are also less likely to have the chance of participating in work experience within their YT scheme. Research suggests integration within youth training schemes is limited, with the majority of young people with special needs entering supportive schemes (Spencer 1988). Such issues will be considered in the present research; specifically whether those young people with health, social, behavioural or emotional problems are more likely to enter support schemes.

Other changes introduced with YT included the Government's claim that no extra funding would automatically be allocated to young people on special training needs (STN) schemes (see appendix 4.1). This, and the increased emphasis being placed on vocational outcome amid growing inequalities among those with special needs has opened up critical debate.

On a national level, the 'quota scheme', which places a duty on employers with twenty or more workers to employ a 3% quota of registered disabled people in their workplace, is ineffective, outdated and unenforceable. Associated arrangements for individuals to register as disabled have also been criticised as encouraging stereotyping (Lewis 1990:16). Anti-discrimination legislation has been rejected for those with disabilities and has not received the same recognition as race and gender issues. The argument (outlined below) that the implementation of such legislation would be too complex to draft and uncertain

in its application, only serves to perpetuate the negative status of the disabled in wider society at present:

'Anti-discrimination legislation, along the lines of that applying to race and sex, backed by a statutory code of practice, would have the advantage of sending positive messages to employers about people with disabilities and of putting enforcement into their hands. However, a major difficulty is that disability, unlike race or sex, can be relevant to job performance and what to some might seem like discrimination, may in reality be recruitment based on legitimate preferences and likely performance. ...Anti-discrimination legislation, therefore, is unlikely to be effective in achieving policy objectives and might be counter productive by making a constructive approach by employers less likely'.

Consultative Document: 'Employment and Training for People With Disabilities' Employment Department Group (DE 1990c) p39 paragraphs 5.14 - 5.15.

Research evidence on discrimination has shown how young adults with disabilities are more likely to be in lower level jobs and among the long term unemployed (Fry 1986; Hirst 1987; Morrell 1990). The present study addresses the question of the extent to which those with more serious health problems are in such situations (which suggest negative health selection processes are at work), or if careers staff are able to effectively respond to client need and proactively place young people with health problems into available vacancies, even in the disadvantaged area.

The wider context of the impact of the 'New Right' on policy issues affecting the Careers Service has been viewed as further disadvantaging young people. This has been achieved by limiting the Careers Services' function as an agent of social and individual change and expanding its role as an agent of social control.

THE CAREERS SERVICE AND THE IMPACT OF THE 'NEW RIGHT'

A Careers Service perspective on the impact of the 'New Right' on guidance is offered by Watts (1991a). Three main strands of the 'New Right' influence on careers guidance include:

- *using guidance as a form of social control*: This has been most conspicuous in measures to deal with unemployment. The demands put on the Careers Service to serve YOP/YTS is an example. As Watts (1991a) points out, whilst government rhetoric maintained the best interests of young people were to be the main consideration, defining *what* these best interests were was never really addressed.

- *supporting guidance as a means of making markets work*: This is based on the idea that careers guidance could be used as an instrument for making markets work, and is the main reason why the Careers Service at present has such a high profile. These views were further reinforced by the CBI (1989), report 'Towards a Skills Revolution', which saw careers guidance as the means of ensuring that young peoples' (career) decisions were properly made and based upon sound advice.

- *making guidance services themselves more responsive to market forces*: This concept also emerged from the CBI (1989) report, and its practical manifestation is found in the Government White Paper, 'Education and Training Towards the 21st Century' (DE 1991a). This announced the Government's intention to implement a system of training credits⁶ for young people, so that by 1996 it would cover all 16/17 year olds. The White Paper 'Employment for the 1990's' (DE 1990a) also recommended that the Government contracts out the Careers Service to either the Local Authorities, Careers Service partnerships, LEC's (Local Enterprise Companies)⁷ or other private agencies.

The above criteria placed the onus on the Careers Service to service youth training and to prevent a mismatch of young people and skills in the labour market. Against the background of growing unemployment and an unskilled labour force, the emphasis was on making the Careers Service more 'efficient'

6 The Training Credit is 'an entitlement to train to approved standards for young people who have left full time education to join the labour market' (see Department of Employment (1990b), 'Training Credits for Young People: A Prospectus', March).

7 Local Enterprise Companies (LEC's), launched in Scotland in 1989, were a major Government initiative to turn over to private sector led councils a number of major Training Agency programmes such as YTS. (In England, these were known as Training and Enterprise Councils (TEC's), see overleaf).

and marketable. Not surprisingly, a number of criticisms have been made regarding the impact of the 'New Right' in influencing careers guidance (see Watts 1991a;1992; Watts et al 1993). These included a potential limit in the take-up of guidance to only those who can see its benefits and can afford it, the neutrality of guidance being threatened, and the view of the Careers Service as being delivered free of charge by the public sector now being under attack.

Such issues are very important in shaping the future of the Careers Service and are presently the focus of considerable debate. For example, the proposed system of training credits has been criticised as favouring those young people perceived as 'high flyers' whom employers are already most interested. Without additional funding, the credit scheme may lead to 'an increase in inequalities, less choice for many and higher standards of training for just a few' (Ball 1990b:6). It has also been argued that LEC'S '...were conceived in a shotgun marriage between Tory ideology and the desperate need to find some way of getting Britain's employers to help in the creation of a modern workforce' (TES 1991:10). In seeking to remove the duty of local authorities to run Careers Services, the Government has been accused of 'an act of wanton vandalism' by the convener of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities Education Committee (TES 1992:1). For young people with health problems and special needs, the opportunity to enter purposeful training and employment was curtailed. Employers were more eager to fund certain 'types' of trainees and companies had no commercial incentive to finance the training of disadvantaged groups:

'The TEC era with its private sector dominated boards will be a difficult one for people with special training needs... By any measure - job gained, qualification achieved or entering further education - young people with disabilities come bottom of the list. And that's not a measure of their failure but of the unfair discrimination which faces anyone with a disability or a special training need entering the labour market' (White 1990:8).

Recent research by Peck (1992;1993:301) offered a critique of the Training and Enterprise Councils initiative. The TEC's failure to deliver a 'skills revolution'

cannot simply be blamed on 'external' factors such as the recession; internal causes, including inadequate funding, short-termism, and an inability to stimulate in-company training also mattered. The Government's response in seeking to solve training problems by making the training system more like a market, with the emphasis on competitiveness and employability, is often incompatible with providing for special training needs and tackling discrimination, because the root of the problem faced by these groups is often their rejection by the 'market' and increased 'streaming' on TEC programmes:

'The tendency is for TEC's and training providers to 'cream' the most easily trained, the most easily placed in employment and the most easily brought up to NVQ qualifications targets... The 'training market' which has been created around the TEC is based on the idea that labour market rewards should be allocated on a 'first past the post' basis, irrespective of how far back different individuals start in the race: those who suffer discrimination in the labour market or who require additional support in order to overcome a particular learning or training difficulty are handicapped in this race. The question here is the root cause of this materialisation process'.

According to Peck (1993:301-2), this cannot be explained simply in terms of the motivations and predispositions of TEC directors. Rather it should be seen as a broader process of 'institutionalised materialisation', which was closely related to the allocation of funding and out-put targets:

'The organisational structures, managerial cultures and financial and administrative regimes create pressures which lead to the systematic materialisation of STN and disadvantaged groups within the TEC system... Output related funding was designed to bring market principles into the training system. Through its output targets, this funding regime places a premium on the training of those trainees who can quickly be brought to the position of obtaining an NVQ, or entering work. Under such a system, STN trainees and those who suffer discrimination in the labour market, are more expensive to train'.

None of the available evidence fosters confidence that new initiatives in YT will deliver the skills that the British economy is said to need in the 1990's. The goal of achieving higher standards in post-compulsory education and training suggest that it is young people with special training needs and disadvantaged youth who have most to lose; the higher standards are set, the greater the gap

between those who meet the required criteria and those who fail. Although research has found that the help young people received from the Careers Service increases the likelihood of satisfactory outcomes at key career junctures (Roberts and Chadwick 1992), 'New Right' initiatives have created pressures on the Careers Service (and scheme managers) to select and train only those young people most likely to achieve required NVQ standards.

CONCLUSION

Without question, the Careers Service occupies a quite unique position at the interface of the educational and occupational system. It is one of the only services in local government whose activity engages them both with individual clients and educationalists, and with labour market agencies. The Careers Service works with those who need help and those who provide it. In this respect, the service has an important function to fulfil, not only in serving the needs of particular individuals but also in protecting the interest of vulnerable groups, whose position has gradually worsened since the 1970's. It can therefore be identified as a gatekeeper committed to serving client need during young peoples' transitions from school.

Recently, a clear statement of entitlement to careers guidance has been suggested which is available to young people and their parents and regularly evaluated as part of school inspections (CBI 1993). However, not all young people are benefiting from the new initiatives. This chapter has shown how careers staff are under increased pressure to fit more able trainees to managing agents' and employers' recruitment criteria. This essentially deterministic approach, in adapting individuals to available career opportunities, locates the Careers Service as an agent of social control, a process extended by the changes brought in by YT, and 'New Right' policies.

Even those within the Careers Service who have worked to establish close relationships with employers and managing agents (in order to make youth

training serve the needs of young people) acknowledge that deep conflicts of interests can and have existed. Since the introduction of YTS, the interests of employers in recruiting qualified and unproblematic youth, or of the MSC in filling schemes with sponsors, are not necessarily consistent with the defined needs of young people or the Careers Service:

'We have a considerably larger power base than we take credit for, we have access to young people. Where we let ourselves down is that we let people have access to young people which denies their interests' (careers officer quoted in Ranson and Ribbons 1986:155).

This brings into focus the dilemma faced by the Careers Service; in attempting to meet employers' recruitment criteria, while at the same time work proactively with their client, particularly those with health problems and special educational needs, careers staff face in many directions at once. In areas of high unemployment, this task is even more difficult. Although in some areas mutual understanding might have grown, improved by regular meetings and collaborative working, interests can still divide on significant issues.

As the Government's emphasis on measuring vocational outcome has served to inject market principles into youth training, an analysis of young peoples' health problems and other (negative/positive) attributes in relation to various labelling strategies and selection procedures is particularly relevant and opportune. The impact of the New Right on careers guidance is likely to increase the pressure on careers staff to pre-select (reactively), and at the same time, underline the contradictions of their role as client advocate.

Herein lies the paradox of careers staffs' working practice; on the one hand, part of their pre-selection role to scheme managers implies that attention is given to young people's attributes. In relation to premium schemes this almost inevitably involves a focus on what are essentially negative attributes. On the other hand, in attempting respond proactively to client need, careers staff might play up positive attributes. This may also involve careers staff adopting complex de-labelling and re-labelling strategies and proactively 'selling' certain 'types' of young people to employers in an attempt to assist placement. Similar

to this analysis is the work of Bradley (1992), who identified a 'market' and 'social service' model of placement function within the Careers Service.

Against the background of opportunity structures impacting on young people's routes into the labour market in contrasting areas, and research evidence which highlights labour market discrimination for those with health problems, careers staffs' attempts to promote equal opportunities for their clients certainly merits further examination. As a recent report (Killeen and Kidd 1991:8) on the learning outcomes of guidance and client-treatment interactions observed:

'Far too little is known about the way in which client attributes moderate the effectiveness of interventions. The evidence is fragmentary and our review of it must therefore also be fragmentary'.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTION AND FREQUENCIES OF HEALTH AND OTHER ATTRIBUTES IN CAREERS SERVICE UNITS

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

A number of questions have now been raised and illustrated from the literature, on the changing effect of opportunity structures on selective processes with respect to young people's characteristics, and on the tensions this has created in the role of the Careers Service, which is oriented both to client's and to employers' needs. We now turn to the data, and to the following aims of the research as laid out in chapter 2 - to identify the types of information about health and other attributes that the Careers Service receives from school guidance staff on the CS4, to examine what health information young people disclose on their Pre-interview form (CS18a), and also what careers officers record themselves on the Aide Memoire (CS2).

As outlined previously (ch.2), school guidance staff complete the School Careers Service Report (CS4) during pupil's 4th, 5th, and to a lesser extent, 6th year in school. Guidance staff document a range of information on the CS4 about pupils' personality, activities in and out of school, timekeeping and attendance, health, personal appearance and hygiene, academic ability, career interests, and conclude with their general comments about the young person. This information is then given to the careers officer before the young person's Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI).

Young people also complete a Pre-Interview form (CS18a) in their 4th year and a (CS18b) form if in their 5th/6th year at school. These collect information about subjects being studied and level, career interests, and (only on the CS18a form), if the young person has any health problems, serious illnesses or is colour blind. As the name implies, the Pre-Interview form is also given to the careers officer before the young person's VGI.

The Aide Memoire (CS2), or '7 point plan' is a form of structured assessment used by careers officers during the VGI itself. The Aide Memoire (CS2) includes specific sections where careers officers can record information about their client, relating to: appearance, physique, speech, health, disposition, personality, interests (eg work experience or hobbies), education, special aptitudes and (background) circumstances.

Information recorded on the School Careers Service Report, Pre-interview form and the Aide Memoire, along with any other information available in the unit (CS1), is used by careers officers when considering suitable career recommendations for their client and later by careers staff during selection processes when placing young people into available vacancies. Appendices 2.1a-e, 2.2a-c and 2.4a-c at end of the thesis include examples of the School Careers Service Report (CS4), Young person's Pre-interview forms (CS18a/b) and Aide Memoire (CS2) respectively.

Considering health first, it is apparent that information about health recorded in mainstream units is unlikely to be complete (ch.1). Health problems may be unrecognised or suppressed on the one hand, or selection may focus on attributes which are not considered to be aspects of health, but which current research suggests may be relevant to health. In this sense there may be an "iceberg" of undisclosed or unrecognised health characteristics which are affecting selection.

In the present research the approach taken to this problem is to follow closely the rationale of careers officers as selectors. As becomes clear in later chapters (ch.8-9), what counts as a health problem to careers officers is fairly straightforward. Although careers officers point to problems of non-disclosure, the kind of problem not disclosed is easily identified, and in general they can readily give accounts of their routine selective procedures with these health problems. Other attributes which current research sees as health-relevant, such as height, weight, appearance, behavioural problems etc., are generally seen by careers officers either as not relevant to their routine selective procedures, or as relevant for their own sake and not as

health characteristics. As indicated in ch.1, the present research is concerned with the rationale and outcome of these routine procedures; and apart from noting that selection by these characteristics is currently argued to be an indirect form of health selection, and that inclusion of information on this kind of selection is likely to be useful in future health discussions, as well as in discussions of equal opportunity, it leaves to one side the extent to which the health problems identified by careers officers constitute only the tip of an "iceberg" of other health characteristics.

What follows is a description of the range and frequency with which health and other attributes are recorded in the Careers Service Unit (CS1), distinguishing between the School Careers Service Report (CS4), young person's Pre-Interview form (CS18a), and Aide Memoire (CS2). The data (Tables 1 and 2)¹ are derived from a total of 1099 Careers Service Units which refer to all Summer 1990 School leavers from Area 1 and Area 2 careers offices. Chapter 5 therefore sets the background to an analysis of the way such information varies by other characteristics of young people and, most importantly, by destination.

Table 1 shows the frequency with which health is referred to; first in the School Careers Service Report (CS4); second on the Young Person's Pre-Interview Form (CS18a); third on the Aide Memoire (CS2); fourth where a health reference has been made on the Aide Memoire only (and not cited in the School Report), and fifth, the unit as a whole. Table 2 shows the frequency with which other attributes are referred to; first on the School Careers Service Report (CS4); second on the Aide Memoire (CS2); third on the Aide Memoire only, and fourth the unit as a whole. Columns 1 and 4 add to make the total references to health in the right hand column of Table 1, except for the last two rows (kidney removed and meningitis) and the row totals where items mentioned in the Pre-Interview form were missed out on the Aide Memoire and School Report. Columns 1 and 3 add to make the total references to other attributes in the right hand column of Table 2.

¹ Tables 1 and 2 are shown at the end of chapter five.

As can be seen, a vast amount of health and other attributes are recorded by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) prior to the VGI and by careers officers on the Aide Memoire (CS2) when conducting the VGI.

Overall, among these 1099 young people, 1060 references to health were made (Table 1). In respect of other attributes the total number of references (Table 2) is 4861. While generalisations to the Careers Service as a whole would require caution, these findings testify to the volume of information about health and other attributes recorded in Careers Service units.

Frequencies of Health Problems in Careers Service Units

A closer examination of the data shows how school guidance staff and careers officers record a wide range of similar health and other attributes about young people. Considering first the frequency with which references to health are made (Table 1), it can be seen that the highest percentage of references is to positive health (more generally recorded as 'good general health'). No less than 68% of young people were so described. When comparisons are made between the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) (only) figures, it is evident that more health information is recorded by guidance staff than careers officers. For example, of all health positive references ($n = 752$), around 3/4 (556) were made by school guidance staff, only a 1/4 (196) being made entirely by careers officers. Thus, over two and a half times more unique references were made by the former than the latter.

In respect of health problems, of which there were many - no less than 20% of young people were recorded as having one or more in Careers Service units - the most frequent reference was to poor eyesight (10%); allergies, (6%); chest complaints (3%) and headaches (2%). Again, these references were more likely to be made by the school guidance teacher than by the

careers officer, for example with headaches 15vs.2, blood disorders 4vs.1, poor general health 3vs.0, hearing problems 6vs.3, diabetes 5vs.2 and chest complaints 22vs.14. As can also be seen from Table 1, of those young people recorded as having epilepsy, *no* references were uniquely made on the Aide Memoire. In addition, although very low percentages were found for some of the more serious health problems, reference to health conditions such as heart trouble, brittle bones, German measles, stomach/gastric problems, hepatitis and also weight problems, were all recorded by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4). More similar frequencies were found among the School Report and the Aide Memoire only figures for health problems such as poor eyesight, allergies, joint problems, and glandular/scarlet fever.

In general therefore, information about health is recorded by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report and is usually available to the careers officer prior to the Vocational Guidance Interview. The exceptions to this were accidents, mouth/throat problems and pregnancy, and among the more serious health conditions, no reference was made on the CS4 to spinal problems, Crohn's disease, cerebral palsy, lump removed from breast and haemophilia. It seems unlikely that school guidance staff would be unaware of the aforementioned health problems (unless some occurred after the young person left school). It is possible that there was no School Careers Service Report available for these pupils (due to absence from school), or that health information was not recorded on the School Report but communicated verbally to careers staff.

Other Attributes in Careers Service Units

Table 2 groups attributes other than health which were recorded in young people's units. These attributes were first classified into detailed codes, which were subsequently grouped into the categories shown on this and later tables. The results of both processes are recorded in Appendices 2.16a-b.

Considering these other attributes (Table 2), to which the great majority of units make some reference, it is interesting to note that far more positive than negative references are recorded. Thus positive references to behaviour (71%), appearance (60%) and speech (59%), positive academic attributes (21%) and positive interview (11%), far outweigh negative references. By contrast, references to negative behaviour (19%), reasonable (neither positive nor negative) appearance (6%), negative appearance (4%), negative speech (4%), negative academic attributes (13%), average academic ability (3%), reasonable interview (2%) and negative interview (1%) were lower.

As can be seen, and again in common with information about health, more reference was made on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) than the Aide Memoire (only) to young people's positive or negative behaviour, appearance and speech, positive academic ability, family health and domestic problems (though not one parent family), vague career ideas, quietness, negative timekeeping and attendance, and extrovert character.

These data show that because school guidance staff know pupils reasonably well (compared to the much more limited contact young people have with careers officers), how dependent careers officers are on them regarding a range of background information about their client.

While the foregoing is in many respects unsurprising, it is however interesting to note that in respect of references to young people's height (tall, medium, and below average) and physique (slim, average and heavy build), such references were almost entirely made by the careers officers (Aide Memoire only). Other attributes recorded mainly by careers officers incorporated various idiosyncratic information including hair colour and style, reference to skin tone, (ie if young person had freckles, acne or pale complexion etc), young appearance for age, overweight, and of course their (negative and positive) perceptions of them during the Vocational Guidance Interview. This included positive, reasonable or negative job prospects or if they were sacked from their YT scheme. However, references to reasonable

or negative appearance, negative or average academic attributes, negative speech, and dyslexia were made equally by school guidance staff and careers officers.

Considering next what young people themselves reveal about health on their Pre-Interview questionnaire (CS18a), it can be seen that the most frequent health conditions recorded by young people were poor eyesight, allergies and chest complaints (see Table 1, column 2). Compared to information recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and the Aide Memoire (CS2) only, it is clear that less health information is recorded by young people on their Pre-interview form. For example, compared to the CS4, there was less information on the Pre-interview form about joint problems, diabetes, epilepsy, blood disorders, and glandular/scarlet fever, all of which illustrate how young people themselves might withhold health information from other gatekeepers.

However, there were a few examples of health information disclosed by young people on their Pre-interview form which were not recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4), for example, spinal problems and cerebral palsy (as indicated earlier, kidney removed and meningitis did not appear on either the CS4 or CS2). This might be due to health information being communicated verbally by guidance staff to careers officers, or to a failure of guidance staff to communicate information, or to ignorance of guidance staff about the problem. Young people might also record a health condition on their Pre-interview form which is no longer problematic (see Appendix 2.2c).

CONCLUSION

The preceding analysis has offered a useful background to the types and frequencies of data to be examined in more depth in chapter six. This distinguished between information provided by school guidance staff and

young people prior to the Vocational Guidance Interview and information recorded on the Aide Memoire by careers officers during the VGI itself.

It is evident that a vast amount of information about health and other attributes is recorded about young people in Careers Service units. This is a good indication of routine labelling processes and information management within the Careers Service. Overall, in as much as 68% of the units, reference was made to 'positive health', while 20% were recorded as having a health problem. When comparisons were made between the School Careers Service Report and Aide Memoire (only) figures, it is clear that many more references are made in the school report concerning a wide range of health problems. For example, no references to epilepsy were made on the Aide Memoire alone. This highlights the dependence of careers staff on guidance teachers for the receipt of health information, particularly if they fail to receive this information from other sources. Similarly, although numbers were low, this was also the case for more serious health problems.

However, as shown, there were exceptions to this; some serious health problems (including Crohn's disease, cerebral palsy, and haemophilia) were solely noted on the Aide Memoire and were not recorded on the CS4. Although this information might be communicated verbally to careers officers, such issues raise important questions about the adequacy and non-disclosure of health information to the Careers Service.

When other attributes were considered, more references were made on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) than the Aide Memoire (only) to types of information about pupils that school guidance staff obviously have more knowledge about (for example, timekeeping and attendance in school, behaviour etc). These findings again highlight the way careers officers rely on guidance staff for various background information about their client.

Significantly however, some attributes were usually only recorded on the Aide Memoire (CS2). This included information regarding young people's height and physique, idiosyncratic attributes about appearance, and careers

officers' (negative and positive) perceptions of young people during their Vocational Guidance Interview. The extent to which information in the units affects decision making and selection processes within the Careers Service is a vital consideration in the present research.

Finally, with regard to young people's Pre-interview forms (CS18a), it is interesting that more minor health conditions tended to be disclosed. Furthermore, fewer young people recorded health conditions such as epilepsy and diabetes, which suggests young people themselves may conceal health information. Other research (DE 1989:8) confirms the above findings and has shown how young people and their parents are reluctant to reveal disabilities to the Careers Service as this might harm employment prospects. Careers staff at present therefore continue to operate within a context of uncertainty, and it is not unknown for young people with health problems to 'slip through the net' and enter jobs which might make their health condition worse.

To conclude, the foregoing sets the background to an analysis of the way such information varies by other characteristics of young people and most importantly, their link to destinations. In chapter 6 the analysis of health and other attributes is considered in more depth, specifically in relation to young people's destinations by local labour market area and year of leaving school.

Table 1 Frequency (and percentage) of reference to health in Careers Service Units (n=1099)

	S Report (CS4)	Pre- interview (CS18A)	Aide Memoire (CS2)	Aide Memoire (only)	Total
Health positive %	556 (50.6)	25 (2.3)	557 (50.6)	196 (17.8)	752 (68.4)
Poor eyesight	58 (5.3)	38 (3.4)	85 (7.7)	54 (4.9)	112 (10.2)
Allergies	36 (3.3)	26 (2.4)	46 (4.2)	30 (2.7)	66 (6.0)
Chest complaints	22 (2.0)	24 (2.2)	28 (2.5)	14 (1.3)	36 (3.2)
Headaches	15 (1.4)	6 (0.5)	5 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	17 (1.5)
Pregnant	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)
Poor general health	3 (0.3)	0 -	0 -	0 -	3 (0.3)
Mouth/throat problems	1 (0.1)	0 -	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	3 (0.3)
Physiotherapy	1 (0.1)	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)
Spinal problems	0 -	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)
Club feet	1 (0.1)	0 -	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)
Crohn's disease	0 -	0 -	1 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.2)
Hearing problems	6 (0.5)	7 (0.6)	7 (0.6)	3 (0.3)	9 (0.8)
Joint problems	4 (0.4)	3 (0.3)	6 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	8 (0.7)
Diabetes	5 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	6 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	7 (0.6)
Epilepsy	6 (0.5)	3 (0.3)	3 (0.3)	0 -	6 (0.5)
Accidents	1 (0.1)	0 -	4 (0.4)	4 (0.4)	5 (0.5)

Table 1 Continued

	S Report (CS4)	Pre- interview (CS18A)	Aide Memoire (CS2)	Aide Memoire (only)	Total
Blood disorders	4 (0.4)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	5 (0.5)
Gland/scurlet fever	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	3 (0.3)	2 (0.2)	4 (0.4)
Psychological problems	1 (0.1)	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)
Weight problem	2 (0.2)	0 -	1 (0.1)	0 -	2 (0.2)
Heart trouble	2 (0.2)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	0 -	2 (0.2)
Cerebral palsy	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)
Brittle bones	1 (0.1)	0 -	1 (0.1)	0 -	1 (0.1)
German measles	1 (0.1)	0 -	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)
Young person's hair fell out	1 (0.1)	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
Lump removed/breast	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)
Stomach/gastric problems	1 (0.1)	0 -	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)
Hepatitis	1 (0.1)	0 -	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)
Haemophilia	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)
Grumbling appendix	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.1)
Kidney removed	0 -	1 (0.1)	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)
Meningitis	0 -	1 (0.1)	0 -	0 -	1 (0.1)
TOTAL REFERENCES	732	144	769	326	1060
TOTAL UNITS	1099	1099	1099	1099	1099

Table 2 Frequency (and percentage) of reference to other attributes (n=1099)

	S Report (CS4)	Aide Memoire (CS2)	Aide Memoire (only)	Total
Positive behaviour %	648 (58.9)	551 (50.1)	129 (11.7)	777 (70.7)
Negative behaviour	120 (10.9)	106 (9.6)	86 (7.8)	206 (18.7)
Positive appearance	457 (41.5)	453 (41.2)	207 (18.8)	664 (60.4)
Reasonable appearance	37 (3.4)	33 (3.0)	29 (2.6)	66 (6.0)
Negative appearance	25 (2.3)	25 (2.3)	20 (1.8)	45 (4.1)
Positive speech	460 (41.8)	390 (35.4)	192 (17.4)	652 (59.3)
Negative speech	24 (2.2)	21 (1.9)	19 (1.7)	43 (3.9)
Positive academic	192 (17.4)	57 (5.2)	40 (3.6)	232 (21.1)
Average academic	17 (1.5)	17 (1.5)	16 (1.4)	33 (3.0)
Negative academic	67 (6.1)	84 (7.6)	73 (6.6)	140 (12.7)
Positive interview	3 (0.3)	122 (11.1)	122 (11.1)	125 (11.3)
Reasonable interview	4 (0.4)	14 (1.3)	14 (1.3)	18 (1.6)
Negative interview	0 -	14 (1.3)	14 (1.3)	14 (1.3)
Positive job prospects	37 (3.4)	63 (5.7)	60 (5.4)	97 (8.8)
Reasonable job prospect	0 -	14 (1.3)	14 (1.3)	14 (1.3)
Positive home background	19 (1.7)	7 (0.6)	6 (0.5)	25 (2.3)
Negative timekeeping & attendance	93 (8.5)	17 (1.5)	9 (0.8)	102 (9.3)

Table 2 continued

	S Report (CS4)	Alde Memoire (CS2)	Alde Memoire (only)	Total
Career questioned by guidance teacher and career officer	7 (0.6)	11 (1.0)	11 (1.0)	18 (1.6)
Vague career ideas	17 (1.5)	49 (4.4)	10 (0.9)	27 (2.4)
Young person wants to leave school	12 (1.1)	18 (1.6)	18 (1.6)	30 (2.7)
Young person should leave school	11 (1.0)	13 (1.2)	10 (0.9)	21 (1.9)
Sacked YT	0 -	4 (0.4)	4 (0.4)	4 (0.4)
Family health/domestic problems	17 (1.5)	18 (1.6)	12 (1.1)	29 (2.6)
One parent family	7 (0.6)	14 (1.3)	12 (1.1)	19 (1.7)
Tall	0 -	167 (15.1)	167 (15.1)	167 (15.1)
Medium height	0 -	300 (27.2)	300 (27.2)	300 (27.2)
Below average height	3 (0.3)	86 (7.8)	83 (7.5)	86 (7.8)
Slim build	4 (0.4)	156 (14.1)	154 (14.0)	158 (14.2)
Average build	2 (0.2)	263 (23.9)	262 (23.8)	264 (24.0)
Heavy build	5 (0.5)	52 (4.7)	49 (4.4)	54 (4.9)
Overweight	1 (0.1)	8 (0.7)	7 (0.6)	8 (0.7)
Hair colour/style	0 -	122 (11.1)	122 (11.1)	122 (11.1)
Skin tone	0 -	12 (1.1)	12 (1.1)	12 (1.1)
Quiet	158 (14.3)	157 (14.2)	94 (8.5)	252 (22.9)

Table 2 Continued

	S Report (CS4)	Aide Memoire (CS2)	Aide Memoire (only)	Total
Extrovert	13 (1.2)	4 (0.4)	2 (0.2)	15 (1.4)
Looks young for age	5 (0.5)	16 (1.4)	15 (1.4)	20 (1.8)
Dyslexic	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)
TOTAL REFERENCES	2466	3460	2395	4861
TOTAL UNITS	1099	1099	1099	1099

CHAPTER 6

ATTRIBUTES AND DESTINATIONS: CHARACTERISTICS AND PATTERNS OF CAREERS SERVICE UNITS IN TWO LABOUR MARKETS

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

There are two main foci in this chapter: first, the extent to which variation between labour markets is observed; second the relationship between attributes and destinations. A central hypothesis examined is whether information about young people's health and other attributes is more frequently recorded on Careers Service units in an area which has limited training and employment opportunities (Area 2). Another important issue concerns the way such information might vary by school leaving date and destination. But the chief issues concern the possibility of negative health selection or negative selection by other attributes for labour market destinations. Here, the term negative health or other selection refers to how some young people are not selected by careers staff for available vacancies and therefore remain unemployed, or are selected into (support and negative) premium YT schemes. Positive health selection by contrast refers to the avoidance of these outcomes and specifically the securing of a mainstream YT placement.

After outlining the main characteristics of the sample, chapter six is divided into five sections, each examining different characteristics and labour market patterns emerging from the unit data.¹

In section one, the main focus is to investigate whether or not there are differences between those with and without health problems entering YT, employment, further and higher education, or becoming unemployed within each area. Given that previous research has shown how those with serious disabilities are more likely to face discrimination in the labour market (see ch.4), section two extends the above analysis to incorporate young people

¹ All tables appear at the end of chapter six.

with major and minor health problems. An important question relates to whether there is evidence of negative health selection taking place for those with major health problems, or if findings suggest that careers staff adopt a more proactive response to placement outcome even for those with such health problems.

In sections three and four consideration is given to the way in which opportunity structures impact upon young people's routes into the labour market, particularly entry into YT premium and mainstream schemes within the contrasting areas. Further analysis continues the health theme developed in sections 1 and 2, and considers whether more young people with health problems are likely to enter the worst types of premium schemes, which might suggest negative health selection is taking place, or whether evidence suggests that careers staff do have an effect on client need and are able to secure placements for those with health problems, even in an area with limited training and employment opportunity (Area 2).

Previously, it was pointed out how certain personal characteristics were identified as important to successful transition (ch.3). These included young people's qualification level, age, family background (parental education or fathers' social class) and the overall adult employment rate in the local labour market (see Raffe 1988). Others have suggested that certain characteristics of young people, (most notably lack of qualifications and parental unemployment) were even more significant than area characteristics (Garner et al 1988), though it was later acknowledged that neighbourhood deprivation could affect the number of 'O' levels gained and subsequent entry into the labour market (Garner 1989).

With the introduction of youth training schemes, however, even more attention is paid to young people's non-academic attributes, including appearance, personality, speech, and social background etc., particularly in respect of entry to premium schemes. As seen in the description of Careers Service data (ch.5), a great deal of reference is made to various negative and positive attributes regarding young people.

In section five, attention therefore turns to a closer examination of the relationship between negative and positive attributes and destinations, controlling for area and year of leaving school. Given that research evidence has shown both how more negative labels are associated with 'sink' schemes (Roberts and Parsell 1989a), and the 'types' of young people entering them (ch.3), and that greater demands are being placed on careers staff to pre-select 'more able' youth in line with new YT initiatives (NVQ's) and employers' recruitment criteria (ch.4), section five examines whether negative attributes are more frequently associated with support and negative premium schemes compared to other YT schemes, and if this varies by labour market.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Table 1.1 gives an outline of the broad characteristics of the samples obtained from careers offices in Area 1 (an area with good employment and training opportunities) and Area 2 (an area with high levels of unemployment and limited training opportunities). Specifically, the percentages refer to the sex of young people within each of the samples, school, year of leaving school and destinations.

Overall, both samples contained rather more males than females although the difference between Area 1 and Area 2 was not statistically significant. In respect of year of leaving school, a higher proportion in Area 2 (38%) left school after 4th year compared to those in Area 1 (25%). By contrast more young people left school after 5th (31%) and 6th year (44%) in Area 1 compared to 24% and 38% respectively in Area 2. These overall differences were statistically significant at the 0.1% level. Reflecting the national trend in the stay-on rate for those remaining in full-time education, particularly since 1987 (Roberts and Parsell 1989b; Gray and Sime 1990), more young people in the two areas combined remained in school until their 6th year compared with leavers in their 5th or 4th year.

The table also shows young people's destinations by area. Despite considerable similarity between the two samples, there are differences between the areas particularly in respect of the higher proportion in Area 2 (53%) going into YT than in Area 1 (47%). The really striking differences, however, occur in the type of YT provision, with almost twice as many trainees in Area 1 going into mainstream schemes than in Area 2 and conversely many more in Area 2 entering endorsed, negative, and support schemes, patterns which highlight the contrasting opportunity structures operating within both localities.

Excluding the 'else' category, the difference overall in destinations between the two areas was statistically significant at the 0.5% level, as was the difference between YT and remaining destinations.

SECTION 1

HEALTH PROBLEMS BY AREA, YEAR OF LEAVING SCHOOL, AND DESTINATIONS

As previous chapters have shown, little is known about the numbers with health problems attending mainstream schools or the processes involved when young people establish contact with the Careers Service and make their transition into the labour market. From analysis of Careers Service unit data, this section focuses on the percentages of young people with health problems by area, year of leaving school, and destinations. 'Health problem' refers to all references to health as outlined on Table 1, Chapter 5. Because of the way health problems and destinations vary by the year young people leave school, it is important to take account of such information; this has been presented in three way tables where relevant.

Health Problems by Area

Overall, around one in five young people were recorded as having a health problem. Table 1.2. shows that there were no significant differences between Area 1 and Area 2, though the latter (26%) did have rather higher rates than the former (21%).² These findings are important for two reasons. First, they confirm other research studies, for example, the Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers (1990), which highlighted how a number of young people with health problems were entering mainstream schools. Second, they underline the need for additional support and health information to be more readily available to careers staff, as research has shown how some young people with health problems enter employment which can make their health condition worse (DE 1989).

² Only those chi square values that are significant are reported in each of the tables from sections one to five.

Health Problems by Area and Year of Leaving School

The percentages of young people with health problems by year of leaving school is shown in Table 1.3. Of those leaving school in their 4th year, 22% had health problems, compared to 30% in 5th year and 18% in 6th year; differences which were highly significant at the 0.1% level. The percentage of health problems by year of leaving school within Area 1 and Area 2 is shown in Table 1.4. As can be seen, more 5th year leavers in both areas had health problems and in addition, within each year the percentage of young people with health problems (though not statistically significant) was consistently higher in Area 2 than Area 1. This might suggest those with poor health were remaining in, or being held back in school due to health related absences.³

Destinations by Health Problems

Transitional research during the 1980's and 1990's highlighted the trend for more school leavers to enter youth training schemes, with a subsequent dramatic reduction in the percentages of young people entering full time employment (Furlong and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992). Table 1.5 shows the destinations of young people with and without health problems. As can be seen, a similar pattern is evident in the present study; far less young people with and without health problems entered employment compared to YT. Overall, in the combined sample, the destinations of these two groups is significantly different (5% level); though the difference is predominantly explained by the percentage entering YT. Young people with health problems (57%) were more likely to enter YT than those without health problems (46%); differences which were significant at the 1% level.

³ As this research analysed the Summer 1990 year-group, it seems less likely that these 5th year leavers were 'conscripts', who generally relate to Christmas 5th year leavers.

Destinations by Health Problems By Area

Of interest to the present research is the extent to which health impacts on young people's destinations within different labour market contexts. Considering next young people's destinations with and without health problems by area (Table 1.6), in Area 2 the overall difference in destinations was statistically significant between those with and without health problems (0.5%). A similar analysis for Area 1 narrowly failed to show significant differences.

When looking specifically at YT, the particularly high rates in Area 2 (67%) for those *with* health problems is striking. An 18% difference is apparent when compared to those with no health problems (49%). This difference is statistically significant at the 1% level. Corresponding percentages in Area 1 showed a 9% excess among those with health problems entering YT compared to those without health problems, though the difference was not significant. Given the effect of year of leaving school on destinations, however, it is important to take this into account. Accordingly, the distributions by area and year left school are shown in Table 1.7. As the principal interest is in YT, other comparisons will only be briefly referred to, or omitted if not relevant.

Destinations by Health Problems, Area and Year of leaving School

In the disadvantaged area (Area 2), a higher percentage of those young people *with* health problems in 4th year (91%); 5th year (75%) and 6th year (28%) entered YT compared to those with no health problems (corresponding percentages are 75%, 61% and 18%). By contrast, of those with and without health problems in the better labour market (Area 1), the percentage entering YT was very similar for those leaving in 4th year (84vs.83%) and 5th year (59vs.60%). Only among 6th year leavers did

slightly more young people with health problems (23%) enter YT compared to those without (16%).

These findings suggest that while YT was the most frequent destination for young people with and without health problems in both areas, a higher proportion entered YT in Area 2; a proportion which increased further among those *with* health problems, especially those leaving in 4th year.

It appears that due to limited employment opportunities in Area 2, youth training might be seen as a better bet, or as the only real alternative. While this is true for young people with and without health problems, it is even more so for the former, particularly among minimum-age school leavers. By contrast in Area 1 health did not seem to matter. Only among 6th year leavers in Area 1 were there slightly more with health problems entering YT, which suggests a delayed transition for these individuals.

Overall, and as expected, the percentage in employment among all year-groups for those with and without health problems was low in both areas (apart from a slightly higher proportion in Area 1 among 5th year leavers without health problems). Also, in both areas more young people leaving in 6th year entered further and higher education. In respect of young people with health problems, however, only in Area 1 was there evidence of a difference; more without health problems entered higher education, compared to those with. This was counterbalanced by the higher proportion with health problems entering further education. Among 5th year leavers, on the other hand, none of those with health problems in Area 2 entered further education compared with 14% of those without health problems. Only here did YT substitute for better opportunities.

For the most part, as can be seen in Table 1.7, in both areas, YT substituted for unemployment. However, there was a tendency for more 4th and 6th year leavers without health problems to be unemployed compared to those with, a pattern most pronounced among 4th year leavers in Area 2 (3%vs.8%). Research shows that the longer young people remain in school

the more difficult it is to enter training and employment. However, the above findings, which control for age of leaving school, suggest careers staff are adopting a proactive approach for clients with health problems, and thus preventing them from becoming unemployed.

In summary then, a number of points can be made. First, more young people in Area 2 had health problems compared to Area 1 (though the difference was not statistically significant), and more with health problems left school in their 5th year from both areas. Second, in terms of destinations, and in line with wider transitional trends in general, more young people (with and without health problems) entered youth training than any other destination. Third, more entered YT in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), and even more with health problems did so, particularly among 4th year leavers. As expected, in both areas generally similar low percentages were found for those (with and without) health problems entering employment, particularly in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), and on the whole YT did not substitute for lower percentages entering further and higher education.

Rather, in Area 1 and Area 2, more *without* health problems were unemployed, compared to those with. Thus, despite real difficulties in finding employment placements, especially in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), careers officers appeared to respond effectively in placing young people with health problems into youth training *and* in keeping them off the unemployment register.

SECTION 2

MAJOR AND MINOR HEALTH PROBLEMS BY AREA, YEAR OF LEAVING SCHOOL, AND DESTINATIONS

Previous research has shown how in comparison with able bodied youth, young people who are disabled experience discrimination in the labour market (see ch.4). Within this context, analysis of the role of careers staff in striving to maintain equal opportunities for clients with a range of health problems is vital. Following on from section 1, section 2 (Tables 2.1 through 2.4) examines the above issues in relation to major and minor health problems. As outlined in chapter 2, the criteria used to define major health problems were justified by reference to ICD serious health codes and from guide-lines on the Y10 form issued by the School Medical Service (see Appendix 2.7). This section is important as it is plausible that in line with wider social trends, negative health selection would occur for more serious health conditions and that minor health problems are less significant.

The percentage of recorded major health problems was nearly twice as high in Area 2 (11%) compared to Area 1 (6%) (Table 2.1); a difference significant at the 1% level. A slightly higher percentage was also found for minor health problems (Table 2.2) in Area 2 (22%) compared to Area 1 (18%), though the difference was not statistically significant. When year left school is taken into account (Table 2.3) rates of major health problems were still higher in Area 2 and more with major health problems left in their 5th year, suggesting that these young people remain in school longer, or are held back in school due to ill health; though none of the differences reached statistical significance. As with figures for health problems in general, these data are very important in highlighting how a large proportion of young people with serious health problems are pupils in mainstream schools, particularly in the disadvantaged area.

Destinations By Major Health Problems and Area

As shown previously in Tables 1.4 and 1.5, the majority of young people with and without health problems entered YT, although those with health problems were more likely to do so, particularly from Area 2 and among those leaving school in their 4th year (Table 1.6). Table 2.4 shows young people's destinations by major health problems in each of the areas⁴. In general, the pattern of findings for those with major health problems was similar to that for any health problems. As can be seen, among those entering YT, in Area 2 more with health problems (70%) did so compared to those with health problems (56%) in Area 1, differences significant at the 1% level. Some variation between those with and without major health problems entering YT is observed. For example, in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), 70% of those *with* major health problems entered YT compared to 52% without. Corresponding figures in the better labour market area (Area 1) were lower; 56% with major health problems entering YT compared to 46% without, though none of the differences reached statistical significance.

Again, opportunity structures were crucial in determining young people's routes into the labour market. Overall the percentage with and without major health problems entering employment in both areas was low; in Area 2, no young people with major health problems entered employment compared to 4% without major health problems. Corresponding percentages in Area 1 showed greater similarity (5% vs.6%).

There was also little difference in either area in the percentage with and without major health problems entering further or higher education, though in Area 1 more without major health problems entered higher education than those with health problems. As the interviews will reveal, these findings confirm careers staffs' accounts of their perceptions regarding clients' health; specifically, that health mattered more for young people

⁴ Overall destination significance was not possible as some figures were too small for X² analysis.

entering youth training and employment and less so for those entering further and higher education.

However, among those young people with *no* major health problems, the likelihood of being unemployed was *higher* compared to those with major health problems, a difference more marked in Area 2 (14%:3%) than Area 1 (12%:7%).

In summary then, the findings strongly suggest that careers staff adopt a proactive approach to those with health problems. Despite the lack of employment opportunity, particularly in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), positive health selection into youth training took place for those with any health problem (section one) and with more serious health problems (section 2), and less of them were unemployed.

On a micro-sociological level, analysis of the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) allows a useful insight into what types of health and other attributional information careers staff receive about young people, and how they respond to client need across a range of different criteria. In respect of careers officers' decision making regarding young people with health problems, examples of the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) documents are examined in more detail (see Appendices 6.1a-b at the end of the thesis). In one example, careers staff adopted a proactive response to a client with epilepsy in Area 1 (Appendix 6.1a). In another, they did the same with a young person with heart trouble in Area 2 (Appendix 6.1b). Thus even in an area with high unemployment, careers staff can successfully manage to secure placement.

SECTION 3

ENTRY INTO SUPPORT AND NEGATIVE YT AND ENDORSEMENT WITHIN YT BY AREA, YEAR OF LEAVING SCHOOL AND HEALTH PROBLEMS

Compared to other destinations, the majority of young people in the present research entered youth training, particularly in the disadvantaged area (Area 2). A closer examination of YTS (ch.3) revealed how schemes were stratified, distinguishing between 'employee status' and more favoured (basic) Mode A mainstream schemes which offer better employment opportunities from their placements, and low status Mode B 'premium' or 'sink schemes' (Roberts and Parsell 1989a), which 'mopped up' disadvantaged youth. YTS was also used by successive employers as a method of 'screening' potential recruits. The Careers Service's role during this process is undoubtedly vital, specifically in offering a pre-selection service to fit employers' YTS recruitment criteria (ch.4).

The following two sections, then, focus more directly on the relationship between young people's health problems and entry into specific types of 'premium' (support and negative) schemes (section 3) and 'basic' mainstream schemes (section 4), controlling for area and year left school. An important consideration is the extent to which opportunity structures in the contrasting areas impact on young people's routes within YTS.

As outlined previously (ch.3), premium support schemes are geared towards young people with special needs including those with poor social skills, learning difficulties, emotional, health, or behavioural problems etc., who require a more sheltered, supportive environment. This includes schemes such as Springboard, Link and Community Industry. However, the perception of the 'types' of young people attending these schemes is summed up in the way the 'CI' initials are said to represent "Criminals and Idiots". Negative YT refers to those premium schemes which, because of their low status and poor reputation, have become stigmatised by careers staff and

their clients; this includes the Training Workshops (more commonly referred to as the 'Nut Hut', 'Monkey House' or 'Fun Factory') and the Community Project Agencies (CPA's).

Entry into Support and Negative Schemes Within YT by Area

Tables 3.1a-c show the percentages of young people in support and negative YT schemes and those endorsed within their YT schemes by area. As can be seen, the different opportunity structures within the two areas are vital in determining outcome. Among those entering YT in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), young people were as much as *seven* times more likely to be in support YT schemes (21%) compared to those (3%) in Area 1; a difference highly significant at the 0.1 % level. They were also *over three times* more likely to enter negative YT schemes (13%) compared to Area 1 (4%), again significant at the 0.1% level. Furthermore, young people were *over four times* as likely to be endorsed in Area 2 (19%) compared to Area 1 (4%), also significant at the 0.1% level.

These findings as well as data for mainstream YT (see Tables 4.1 through 4.3) highlight the way premium and mainstream youth training opportunities are differentially structured within the two labour markets. The likelihood of young people entering support and negative YT and being endorsed within YT are strikingly higher in the disadvantaged area (Area 2).

Entry into Support and Negative YT and Endorsed within YT by Area and Year of Leaving School

Research has shown how pupil's year of leaving school can affect transitional outcome; some young people who remain in school longer can 'collect' more negative attributes and become cut off from certain segments of the labour market (ch.3). Tables 3.2a-c examine young people's entry into support and negative youth training and those endorsed within their YT scheme by area and year of leaving school.

As can be seen from the tables, in contrast to their counterparts in the better labour market (Area 1), where overall percentages were very low, more 4th year leavers in Area 2 went into premium support (32%) and negative (17%) schemes and were endorsed within YT (22%) compared to 5th and 6th year school leavers. In the present study then, it was principally minimum-age school leavers in the disadvantaged area who entered the worst schemes.

Entry into Support and Negative YT and Endorsement within YT by Health Problems

In sections 1 and 2, it was shown that more young people with and without health problems in both areas entered youth training than other destinations, though *more* did so in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), particularly among those *with* health problems (Table 1.6). Attention now turns to young people's entry into support and negative schemes and those endorsed within YT for those with and without health problems. As can be clearly seen from the tables (Tables 3.3a-b), when comparisons are made between those with and without health problems in Area 1 and Area 2, in contrast to findings for YT in general, *no* significant differences are found (though as expected, percentages in support and negative YT are much lower in Area 1).

In the disadvantaged area, of those entering YT, only 4% more with health problems (24%) entered support schemes compared to those without health problems (20%), even although schemes like Community Industry, Link, and Springboard are supposedly geared for young people with special needs (see Appendix 2.18). Similarly among those with and without health problems entering negative schemes in Area 2, no differences were found (13% vs.13%).

As the interviews with careers staff will reveal, careers officers' doubts about some premium schemes meant that they would try and 'protect' clients with health or emotional problems from entering, for example, CI (Community

Industry) and the Training Workshops. This was because of the 'types' of young people entering these schemes, and the negative reputation of the schemes themselves. Analysis of the Aide Memoire document (see Appendix 6.2a at end of the thesis) clearly illustrates a careers officers' concern about placing a young person with health, psychological, and learning problems into a placement where "he won't get eaten by the bears".

One exception to this pattern was that in Area 2, 8% more *with* health problems (24%) were endorsed (Table 3.3c) compared to those without (16%), though differences were not significant. These findings are, however, in line with Careers Service procedure; in general, young people with special needs should be endorsed (either category A, B or C) before entering youth training (see ch.4).

In summary, then, section 3 has shown how opportunity structures are vital in determining young people's routes within YT, specifically entry into premium schemes in the two areas. Strikingly more minimum age school leavers from the disadvantaged area entered support and negative premium schemes and were endorsed within YT compared to their peers in the better labour market area.

However, in relation to health, findings in the present research do not suggest that young people with health problems are over-represented within the worst types of premium schemes, particularly within the disadvantaged area (Area 2) which had the greater number; a pattern which might have been expected if negative health selection were taking place. This strongly suggests that careers staff respond proactively to client need.

SECTION 4

ENTRY INTO MAINSTREAM YT BY AREA, YEAR OF LEAVING SCHOOL AND HEALTH PROBLEMS

The extent to which opportunity structures in the contrasting areas differentially impact on young people's routes within YT is again demonstrated in this section, this time for young people's entry into mainstream (basic) YT schemes. As can be seen from **Table 4.1**, compared to those in Area 2, the chances of young people entering mainstream YT were higher in the better labour market (Area 1), a difference significant at the 0.1% level; a pattern which held when controlling for year of leaving school (**Table 4.2**). Also, no significant differences in either area between those with and without health problems was found (**Table 4.3**). This supports the finding that negative health selection out of mainstream YT did not take place.

The next section now turns to a consideration of whether more attention is given to young people's (negative and positive) attributes in areas of high unemployment.

SECTION 5

REFERENCE TO VARIOUS NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES BY AREA, YEAR OF LEAVING SCHOOL AND DESTINATIONS

During young people's transitions from mainstream school, interaction with various gatekeepers (for example, teachers, guidance staff and careers staff) inevitably result in the construction of certain negative and positive labels. As labelling is a feature of all social interaction, it can be viewed as part of normal bureaucratic procedure during young people's transitional process. As was shown (chapter 5; Tables 1 and 2), as well as health problems, a wide range of other attributes are recorded in Careers Service units.

In this final section (Tables 5.1 through 5.3), attention turns to the types of negative and positive attributes recorded about young people in Careers Service units in both areas. Of vital importance is whether wider opportunity structures operating in the labour market result in *more* attention being paid to young people's attributes in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), and the extent to which this affects selection processes within the Careers Service.

With the introduction of YTS, academic qualifications were often used by employers as gauge for other attributes of young people (including appearance, personality, speech, social background etc), or within some of the lower sectors, were not considered particularly relevant to placement (ch.3). Given this, a first objective is to examine young people's (overall) destinations by total negative (Table 5.1) and positive criteria (Table 5.2) by area and year of leaving school, with particular reference to YT.⁵

Destinations by Total Negative Attributes By Area and Year of Leaving School

Considering negative attributes first, Table 5.1 shows the destinations of young people by negative attributes (including negative academic ability, behaviour, appearance, speech, careers interview and circumstances), controlling for area and year of leaving school. In general, it can be seen that in each year group and in both areas, the distributions for those with and without negative attributes tend to be different. In particular, those with negative attributes are more likely to enter YT.

For example, in Area 1 among 5th year leavers with negative attributes, 72% entered YT compared to 52% without negative attributes; a 20% difference

⁵ With the destination data, negative and positive variables were merged to create *total* negative /positive attributes as figures for individual negative/positive variables were often too small for χ^2 analysis.

which was significant at the 1% level. In Area 2 among 6th year leavers, 48% of young people with negative attributes entered YT compared to 14% without; a difference significant at the 0.1% level. Other differences are not as large but, excepting the Area 2 5th year leavers, are always in the same direction.

The pattern in relation to unemployment, however, differs in Area 1 and Area 2. For example, and perhaps surprisingly, among 4th year leavers in Area 1, only 1% of young people with negative attributes were unemployed compared to 16% without negative attributes; differences significant at the 0.1% level (this suggests a positive attempt to get those with negative attributes into YT in the better labour market area). By contrast, in Area 2 among the same group, those with negative attributes (17%) were more likely to be unemployed compared to those without negative attributes (5%) differences which were also significant at the 5% level. (Similar analysis for 5th and 6th year leavers in both areas showed no significant differences). This may suggest that more attention is paid to young people's negative attributes in the disadvantaged labour market, but this would only apply to 4th year leavers. This interpretation is perhaps more plausible since their unemployment cannot be a result of them remaining in school, 'collecting' more negative attributes and then being cut off from certain labour market segments. It seems more probable that due to limited training and employment opportunities in Area 2, those young people with more negative attributes are less likely to be selected for available vacancies.

In terms of local area factors, the all-age unemployment rate tends to be a strong predictor of employment probability (Furlong and Raffe 1989). Those young people possessing certain characteristics, including lack of educational achievement and disadvantaged family background (ie the effect of parental education or of fathers social class; see Raffe 1988) become more vulnerable to unemployment under specific economic circumstances.

The present research findings indicate a similar pattern; those 4th year leavers with negative characteristics were more vulnerable to unemployment

within the disadvantaged area (Area 2). An apparently contrary pattern among 5th and 6th year leavers in Area 2 was not significant. In contrast to findings on YT and those unemployed, not surprisingly, young people with negative attributes were less likely to enter further and higher education in both areas.

In summary then, analysis of destinations by total negative attributes by area and year of leaving school, found that in both areas, young people with negative attributes were more likely to enter YT. The pattern in relation to unemployment shows that in the better labour market area, more 4th year leavers without negative attributes were unemployed compared to those with. By contrast, in the disadvantaged area, a reverse pattern was found; more 4th year leavers with than without negative attributes were unemployed. This suggests more attention is paid to negative criteria in Area 2, and that subsequently, these young people are less likely to be selected for available vacancies.

Destination By Total Positive Attributes By Area and Year of Leaving School

Table 5.2 looks at the destinations of young people by positive attributes (including positive academic ability, behaviour, appearance, speech, (careers) interview and circumstances), controlling for area and school year. As can be seen, young people with positive attributes are also more likely to enter YT.

For example, in Area 2, of those leaving in 4th year over three and a half times more young people with positive attributes entered YT (86%) compared to those without positive attributes (23%); differences significant at the 0.1% level. A similar pattern is found in Area 1; among 4th and 5th year leavers, more with positive attributes entered YT, with differences significant at the 0.1% and 5% level respectively.

Hence, more young people with positive attributes also entered YT. This might appear like a contradiction given the findings on negative attributes (Table 5.1). However, it is probable that there is simply more reference to attributes of *any* type (negative and positive) for individuals entering YT compared to elsewhere. (Appendices 6.3a and 6.4a-b at the end of the thesis highlight the recording of negative and positive attributes on the CS4 and CS2 for young people entering YT).

In contrast to findings on YT, (and in accordance with negative attribute variables Table 5.1), in all year groups in both areas, but particularly so in Area 2, those young people with no positive attributes were more likely to be unemployed. This again suggests that these young people are less likely to be selected for available vacancies. As findings relate to all year-groups, unemployment is not attributable to some young people remaining in school 'collecting' more negative and fewer positive attributes and being cut off from certain labour markets.

Also, there was no evidence to suggest that those who entered further and higher education were more likely to have positive attributes in Area 1, though there was among 5th and 6th year leavers in Area 2. This is surprising as one would have expected more positive attributes to be recorded for those entering college or university in both areas. However, this is most probably a reflection of the way in which recording information in Careers Service units was much less a priority for 6th year leavers in a prosperous area than it was for 4th and 5th year leavers - a matter confirmed by careers staff in Area 1 during interviews (see ch.7-8).

In summary then, compared to other destinations, more young people with positive attributes entered YT, particularly in the disadvantaged area; though this related to those young people who entered YT earlier in 4th and to a lesser extent 5th year. Among young people with positive attributes, there were consistently lower rates of unemployment, while among those with no such reference, unemployment rates were higher in Area 2 than

Area 1. This again suggests more negative attention is paid to young people's attributes in the disadvantaged area and that those with unfavourable attributes are less likely to be selected for available vacancies. **Table 5.3** now extends this analysis to include premium support YT schemes.

Support YT Schemes According to Negative Characteristics By Area

Research into the stratification of YTS identified a surrogate youth labour market (Lee et al 1990) and showed how non-academic attributes including appearance, personality, speech, height, and social background, were even more significant in respect of young people's entry into premium or 'sink' schemes (Roberts 1986; Roberts and Parsell 1989a).

A number of factors, including year of leaving school, might influence young people's entry into premium youth training schemes. As discussed earlier, non-academic youth who remain longer in school might 'collect' more negative attributes and become closed off from certain sectors of the labour market. As numbers were low, year group analysis was not possible for **Table 5.3**; though the majority of young people entering support YT schemes were 4th year leavers.

Considering Area 2 first, although findings are generally not statistically significant, apart from one exception (those young people recorded as having a negative interview), consistently more young people entering YT who were recorded with negative attributes were in support YT compared to other schemes (**Table 5.3**). For example, 13/30 (43%) of those with negative academic ability and 6/9 (66%) of those with negative appearance were in support YT compared to 16% and 18% respectively of those not described in this way, the first finding being significant at the 1% level. Similar patterns were observed in respect of the 7 young people in negative circumstances (57%:20%) and the 36 with negative behaviour (33%:18%), differences which

just fell short of the 5% significance level. In addition, of those recorded with negative attendance, negative speech and as having idiosyncratic characteristics, roughly one and a half to two times more young people were in support YT compared to those not so described.

By contrast, in the better labour market (Area 1)⁶ very little difference (1-2%) was observed among young people entering YT between those with and without negative attributes in the percentage going into support YT. However, as was shown earlier (Table 3.1a), overall percentages were very low in this area for entry into support schemes.

Given that support schemes are more geared towards helping those with literacy and numeracy problems and enhancing personal development skills, findings which show a higher percentage of non-academic youth attending such schemes is not too surprising. However, as more of those young people recorded with negative appearance, behaviour, speech and attendance are in support YT, evidence from the present study suggests a certain 'type' are selected for these schemes. As pointed out previously (ch.3), employers sometimes use academic ability as a gauge for other attributes of young people, including motivation, reliability, communication skills and overall presentation etc.

This evidence is confirmed from more detailed analysis of information recorded in the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) documents. As can be seen from Appendices 6.5a-d at the end of the thesis, careers staff drew attention to negative attributes during the selection process into premium support schemes, including Link, Springboard, CI (Community Industry) and S.T.A. (Strathclyde Training Agency). For example, in Appendix 6.5a, the careers officer in Area 2 pointed out that

⁶ Chi-square analysis was often inappropriate from the Area 1 sample as there were too many cells with expected values less than 5.

"because of his (young person's) appearance and speech, he is likely to be premium".

Negative references to girls' appearance, personality and academic ability, were recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and later assessed on the Aide Memoire (CS2) according to their suitability for specific types of jobs, including entry into support schemes for hairdressing, nursery nursing and catering (see Appendices 6.5b-d). Among boys, references on the Aide Memoire (CS2) also related to appearance, academic ability and disposition, ie whether they were quiet or immature, as well as to their stature and physique in terms of suitability for certain types of work (Appendices 6.6a-b). For example, in Appendix 6.6a, the careers officer pointed out that although the young person had a relevant group of subjects, he did not come across well during his careers interview and therefore doubted his entry into craft trades. He was submitted for garage work, but even here, the fact that he was five feet two inches and under eight stones, meant his suitability for this type of work was also questioned.

Negative selection into premium schemes also took place in the better labour market area; though, to a lesser extent than Area 2. For example, analysis of the Aide Memoire document showed how a non-academic pupil was recorded as having poor communication skills and a "need for supervision", and thus considered unsuitable for an employer-led scheme (see Appendix 6.6c).

Numbers are small in Table 5.3, and no breakdown by year of leaving school can be made as it has in previous tables. However Table 3.2a has shown that the great majority of those in support YT are 4th year leavers, so it is unlikely that this result is affected by pupils staying on and thereby either collecting negative attributes, or becoming cut off from particular segments of the labour market.

It seems, then, that the hypothesis that *more* attention is paid to negative attributes in an area with limited training and employment opportunities is a

It seems, then, that the hypothesis that *more* attention is paid to negative attributes in an area with limited training and employment opportunities is a central research finding suggested by the quantitative results and confirmed by qualitative analysis.

CONCLUSION

Chapter six has examined data from Summer 1990 units from two careers offices in Areas 1 and 2. What follows is a broad outline of the main issues uncovered during analysis. Consideration, however, must be given to the fact that this study is restricted to an analysis of the Careers Service, and while limited to this stance in the youth-adult transition, the results of statistical testing does allow the generalisability of findings to other Careers Service areas of which Areas 1 and 2 (in 1990) are representative.

Analysis of the two samples showed the tendency for more young people to leave school in their 4th year in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) compared to their peers in Area 1. Although attempts to establish a training culture have been widespread, recent research from the ESRC 16-19 Initiative (Banks et al 1992) has highlighted how some young people still followed the quickest route into employment. Other research within the Lanarkshire area found similar trends (Senior 1983), and examined why some young people leave school at the earliest opportunity - the 'added worker' hypothesis, which suggests that young people might be encouraged to leave school in order to boost the family income in a household which has a parent unemployed, was one possibility put forward.⁷ Parental education, occupation and family size can have significant effects on the decision to leave school; young people of parents from a manual background who have not remained at school themselves are more likely to leave school at 16.

⁷ See also Raffe, D (1992) 'Participation of 16-18 year olds in education and training', for four types of explanation assessing the UK's low participation in full-time education and for staying on rates in school.

Reflecting the national trend in the stay-on rate for those remaining in full-time education, particularly since 1987 (Roberts and Parsell 1989b; Gray and Sime 1990), more young people in the two areas together also remained in school until their 6th year compared with 5th and 4th year leavers. Research into trends of post-compulsory educational participation in Scotland (Furlong and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992) has highlighted how more pupils from all social classes are remaining in school longer. This is partly due to the fact that training schemes replaced jobs for minimum age school leavers and young people faced problems in finding employment.

In addition, young people whose fathers worked in non-manual jobs and whose parents had themselves entered post-compulsory education are more likely to remain in school. Another reason was that more pupils are unable to leave school until December of their 5th year due to changes regarding school entry. In the Scottish Young People's Survey, between 1977 and 1987 the percentage of pupils leaving school in 4th year fell from 62% to 43% for males and 59% to 43% for females (see Furlong 1992:23).

Again in line with transitional trends, more young people from the two areas entered YT than any other destination, with more doing so in the disadvantaged area, and particularly among minimum-age school leavers *with* health problems. As expected, only a small percentage of young people in the two areas were in employment, though, surprisingly, more *without* health problems were unemployed in both areas, especially in Area 2. When analysis was restricted to those with major health problems, this pattern held.

Findings in the present research, therefore, suggest that although a high proportion (roughly one in five) of young people in mainstream schools had health problems, in accordance with their status as equal opportunity providers, careers staffs' client-centred role was evident. This could be seen by them placing young people with a range of health problems into youth training, and in keeping them off the unemployment register. This proactive

role was particularly evident in the disadvantaged area, which had higher overall unemployment levels.

When analysis was extended to examine the stratification of YT, evidence in the present study highlighted how opportunity structures played a vital role in determining allocation into premium and basic schemes within the two areas. Compared to their counterparts in Area 1, in the disadvantaged area strikingly more minimum-age school leavers entered the worst types of premium schemes. As previously discussed (ch.3), such schemes serve little more than a 'warehousing' function (Peck 1990a) and are likely to exclude young people from more reliable pathways towards regular employment.

Furthermore, when examining the relationship between health and YT destination, there was no evidence that more young people with health problems entered support or negative premium schemes compared with those without such health problems - a pattern which might have been shown if negative health selection were taking place. Although support schemes including Springboard and Link are more geared for young people with special needs, documentary evidence from the Aide Memoire (CS2) reveals how some careers officers attempt to 'protect' clients with health or emotional problems from entering schemes such as Community Industry and the Training Workshops, because of the 'types' of young people there.

Once again, then, in respect of health problems a proactive approach among careers staff seems likely. Others (Watts and Herr 1976:135; Watts 1978:241), have highlighted a number of contrasting social-political functions of the Careers Service. As with the 'client-centred' perspective outlined above, this includes the description of the Careers Service as an agent of both social and individual change. In the former approach, it is argued that careers staffs' role is to make students aware of how exploitative the employment system is. In the latter, careers staff accept the social system as it is, though aim to maximise the chances of individual pupils within it; the central concern is in improving the life chances of their client.

careers staff are under increasing pressure to pre-select young people according to employers' recruitment criteria and 'New Right' initiatives regarding NVQ requirements (ch.4). As well as health problems, the focus of the present study is concerned with the wide range of other attributes recorded in Careers Service units (ch.5). A central question examined whether more attention was paid to young people's attributes in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) than Area 1.

In contrast to health, other attributes were more significantly related to destinations, particularly in Area 2. This could be seen from findings relating to the association between negative attributes and unemployment and entry into premium schemes. Moreover, as this analysis relates to 4th year leavers, their unemployment cannot be attributable to them remaining in school and 'collecting' more negative attributes. It seems more likely that young people who are recorded with more negative attributes (and less positive attributes) are not being selected for available vacancies in an area with high unemployment and limited training and employment opportunity.

In the disadvantaged area, among those with negative attributes, more 4th year school leavers were in support schemes (including Community Industry, Springboard and Link) compared to other schemes; findings confirmed by analysis of the Aide Memoire document. By contrast, in the better labour market differences were minimal. Further analysis of the Aide Memoire revealed negative selection into premium YT schemes such as the Training Workshop in Area 1 (Appendix 6.6c), though this was more prevalent in Area 2 (see Appendices 6.3a and 6.6b), even among young people without negative attributes (see Appendix 6.7b). This suggests the latter enter such schemes because of a lack of adequate YT mainstream provision in the disadvantaged area. For example, in Appendix 6.7b, the careers officer in Area 2 pointed out that although his client had passed his CITB (Construction Industry Training Board) test, he had still to find a placement. Overall positive assessments regarding the young person's appearance and personality were recorded on the Aide Memoire, and he was considered '...overqualified for the Training Workshop and probably not

Appendix 6.7b, the careers officer in Area 2 pointed out that although his client had passed his CITB (Construction Industry Training Board) test, he had still to find a placement. Overall positive assessments regarding the young person's appearance and personality were recorded on the Aide Memoire, and he was considered '...overqualified for the Training Workshop and probably not premium'. However, because his qualifications were not relevant to the work he wanted, if no other employment alternatives were available, the young person was to be endorsed. (As can be seen, he was subsequently submitted to the Training Workshop).

According to Watts and Herr (1976:135); Watts (1978:241), in adapting young people to available career opportunities, another social-political function of the Careers Service is that of agent of 'social control'. Implicit here is the right to take decisions about who is 'able' and who is not. According to this debate, careers education is concerned with maintaining the existing employment system.

In the present study, semi-structured interviews with careers staff will develop this sub-theme in more detail, and consider this perspective alongside the moral dilemma faced by careers staff in trying proactively to meet client need. Although careers staff were able to respond effectively for those with health problems, this might only be a temporary phenomenon; research evidence on disabled adults has shown how these individuals are discriminated against and marginalised in the wider labour market (see ch.4).

The stratification of young people into different types of YT schemes also has crucial implications for their future class position and health status. Research has shown how young people with few qualifications tend to enter YT schemes in the 'high risk' sectors of the labour market and are more susceptible to post-scheme unemployment (Furlong 1992). Those young people with no qualifications or 'fail grades' are also particularly vulnerable to long-term unemployment (Furlong 1990b:117).

As previously pointed out, a complex of factors influence young people's transitions. In the present research, it is opportunity structures which are the most important factor in determining young people's routes in the labour market, particularly entry into premium and basic schemes. A major consequence of limited training and employment opportunity, and a central research finding of the present study, is that careers staff appear to pay more attention to negative and positive attributes of young people in the disadvantaged area (Area 2). It is to a further exploration of these issues (chapters 7 to 10) that we now turn.

Table 1.1 Characteristics of the Sample

	<u>Area 1</u>		<u>Area 2</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Total Sample	788	71.7	311	28.2
Sex				
Males	410	52.0	169	54.3
Females	378	48.0	142	45.7
School				
A	141	17.9	112	36.0
B	95	12.1	59	19.0
C	130	16.5	140	45.0
D	89	11.3		
E	99	12.6		
F	104	18.2		
G	130	16.5		
Year left				
4th	194	24.6	119	38.3
5th	246	31.2	74	23.8
6th	348	44.2	118	37.9
Destinations				
h/e	138	17.5	52	16.8
f/e	139	17.7	40	12.9
Employment	43	5.4	12	3.9
YT	366	46.5	166	53.4
Unemployed	89	11.3	40	12.9
Unknown	11	1.4	0	-
Else	2	0.2	1	0.1
Specific criteria within YT				
(YT) endorsed	14	3.8	31	18.7
(YT) negative	15	4.1	21	12.6
(YT) support	13	3.6	35	21.1
(YT) mainstream	324	88.5	79	47.5
(sub total - all YT)	366	68.8	166	31.2

Year left $\chi^2 = 20.83$ (2d.f) $p < 0.001$

Destinations (overall) $\chi^2 = 11.37$ (5d.f) $p < 0.05$

YT/rest $\chi^2 = 4.07$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$

Table 1.2 Reference to Health Problems in Area 1 and Area 2 (%)

	<u>Area 1</u>		<u>Area 2</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health problem	167	21.2	81	26.0	248	22.6
No health problem	621	78.8	230	74.0	851	77.4
Total	788	100	311	100	1099	100

Table 1.3 Health Problems by Year Left School

	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health problem	70	22.4	96	30.0	82	17.6	248	22.6
No health problem	243	77.6	224	70.0	384	82.4	851	77.4
Total	313	100	320	100	466	100	099	100

$\chi^2 = 16.71$ (2d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 1.4 Health Problem by Area and Year Left School %

	Area 1						Area 2					
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health Problem	38	19.6	72	29.3	57	16.4	32	26.9	24	32.4	25	21.2
No Health Problem	156	80.4	174	70.7	291	83.6	87	73.1	50	67.6	93	78.8
Total	194	100	246	100	348	100	119	100	74	100	118	100

Area 1 4th/5th/6th year $\chi^2 = 14.73$ (2d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 1.5 Destination by Health Problem (%)

	<u>Health Problem</u>		<u>No Health Problem</u>	
	N	%	N	%
HE	34	13.5	156	18.4
FE	42	16.7	137	16.2
Employment	8	3.2	47	5.6
YT	142	56.6	390	46.1
Unemployment	25	10.0	116	13.7
Total	251	100	846	100

Overall $\chi^2 = 11.38$ (4 d.f) $p < 0.05$

YT/rest $\chi^2 = 8.09$ (1 d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 1.6 Destination by Health Problem by Area (%)

	Area 1				Area 2			
	Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
HE	N 21	% 13.0	N 117	% 19.1	N 13	% 16.0	N 39	% 17.0
FE	N 34	% 21.0	N 105	% 16.8	N 8	% 9.9	N 32	% 14.0
Employment	N 7	% 4.3	N 36	% 5.9	N 1	% 1.2	N 11	% 4.8
YT	N 88	% 54.3	N 278	% 45.3	N 54	% 66.7	N 112	% 48.9
Unemployment	N 12	% 7.4	N 77	% 12.6	N 5	% 6.2	N 35	% 15.3
Total	N 162	% 100	N 613	% 100	N 81	% 100	N 229	% 100

Area 2 (overall destinations) $\chi^2 = 10.15$ (4d.f) $p < 0.05$

Area 2 (YT/resp) $\chi^2 = 6.89$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 1.7 Destinations by Health Problem, Area and Year Left School (%)

	Area 1						Area 2					
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year	
	Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem	
Destinations	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
b/e	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %	n %
f/e	1 2.6	7 4.5	13 18.1	27 15.5	20 35.1	71 24.5	1 3.1	1 1.1	-	7 14.3	7 28.0	24 25.8
Employment	1 2.6	2 1.3	2 2.8	17 9.8	4 7.0	17 5.9	-	2 2.3	-	2 4.1	1 4.0	7 7.5
YT	32 84.2	130 83.3	43 59.7	103 59.2	13 22.8	45 15.5	29 90.6	65 74.7	18 75.0	30 61.2	7 28.0	17 18.3
unemployed	2 5.3	16 10.3	5 6.9	14 8.0	5 8.8	47 16.2	1 3.1	16 18.4	2 8.3	3 6.1	2 8.0	16 17.2
unknown	1 2.6	1 .6	2 2.8	1 .6	2 3.5	4 1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38 100	156 100	72 100	174 100	57 100	289 100	32 100	87 100	24 100	49 100	25 100	93 100

Table 2.1 Reference to Major Health Problems by Area (%)

	<u>Area 1</u>		<u>Area 2</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Major						
Yes	43	5.5	33	10.6	76	6.9
No	745	94.5	278	89.4	1023	93.1
Total	788	100	311	100	1099	100

$\chi^2 = 8.42$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 2.2 Reference to Minor Health Problems by Area (%)

	<u>Area 1</u>		<u>Area 2</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Minor						
Yes	140	17.8	68	21.9	208	19.0
No	648	82.2	243	78.1	891	81.0
Total	788	100	311	100	1099	100

Table 2.4 Destinations by Major Health Problems by Area (%)

Destinations	Area 1				Area 2			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
h/e	5	11.6	133	17.9	6	18.2	46	16.6
f/e	7	16.3	132	17.7	3	9.1	37	13.4
employment	2	4.7	41	5.5	-	-	12	4.3
YT	24	55.8	342	46.0	23	69.7	143	51.6
unemployed	3	7.0	86	11.6	1	3.0	39	14.1
unknown	2	4.7	9	1.2	-	-	-	-
Total	43	100	743	100	33	100	277	100

Area 1/Area 2 (YT) (major health problem) $\chi^2 = 6.67$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 3.1(a) Support YT by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1		Area 2	
	N	%	N	%
Support YT				
Yes	13	3.0	35	21.1
No	355	97.0	131	79.9
Total	366	100	166	100

$\chi^2 = 44.99$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 3.1(b) Negative YT by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1		Area 2	
	N	%	N	%
Negative YT				
Yes	15	4.1	21	12.7
No	351	95.9	145	87.3
Total	366	100	166	100

$\chi^2 = 11.92$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 3.1(c) Endorsed YT by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1		Area 2	
	N	%	N	%
Endorsed YT	14	3.8	31	18.7
Not Endorsed YT	352	96.2	135	81.3
Total	360	100	166	100

$\chi^2 = 30.63$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 3.2(a) Support YT by Year Left School and Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1						Area 2					
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Support YT	9	5.6	1	0.7	1	1.7	30	31.9	5	10.4	-	-
Not Support YT	153	94.4	145	99.3	57	98.3	64	68.1	43	89.6	24	100
Total	162	100	146	100	58	100	94	100	48	100	24	100

Area 1/Area 2 (4th yr) $\chi^2 = 30.00$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Area 1/Area 2 (5th yr) $\chi^2 = 8.40$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 3.2(b) Negative YT by Year Left School and Area (% all of YT)

	Area 1						Area 2					
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Negative YT	10	6.2	5	3.4	0	-	16	17.0	4	8.3	1	4.2
Not Negative YT	152	93.8	141	96.6	58	100	78	83.0	44	91.7	23	95.8
Total	162	100	146	100	58	100	94	100	48	100	24	100

Area 1/Area 2 (4th year) $\chi^2 = 6.53$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$

Table 3.2(c) Endorsed YT by Year Left School and Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1				Area 2							
	4th Year		5th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Endorsed YT	12	7.4	2	1.4	-	-	21	22.3	3	6.3	1	4.2
Not Endorsed YT	150	92.6	144	98.6	58	100.0	73	77.7	45	93.8	23	95.8
Total	162	100	146	100	58	100	94	100	48	100	24	100

Area 1/Area2 (4th year) $\chi^2 = 10.52$ (1.d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 3.3(a) Support YT by Health Problem by Area (% all YT)

	Area 1				Area 2			
	Health Problem		No		Health Problem		No	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Support YT	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not Support	88	100.0	267	96.0	41	75.9	90	80.4
Total YT	88	100	278	100	54	100	112	100

Area 1/Area 2 (health problem) $\chi^2 = 20.52$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Area 1/Area 2 (no health problems) $\chi^2 = 23.38$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 3.3(b) Negative YT by Health Problem by Area (% all on YT)

	Area 1				Area 2			
	Health Problem		No		Health Problem		No	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Negative YT	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not Negative YT	4	4.5	11	3.9	7	12.9	14	12.5
Total YT	84	95.5	267	96.1	47	87.1	98	87.5
Total YT	88	100	278	100	54	100	112	100

Area 1/Area 2 (no health problem) $\chi^2 = 8.34$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 3.3(c) Endorsed YT by Health Problem by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1				Area 2			
	Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem		Health Problem	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Endorsed	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	3	3.4	11	4.0	13	24.1	18	16.1
Non Endorsed	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	85	96.6	267	96.0	41	75.9	94	83.9
Total	88	100	278	100	54	100	112	100

Area 1/Area 2 (health problem) $\chi^2 = 12.30$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Area 1/Area 2 (no health problem) $\chi^2 = 15.31$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 4.1 Mainstream YT by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1		Area 2	
	N	%	N	%
Mainstream YT Yes	340	92.9	110	66.3
Mainstream YT No	26	7.1	56	33.7
TOTAL	366	100	166	100

$\chi^2 = 60.10$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Table 4.2 Mainstream YT by Year Left and Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1						Area 2					
	4th Year	%	5th Year	%	6th Year	%	4th Year	%	5th Year	%	6th Year	%
Mainstream YT (Yes)	143	88.3	140	95.9	57	98.3	48	51.5	39	81.3	23	95.8
Mainstream YT (No)	19	11.7	6	4.1	1	1.7	46	48.5	9	18.7	1	4.2
TOTAL	162	100	146	100	58	100	94	100	48	100	24	100

Area 1/Area 2

4th Year $\chi^2 = 41.52$ (1d.f) $p < 0.0001$

5th Year $\chi^2 = 8.89$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 4.3 Mainstream YT by Health Problem by Area (% of all YT)

	Area 1				Area 2			
	Mainstream YT		Mainstream YT		Mainstream YT		Mainstream YT	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health Problem (Yes)	84	24.7	4	15.4	34	30.9	20	35.7
Health Problem (No)	256	75.3	22	84.6	76	69.1	36	64.3
TOTAL	340	100	26	100	110	100	56	100

Table 5.1 Destination by Total Negative Criteria (Yes/No) by Area and Year Left School (%)

	Area 1						Area 2																	
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year													
	Negative Criteria		Negative Criteria		Negative Criteria		Negative Criteria		Negative Criteria		Negative Criteria													
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No												
h/e	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%										
	.	-	1	1.0	4	4.6	15	9.4	16	20.0	102	38.2	-	-	4	4.6	4	16.7	7	14.3	6	26.1	31	32.6
file	3	3.3	5	4.8	10	11.5	30	18.9	31	38.8	60	22.5	1	1.9	10	11.5	3	12.5	4	8.2	4	17.4	27	28.4
employment	2	2.2	1	1.0	5	5.7	14	8.8	6	7.5	15	5.6	2	3.7	5	5.7	1	4.2	1	2.0	1	4.3	7	7.4
YT	82	91.1	80	76.9	63	72.4	83	52.2	14	17.5	44	16.5	42	77.8	63	72.4	15	62.5	33	67.3	11	47.8	13	13.7
unemployment	1	1.1	17	16.3	4	4.6	15	9.4	11	13.8	41	15.4	9	16.7	4	4.6	1	4.2	4	8.2	1	4.3	17	17.9
unknown	2	2.2	-	-	1	1.1	1	1.3	2	2.5	4	1.5	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	90	100	104	100	87	100	158	100	80	100	266	100	54	100	87	100	24	100	49	100	23	100	95	100

(See separate sheet for χ^2 's)

Table 5.1: χ^2 's

YI/Rest

Area 1 (5th year) negative criteria/no negative criteria $\chi^2 = 8.40$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Area 2 (6th year) negative criteria/no negative criteria $\chi^2 = 11.30$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

I/employment/Rest

Area 1 (4th year) negative criteria/no negative criteria $\chi^2 = 11.56$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$

Area 2 (4th year) negative criteria/no negative criteria $\chi^2 = 4.45$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$

Further Education/Rest

Area 1 (6th year) negative/no negative criteria $\chi^2 = 7.51$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

YI/Rest (negative criteria)

Area 1/Area 2 (4th year) yes $\chi^2 = 3.96$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$

YI/Rest (negative criteria)

Area 1/Area 2 (6th year) yes $\chi^2 = 7.36$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Further Education/Rest

Area 1/Area 2 (6th year) negative criteria (yes) $\chi^2 = 4.08$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$

Table 5.2 Destination by Total Positive Criteria (Yes/No) by Area and Year Left School (%)

	Area 1						Area 2																	
	4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year													
	Positive Criteria	Yes	No	Positive Criteria	Yes	No	Positive Criteria	Yes	No	Positive Criteria	Yes	No												
life	1	0.8	-	16	8.1	3	6.1	76	32.1	42	38.5	3	2.8	1	7.7	11	16.2	-	-	32	33.0	5	23.8	
file	4	3.2	4	5.8	32	16.2	8	16.3	69	29.1	22	20.2	2	1.9	-	7	10.3	-	-	30	30.9	1	4.8	
employment	3	2.4	-	-	14	7.1	5	10.2	18	7.6	3	2.8	2	1.9	-	2	2.9	-	-	7	7.2	1	4.8	
YT	114	91.2	48	69.6	125	63.5	21	42.9	44	18.6	14	12.8	91	85.8	3	23.1	46	67.6	2	40.0	22	22.7	2	9.5
unemployment	3	2.4	15	21.7	7	3.6	12	24.5	26	11.0	26	23.9	8	7.5	9	69.2	2	2.9	3	60.0	6	6.2	12	57.1
unknown	-	-	2	2.9	3	1.5	-	-	4	1.7	2	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	125	100	69	100	197	100	49	100	237	100	109	100	106	100	13	100	68	100	5	100	97	100	21	100

(See separate sheets for χ^2 's)

Table 5.2: χ^2 's

Area 2 (Y/T/rest) 4th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 23.84$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 2 (unemployment/rest) 4th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 31.12$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 1 (Y/T/rest) 4th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 13.58$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 1 (unemployment/rest) 4th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 17.52$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 1 (Y/T/rest) 5th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 6.07$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$
Area 1 (unemployment/rest) 5th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 21.29$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 2 (unemployment/rest) 5th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 15.66$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 2 (further education/rest) 6th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 4.83$ (1d.f) $p < 0.05$
Area 2 (unemployment/rest) 6th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 30.84$ (1d.f) $p < 0.001$
Area 1 (unemployment/rest) 6th year (positive criteria/no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 8.72$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$
Area 1/Area 2 (Y/T/rest) 4th year (no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 8.17$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$
Area 1/Area 2 (unemployment/rest) 4th year (no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 9.73$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$
Area 1/Area 2 (unemployed/rest) 6th year (no positive criteria) $\chi^2 = 7.89$ (1d.f) $p < 0.01$

Table 5.3 % in support and other YT Schemes of young people in YT Schemes who were and were not ascribed negative characteristics, by area

		<u>Area 1</u>				<u>Area 2</u>			
		<u>Support</u>		<u>Other</u>		<u>Support</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Negative behaviour</i>	YES	3	3.6	80	96.4	12	33.3	24	66.7
	NO	8	2.8	275	97.2	23	17.7	107	82.3
<i>Negative academic</i>	YES	2	2.9	66	97.1	13	43.3	17	56.7
	NO	9	3.0	289	97.0	22	16.2	114	83.8
<i>Negative attendance</i>	YES	2	4.3	44	95.7	7	35.0	13	65.0
	NO	9	2.8	311	97.2	28	19.2	118	80.8
<i>Negative appearance</i>	YES	1	4.8	20	95.2	6	66.0	3	34.0
	NO	10	2.9	335	97.1	29	18.5	128	81.5
<i>Negative interview</i>	YES	1	14.3	6	85.7	0	0.0	3	100.0
	NO	10	2.8	349	97.2	35	21.5	128	78.5
<i>Negative speech</i>	YES	1	5.0	19	95.0	5	38.5	8	61.5
	NO	10	2.9	336	97.1	30	19.6	123	80.4
<i>Negative circumstances</i>	YES	1	3.7	26	96.3	4	57.1	3	42.9
	NO	10	2.9	329	97.1	31	19.5	128	80.5
<i>Idiosyncratic</i>	YES	1	3.1	31	96.9	14	29.2	34	30.8
	NO	10	3.0	324	97.0	21	17.8	97	82.2

Area 2 (Support YT/Other YT) Negative Academic (Yes/No) $\chi^2 = 9.32$ (1 d.f) $p < 0.01$

CHAPTER 7

CHANGES AFFECTING THE CAREERS SERVICE: CONSTRAINTS ON AND FACTORS INFLUENCING DECISION MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN CONTRASTING LOCALITIES

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO QUALITATIVE DATA

The specific contexts of chapters seven to ten centre on findings from semi-structured interviews with careers staff from the two localities included in the study. This involves qualitative analysis to complement 'unit' data gathered from administrative records within the Careers Service from Areas 1 and 2 (chapters 5 and 6).

Interviews included a range of careers staff with different employment status and experience within the Careers Service. When speaking generally about all employees, the broader term 'careers staff' is used. Quotations are derived from taped interviews and are followed by a code number allocated to individual careers staff. The main objective of the interviews was to investigate careers staffs' perspectives of the way in which wider opportunity structures influence their reactive and proactive decision making, information management, and selection processes within the two localities.

As a starting point, chapter seven offers a useful framework for reviewing careers staffs' accounts of various external and structural changes which have affected the Careers Service and how these subsequently impact on routine decision making and working practices.

CAREERS STAFFS' ACCOUNTS OF CHANGES AFFECTING THE CAREERS SERVICE: THE IMPACT OF WIDER OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

There was a widespread view among careers staff that many changes have taken place within the Careers Service, especially over the last decade. By far

the most frequent observation highlighted by staff from both localities involved the introduction of youth training schemes:

'...the Careers Service is bound so much politically by the whole training ethic, which controls to a large extent what careers officers do'. (03)

More specific changes referred to the wider labour market situation within Scotland. One of the most significant issues identified was the reduced number of youth training and employment opportunities available for young people, particularly in the disadvantaged area (Area 2).

These careers staff were concerned that they didn't have the equivalent numbers of YT places to correspond with young people on their register; a concern which accurately reflected the situation. In the disadvantaged area (Area 2), there were over 100 young people on a waiting list for a YT place in 1991; in 1992 the number was over 400. Many young people had been waiting for YT offers since leaving school in December, a situation aggravated by additional numbers leaving school in the Summer.

The consequences of limited training and employment provision available for young people led careers staff to identify a number of issues which impacted upon decision making within the Careers Service. This included pupils from both localities remaining in school past the statutory leaving age.

Young People Remaining in or Drifting Back to School

The tendency for limited and non-academic pupils to remain in, or drift back to, school was considered problematic by the majority of careers staff interviewed. According to the following careers officer in Area 1, one of the reasons young people were staying on in school was because they did not want to enter YT:

'These days there are very few 4th year kids who actually leave school. Roughly half of them can't leave anyway because of the way their birthday

falls in. And the other half... they will stay on to 5th year, sometimes erroneously in my opinion, but they stay on anyway. For the usual reasons, they want to get more qualifications, or their mammy will not let them leave. I think some of them should leave. It is because they think they will avoid YT by staying on for another year, whereas at the end of the day it doesn't make a blind bit of difference. There is no hope for what they want to do, they obviously must go through YT'. (02)

By remaining in full time education longer, young people were competing with next year's 4th year leavers still at school. Careers staff in the disadvantaged area thought employment opportunities for non-academic pupils would inevitably be foreclosed:

'...there is a trend in (Area 2) that less of the 4th years leave, unless they have made a definite decision to leave, they then usually have an idea about what they want to do. With the upper school of 5th and 6th years, these young people are a really mixed bunch. In the past, had there been employment, these young people would not have stayed on in school. By returning to school a young person's aspirations might increase, but their qualifications might not, so that can cause some problems. Also, young people will not be eligible for apprenticeships or it will be much more difficult to get into YT, if there is any training available'. (05)

Employment practices in some craft apprenticeships also limited opportunities available. Careers staff pointed out how 'the CITB are still pretty sticky about taking on 17 year olds', and that the Careers Service was powerless to do anything about this situation.

According to careers staff in both localities, among those young people who did leave school in 4th year, the majority entered Youth Training.

Provision of 'Basic' and 'Premium' Youth Training Schemes

The stratification of 'basic' and 'premium' YT schemes in the two localities was highlighted by careers staff. In the disadvantaged area it was pointed out that when 4th year statutory leavers left school the majority entered YT, and in doing so, the Careers Service had received 'a bad press'. This was

because of the negative stereotypes associated with premium schemes in Area 2.

A major criticism in the disadvantaged labour market concerned the inadequate provision of youth training schemes and limited training choice available. Careers staff contrasted the concentration of premium schemes with endorsed placements in Area 2, with the preferred employer-led basic YT schemes in Area 1; issues which clearly highlighted how labour market structures affected training opportunity:

'Although we (careers staff in Area 1) might have a lot of young people who theoretically would be endorsed, endorsement is more related to the types of training schemes available, which compared to those in (Area 2 are like chalk and cheese'. (09)

In most cases endorsed premium YT places are allocated to schemes, rather than to individuals. To support these schemes financially, the high costs of premium training, and pressure to maintain full occupancy, often lead to considerable financial uncertainty:

'The ideal situation would be that the money would follow the young person, so that managing agents are not allocated endorsed places. Therefore, whatever the young person is endorsed, no matter where they go, they will get the right training. Most managing agents use endorsed placements to their own advantage. It's all politics at the end of the day'. (011)

However, because of waiting lists to go on YT, a senior careers officer in the disadvantaged area pointed out how a young person might be endorsed as category C so they would at least have the opportunity to participate in a premium scheme:

'What you might find in this area is that if the young person is interested in, for example, construction work, and the only places are at CI (Community Industry) we might endorse a basic grade young person as category C, because you don't want to deny them the chance to get training'. (05)

For most careers officers, the pressure to maintain full occupancy of premium placements meant that some of the more able trainees in premium schemes (ie those young people who might cope in the mainstream setting), would be less likely to be transferred to a basic (mainstream) YT scheme. Similarly, premium schemes were less likely to take on basic grade trainees. Thus, the chances of integration in each direction were limited; factors which added to the overall negative status of premium schemes.

The financial considerations of managing agents were important to the way YT schemes were run. Some managing agents received 75% of their funding to operate and run schemes, whilst the other 25% was tied in with young peoples' vocational achievement in attaining NVQ's. As one careers officer commented, 'it's like a system of bonuses, if young people do not reach NVQ level 2, then managing agents lose out financially'. Hence, NVQ's were linked with young people's 'ability to achieve'. The problem according to careers officers was that some managing agents 'wanted the extra money without the extra hassle'.

Another criticism made by careers staff in Area 1 was that managing agents often refused to let young people leave their YT schemes when careers officers had found them full time employment (a situation which rarely, if ever, occurred in Area 2). This was because numbers would drop and managing agents would lose out financially. The Careers Service's relationship with managing agents was at times problematic:

'We have a... working relationship with managing agents. Unfortunately there is scope for conflict of interests between careers officers and managing agents. For example, where you (careers officer) want to take a young person out of training and send them for permanent vacancies. This is because they (managing agents) then lose money. Unfortunately there are occasions when certain managing agents have to be reminded about what they are there for, and that is to train young people to go on to suitable employment or further education, and in certain cases, managing agents find that a difficult concept. We can run into certain problems as we (Careers Service) have today for example, with a vacancy for the Civil Service... and one managing agent playing silly buggers, so I'll have a wee word in their ear, just so they know what the score is. Because they are not running ICI, they are running a training scheme'. (01)

Waiting lists for Community Industry

In the disadvantaged area, another consequence of reduced training and employment opportunities was the growing number of young people on waiting lists to enter schemes like Community Industry; a placement that had hitherto been a final resort for young people if no other training places were available:

'We are at the stage just now where there is a waiting list for Community Industry. It's not just an automatic thing where, if young people can't get anything else, they can go into Community Industry. Young people are past that stage now and are remaining on the register, unemployed'. (05)

By contrast, in Area 1 significantly more young people were placed into employer-led mainstream schemes which offered good employment prospects:

'... at the moment, I am looking at 7/8 out of 10 young people getting permanent jobs out of their training, but that's in (Area 1). You will get a different picture in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), again it's a reflection of the economic base we are working in'. (01)

A further consequence of reduced labour market opportunities, particularly in Area 2 was the growth in young people's claims for Hardship Allowance¹.

Growth in Claims for Hardship Allowance

An outcome of the growth in young people's claims for Hardship Allowance was the increased involvement of outside agencies working with the Careers Service. This involvement subsequently affected employment assistants' moral judgement and decision making regarding their client. For example, as the DSS only paid Hardship Allowance to young people registered at the careers office and looking for work, employment assistants were often torn

¹ Hardship allowance is approximately £32 per week and paid to young people who do not live at home and are not supported by their parents.

between their concern for their clients' financial predicament and their obligation to inform the DSS if young people didn't attend pre-arranged (employment) interviews:

'Careers have no option but to tell the DSS if young people don't turn up for an interview. DSS staff could just as easily phone Community Industry, or whoever the employer was, and find out this information for themselves... although we are not in the business of giving out information to the DSS, if they ask us a question, we can't lie about it'. (09)

According to assessments from employment assistants, approximately ten times the number of young people in the disadvantaged area were claiming Hardship Allowance compared to Area 1. Careers staff also described how the Department of Social Security in Area 2 was more responsive to young people's financial problems. This was particularly evident in relation to the number of hardship cases being reviewed:

'... in the past a young person's hardship case was reviewed every 2 weeks by the DSS. Now in Area 2, hardship cases are not being reviewed for 6-8 weeks. The DSS are being swamped with hardship claims from young people and can't possibly follow up these claims on a 2 week basis. In other areas the situation can be completely different and DSS staff don't give young people room to turn around... if they (young people) sneeze the wrong way then their money is stopped'. (011)

A further consequence of wider opportunity structures impacting on careers staffs' decision making and information management could be seen in the way Careers Service employment recommendations had to adapt to meet changes taking place in the labour market.

The Local Labour Market Situation as a Constraint for Careers Officers' Recommendations: From Job Specific to Broader Occupational Assessments

The main starting point for employment assistants selecting young people into training and employment is the careers officer's recommendation. The recommendation is seen as an agreement between the careers officer and the

young person on obtaining the most suitable type of placement. Information in the unit assists this process of vocational guidance:

'If careers officers are matching up young people with opportunities, information is obviously going to have an effect. There is no point in having the school report or the Aide Memoire if careers officers are not going to use them. If the careers officer has given the young person realistic guidance and advised them, their final recommendation should be what the young person goes for. It's really an agreement between the careers officer and the young person. That was why employers came to the Careers Service because they didn't want to advertise in the newspapers and get hundreds of applications. What they wanted to see was suitable candidates. And any young person that the careers officer sent along should have a reasonable chance of getting a job. There is no point in doing this if the young person is not suitable'. (05)

However, external constraints in the form of reduced labour market opportunities have affected the way careers officers no longer make very specific job recommendations for their client. In the present economic climate, careers officers outline much broader occupational recommendations for young people leaving school. Some thoughtful points on this issue were raised by an area careers officer:

'A recommendation would tend to be the level that the young person appears capable of working to, for example craft or technician. The other aspect of the recommendation tends to be more of an occupational recommendation, as opposed to a job specific recommendation; and that's just a reflection of the labour market. In days gone by, a young person could say "I want to be a joiner", and 99 times out of 100 the careers officer could get that young person a job as a joiner. These days if the young person wants to be a joiner, you say that's fine, if they are ok, if they are suitable for that type of work, but you encourage them to consider wider occupational areas... You maybe go through half a dozen alternative possibilities, so that the young person is given as much scope as possible. If a young person is very, very job specific, in these days they can be closing a lot of opportunities to themselves.' (01)

Furthermore, the careers officer was aware of the way in which the former more specific decision making might be perceived as a form of 'control'. In the present labour market situation, this kind of power is no longer credible:

'...I think some folk get a bit worried, you know a careers officer acts like God, I make a recommendation and that's what you are going to go for come hell or high water; but it doesn't work that way any more. There is within a

recommendation, flexibility, in terms of what the young person is actually going to go into'. (01)

Of interest is whether 'flexibility' within the careers officers' recommendation results in a reduction of labelling and selection processes. At present, being too 'job specific' clearly means young people are limiting themselves to what training and employment opportunities are available. However, in areas of high unemployment, even allowing for flexibility within career recommendations, opportunities are substantially narrowed and there still exists an overall lack of employment opportunities to meet required levels. Within this context, employers recruitment strategies can be even more selective (ch.3-4). (The employment assistants' role in pre-selecting young people according to careers officers' recommendations and employers' recruitment criteria will be considered in more detail later on).

Since the introduction of the 1974 Employment and Training Act, wider opportunity structures have affected Careers Service policy and decision making over a number of issues. This included careers staffs' working relationship with adults.

A Conflict Of Interests: Adults Contact with the Careers Service

In conjunction with adhering to Strathclyde Regional Council's Education Department policy, the Careers Service must follow certain statutory obligations from Central Government relating to adults. A consequence of this dual role is that problems have emerged over the amount of time allocated for adults contacting the Careers Service:

'One natural area of conflict is the amount of adults we have to deal with in careers guidance. What Central Government will say is, if you have the time to deal with adults you can, but you have to make sure that the duties you have to your main client group, which is young people in schools and colleges, are executed properly. The Regional Council are very, very keen on adults returning to education and they see the Careers Service as a department that can act as a vehicle to promote opportunities. You have to try hard to strike a balance that you don't overload yourself. We don't actively advertise for adults to come to the Careers Service'. (01)

Adjustments from former working procedures to meet present client requirements have resulted in increased demands being made on careers staff in the disadvantaged area. Because of the high unemployment situation, variations within Careers Service working procedures exist within contrasting localities:

'We had a department called the Occupational Guidance Unit which advised adults who were job changers re-entering the labour market and who looked for careers advice. Now, that Unit was disbanded many years ago, and really, it has left a gap which has never been filled properly. We have this generic case load that you deal with young people from mildly mentally handicapped right up to those who are heading for University and so on. And on top of that we are also offering a service to adults for adult guidance, whether returning to work, or redundant. In (Area 1) we are not as pressurised as in (Area 2) and surrounding areas. They are heavily involved in dealing with adult enquiries. Because of the redundancy situation they are getting more and more of the passing traffic. The Region is setting up an Advice Shop specifically to deal with this situation. There is a natural kind of fall-out; people will make their way to the careers offices. We (Area 1) have not had that effect. I suppose most of the adults we tend to see are women returners'. (01)

Due to the overall increase in unemployment levels, a national policy on adult returners contacting the Careers Service has emerged. A further consequence of wider structural changes affecting the Careers Service was careers staffs' claim that their status within the Education Department was being eroded.

Increased Documentation of Statistical Information and Growing Involvement of Outside Agencies

Employment assistants from both localities pointed out that since the Careers Service had been regionalised, in addition to more routine bureaucratic information, the Education Department wanted to know practically every aspect about young people's contact with the Careers Service. The administrative work involved in this process had, according to careers staff, become '...an enormous nightmare'. Increased attention to statistical

information was yet another way in which careers staffs' working procedure was perceived as having to be more accountable to the Education Department.

At present, the Careers Service also has a closer liaison with schools, colleges, and industry. The increased use of computers in assisting vocational information was discussed positively. However, changes in the school curriculum, with a greater emphasis on careers education in schools, led to complaints about increased workloads:

'There is a trend for much closer links with industry. There have also been changes in education which means careers officers have got to change, as there is more emphasis on careers education in schools which has a much higher profile and results in a lot more work for careers officers'. (04)

The growth of outside agencies working alongside the Careers Service, such as the Technical, Vocational and Educational Initiative (TVEI) and Local Enterprise Companies (LEC's), under the control of the Region's Development Agency were identified as further changes affecting the Careers Service. The introduction of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's) and Individual Action Plans (IAP's) were among more recent initiatives discussed. Because of the limited provision of youth training available in the disadvantaged area, the Development Agency was singled out for criticism by careers staff:

'The Development Agency has cut approximately one-third of training places in (Area 2) and do not see youth training as a high priority. This has been addressed at Principal Careers Officer's level and has been overlooked. There was an item in the local press written by the Principal Careers Officer asking what they were doing about the situation. It was felt that the Development Agency and the Careers Service should be working more in a partnership. There doesn't seem to be anything getting done about the mismatch. According to the Development Agency they requested Government money and what they got was much reduced'. (06)

Notwithstanding this criticism, careers officers in Area 2 admitted that the Careers Service was dependent on the Development Agency to enable it to carry out their services for young people:

'... at the moment the LDA are providing for Individual Action Plans for young people with special needs, so the Careers Service has to stay friendly with them'. (06)

Although some provision from the Development Agency was allocated to the Careers Service, criticism from careers officers about the role of the Local Enterprise Councils (LEC's) was widespread. Comments reflected a worry, not so much for young people in Area 1, but for those in the disadvantaged labour market. In respect of Action Plans, the system was failing to produce an equitable return:

'The whole tenor of the thing has swung away from the kids to more a business, where people compete for things and put bids in for this, that and the other.... I think there is a danger of the kids being swamped in all this. You know, they (young people) are being elbowed out of the road in all this rush to get bids for the LEC's. They (young people) are never mentioned. We were talking about the Action plans and all that stuff... basically we are dealing with what could be considered as '...how can we get £2000 worth of Action Plans stuff?'. And screw the weans... because at the end of the day, it will not create a single job. Apart from the Careers Service! There are no jobs. It is not going to make a blind bit of difference to the weans whether we have got an Action Plan or not. Okay, it might be alright in (Area 1), but if you live in (Area 2), the Action Plan won't make any difference if there is 400 of you all trying to get a YT place. So we get our knickers in a knot over Action Plans, while back at the ranch, the weans are still on the dole! But these are the main changes. I mean not that the kids in (Area 2) ever had much of a crack at the whip! But I think that maybe we were a wee bit more concerned about them rather than how we now approach it'. (02)

Other changes affected Local Government financial resources. In the disadvantaged area, this led to increasing uncertainty concerning a range of issues within the Careers Service:

'The job has changed completely, the employment market has changed. Local Government has changed. At one time money was provided, now Regions have to find ways of raising revenue. There is also more uncertainty about peoples' jobs. The LEC's are tied up with the funding, but with Local Government, the future of the Regions are in doubt'. (05)

Perceptions of Changes in Operational Philosophy

The aforementioned changes also impacted on careers staffs' operational philosophy within the Careers Service. Overtones of disapproval emerged as some thought the ethos of the Careers Service had changed for the worse:

'I feel the general tenor of the Service has changed. We are having to justify our existence a lot more. There is a lot more outside organisations trying to get their oar in; TVEI, the LEC's etc, the Government's attempt to virtually privatise the Service if they got their way. The school system has obviously changed as well. It is having to undergo changes in the curriculum, how guidance is approached'. (08)

The following careers officer thought a programme of privatisation had actually reached the Careers Service:

'There are going to be changes; the programme of privatisation has reached us I am afraid. Probably in about three years time the Careers Service will not exist in the same form as it does just now. The more cynical amongst us believe we will be moving into direct service with jobs cut and provision reduced. The statutory guide-line where all young people in school must receive a level of careers education will go. We are going to be vulnerable to the whim of the Education Department, who themselves are admittedly under pressure to save money'. (014)

The belief that the Careers Service was increasingly having to justify its existence came through strongly among careers staff. There was an increased emphasis in making the service more 'professional' and 'accountable'. Notwithstanding these issues, careers staff also thought the service was trying to confront change rather than simply respond to it:

'I would say that the rise in youth unemployment has caused many changes to the work that we do. Not so much the work itself, but in the development of specialisations; and probably in the emphasis. Over the years there has been a definite trend to making the service more professional. There is more stress on things like accountability and so forth now which obviously runs hand in hand with the present economic climate and the general ethos that we live in. There is a trend for much closer links with industry, both from ... well from school level upwards. And we are trying... it is the kind of job that

there is always a lot of change going on. I think we are trying very hard to kind of become proactive rather than reactive, which again is a good thing'. (04)

Without question then, the Careers Service is increasingly having to operate within a system subject to several external and internal constraints. Among other things, this involves a shift in the types of career recommendations being made for young people, increased conflict over which groups receive priority guidance from careers staff, and the growth of outside agencies working alongside the Careers Service. Such changes have resulted in careers staff perceiving they now occupy a lower status within the Education Department.

Against this background, further attention to careers staffs' accounts of their role within the Careers Service, including associated work tasks relevant to their employment status, is necessary to an understanding of proactive and reactive decision making. This will also be developed in later analysis when considering careers staffs' management of young people with and without health problems.

CAREERS STAFFS' ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ROLE WITHIN THE CAREERS SERVICE

When discussing their role within the Careers Service, careers officers from both localities echoed the formal definition of their role outlined earlier in chapter four. The following quote is representative of general observations made by careers officers:

'...To provide accurate, informed, up to date, and full guidance information to people who are within our statutory range. This would also extend to adults as required. Attendant upon these functions, obviously there is a whole variety of areas which come into play, such as close liaison with employers, keeping the information that we have on paper up to date, and making sure we are well informed... At the end of the day it's ensuring the best possible service to our clients, who are in the main, young people at school'. (03)

In addition to this, some careers officers put forward a more direct, proactive interpretation of how they might utilise their time more effectively in schools:

'When a careers officer starts in a new school they should have a programme to follow, a workbook they should complete... They must talk to the Head of Careers, the educational psychologist, to the learning support teacher, to school medical officers, to the TVEI (Technical Vocational and Educational Initiative) staff. I would say that is a programme they should adopt. They should not be allowed just to wander into school and from day one start to interview folk, that's nonsense. What they should do is interview these four or five people and find out more about the school, its structure, find out more about Personal and Social Development (PSD) classes, which ties up with careers education. I would say before you interviewed a kid, you did all that'. (013)

The increased involvement with school staff and other relevant school/post school agencies enabled careers staff to identify sources offering additional support and guidance for pupils with and without health problems (chapters 8 and 9). A further issue careers officers discussed in connection with their working role was the type of interviewing system adopted whilst in the school setting.

'Blanket' and 'Open Access' System of Careers Interviews

Although there was an emphasis on negotiation and consultation with school staff, careers staff were critical of the present 'blanket' interview system. In this system, careers officers attempt to interview all young people in schools. This procedure was (broadly) adopted by the two careers offices included in the present research, and generally perceived as inefficient and time-consuming:

'I would say a lot of the time we spend in schools is unproductive. We interview young people who do not need interviews, we might interview four young people who all want the same things and are perfectly suitable for it. Why don't we just do group interviews?. I think there is plenty of ways to manage time better in schools. People get caught up in the process of what they are doing, rather than the purpose of it. And I think it's a classic

of Local Government... of Careers, of the Health Service, of schools. You get caught up in what you are doing, and not why you are doing it'. (013)

The advantages of the 'open access' (or self-referral) system which involved more group interviews with young people was advocated by a careers officer with past working experience of this procedure. Though guidance staff might suggest young people should see the careers officer in school, it was up to pupils whether or not they presented themselves for their careers interview:

'Young people are encouraged to go along to interviews, and guidance staff will say, 'I think you should be going along here'. We did a lot of group work and talks to assemblies, but really, if young people don't want to come along they don't have to. We didn't necessarily believe an interview was the only form of contact. Some young people can come to a group session or presentation and that might be all they need. Also some young people get worked up for a careers interview; it's hard to believe because they are only coming to see us... Which is why group work is important as they are in a different setting with their peers. Other young people need an awful lot more help'. (08)

Perceptions of Young Peoples' Year at School as a Basis for Receiving a Vocational Guidance Interview

Another issue relates to careers officers' perceptions of a young person's year at school as a basis for receiving a Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI). Year groups were prioritised by careers officers and guidance staff when organising VGIs. For example, the following careers officer in Area 1 prioritised 4th year school leavers:

'In fourth year young people would be interviewed. I do it slightly differently from other careers officers, because of the system of the school I work in. But I try to see everyone in fourth year, and to a certain extent probably manage that. In the fifth year it's slightly different in that they (young people) have to request an interview. If they do that, I would certainly see them, assuming they turn up for their appointment. The others... I would occasionally ask to see one or two, based on how they filled in their (pre-interview) questionnaire. But, by and large, if they don't ask for an interview in 5th or 6th year, they won't get one'. (02)

As chapter 8 will outline in more detail, careers officers often negotiated VGI's to complement guidance teachers' working procedures and completion of School Careers Service Report (CS4's). Employment assistants explained how the prioritisation of fourth year leavers for VGI's was an attempt by careers officers to limit the number of interviews taking place in schools:

'The careers officer has a certain way he or she does the interview. They will interview young people who are leaving in the next school term first, then young people who are leaving at Christmas, and then they might move on to the academic young people. They (careers officers) don't do a blanket interview of every young people in 4th, 5th and 6th year, although some schools, not mentioning any names! did try and get the careers officers to do blanket interviews, but the careers officers are not keen to do this, because it is an awful lot of work'. (011)

All fourth year leavers received a VGI as it was important for careers staff to identify early leavers seeking a YT placement or employment. In the present study, a process of 'selective' interviews was carried out by careers officers. This confirmed quantitative findings which showed that more information is recorded in 4th year leavers' units:

... it is those young people who have indicated that they are looking for employment or YT that we (Careers Service) will almost invariably see again and again'. (07)

Division of Responsibility Within the Careers Service: The Role of Employment Assistants

Interviews with careers staff also focused on the division of responsibility within the Careers Service, including the crucial pre-selection role undertaken by employment assistants. As mentioned earlier, it is the careers officer who negotiates the broad occupational recommendation for young people during their VGI, and it is the employment assistant who selects and places young people from this information into available vacancies.

When speaking generally about their responsibilities within the Careers Service, employment assistants identified a wide range of important selection and negotiating skills associated with their role:

' I see my role as... my main duties are interviewing young people to place them into permanent employment or into YT. To go out and monitor young people on training schemes, especially if there are problems with their training; to visit employers and try to get permanent jobs for young people who are in training and who look as though they will not be able to get a job through their training scheme. In general, I deal with the day to day enquiries from the public, ie parents, adults looking for careers information, young people in schools and in training, and carry out general office duties'. (011)

The crucial significance of the employment assistants' role is identified in the following depiction of what takes place after the careers officer makes the first (employment) recommendation with the young person during their VGI:

'The careers officer more or less relinquishes their obligation to the young person unless there is a problem and the young person comes into the office and says '... I am no longer interested in being an airline pilot, I now want to be a warehouse assistant' or whatever. The careers officer would then have to discuss this with the young person, if their recommendation had broadened.... the careers officer is there as a back-up, but really, all the responsibility for the young person goes on the particular employment assistant who is dealing with that particular school'. (010)

Employment assistants also carried out additional interviews with young people if, for example, they left their YT scheme and were looking for an alternative placement. However, the significance of health and other attributes to employment assistants' pre-selection role within the Careers Service is vital. This will be returned to later when careers staffs' perceptions of information recorded in the School Careers Service Report (ch.8) and the Aide Memoire (ch.10) are considered in greater depth.

CONCLUSION

Careers staffs' accounts of the main changes which have affected the Careers Service, therefore, highlight the constraints under which they work. The most significant change was undoubtedly the introduction of Government Youth Training schemes, but in addition the wider opportunity structures operating within the two areas entail more negative consequences for young people in the disadvantaged area. This includes waiting lists to go on to YT, increasing numbers of young people remaining on the Careers Service register as unemployed, and a subsequent growth in young peoples' claims for Hardship Allowance.

These constraints in turn influence careers staffs' working practice; for example, career recommendations can no longer be job specific and increasing numbers of adults now contact the Careers Service, particularly in the disadvantaged area. This subsequently leads to conflict over which groups should receive priority guidance. The growing involvement of outside agencies also promotes criticism of the Development Agency and appropriateness of Individual Action Plans against a background of limited youth training provision. Overall, young people in the disadvantaged area are particularly affected by these changes.

Further consideration of careers staffs' working role examined interview systems within the Careers Service. The 'open access' system was thought to utilise careers officers' time in schools better, though a process of 'selective' interviewing was identified within the two areas, which fitted with the way guidance staff operated in schools. A focus on divisions of responsibility within the Careers Service also draws attention to the vital role played by employment assistants in selecting and placing young people into training and employment.

Careers staff in Area 2 were pessimistic about their clients' future training and employment opportunities, and a general feeling of resignation concerning the overall situation prevailed:

'With young people leaving school this year the situation is going to be even worse. We (careers staff) simply don't know what is going to happen to them. Young people's attitudes are quite defeatist'. (012)

Although these changes did not affect young people in Area 1 to the same degree, there was a strong awareness of, and sympathy extended to, careers staff and young people in the disadvantaged area by their colleagues in the better labour market. Wider opportunity structures within the two areas were identified as crucial in limiting employment opportunities in Area 2:

'Area is very important. (Area 1), being a new town, it attracts a lot of industry. It has a wide industrial base, and a good commercial base. And that is reflected in the employment opportunities and the training opportunities available to young people. The Development Corporation here boasts that we attract one new firm a week here. If you compare that to the situation in (Area 2) just now with the decline in heavy manufacturing industry, engineering and broad commercial base... Also, when the CPA (Community Projects Agency) went and some of the Training Workshops went, there was a big, big gap in the market and it has left a big gap in the market, especially for semi-skilled, unskilled practical type of work. You just need to look about. There is obviously more prosperity in this area than areas like (Area 2). The local labour market is crucially important. We have always had more training opportunities than young people. More employment opportunities than the rest of Strathclyde and that is a reflection of our industrial base'. (01)

On a slightly more positive note a careers officer in the disadvantaged area thought that the Careers Service was attempting to confront these changes:

'The Careers Service is trying very hard to become proactive rather than reactive which is a good thing... it is the kind of job that there is always a lot of change going on'. (06)

Another careers officer in Area 2 put forward his definition of reactive and proactive changes:

'I think there are two types of changes, the first are reactive changes that we (Careers Service) have had to adopt, for example, changes in YT, and in the regulations in YT. Then there is the proactive changes for example, developmental planning, the secondment of careers officers to areas like the

Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) and Compact etc. You see a build up of the partnership model in careers. Thus in the future we won't operate as much as an isolated enclave. If you want to take a very broad generalisation, the careers interview can cover anything from careers education programme to target setting'. (013)

The distinction made by careers officers between proactive and reactive change is very important in the present research. When interviewed, the majority of careers staff in the present study outlined reactive changes taking place within the Careers Service; ie those changes which careers staff have less control over (external constraints). However, despite the growing constraints on careers staffs' role, this research will show that careers staff do adopt a proactive approach to client need.

In chapter 8, analysis is extended to consider some of the above issues in greater depth. Of specific interest are careers staffs' perceptions of their relationship with school guidance staff and receipt of information about health and other attributes recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4). Links with other gatekeepers, particularly those formally engaged to supply health information to the Careers Service, such as the School Medical Service and the Employment Medical Advisory Service, are also examined.

CHAPTER 8

CAREERS STAFFS' PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL/POST SCHOOL GATEKEEPERS AND ASSESSMENT OF INFORMATION RECEIVED ABOUT HEALTH AND OTHER ATTRIBUTES

INTRODUCTION

Developing a good working relationship with other gatekeepers, particularly those gatekeepers who have access to, and document information about, young people's health and other attributes is a vital consideration for careers staff. Chapter eight examines how careers staff view their relationship with school guidance staff, and the information they provide on the School Careers Service Report (CS4). Careers staffs' relationship with other gatekeepers, including the School Medical Service and EMAS (Employment Medical Advisory Service) is also outlined and, in respect of the former, involves their perceptions of information recorded on Y9 and Y10 forms.

RELATIONSHIP WITH SCHOOL GUIDANCE STAFF AND ASSESSMENT OF INFORMATION ON THE SCHOOL CAREERS SERVICE REPORT (CS4)

Generally speaking, school guidance staff get to know young people reasonably well in school. They record information on the CS4 that careers staff have no prior knowledge about, including academic ability, attendance, personality, and behaviour etc, as well as information relating to home background circumstances and health problems (see ch.5)

The crucial importance of the school guidance teacher in assisting careers officers' work in schools was stressed by all careers officers interviewed. School guidance staff were perceived as the main contact point for careers officers in schools. The following view was representative:

'It's a very important relationship because they are the link person in the school. We have got an almost day to day contact with the guidance staff. It's absolutely critical. To me its absolutely crucial that we have a good working

relationship with them, and if it's friendly, so much the better. I mean basically, you really couldn't do your job unless you get their co-operation'. (04)

Careers officers also outlined what they thought their role and relationship with guidance staff in schools should be. This should extend beyond simply giving vocational advice to pupils, and involve communicating information about the youth labour market as well:

'My role with the guidance teacher, I think, would be to set ourselves (careers officers) up as sort of consultants. Not as foot soldiers to do the business - just to go and talk to kids and stand up in front of kids etc, but also to tell teachers basic structures that they need to adopt, things they can't possibly know about the world of work, changes in the structure of education etc'. (013)

Even employment assistants within the Careers Service, who had no direct contact with guidance teachers in schools, thought the relationship between careers officers and these individuals was important. The School Careers Service Report (CS4) produced by guidance staff was considered a vital source of information before the VGL. Information recorded on the CS4 assisted careers staff when making decisions about young people's placement:

'From a background point of view, we rely on guidance staff to give us information on the School Careers Service Report. The quality of these reports does have an influence on how well we can place young people. The reports go through all the aspects of health, qualifications, potential qualifications, general attitude to school and behaviour etc. It gives us a picture of the young person before they come for an interview. Guidance staff should have a really fair knowledge not just of the academic ability of the young person, but of their whole social background. From an administration point of view, they (school guidance staff) are essential'. (03)

Observations of Young people's Year at School as a Basis for the Receipt of the CS4

Careers staff were also asked if the School Careers Service Report mattered more depending on the young person's year in school. Differing opinions emerged from careers staff regarding this issue. The following careers officer in Area 1 thought the CS4 was more important for young people leaving school in 4th

year and less of a priority for 6th year leavers entering further and higher education:

'If a young person is leaving and I don't get a report I tend to chase it up as it's important. If I don't get a report from someone who is wanting to go to college or university, and I'm quite happy with what they are saying to me then, I shouldn't, but I would tend to leave it. But when you are talking about levels of courses and suitability, we really should be placing emphasis on the upper school as well. Sometimes if the guidance teacher has written a report in 4th or 5th year, then the following year they might be a bit lax in giving you a report, and I tend to say to them " ...well if you don't put all the details in, if you just put a wee note in because I have got the other reports". That's probably why you find there is a decrease in the upper school ones'. (03)

The timing of the Vocational Guidance Interview coincided with guidance staffs' working procedures and completion of the School Careers Service Reports. This process was rather arbitrary and could vary within schools. Although most guidance teachers did complete CS4's for all year groups, the following example in Area 1 is an exception:

'One of the reasons that I interview all the 4th years is because I don't get school reports on 5th and 6th years. I'll get their results but I don't get a school report, because it is the system that guidance staff use. When young people get to 4th year they get a different model of guidance, and the guy who does that actually doesn't know these weans. He gets them fresh in 5th year, and he has never clapped eyes on them. He is also the only one that is doing reports, so you are talking of... one guy, who has 250 weans he has never seen before, so you (careers officers) didn't get reports. The way round that was to get young people all seen in 4th year, so that I have got reports up to 4th year. It (CS4) won't have changed that much between 4th year and 5th year. I have got their academic predictions and that's as much as I need. In other schools young people will still get a 5th or 6th year report because they have still got the same guidance teacher who has seen them since first year. It's a better system'. (02)

The following careers officer identified time constraints and pressure of work impacting on guidance staffs' ability to produce sufficient CS4's for all pupils:

'I'll be diplomatic about this. In the main we get school reports for most young people. Guidance staff can be put under pressure. For example, you might get a guidance teacher with three panel reports to produce and half a dozen urgent references to produce. Because we have a weekly programme for interviews, they may genuinely not have the time to provide you with a school report'. (01)

Although agreeing that guidance staff were under pressure in school, the following careers officer in Area 2 thought there was still a need for relevant information from the CS4 for every young person in school, irrespective of their level of ability:

'Any young person with, for example, learning difficulties... it's easier to deal with a young person who has five highers than to deal with someone who is struggling to read the Daily Record. That's not to disparage teachers. It's to say the pressures on a teacher in a mainstream school, who maybe has a class and sitting in front of them is an extremely bright kid, and an extremely not bright kid and they are supposed to give one lesson over to that kid. The not bright kid in comparison can look extremely poor. However, considering young people spend quite a lot of time at school I think it's important to know how they are doing. You need information. I wouldn't have a blanket system within the Careers Service anyway, but you can make as big an arse of decision making about higher education as you can about YT, and it's a helluva lot easier to change a YT scheme than it is to change a university course'. (08)

Careers staff also highlighted how they sometimes received a copy of the Work Experience Pupil Assessment form¹ from guidance staff (see appendix 8.1). The Work Experience form is completed by employers and includes assessments about young people's attendance and timekeeping, as well as more subjective information concerning appearance, ability to communicate and self-confidence. Careers staffs' interpretations of this information should, however, take into account that pupils are only on work experience for a very short period, and that this is located in a very different environment from the school setting. Moreover, employers have no prior knowledge of the young person undertaking the course. As can be seen, the following careers officer showed an over-readiness to generalise from information documented on the Work Experience Pupil Assessment form. This was more likely to occur in situations where there was some ambiguity between careers officers' assessments and those of the school:

¹ This document was identified by careers staff during semi-structured interviews and was not available in the units during fieldwork analysis.

'... particularly for young people on the borderline... the school might put something down about them and you find them slightly different, for example confident and you find them shy etc, so careers staff can see what young people were like in their Work Experience Report'. (06)

It is also possible that if there was limited information available about young people from other sources (for example on the CS4 or Aide Memoire), careers staff might pay more attention to information recorded on the Work Experience Pupil Assessment form.

In addition to asking careers officers about their relationship with guidance staff and receipt of CS4's, their assessments of the various types of information documented on the CS4 were examined.

DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION ON THE CS4: CAREERS STAFFS' EVALUATION OF INFORMATION FROM THE SCHOOL CAREERS SERVICE REPORT

Interviews with careers staff aimed to investigate precisely which information on the CS4 was considered most important, particularly when making career recommendations and selecting young people for placement. At a general level, careers staff stressed the importance of all information on the CS4. However, when asked what information they thought was most useful, a more complex picture emerged. The majority of careers staff held similar perspectives regarding the relevance of information from the CS4 that they had no prior knowledge about before the VGI. This included academic predictions, health, and behavioural information about their client. The following illustrates these views:

'All important... They (CS4's) are always useful because kids tend to have a different outlook on their ability compared to what teachers will say. There is always a disparity between what they think they are doing and what the school thinks they are doing. It gives you another view on young people's academic ability, behaviour, even illnesses and things like that. Attendance. Because no kid is going to say to you "I am constantly dogging it!". And there is no... other than the school report there is no way of assessing that.. Information most useful... well I think academic ability is important. Just their general attitude in school, how they behave. That kind of thing. And any health problems that the kid is not going to tell you about'. (03)

However, careers officers did not consider the content of School Careers Service Reports to be all of the same standard:

'If they are done well they are very good. Information does vary and it can be patchy. Some guidance teachers would write a lot and tell you very little. I got school reports that were completed by the young people themselves!. This was really a waste of time, as I could have asked the young people this information myself. (05)

Only one, more experienced, senior careers officer did not put as much emphasis on the CS4; pointing out that most of the information he needed could be obtained during the VGI. The majority did not share this view and relied on the CS4 as necessary background information before their client's interview:

'I think the school report is useful. I wouldn't say it is absolutely crucial. I wouldn't refuse to do an interview because I didn't have a school report. Maybe I would have requested a school report at the start of my career but I don't think I would now... maybe it's just laziness, I don't know. I think I can find out most of the stuff. If I think a kid is having me on then I will enquire about it. But I think you get the feel of the situation... sometimes just how they behave at the interview. The school report doesn't tell you everything. You have to divine some of the sticks for yourself'. (02)

Furthermore, although all careers officers were very positive about their relationship with guidance staff, reservations emerged regarding the content of information documented on the CS4. The following careers officer's concern was that the CS4 might not accurately represent young people's experiences in school, but instead, reflect guidance teachers' 'impressions' about the young person:

'It depends how good they (CS4's) are. Good ones are good and bad ones are useless. To some extent you have to remember that you are getting an impression from a teacher, about a certain achievement, performance, criteria, related to one individual, in one setting, which is the school setting. I think... I've always felt that the school reports, in particular the CS4, which we use, allow teachers to make decisions or impressions of things which can be profoundly irrelevant. I've read school reports which have been very damning in terms of what young people do in schools and maybe the point was the school didn't meet that young person's need and that was reflected in the CS4'. (014)

'Accepting' and 'Non-Accepting' Orientations in Relation to Information Documented on the CS4

Among careers officers, there were general orientations involving different personal ideologies, which related to the legitimacy of others to make evaluations about young people. When assessing the content of information on the CS4, two broad orientations were discernible; careers officers were mostly accepting of information on the CS4 or not. One third of careers officers interviewed indicated that they were non-accepting of this information. For example, the following careers officer in the disadvantaged area stressed that situational factors might affect how young people responded within the school setting. A concern surrounding subjective assessments adopted by guidance staff was clearly evident:

'Personality? That can be difficult to access. The young person might behave differently in certain situations. You can't access someone's personality in one line. For example from comments like "A good type of boy". What does that mean? Does it mean - is he like my son? Does it mean - is he like me? Ability to mix? That's pretty relevant. If young people are loners in class and that's something you can observe over the years, that's fair enough. Behaviour? How can you judge someone's behaviour? Unless you are saying they were suspended on these four occasions etc. I think that's behaviour. I think if you write down "surly", that just might mean they (young person) don't like you, and why would they have to like you to get a good school report or good careers' report? Reliability? Again, I mean, has that got to do with what you want? ie "okay sir, I will go and do that", they are reliable?. I can tell that boy to go and do something, and maybe because he is shit scared of me, he might go and do it. Whereas, someone who has more of an independent streak might say "why should I go and do what you want?". Timekeeping and attendance, yes again, I say to young people, "There is no point in being the best brickie in the world if you are going to lie in your kip". Health is vital. Personal appearance and hygiene? Well that's middle class garbage isn't it? Middle class crap. If you live in a house where... I mean I have worked with families where the father and the son couldn't go out at the same time because they only had one pair of shoes. I am not kidding, that *has* happened. What right do I, earning 17 grand a year, having to look at these young people and say... "you want to see the state of them, their socks were filthy, he was wearing his tatty old trainers and an old pair of trousers". I mean that's gross impertinence'. (013)

It is apparent from the above that certain information recorded by guidance staff can elicit a charge of middle class bias and lack of understanding of those from deprived backgrounds. This careers officer's ideology is further articulated in his comments about two schools situated in Area 2:

'It's interesting if you look at (Area 2). There is a school which is ringed by APT's (Areas of Priority Treatment). We are talking slums here, really difficult circumstances. This is one of the best schools I have ever been in. Its pastoral programme is superb, its views on the future are incredible. It's a school, although situated in an APT, I'd be happy to send my kids to it. Another school in contrast is (.....). It has in the past been a very top drawer academic school, but I think their delivery of things is a lot less imaginative. It's not that they discriminate against less able kids, but their understanding of the needs of people from deprived backgrounds is much less responsive'. (013)

The way in which careers officers in the disadvantaged area had to deal with very difficult problems facing their client was highlighted by a careers officer who had recently moved to this division:

'The majority of careers officers from this division are quite probably from a middle class background. I am. Having said that, one thing that struck me about working in this Division compared to my experience of other parts of the country, is that... there is the idea that the Careers Service is stuffy and middle class etc and it can come over that way. My feeling is that I am really quite impressed. I mean, I don't have to say this, it is really quite true. I am impressed with the careers officers here and how they have to deal with very, very difficult groups of young people... There is only so much the Careers Service can do'. (07)

Other careers officers, however, adopted a more 'accepting' viewpoint of information on the CS4. This particularly related to information that careers staff could not assess themselves. An uncritical distinction was made between information relied on from guidance staff on the CS4 and information obtained by careers officers during the VGI. This varied, but generally included information about a young person's time-keeping and attendance, academic ability, health, behaviour and home background circumstances. The quote below is representative of those careers officers following this approach:

'We (careers officers) find out things like health, academic potential and any special circumstances from the CS4. We do depend on the guidance staff to keep us informed. There are some things that we can get a clue about at an

interview, for example verbal communication, personality, but we have only half an hour (for the careers interview) so you can get an inkling, you don't find out very much. Things like behaviour... you would not have any idea about what a young person's behaviour was like without getting some report. Ability to mix, you might be able to conclude something about that yourself. Timekeeping and attendance, young people are not always very forthcoming about this, so that is useful to know. I think things like personal appearance and hygiene... the schools usually offer something, but usually if it is one extreme or the other, perhaps. But these things we could normally assess ourselves. So things we would be looking for would be things we couldn't see for ourselves really'. (03)

As shown, the tendency of guidance staff to pay attention to dominant (extreme) characteristics about young people was pointed out by careers staff. When making decisions about placements, some reservations about the content of information on the CS4 were made. Overall, a majority of careers officers thought young people might react differently within a working environment to the way they respond in school. The following illustrates these views:

'Some of it is very subjective. It's (information on the CS4) all useful but I would take all of it with a pinch of salt. Because, some young people just don't like school, or they don't like the teachers, or the teachers don't like them. Especially things like personality, behaviour and reliability. I mean, I had a school report last week, basically saying this boy couldn't be recommended for anything. He was this, that and the next thing, and he is holding down a job just now and his attitude is completely different in the work situation. So, health is useful, ability to mix is useful, but some young people are just naturally loners so it can look like a criticism. Academic predictions are really useful because sometimes young people don't really know how they will get on; they might under- or over-aspire. Personal appearance and hygiene can be pretty subjective as well. Sometimes young people can be really casually dressed and the teacher does not approve'. (08)

The majority of careers staff from both localities mentioned situational and subjective factors as being important when assessing information documented on the CS4. Such observations are important as they highlight the possibility of negative stereotypes being created about specific types of young people - a possibility alluded to by one careers officer:

'Timekeeping and attendance is an indication of how the young person relates to school. But especially with early statutory leavers, because these young people don't attend, it doesn't mean they will not attend at work. It might be that the

school has nothing to offer the young person or they might have problems, for example learning difficulties etc and therefore don't like school. I think it is really important to find out why the young person was not attending school'.(05)

Although one third of careers officers indicated that they had reservations about certain information on the CS4, particularly negative information about time-keeping and attendance, academic ability and behaviour etc, ironically, as will be discussed in more depth in chapter ten, similar practices were adopted by careers officers themselves when completing the Aide Memoire (CS2).

Employment Assistants' Decision Making from information on the CS4

The relevance of information on the CS4 for decision making regarding placement is most strongly indicated in interviews with employment assistants. This revealed how managing agents and employers stipulate specific criteria to careers staff regarding the type of young person they are looking for. During the pre-selection stage, information in the young person's unit (CS1), specifically from the CS4 (and Aide Memoire; see ch.10), is prioritised by employment assistants to meet employers' recruitment requirements. As can be seen from the following, young people with negative attributes might not be selected for available vacancies.

'If an employer was red hot on timekeeping and attendance and a young person's School Careers Service Report said this was abysmal then obviously, you are not going to send them. There are going to be young people with good timekeeping and attendance so therefore you are going to take them before you take someone like that'. (09)

Overall, employment assistants tended to be accepting of information documented on the CS4. This orientation has to be viewed within the context of their pre-selection role in meeting employers and managing agents' recruitment criteria.

The concept of a Pre-Selection Service to Employers as a Characteristic of the Careers Service Role

In the disadvantaged area, employment assistants identified how dependent the Careers Service was on employers contacting them. Consequently, if they did not pre-select young people according to employers' criteria, recruitment might take place elsewhere:

'If an employer comes to the Careers Service and you are offering a pre-selection service, then that is what you do, you pre-select. So we are saying you (the employer) are looking for this type of person X,Y and Z, so we will send you six candidates, exactly what you are looking for. Because if we don't do that, they will just advertise in the papers. So we are saying to them, "come to us with your vacancy and we will give you the suitable young people". (06)

The concept of the Careers Service offering employers a free selection service was also identified by careers officers. Information available in the young person's unit was crucial in fulfilling the pre-selection role:

'How important is information in the unit in terms of the selection of a young person to be sent for vacancies? Well it's the basis of the selection that we do. We tell employers that we offer them a free selection service, a free screening service. So, yes, the information that is contained within the unit is the basis on how we select young people. The main starting point is the (careers officer's) recommendation'. (01)

Careers Officers' Rationale for De-labelling Negative Information from the CS4:

What careers officers do with information on the CS4 is another matter. For example, the following careers officer admitted to not writing negative timekeeping and attendance information on the school report to the Aide Memoire, on the grounds that situational factors were important in affecting how young people responded within the school setting:

'Timekeeping and attendance, quite important from an employer's point of view, but I probably wouldn't disclose anything like that because it could just be the school'. (08)

This is very important. It is an example of an orientation adopted by careers officers who choose not to record negative information from the School Careers Service Report (CS4)² on to the young persons' unit card (CS1) or Aide Memoire (CS2). In this orientation, the careers officer actively takes part in a process of de-labelling in order to protect the young person involved. The view that young people might behave more positively within a working environment is used as a justification. Situational factors were also identified as important when assessing a young person's personality:

'It is useful to know how the young person functions as an individual in the school, because again it is difficult in a short interview to get an assessment of their personality. The young person can change when they come out of school. Sometimes school is not really their place, so I tend to take on board what is said (in the CS4), but bear in mind that it could change'. (05)

As well as making observations about the types of information recorded on the School Careers Service Report, careers officers revealed how this information was communicated between the two agencies. This involved the distinction between formal (written) and informal (verbal) communication.

Information as Circumspect Knowledge: Variations in Accounts of Formal and Informal Communication from the CS4

The method of communication between guidance staff and careers officers depended essentially on how good the relationship was between the two agencies. The type of information disclosed was also very important. If information on the CS4 was considered 'circumspect knowledge', guidance staff were more likely to communicate this information verbally to careers officers

² Chapter 10 identifies careers officers attempts at de-labelling information they record themselves on the Aide Memoire (CS2).

(sometimes by writing "see me later" in the 'General Comments' section of the CS4). This included information about the young person's home background and domestic circumstances; for example, if homeless, under social work supervision, or if their parents were divorced etc.

The majority of careers officers pointed out that informal means of communication took place with guidance staff and, overall, accepted this procedure. The main emphasis was on careers staff receiving relevant (though potentially negative and stigmatising) background information about young people which might impact on decision making about placement.

The following senior careers officer, quoted below, thought the quality of information recorded on the CS4 related to how well guidance staff knew young people. If guidance teachers did not put a lot of information down on the CS4, or communicate this verbally to careers officers, it was because they did not have much information about the young person they were dealing with. Information which was disclosed informally was expressed within the context of guidance staff simply 'filling in gaps' to careers officers regarding additional information they had about the young person:

'There might be a lot of information on the school report and if the guidance staff put something down like "see me later", this is to fill in the gaps as to why something happened, for example, domestic problems etc, rather than having a blank report. Reports which do say "see me later" are usually very good, with a lot of information about the young person. The guidance staff might want to see the careers officer to explain for example why the young person's attendance is very poor. The key to it all is if the careers officers have got to know the guidance staff and if the guidance staff know the young people'. (05)

This careers officer pointed out that some guidance teachers might complete a very poor school report and be prepared to give the careers officer a very good verbal report. The main priority was the receipt of relevant information to assist careers staff during placement:

'... it is better to speak to guidance staff verbally, than receive a very badly written school report, as we (careers officers) are only interested to see if there are any problems regarding placing young people'. (05)

Careers officers were also aware that guidance staff might not want to disclose information. The following careers officer, though positive about information from the CS4's, identified this as an important omission. It was therefore necessary to reassure guidance staff why careers officers needed this information:

'These (CS4's) were excellent, I always got reports before my interviews. However, there were exceptions as some teachers did not see the point of completing them. So I had meetings with guidance staff to explain why careers officers needed this information and to allay their fears. Some guidance teachers might have an initial fear with confidentiality, until they get to know the careers officer and build up trust... If there was something particularly sensitive and they (guidance staff) don't want to write it down, this is where the personal contact comes in and you (careers officer) can say '... well, just put "see me later" and we can have a wee chat about it, and it's not going down on paper or on the records, and that gets over any hang-ups they (guidance staff) might have about something that's a bit naughty'. (03)

The following careers officer pointed out that background information wasn't always available. These comments are important as they suggest school guidance staff themselves might be reluctant to record information on the CS4:

'Where it (CS4) falls down, I think, is that we don't always get the home background. You know, I feel maybe we should. Maybe it's none of our business, but I suppose that it can be important to know that, for example, mum and dad are separated or that the dad has died etc. To be forewarned can be quite useful'. (02)

Careers officers could also be referred by guidance staff to other gatekeepers to receive additional information:

'The content of the school report is very good, it's not sort of vague statements or anything like that. I can go back to guidance staff and say 'I have this girl here, can you give me some more information?' And that is not a problem. What they (guidance staff) also do is, if the young person is seeing the school psychologist, they would refer me to her and she would give me up-to-date information, plus a verbal statement as well. It gives you a good idea about the young person. So, yes I am quite happy about my reports'. (06)

While most careers officers were accepting of this informal method of communicating information, others were not. The following careers officer was

the most outspoken among the minority who expressed a critical orientation to such methods. This was particularly evident in respect of the transmission of negative information about the young person's domestic circumstances:

'I think if people (guidance staff) want to make general comments, I would always say they write it down. I don't want them coming to me at the tea-break and saying, " ... guess what I think about this guy... his big brother has been done for stealing, and his dad's drunk all the time". I don't want them telling me that. If he knows that as fact and he thinks it is relevant, which is another question, if he thinks it is relevant to the employment prospects of the young person, then he writes it down. He doesn't tell me a wee sort of... other people might be quite happy with that, I'm not. Everything has to be above board. Because what he is trying to do, he is trying to lay it all on you, the responsibility for writing it down. What he might know as a fact, you know as hearsay. So the fact that you are writing it down, you are writing down gossip.... and that's not on. So any general comments they (guidance staff) want to make, I would prefer them to make them on the CS4, and to make them as factual as possible'. (013)

This careers officer went on to use the concept of 'the professional club' to illustrate the way guidance staff and careers officers negotiate information to each other:

'This "see me later", that's nonsense. This is the professional club, you know, "I'll tell you because you are a fellow professional", and you tell me because I am a fellow professional. Now considering the fact that people now can get access to their units, I think you have to be a lot more circumspect as to what we tittle tattle about with kids. And I'm not saying that we can't find out interesting and relevant things. What I am saying is that people have a right to know what is being said about them'. (013)

Overall, information recorded on the CS4 regarding a young person's home background was perceived by the majority of careers staff as being useful additional information to have when making decisions about placement. It was the way this information was communicated and whether or not this was particularly relevant which caused concern among a minority of careers officers. If careers officers received personal information from guidance staff, care would be taken not to embarrass the young person during their careers interview:

'I find it useful to know if there is anything on the CS4 about the youngster's background which would perhaps have a knock on affect in their occupational

life... that they were always being disruptive for some reason, or if they have been in some kind of bother etc. Sometimes this can have a knock on effect, which can be useful from the point of not treading on any toes during the vocational guidance interview. Or if the young person is going to become homeless or whatever, which obviously would affect them'. (04)

Careers staff pointed out that if they had more background information, young people could be offered additional support during their training or receive information on benefits which might be relevant to them.

In summary, the foregoing analysis has demonstrated a widespread consensus among all careers officers about the necessity of establishing a good working relationship with guidance staff in schools, and in receiving the School Careers Service Report (CS4). However, in a number of other respects, careers staffs' views were more diverse.

Three main issues emerged from careers officers' perceptions of school guidance staff and receipt of the CS4. The first is that while overall, careers officers were satisfied with the type and level of information documented, some were critical in a number of ways. Within this context, careers officers were broadly categorised as accepting of information or not. In the former orientation, careers officers were relatively uncritical, a distinction being drawn between information available from the CS4, and that which careers officers record themselves during the VGI. Among those careers officers adopting a non-accepting orientation, they were more critical of information on the CS4, this being related particularly to negative information recorded about young people's appearance and personality, and the way in which situational and subjective factors may have influenced guidance staffs' views.

Second, employment assistants all indicated accepting orientations in respect of information recorded on the CS4. This is viewed within the context of their role of pre-selecting young people for placements and in affirming employers' recruitment criteria.

Third, careers officers pointed out how some background information, for example domestic problems at home or social work involvement, was considered as 'circumspect knowledge' by guidance staff and therefore communicated informally (verbally) to the Careers Service, rather than recorded on the CS4. This practice was again accepted by some careers officers and not by others, and may be one way labelling and negative selection processes are reduced.

The situation facing careers officers bears some striking similarities to the focus of social psychological research on attribution theory. This has shown how selection interviews carried out by occupational counsellors attribute too much to a young person's disposition and too little to the (interview) situation itself and its effect on the individual. This has been termed the 'fundamental attribution error' (Jones & Davis 1965; Jones & Harris 1967; Jones 1979), and has received more detailed attention elsewhere (Schmitt 1976; Herriot 1981).

The tendency of occupational counsellors to focus on 'first impressions' and form negative or positive impressions about young people early in the interview is highlighted. This might be more likely when the counsellor has received prior (negative or positive) information about young people from others (ie school staff, the social work department, educational psychologist etc). This is not to suggest that such information will automatically lead to young people being negatively or positively evaluated (or labelled), though there is evidence to show that low expectations about a candidate require a good deal of disconfirming evidence before they are overcome.

More attention is also paid to negative information than favourable information (London & Hankel 1974). Research evidence suggests that an interviewer's evaluation of the suitability of a candidate for employment will be biased by his personal feelings towards him/her. As Keenan (1977:283) observes:

'Since liking is known to be powerfully influenced by perceived similarity (Byrne 1971), it seems reasonable to suggest that liking is at least partly determined by the degree of compatibility between interviewer and interviewee'.

Finally, a further potential source of attributional bias is that which can be inferred from the application of a general prototype (Herriot 1981); for example, 'a good type of boy or girl', or a 'low achiever' etc. Another counsellor meeting the young person for the first time during a short interview, might, as Herriot (1981:169) suggests, 'run the risk of forming highly consistent and undifferentiated general impressions of candidates'.

As will be shown, careers officers record similar information to guidance staff on the Aide Memoire (CS2) document, though they respond to it in a different way. Factors influencing the completion of the Aide Memoire and how careers staff perceive this information and use it during selection processes will be considered in more detail later (ch.10).

The Careers Services' relationship with other gatekeepers, particularly those who have access to information about health is vital. What follows next is careers staffs' perceptions of information and advice from the School Medical Service and the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS).

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE AND RECEIPT OF HEALTH INFORMATION

'The Careers Service has had plenty of young people who write on their Pre-Interview form (CS18a) that they have asthma or if they are colour-blind. I'm sure that the School Medical Officers are aware of this... if they have already seen these young people, which presumably they have... but they obviously don't think it is important enough to tell us. Also, if the young person has, for example, got asthma and has controlled this with inhalers for a number of years, the School Medical Service might think the Careers Service need not know this information. I don't think the School Medical Service meet our expectations to be honest. I'll see a number of young people in school with health problems and I'll have no school medical back-up information on them. I'm very reliant on the guidance staff for information on the CS4, or on information from the young person, whether it's on their Pre-Interview form that they have completed themselves, or at the interview stage'. (03)

When interviewed, all careers staff stressed the need for relevant (health) information in order to make proper decisions about young people's career recommendations and placement. However, because the Careers Service did not always receive this, their client could be placed into training or employment which could make their health condition worse. Indeed, in some instances, the Careers Service did not know a young person had a health problem until employers and managing agents confronted them about this.

The School Careers Service Report (CS4) was viewed as essential for providing relevant health information to careers staff. Young people themselves could also provide information about their health on the CS18a form (pre-interview questionnaire), but not all are forthcoming about revealing health problems to careers staff (ch.5).

Careers staff were therefore asked how they perceived their relationship with other gatekeepers, particularly those who had access to and recorded information about young people with health problems (School Medical Service), or who could give the Careers Service advice about the suitability of specific forms of employment for young people with health problems (EMAS) the Employment Medical Advisory Service. Careers staffs' views about the availability, content and relevance of information received from these agencies³ included Y9 and Y10 forms from the School Medical Service.

Perceptions of the School Medical Service and Receipt of Y9/Y10 forms

For the majority of mainstream careers staff, the only contact they had with the School Medical Service was when the Careers Service received a copy of a Y9 or Y10 form. As the following careers officer in Area 1 pointed out:

'The only contact we have is the receipt of a Y9 or Y10 form. Special needs careers officers might receive more Y10 forms, as they can have a closer relationship with the School Medical Service than the mainstream careers

³ Examples of documents from these agencies (including Y9 and Y10 forms) are shown at the end of the thesis.

officers. We've got to say, in this division we do not have much contact with the School Medical Service, you know, formal contact. The last time I saw a Y9 form was when... (careers officer laughs) Celtic won the league! I'm not sure if they (school medical officers) even know about Y9's these days'. (01)

Careers officers thought School Medical Officers were probably aware of young people in mainstream schools who had health problems, but concluded that they might not consider this information a priority for the Careers Service. As the opening quote illustrates, alternative mechanisms for obtaining health information are developed by careers staff. Of interest is how careers staff operate within a context of uncertainty when dealing with young people with health problems.

Employment assistants in both localities also pointed out that the Careers Service rarely received Y9 forms from the School Medical Service. In some instances, if they did receive a Y9 form, it was erroneously sent out well in advance of the young person's school leaving date:

'We don't really have a relationship with the School Medical Service. I honestly couldn't tell you the name of anyone involved with the School Medical Service. Occasionally we get Y9 forms... I have been in the Careers Service for 17 years and the only contact I have had with School Medical Officers was to phone them up to tell them I was returning a Y9 form, to be returned to us (Careers Service) at a later date because it had been sent to the careers office and the young person was still at primary school'. (09)

The following careers officer complained about inadequate health information from the School Medical Service, particularly for specific health problems which could affect a young person in the working environment:

'Nightmare... Really we have got to the stage where we have got to write to the School Medical Officer and get one (Y9 form). For example, for a young person with cerebral palsy, we (careers officers) can't contact EMAS (Employment Medical Advisory Service) until the young person leaves school. Every young person gets a medical at whatever age it is, and School Medical Officers, if they identify a medical problem which could be detrimental to the young person in a work situation, should automatically complete a Y9... but they don't'. (08)

This lack of communication was perceived as more problematic because of the increasingly high numbers of young people with special needs being integrated into mainstream schools. For some clients with health problems, careers staff found it difficult to make proper judgements about placement without adequate medical advice:

'There is no communication, there is no facility for communication... I don't know who controls what they (School Medical Officers) do in relation to us. It is no wonder we don't get much... Also, there are less and less young people going to special schools. More young people are being integrated into mainstream schools. So this is going to blow up. And it is going to have to be sorted out... Very, very occasionally I would ask the School Medical Service to complete a full report. But that is most unusual... The last one I had was a lad who had a form of ataxia, and it was very difficult to make any kind of assessment on him. So I wanted to get a medical opinion on it. It wasn't an illness that he had, so there was no point in going to EMAS'. (03)

Overall, the majority of careers staff had negative perceptions of the School Medical Service. When the Careers Service did receive information on the Y9 form, this was often considered "worse than useless". In certain circumstances, careers staff might consider it a waste of time to contact the School Medical Service to ask them why there was no Y9 or Y10 form available for some clients:

'A young person might be two months into their training scheme and discover that their health is causing them problems. Careers staff are not going to go back to the School Medical Officers and say 'where was this young person's Y9 form?'. Careers staff might contact EMAS or the young person's GP. There is not much point in contacting the school medical officers once the horse has bolted'. (010)

It was also argued that if the Careers Service did not have enough health information to place a client and there was no Y9 form available, careers officers might be more prone to criticise the School Medical Service. This was even more likely if the young person entered employment which made their health condition worse. In the following comments, a proactive, de-labelling approach to the management of health information was put forward:

'Careers officers might have a tendency to be more critical of the Y9 system if they were caught out by it... It is not the first time I have heard of a situation where a young person was placed into employment which was not suitable for

them, because the Careers Service did not have enough information about their health problem... Some young people are very touchy about their health and any careers officer worth their salt is not looking to label a young person. But it goes back to the realism of the situation. There is no point in a young person being in employment if it is totally unrealistic to their needs. Trying to place a young person might take much more than one interview'. (05)

Careers staff also revealed how the Careers Service might receive a Y9 form for a young person with colour blindness and asthma, but not for other health problems. In both localities, the receipt of Y9 forms for specific health conditions was identified as a very arbitrary process:

'It seems to be very patchy. Again, this is just my impression, but I can think of having Y9's for a young person with colour blindness, the odd one for a young person with asthma... and that tends to be the favourite. Other types of medical conditions, diabetes, hearing and so on, no I can't... It seems to be kind of hit and miss almost. I don't know how the School Medical Officers operate any more. In a previous job I worked in Glasgow, it used to be that every young person at the end of 3rd year had a school medical. We used to get Y9's for a young person without any health problems! I'm not aware of a strong input from the school medical board in this division'. (01)

The Y9 Form as a Health Indicator

Despite the need for health information and the obvious criticism of school medical officers for not providing it, the Y9 form was regarded as useful in alerting careers officers about possible health problems. More detailed information could then be obtained from other gatekeepers if the health problem impacted upon the type of career a young person was interested in:

'I think it's fine as long as we get it. Because again, it's a starting point. A Y9 is just alerting me to a potential health problem. Now, again, depending on the young person's aspirations and their career choices, that will either be a factor or will not be a factor. If it is to be a factor in terms of the young person's career choice, then we will tend to follow it up through EMAS and get more detailed information. So, really the Y9, although it is very simple information that you are getting, it is putting a marker down for you. It's alerting you to the fact and you can take it further'. (013)

Other careers officers had similar observations. The content of Y9 forms were criticised, but the information was from an official source and at least allowed careers staff to make further enquiries about a young person's health problem:

'In general the Y9 is pretty useless... but at least it's something medical and official. It gives you an opening to pursue more information. I have problems with things like epilepsy. You know, what kind of epilepsy is it? And what kind of effect does it have on the young person's life?'. (08)

Impressions of 'Coded' Health Information on the Y9 Form

School Medical Officers do not disclose medical information on the Y9 form (see Appendix 2.6), but instead alert the Careers Service to work situations which may be unsafe for their client. For example, a pupil may be not suitable for: 'work involving exposure to dust and fumes (implying asthma), or 'work at heights or near vehicles or machinery' (implying epilepsy). This is a very good example of official de-labelling processes being adopted by the School Medical Service when communicating health information to the Careers Service (see ch.2). Because of the way information was 'coded' on the Y9 form, careers staff were often very confused about how to interpret it. The need for more communication between the two agencies and the recording of adequate health information on this form was suggested by careers staff:

'I think just to tick a thing that, you know, young people shouldn't work at heights, or lift heavy things, it (Y9) isn't necessarily all that helpful. How high is high? How heavy is heavy? Are we talking about lifting a bag of sugar or a bag of coal? There is a helluva difference between the two. It could be more detailed, but maybe that then means the careers officer going to see the doctor or whoever to say "What do you mean by that?" And maybe we don't. Maybe we just say the (young person) shouldn't work at heights, so we would tell them not to be a painter or a steeplejack or a slater or something'. (02)

As well as the Careers Service, careers staff highlighted how other agencies such as EMAS did not receive adequate information from the School Medical Service. According to the following careers officer, this was because school medical

officers thought young people might be stigmatised if actual health information was recorded:

'The situation could be improved to do with the Y9's. For example, we have area meetings with them (School Medical Officers). We did that last year and EMAS and the school medical officers ended up fighting with one another. This clinical co-ordinator would not tell us anything. They wouldn't tell us if anyone had epilepsy in case they (young people) were discriminated against and it would be a stigma. He (school medical officer) would write things like "vertigo" or "...doesn't like heights". Any time we (careers officers) got that on a Y9, it would be a situation where we were asking ourselves "...is it really that the young person doesn't like heights? Or really has the young person got vertigo? Or might the young person have epilepsy?". So we had big arguments about that. Although it did improve a bit after that. We have got strict codes of confidentiality. We are using the information to help the young person'. (08)

The Y10 Form and Critique of Medical Terminology

Criticisms of the Y10 form were also evident among careers staff (see Appendix 2.7). Although health information was recorded on the Y10, careers staff could not understand the medical terminology used by the School Medical Officers:

Sometimes you get in school... you get reports on handicapped kids, and you don't know what they mean... it doesn't mean anything. They (school medical officers) are talking about the young person's eyesight. And they are talking about terms like... ocular minus 20. Minus 20 from what? I don't even know what 20/20 vision is! I know that it is good, but what is 30/20 or... ? It doesn't mean anything to me! If they say that their (young person's) eyesight is maybe not that great in their left eye, then it would be a lot clearer! But to use technical terms doesn't help at all' (02)

Employment assistants also had difficulty understanding the medical terminology used by School Medical Officers and often referred to a medical dictionary for more information:

'We have a medical dictionary in the careers office for the very reason that we can't understand the medical terminology on the Y10 forms. Why they (school medical officers) can't just put the information in ordinary layman's terms I don't know... It's a waste of time'. (010)

A crucial issue highlighted by a senior careers officer regarding the implications of not disclosing health information to the Careers Service related to unwarranted or inadvertent restriction on opportunities for young people. It was therefore important that school medical officers understood why careers staff required more information. Proactive measures could then be taken by careers staff to assist those with health problems:

I suppose, to be charitable, I could say it's to do with their (school medical officers) workload. Again, because I'm not actually aware of the system that they operate, I can't really comment. I mean, you could make all sorts of comments you know. I could make some educated guesses about what is happening. I would hope that in most of the cases it wouldn't be because of the fear that the Careers Service might discriminate against a young person in the labour market... and if that was the view of the School Medical Service, then that's the Careers Service's problem, as far as I'm concerned. It's for us to make sure they (school medical officers) know what our role is, and how we handle information. And how in fact they may be discriminating against young people by not disclosing information. I don't know... It can actually work the other way. In fact, in a lot of cases, if a medical problem is highlighted to the careers officer, that can actually work to the advantage of the young person, in terms of the eventual placement. Also, the ability to use all the different support services, you can call on specialised grants and so on'. (01)

Epilepsy was identified as an example of a medical condition where careers staff might be confused about what types of employment a young person could cope with. Again, it was stressed how inadequate health information from school medical officers and other agencies could result in a 'narrowing' of employment opportunities and potentially limit careers staffs' proactive response:

I don't know what the school medical officers' obligations are on all this. Personally I think one should be issued for every health category on the wretched thing (Y9 form). Otherwise, why do we have them in the first place? I would like to see them issue Y9 forms for all young people to whom they apply. I mean to say, school medical officers don't want a young person discriminated against... that's a moral thing isn't it? And if it is the case then it shows a lack of understanding as to what we do. Because in fact, the more information we have on the young person, the more we can do. If we just know it is epilepsy, then everything is out. It is the lot. I mean, we need to know what kind of epilepsy? Is it controlled? and all the rest of it. There are some jobs which could well be OK. But because you don't know, you can't go ahead and work on it. In fact it could be narrowing what we do. If all we know is ... there is a problem. What kind is it? What does it mean? What is out and what is on? What can the

young person do? So we would use the Y9 form, I would like to think, to open up opportunities rather than anything else. But based on informed knowledge'. (04)

The following careers officer pointed out that perhaps discrimination occurs 'unconsciously' by careers officers themselves. Again, epilepsy was used as an example. If there was a lack of information, certain jobs might be automatically ruled out:

I think we would only go to the Medical Service with a specific problem. And they don't necessarily tell us unless we ask. We don't have a monthly meeting to... or even a meeting at the beginning of 4th year to say "look, these kids have got a medical problem". Or they telling us that these kids have got a medical problem. If only to forewarn us that... "this is going to come up". I don't know; maybe the school medical officers perceive it as a... that we discriminate. I don't know. I try not to, but maybe it happens unconsciously. You know, you just do it. If a kid has got epilepsy, you don't send him for... you automatically... There are some jobs that this kid couldn't do. But I am not a doctor. I don't know how well it is controlled by medication. If the kid tells me it is controlled, then I believe them. Unless I am likely to find out to the contrary'. (02)

Employment assistants questioned the logic of having Y9 forms if they were not going to be used. Similar to careers officers, they also took a proactive stance in respect of placing young people with health problems into available vacancies:

I think discrimination is the last thing careers officers would do. School medical officers may think that because they don't know how we operate, but if we get someone who has a health problem you are going to go out of your way to help them get the right type of job. We deal with people, not with figures and we are there to help the young person. I think the reasons for this is probably more to do with administrative issues rather than issues like discrimination. If careers officers are not getting the Y9's they will not ask for them. The very fact there are Y9 forms indicates that there has been some kind of agreement that this information should be made available to the Careers Service. Another reason why the school medical officers would be wrong to think the Careers Service would discriminate against the young person is that the final decision might rest with EMAS about what type of employment the young person is suitable for. (011)

CONTACT AND ADVICE FROM THE EMPLOYMENT MEDICAL ADVISORY SERVICE (EMAS)

The Careers Service can also contact the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS)⁴ for advice about the suitability of certain types of employment for young people with health problems. As with the situation pertaining to Y9 and Y10 forms, very few reports from EMAS were found in units of young people with health problems. When interviewed, careers staff highlighted how guidelines involved in contacting EMAS often meant a delay in the Careers Services' decision making when placing a young person into employment:

'A big disadvantage about EMAS is that the young person must have left school before careers officers can contact EMAS. Also careers officers need the young person's parental consent because they are still under the regulations of the School Medical Service. If more than one person is after the same type of job it might go to the other person, and not the young person with a health problem waiting for a reply from EMAS. They (EMAS) prefer requests in writing but will accept this verbally. For example, with a young person with cerebral palsy, I would write and say, "This is his problem, this is his doctor's name, this is what he is interested in doing. What do you think?". (08)

The decision to contact EMAS varied among careers officers and a rather arbitrary process appeared to operate. A lot depended on the type of health problem involved and the knowledge the careers officer had about a young persons' health condition:

'Well, it's hard to say. It's like this thing where everybody is different. Sometimes the careers officer's experience will come into play and if careers officers have some reasonable background on the young person, you may not feel the need to contact EMAS... I think the last one was a young person with epilepsy, and I was trying to access the amount of control that the medication was offering her for the specific type of job I was going to send her to. It depends on the condition and the severity'. (01)

Overall, the majority of careers officers from both localities pointed out that they rarely ever contacted EMAS - findings confirmed by the very few EMAS letters

⁴ A general summary of the role of EMAS is outlined in more detail in chapter 2.

filed in Careers Service units. In some instances careers staff would contact EMAS as 'a last resort' if they could not get any information from the school, young person, the young persons' parents, or from the School Medical Service. The following senior careers officer in Area 2 pointed out that she had never contacted EMAS. Alternative strategies were devised to get health information more efficiently from other sources:

'That is a difficult question because since I started in this division, I have never contacted EMAS. If the young person had a health problem, I would get more information from the young person or the school. I might inform the young person to go to their GP and to find out if they were suitable for employment. EMAS has the authority to contact the young person's doctor but even then that wasn't always particularly effective either. I could give the young person a trial to see how they coped in controlled circumstances, for example at the (ERC) Employment Rehabilitation Centre. Also, if EMAS or a careers officer said no to a young person regarding certain work that they were interested in, what was to stop them from going ahead and doing that work anyway? (05)

When careers staff did contact EMAS, epilepsy was the most frequently cited health condition referred to by careers staff:

'I think epilepsy might be the most obvious one. Where you are not too sure about their health, that would be the main problem. Perhaps diabetes if it was severe'.(02)

Another careers officer in the disadvantaged area related the following story of how his client was rejected by a managing agent for a placement into hairdressing because she had nocturnal epilepsy. He subsequently contacted EMAS to get some 'authoritative backing' regarding this situation. However, because the careers officer did not receive a positive enough response from EMAS, he made the decision not to present the EMAS report to the managing agent. The latter, despite the careers officers' renewed attempts to secure placement for his client, remained unwilling to co-operate. This is another good example of a careers officer attempting to censor and de-label information from a gatekeeper in order to protect his/her client and try (though not always successfully) to secure employment:

'I've used EMAS because I have wanted their support, not because I have wanted their advice. I mean it's happened... I wanted to get a girl into hairdressing who had nocturnal epilepsy. The managing agent wouldn't wear it and I was kind of annoyed and I wrote to EMAS and they came over as being well... shimmy shally-ing about. And they (EMAS) wouldn't come down on my side. So I never presented the report to the... I mean if it had been a good report I would have presented it to the training agent, but it was a bad report, so I never'. (013)

AMcD Did the managing agent take the young person on the training scheme?

I went and saw the managing agent a couple of times and they refused point blank. And I eventually got quite heated and I told her she was being bigoted rather than being cautious and if she thought she was doing this for the girl's benefit, then she wasn't... She never got started. (013)

The aforementioned account is important. It highlights how careers staff face difficulties in trying to secure placements for clients with health problems, particularly in the disadvantaged area. Although previous analysis has shown how careers staffs' client-centred response to those with health problems does make a difference, in terms of placing them into youth training and in keeping them off the unemployment register (ch.6), this is not always an easy task, even when careers staff proactively try to sell young people to employers. Such findings mirror the wider situation which face disabled youth in society at present in that, compared to able bodied youth, they face discrimination and marginalisation in the labour market.

EMAS doctors, on account of their knowledge of occupational health in the workplace, are able to advise careers officers about certain employment placements and health conditions that the Careers Service are unsure about. However, the following views reflect how autonomous careers staffs' decision making is in respect of securing placements for their clients, sometimes irrespective of what the EMAS report indicates:

'EMAS is always very... well, you know, tactful about how they put things, and they wouldn't generally put things in black and white... Well... you (careers officer) specify the type of work the young person is looking at and ask about

the suitability of the young person because of their medical condition, and you get an answer on that. But EMAS usually cover themselves'. (04)

AMcD In what way?

'Oh I don't know. Well they generally... it just depends on how severe the young person's health condition is. I wouldn't ever see myself using an EMAS letter to a young person or their parents and saying "there you are, you can't do that because EMAS says". Never... I have worked in the Careers Service for 13 years and I have never come across a situation like that. (03)

On a general level, although careers staff pointed out that they did not have a great deal of contact with EMAS, they were less critical about this agency than they were with the School Medical Service and the receipt and content of Y9 and Y10 forms. This might be because it is up to the Careers Service themselves to contact EMAS. Careers officers pointed out that they would also speak to EMAS verbally and that overall, they were quite satisfied with the reports they received. This also probably explains why there are so few (formal) letters from EMAS in young people's units:

'I haven't had any problems contacting EMAS. I always found them approachable. On a number of occasions, I may just pick up the phone and have a quick chat with the doctor and give the background information over the phone and you can get a quick... "Yes, go ahead, I don't see any problems". You don't need to go through the formal procedure'. (07)

Finally, employment assistants were also quite positive about EMAS. This agency was not viewed as being too restrictive regarding recommendations about young people's placements:

'No, as long as Careers have the correct form and have the young person's and parents' permission, no problem. Reports were always written and sent out within a couple of weeks. I don't see this agency as being obstructive. The process is fine. The information EMAS gives is fairly academic. They don't tend to make too many judgements about the type of work a young person can go into. They just advise what they think the young person would not be able to do. The Careers Service can talk with authority if they have EMAS backing'. (011).

CONCLUSION

This section has shown how careers officers lack information about health. The School Medical Service, with whom careers officers have limited contact, was perceived to be particularly poor at providing health information, especially in relation to Y9 and Y10 forms. The specific importance of this resides in the way the School Medical Service is seen as restricting information on the grounds that it might be used to label young people negatively. The careers officers rejected this and essentially presented themselves as adopting a proactive, de-labelling approach.

Careers officers' views about the Y9 and Y10 forms can be summarised as indicating not only that the process by which they were received was arbitrary, but that when received, information was limited and 'coded' in a way which was often confusing and less than helpful. Of vital importance was the fact that a lack of adequate health information could restrict decision making about placement. Hence alternative sources, such as the CS4 from guidance staff, were considered more reliable.

Limited contact was also made with the Employment Medical Advisory Service, although views were more favourable about this agency, which could be used as a means of support, though not for health information.

Against the background of wider opportunity structures operating within the contrasting labour markets, careers staffs' perceptions of health and its significance to the selection and placement of young people leaving mainstream schools is examined in more detail in chapter nine. Further consideration is also given to the processes by which careers staff manage health information in a context of uncertainty.

CHAPTER 9

CAREERS STAFFS' PERCEPTIONS OF HEALTH: MAINSTREAM TRANSITION WITHIN CONTRASTING LOCALITIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers careers staffs' decision making and information management in respect of young people with health problems within the contrasting localities. As shown, a wide range of health problems are recorded by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report and by careers officers on the Aide Memoire (ch.5). Overall, around one in five young people in the present study were recorded as having a health problem. Further analysis (ch.6) suggested that the Careers Service is effective in the sense that careers officers do make a difference in the way that young people with and without health problems are placed into available vacancies. This could be seen in the way more of those with health problems, including major health problems, were placed into youth training schemes (though not the worst types of premium schemes), and fewer were unemployed, particularly in the disadvantaged area.

The aim of chapter nine is to examine in more detail how careers staff perceive health information concerning their client. Overall, health information was considered very important by all careers staff, though when asked how significant health was when making career recommendations and decisions about placement, a divergence of opinion between careers officers emerged.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HEALTH INFORMATION: VARIATIONS IN CAREERS STAFFS' ACCOUNTS

All careers staff from both localities stressed the necessity of receiving relevant, up to date, health information about their clients from other gatekeepers, particularly school guidance staff. Careers staff also emphasised the importance of receiving and recording health information on the Aide Memoire during the young person's VGL. However, views differed about the significance of health

information for decisions regarding placement. For example, the following careers officer qualified his views about health information within the context of a young person's job specification. In some circumstances, the health problem was not perceived as being important:

'It depends on the type of job the young person wants to do. I establish very early on in the interview if there is a health problem. A lot of young people are quite realistic about their health; they know what they can do, but whether they are always honest about this is another matter. For a lot of jobs, health isn't really vital'. (02)

Another example of this orientation was outlined by the following careers officer, who thought health need not restrict placement outcome:

'The only emphasis I would put on health would be if it affected the young person's chance of employment... health is important if there is a problem. But I don't think it should be over-emphasised. It has to be looked into. I mean, you find that the majority of young people have asthma that has been diagnosed and they have inhalers etc. But that doesn't mean we are writing away to the MOH (Ministry of Health) to get reports or anything. We are just aware of it. For example, if a young person wanted to do spray painting or engineering, then that is something that you have to look out for. Same with diabetics. You have to ascertain the extent of the condition, how well the young person copes with it, if they can control it themselves. However, it (health) need not be a barrier to placement at all'. (04)

Others pointed out if the young person's health problem didn't keep him/her off school, the school didn't necessarily need to know about this:

'If it's something that is not... doesn't keep the kid off school, there is no reason why the school should know. I was trying to think of something like a dicky knee, you know some kids have got injuries that they suffered years ago. Or because they had an operation maybe at primary school; it has not been carried through to secondary. The school doesn't necessarily know. It has never been a problem. Maybe it is not necessarily going to appear in the school report. Yet I have seen two kids within two weeks who had Osgood Schlatters disease, which is apparently just growing pains. And they will probably grow out of it. It was on the school report, but the kids told me. I had never heard of it in my life before'. (02)

Quite different views regarding the significance of health information were held by more than half of the careers officers interviewed. A young person's health

condition was perceived as crucial when making career recommendations and decisions about placements, even for very minor health problems. The following careers officer outlined types of health problems which could impact on young people's employment and training:

'Information on health is vital. Even if someone has a very minor problem, for example, an allergic reaction and they want to go into hairdressing etc. Same with asthma, you aren't going to send a kid for a job if it is going to make their health problem more severe... it (health information) has got to be spot on. If there is a health problem careers officers need detailed information about it, depending on the health condition'. (08)

Careers officers also highlighted instances where they negotiated employment conditions with employers to assist young people with health problems in the working environment:

'Health information is important because if there are things like, for example diabetics, if young people are on diet control, they have got to eat at certain points in the day. And it has not been unknown for young people to come back and say "Look, they (employer) won't let me eat at certain times, and I have got to eat because if I don't I'll go into a... whatever". Now obviously in that case we would ring up the managing agent or employer and try to sort it out as best we could. It might just mean some understanding from the employer. Or it might mean a very minor alteration to when they take their tea break or something like that. But it makes an awful lot of difference to the young person'. (06)

Among the employment assistants interviewed, all thought information about a young person's health was very important. Health was perceived as directly relevant to the type of employment clients were considering:

'The sort of things I would look for is, for example, asthma. This would limit you to the sort of places you could send young people to. You couldn't send them to a factory where there is a lot of dust, or a building site. If you have a young person with a hearing problem there may be places where this could be difficult; for example, a noisy environment, where they could find it difficult to pick things up. If there is a physical disability this would also have to be considered and they would have to be able to cope in their placement. Personality should also be taken into consideration, emotional problems can also affect young people'. (09)

Employment assistants' views, therefore, mirrored those careers officers who thought all health problems were important. As these careers staff were

working with a greater number of young people entering either YT or employment, even minor health problems were considered relevant to placement decision making:

'... we all have to look at health. We aren't really dealing with young people who are going into further and higher education. But all the clerical staff have to look at health. If there is any health condition mentioned, when it comes to employment and training, obviously, if you have got this information it is helpful. It doesn't have to be even serious problems. If the young person has got something like asthma, which seems to be prevalent in (Area 1) - you begin to wonder if its something in the air up here - it's handy to know this if you have a job where there is a dusty atmosphere'. (010)

Commenting further on the significance of health in respect of young people's destinations, the following careers officer thought health mattered more for young people entering YT and employment than for those entering further and higher education. Consistent with quantitative findings and documentary evidence from the Aide Memoire document (ch.6), careers officers also pointed out how they would try to protect young people with health problems by not sending them to premium schemes like the Training Workshop:

I think that (health) comes into employment more so than further education. Some jobs require a particular physique, or just general good health. If somebody is constantly off school with colds and the flu and all the rest of it and they want to be a gardener, then there might be a case there for saying... I will maybe point out ... "do you know what you are letting yourself in for?". I mean, there are kids at (careers officer names school in Area 1) just now who... their physique is a serious problem. They are handicapped. And there is no doubt that they are not going to do 95% of the jobs that you and I could do... So obviously there are health factors that come into play. You occasionally find kids who have got a heart problem, or back problems. Again, it is helpful to know that. Cause you are not going to be suggesting that they go to the training workshop or something like that. They would not be physically able to do that. So it is important. As far as further education is concerned, again... unless they have a wheelchair or things like that, it is not going to be a difficulty. But even at that, most colleges nowadays have lifts and ramps and things to accommodate handicapped people'. (06)

Other careers officers thought a young person's health problem might be more significant when in a working environment compared to the school setting:

'There are health problems that might not be as important when the young person is in the school, but they may be more important to work. Also, the school might just record major things or what they perceive as being important... But even something small could have an effect. For example, slight eczema wouldn't be a problem at school, but if the young person went into hairdressing for example, this would be a different story'. (05)

HEALTH AS A PROBLEMATIC EVENT

Employment assistants highlighted how some young people with health problems never disclosed this information to careers staff. An implication was that careers staffs' knowledge about this only became apparent when a problem arose in placement:

'If a young person has, for example, asthma and has controlled this with inhalers for a number of years, the young person might think the Careers Service might not want to know this information. If the Careers Service isn't getting this information from elsewhere, then sometimes it's only when a problem arises that the Careers Service might be aware of a particular health problem... I recently placed a young person in a paint factory, and he never told the Careers Service he had asthma. The next thing the Careers knew about this was when the young person came into the office saying he had all these problems with the fumes from the paint. It's very important for us to get all the information on a young person's health, no matter how insignificant it may appear. Some minor health problems can turn into serious health problems, for example, asthma'. (011)

Careers officers recalled similar stories about young people's health problems becoming problematic on entering the workplace; the following is an excellent illustration of the way careers staff have to operate within a context of uncertainty:

'...A young boy came to the Careers looking for a job and appeared quite disinterested during the interview... He had his hands shoved into his pockets, and said he was only interested in a job working in Fine Fare packing shelves. I went through the usual procedure and asked him if he had any health problems etc, and he shook his head. He was sent to Fine Fare for an interview and later on I received a phone call from the Manager asking me "...what was I playing at". The Manager wanted to know why they had not been informed that the young person had only one hand'. (08)

A similar story was recounted by a careers officer, this time concerning a young person who had hearing problems:

I interviewed a young person who, unknown to me, was profoundly deaf in both ears. He was an excellent lip reader and I had no idea about his health condition during the careers interview. He was placed in an engineering factory and the managing agent called the Careers Service to ask if we knew about the young person's health condition. The managing agent also pointed out that the young person apparently had hearing aids in both ears, but as he had long hair, so I did not notice this. I had no idea he was deaf'. (03)

As previously emphasised by careers staff, not only could the young person's health problem have been made worse by them being in an unsuitable working environment, careers staff were concerned that employers would perceive them as being incompetent in sending young people to these placements in the first place.

On occasion, there might not be any health information available from the School Careers Service Report (CS4) if the young person was a bad attender or truant. In addition, young people do not always record health information on their (CS18a) form (pre-interview questionnaire) before their careers interview (see ch.5) and/or, might withhold health information during the VGI. However, careers staff pointed out how the receipt of relevant health information, from whatever source, was very important as a means of 'protecting' their client from entering unsuitable types of employment:

I think health information is really crucial. Young people won't tell you everything and you really need to know so that you are protecting them. One young person had epilepsy and nobody told us about it. The young person got a job as a painter and decorator, went up a ladder and took a fit and fell off. There was another boy who had kidney trouble, and the school report said he basically couldn't even sit in a room where there was a draught coming in, whereas the EMAS (Employment Medical Advisory Service) report said he could do practically everything. It all really depends on the job the young person wants to do'. (08)

The type of health problem was also a factor related to whether or not information was available to careers staff. When discussing health, epilepsy was the most frequently cited health problem subject to concealment - a finding

supported in quantitative analysis of Careers Service documents, particularly when comparisons were made between the young person's Pre-Interview form and the CS4 (ch.5). Careers officers pointed out that a particular health condition could influence how young people (unrealistically) perceived their employment capabilities:

'If young people have got health problems, especially if they have got epilepsy, that seems to be one where they tend to deny they have a problem. Young people sometimes deliberately choose a job which is unsuitable for their condition. So that takes a lot of counselling and a lot of work. It could be that you have got to say '...OK try it' - sort of set them up for failure, which is unfair, but it is sometimes the only way they will learn. But they are just rebelling against the limitations of their health problems. There was one boy attending a mainstream school, who had cerebral palsy and wanted to work with animals, particularly dogs; he also wanted to work with the elderly. He had the right personality for both jobs, but he didn't have the balance. He told me himself, if it was a wet day, two people had to help him up the stairs and along the street. And every time I said he might have difficulties etc, he had an answer for this and a way round it. But there was no way he could do it'. (08)

On a more general level, and illuminating the pattern found in quantitative analysis (ch.6), as well as information recorded in the Aide Memoire (CS2), the majority of careers staff from both localities were conscious of adopting a proactive orientation with regard to placing young people with health problems. Examples of this 'client-centred' approach are outlined below.

PROACTIVE APPROACHES TO YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEALTH PROBLEMS

When discussing health and its significance for a young person's potential employment or training placement, a pro-active approach was highlighted by the Careers Service. It was strongly stressed that it was not in the Careers Services' interests to prevent young people from taking certain jobs:

'The only time the Careers Service would say to a young person "because of your medical problem, you can't do this job", would be wholly in the interests of the young person concerned. Careers are not going to try and stop a young person from doing something, unless they feel that the young person is putting

themselves at risk by doing the job. Careers are not here to try and stop young people from doing jobs. A recent client had epilepsy and the careers officer went to (named) Aerodrome with the young person and her parents to try and sort out the job situation for her. The young person got a scholarship as an aircraft maintenance engineer. If there is the least bit of chance of the young person doing a job they had their heart set on, careers officers will bend over backwards to do this'. (09)

An example of the type of procedure followed by careers staff when working with a young person who has a health problem was outlined by the following careers officer. This involved detailed negotiation with the client involved and the careers officer adopting a counselling approach to placement. However, the final decision regarding the type of employment the young person wanted remained with them:

'Health is important, but only because you can feed it back to young people. You can return it to them and point out that... "if you do this job and you have epilepsy and the employer finds out, you can be sacked. It's up to you to disclose what you want". I tend to take the counselling approach. I am the agent for the client. We (Careers Service) look at the whole situation and try to look at the problems which will arise. Young people have made a decision and they have said "right, you told me that, but I am a free agent myself and I have made this decision". I have never been put in a situation where I have had to tell the employer that the young person had, for example, epilepsy. Again, I could go to the young person and his/her parents and say something if I thought they were making a very serious mistake. If there was a Y9 form I might say, "Well let us think about this. This form says 'you can't work with heights' ...what do you think?". I might also suggest that the young person goes and talks to their GP. Now that's me covering my back. I advised them to get a letter from their GP. And that's set up on the basis that this will support the young person's application. So we could turn what could be a negative situation into a positive situation. For example, 'I have asthma but my doctor says this is OK and it's not going to be affected by this employment'. This is not ignoring the facts'. (013)

Assessing young people's health problems in a more positive manner, for example by investing a lot of time with a young person who had a disability and actively 'selling' them to employers, was advocated by the majority of careers staff. This is consistent with evidence in the present study which showed that more young people with health problems (even major health problems) entered YT (though not the worst types of premium schemes), and less were on the unemployment register. The following area careers officer described this proactive role:

'With young people with health problems... if we know a young person has a specific health problem or disability, you (Careers Service) put a lot more time into finding an appropriate placement or job for that particular client. You can actually use the disability to the young person's advantage. Managing agents also have to offer equal opportunities, they have to look at young people with disabilities. You can play that card'. (01)

Proactive decision making by careers officers in the disadvantaged area might also involve re-labelling a young person's endorsement category so that their client might gain a foothold in the labour market:

'The situation is not rigid, if it works in favour of the young person. For example, you might have a young person who is Category B (young people who cannot be expected to attain NVQ level 2, even with extra help) - maybe not for academic reasons but for other reasons. Careers officers might endorse the young person as Category C (a category for trainees who have a reasonable prospect of achieving NVQ level 2, provided they receive additional help and support) to give them a chance'. (05)

An employment assistant pointed out how decision making regarding a young person with more serious health problems might involve the Careers Service suggesting they be registered disabled by the DRO (Disablement Resettlement Officer). Notwithstanding the fact that this action would involve labelling their client, careers staff pointed out how the young person would be more eligible for additional benefits and support within the workplace. Young people themselves, however were reported to be apprehensive about this proposal:

'We (Careers Service) have had young people come into the office and when the careers officer suggested that it might be in the young person's interests to be registered disabled because of their health problem, they throw up their hands in horror at the very idea of being labelled disabled. But when you are talking about a young person's life and that their health problem could be made worse by the type of job they go into, then it's not the sort of thing where you can decide "...this isn't important and let's just not mention it". (09)

Another careers officer appealed to the 1982 Education Act, and the 'recording' of young people with health problems (by opening a Record of Needs), to reinforce their rationale for labelling, and subsequently, meet individualised need:

'The Record of Needs came out of the Warnock report in the 1982 Education Act. What happened before that was people were labelled; for example, if you had a unit for young people with physical disabilities, then everybody with physical disabilities went into that unit. You had kids that could do three highers and young people who couldn't read the Daily Record. Thus, you had a huge span of ability range. What was important prior to 1982 was that you had units and the labels were stuck on the young people. And you matched up the labels to units. Post 1982 what happened was, you looked at the individual ie 'what does this person need?' And you opened a special unit. So I would suggest the principle that you took away the label of special education needs and replaced it with individualised need. You still labelled them with an individualised need. The ultimate point of labelling the young person with special needs is so that you can help the individual'.(013)

However, the potential limitations of careers staffs' pro-active role for those with health problems beyond YT, when they enter the wider labour force, merits further consideration. Research evidence has shown how some employer's continue to discriminate against young adults with health problems in the labour market and present employment rights for the disabled, including the quota scheme, (see ch.4) receives widespread criticism.

OBSERVATIONS ABOUT NEGATIVE HEALTH LABELS

A concern that initial negative impressions about some young people's suitability for employment were being replicated in other reports, was highlighted by the following careers officer who took measures against such practices.

'I wonder if it has anything to do with the way young people are thought about in the beginning, at that first interview, and if that can be carried on. Because I have had things transferred from other divisions. One boy in particular, from a school in Glasgow.... terrible school report, terrible careers report etc. And I was terrified at going to see him. He had dwarfism, some kind of kidney problem. And he was a lovely boy. So I thought, the EMAS report was rotten, the ERC (Employment Rehabilitation Centre) report was rotten, so I thought, I am not going to rely on these reports. Everyone else was just jumping on the bandwagon and repeating this. So I sent for my own reports from EMAS and I sent him to Community Industry, because I was just going on my own instincts

about all this stuff. And he was a model trainee. He was nothing like his school reports and I was really quite tempted to rip them all up'. (08)

In some mainstream schools, proactive measures are being taken to educate school staff about how to avoid negative labels, particularly when dealing with young people with epilepsy. In one of the schools under the remit of the careers division in Area 1, all guidance and school staff receive a copy of 'Health Notes' from the Head Teacher (see appendix 9.1). In this instance, the health notes informed school staff about two pupils who had epilepsy. Outlined on the health notes is quite detailed information on what epilepsy is, what causes it, and how school staff should deal with a situation if, for example, a young person has an epileptic fit in school. Further information advised teachers on how to avoid labels when dealing with a young person who has epilepsy. On page 4, under the section 'How The Teacher Can Help' the following advice was given to school staff:

'Avoid Labels and Generalisations. The use of the label "an epileptic" should be avoided as it obscures the child's individuality. Fits are epileptic, children are not. Many children will out-grow their epilepsy and it is important that they should not be left with a feeling of being different'.

Thus, in some schools at least, an awareness of what the negative impact that the label 'epilepsy' could have, and proactive measures to prevent this, were communicated to school staff. Such measures could also have a positive influence on how health information is subsequently recorded by guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4).

Further observations about negative health labels concerned the introduction of Individual Action Plans (IAP's). Among the new initiatives relating to the changeover from YTS to YT (see ch.4), those young people endorsed within their YT scheme now receive an IAP. As these young people were getting Action Plans and others were not, misgivings about labelling (endorsed) clients were identified:

'This concerned me when I was filling in the endorsement form... are they (young people) going to be embarrassed because there is a label put on them?'. (03)

However, this careers officer thought that overall young people accepted having an Individual Action Plan as this 'was supposed to help them get a better chance of employment'. Another aspect of the changeover to YT was the Government's emphasis that more young people obtain National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's). It was pointed out by careers officers that, when making decisions about YT endorsement, a young person's learning outcome was more important than the type of health problem they might have:

'Young people might have serious health problems and not be endorsed. The issue is more to do with level of achievement and the young person's ability to obtain NVQ's (National Vocational Qualifications). Young people with a health problem might be intellectually sound'. (05)

In the present study, these views were also supported by quantitative findings (ch.6); no significant difference was found between those with and without health problems being endorsed. However, young people who are endorsed and receive Action Plans might not meet required NVQ levels. This was described as being a 'negative aspect' for young people, particularly those with special educational training needs:

'Premium schemes are not all employer led. Under the new YT, young people, who could be disabled, disadvantaged or have learning difficulties etc, must do Action Plans. This means taking courses, jobs or training to NVQ level 2. However, you never get 100% of young people into occupations... so what happens to the remaining 10%? It's really down to the survival of the fittest. If young people don't achieve NVQ level 2, employers won't take them. Bureaucracy takes hold. It's not just economic factors. Disadvantaged young people are too much work and take up a lot of time and trouble. Training agents have lost placements. In the past two years, many young people might not have been achieving the training programme... they might have just been filling shelves etc. Many young people with special needs might not make the grade'. (08)

Among the various types of premium schemes available, careers staff identified some as having very negative labels, particularly in the disadvantaged area; an issue considered in more detail in chapter ten.

THE PLACEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITH HEALTH PROBLEMS IN CONTRASTING LABOUR MARKETS

Wider opportunity structures were significant in influencing careers staffs' decision making when placing young people with health problems into youth training and employment. Due to high unemployment levels, a lack of quality (basic grade) YT schemes, and even waiting lists for schemes like Community Industry, careers staff had to work very hard in the disadvantaged area to try and secure a suitable placement for their clients.

The following careers officer found it easier to get a full-time job for a young person who was profoundly deaf than it was to get him into a good YT scheme. The subsequent story describes the careers officer's struggle to place his client within an area of high unemployment, and reveals something about the general situation in Area 2:

- C. O. 'Over the last year, it has been horrendous. I never had any problems before. I prided myself in placing all my kids. But I found it impossible to place certain young people. I mean I have been screaming down the phone saying to people, "this guy has a (YT) guarantee, you have to meet some needs". The irony is, I had a profoundly deaf boy, quite good at practical skills, poor reader... I found it easier to get him a full-time job than I did to get him a YT. I mean I am embarrassed about saying that'.
(013)

AMcD Why could you not get him into YT?

- C. O. 'I couldn't get him a YT place because he was deaf. Because managing agents didn't want to know. Because they had enough kids waiting so they didn't have to think about him. Because places like (careers officer

names YT scheme here) have sort of taken the King's Shilling and were training all these ex-redundancy people to come out and do jobs that they would never find employment in. They were getting a lot of money per week and they didn't want my deaf boy having to give them problems, and they said no, and gave me all these other people I should contact... so in the end I... I mean this woman, the young person's mammy, was greeting on the phone to me, saying "what's wrong, is there nothing for him?", and I said to him (young person) then, "I don't think I can get you a YT".

AMcD Not even one like Multi-Skills or Community Industry?

C. O. 'I could have got him into Community Industry, but would it have did him any good? I could have got him into Springboard or Community Industry but I wasn't prepared to do that. I got him a job in Barrs ginger factory, and he got £100 per week'.

AMcD And did you tell the employer that the young person was deaf?

C. O. 'Oh yes, I had an interview with the employer, before the young person went, and described what the boy was all about. I went with the boy (to the interview) and pointed out to him... "he is going to ask you this etc, this is how you behave etc", and the boy went in there, and his personality was such that he could cope with it. He was fine, and he got started and I felt really, really good about that. Then I thought... there is something seriously wrong with this situation. If I can get this boy a job in an unemployment blackspot like (Area 2)... it's a fucking disgrace. I spent weeks doing this. But I'm not naive enough to think that this is a situation that is going to get replicated for everybody. It's not. I would say that young person got a job because he was deaf, it was summertime, and I had some spare time. If he had not been deaf he would have been on a YT that he probably couldn't get a job for anyway'.

Finally, the following careers officer in Area 1 drew attention to how more young people with special needs were increasingly being integrated into mainstream schools. Young people with special needs could have quite serious health problems, and/or be limited academically:

'I think that will be the trend... that more and more special needs young folk will be filtered into the ordinary schools. At the moment, I have got a profoundly

deaf youngster who... she lip reads very well, but I have got another wee boy who has a couple of sticks, he can get round without them, and another wee lassie in a wheelchair. Now in another area, they might have been at an entirely different school... because they have not... they have got academic problems as well as their physical problems... they have special needs academically as well. And I think there are a lot of kids like that, you know, who are borderline special needs'. (02)

The continuing integration of young people with special needs into mainstream schools was highlighted by careers staff to underscore why they needed adequate, up to date health information about clients. As pointed out in chapter one, health information on young people formally 'labelled' as having special needs by either being recorded or registered disabled, is generally very good. Detailed case histories are gathered from a range of education, medical and employment gatekeepers and evaluated during Future Needs Assessments. Mechanisms to deal with the deficiency of information regarding young people with health problems attending mainstream schools is, however, an issue in need of more detailed consideration.

CONCLUSION

The significance of health information was widely acknowledged as very important among careers staff, though, as shown, views diverged over the salience of such information. The first view acknowledged that information about health was important, though this was qualified by the caveat that it depended on the 'type of job' a young person wanted to do. In general, young people were perceived as being reasonably realistic about areas of employment or training they were capable of. In this view, therefore, the salience of health information was modified by a recognition that young people had rights to control their health problem and that it could be potentially damaging. Only in circumstances where health directly impacted on the young person's placement or was made worse as a result of the type of placement entered, would health matter.

The second view held that all health information was vital; a view shared by employment assistants, who located this within the context of pre-selecting young people for vacancies. Even minor problems such as allergies were perceived to be of relevance to specific forms of employment.

Health was also considered more important for young people entering youth training (and if available employment) than for those going on to further education. These findings complement those found in quantitative analysis; young people with health problems, including major health problems, were more likely than those without health problems to enter YT, particularly in the disadvantaged area. This also suggests careers staffs' role for those remaining in school was of less relevance for health selection.

The references to physique and general good health are interesting in that, one implication of the findings is those young people who are the fittest and strongest will be directed to, for example, unskilled labouring jobs, the reverse of what is usually meant by health selection.

The consequences of young people not revealing health information during their VGI meant careers staffs' awareness of health might only occur when a problem arose in placement. A concern was that employers and managing agents would perceive the Careers Service as incompetent. This not only aptly demonstrated how careers staff had to work within a context of uncertainty, it also underlined the need for accurate health information to be more readily available to the Careers Service.

As with the findings outlined in chapter 5, the type of health condition could influence whether young people were willing to reveal information. Epilepsy was cited as an example whereby young people might either deny they had a health problem, or be unrealistic in terms of employment capability. Epilepsy was not only the most frequently cited health condition discussed by careers staff, it was also associated more with negative perceptions and labelling.

Overall, the majority of careers staff emphasised a proactive 'client-centred' approach to working with those with health problems. Examples showed that, in line with a commitment to equal opportunities, careers staff invested a great deal of effort when looking for suitable placements for their clients and attempted to 'sell' young people with health problems to potential employers.

That the Careers Service's role in placing those with (and without) health problems is a difficult one can be seen from a careers officer's account of trying to secure a suitable placement for his client with health problems in the disadvantaged area. Though quantitative findings (ch.6) suggest that careers staffs' responses make a difference in terms of placing young people with health problems into youth training schemes, and that they try to protect their client by not placing them in the worst types of premium schemes, this 'client-centred' approach still needs a 'hard sell' by careers staff, particularly in Area 2.

In chapter ten, more detailed consideration is given to information management within the Careers Service, particularly in relation to what influences careers officers' completion of the Aide Memoire (CS2) or seven point plan. This is crucial to an investigation of types of reactive and proactive decision making being undertaken by careers staff, and to a fuller analysis of their labelling strategies and subsequent selection processes. Within this context, closer attention is given to the wide range of attributional information recorded in Careers Service units.

CHAPTER 10

INFORMATION MANAGEMENT IN THE CAREERS SERVICE: PERCEPTIONS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DOCUMENTATION AND PLACEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM INFORMATION ON THE AIDE MEMOIRE (CS2)

INTRODUCTION

In chapter ten, careers staffs' perceptions of information documented on the Aide Memoire (CS2), or as it is sometimes termed, 'the 7 point plan', is examined in more detail. A main aim is to identify what influences careers officers' decision making when completing the Aide Memoire (CS2). As shown in chapter 5, a very wide range of information is recorded by careers officers on this document, some of which is not available from any other sources. Information includes descriptions of young people's appearance, height and physique, idiosyncratic information about complexion and hair colour/style etc, and assessments of young people during their VGI.¹

Following evidence from quantitative analysis (ch.6) which showed more attention to other attributes in the disadvantaged area, of interest are Careers staffs' perceptions of what information is considered most relevant to career recommendations and the selection of young people into available vacancies, particularly into premium and basic youth training schemes.

Careers officers' accounts of different labelling strategies, and reasons for adopting de-labelling practices, will be examined against the moral dilemma currently facing careers officers. Specifically, this relates to how careers staff attempt to meet client need, whilst at the same time adhere to employers' recruitment requirements. Implications for selection processes follow from this analysis.

On a more general level, careers officers' and employment assistants' views of information recorded on the Aide Memoire (CS2) are investigated. The concepts

¹ Examples of the Aide Memoire (CS2) document are shown at the end of the thesis.

of 'individuality' and the exercise of 'professional judgement' were commonly employed to justify their decisions. Similarly, the types of idiosyncratic information recorded on the Aide Memoire were either justified as a useful means of 'mental visualisation' or identified as an attribute of the Careers Services system of work tasks and practices. Echoing the apparent concern of school guidance teachers, careers officers also experienced unease when asking young people questions regarding their parents' occupation and home circumstances, particularly in the disadvantaged area where there were high levels of unemployment and financial uncertainty.

Other parameters relate to careers staffs' views of those young people entering 'premium' and 'basic' youth training schemes. The significance of wider opportunity structures and how this affects selection processes within the contrasting labour markets is vital to this analysis.

VARIATIONS IN DECISION MAKING REGARDING THE COMPLETION AND ASSESSMENT OF INFORMATION RECORDED ON THE AIDE MEMOIRE: INFLUENCES AND DOMINANT ISSUES

Careers officers were first asked what influenced their decision making when completing the Aide Memoire. The concept of 'individuality' and of careers officers 'exercising their professional judgement' emerged as common themes in response to this question. The following careers officer's comments are a typical example of this perspective:

'Given that I've got my own quirky style of doing my Aide Memoires, you will probably find that careers officers have all their own different styles for doing them... It's just the nature of the job. Individuals are different and they do things differently. As long as it means something to them and they can make sense of it, and it is reasonably structured, says he tongue in cheek!. Of course that's if you have got time to do them. What's recorded on the Aide Memoire? The most important thing is the kind of conclusions that you (careers officer) have reached with the young person. Based on the information to hand and what the next steps are going to be, the Aide Memoire is a reflection of the careers officers' impressions, factual information that is gathered in the interview, confirming information that the school has provided and, that does

not always match up. Some information that you get from the school might not be the same information that we get from the young person. So the careers officer makes his own assessments and judgements'. (01)

The following (male) careers officer pointed out how he used to record information about a young person's physique and height on the Aide Memoire, but later questioned the relevance of this. When interviewing females, he paid attention to whether the young person was attractive or not. In addition information also related to how the young person responded within the interview situation:

'I think individual careers officers will put down individual things. I used to ask kids things like their weight, their height, and the rest of it, but again, eventually you think, what the hell difference does it make? Unless it is a certain set of circumstances, what difference does it make if you stop asking them that? I would occasionally be guilty of saying that, you know, a particular girl was attractive. And again that is subjective. Or they are either pleasant or quiet. Or sometimes downright unpleasant! But I never put whether I fancy them or not! That doesn't matter'. (02)

Employment status and length of time in the Careers Service also influenced how careers officers completed the Aide Memoire. The careers officer quoted above was in the Careers Service for 14 years. He went on to point out that when interviewing young people at the start of his career, he would ask very detailed questions and document this information on the Aide Memoire. However, now a much more individualistic approach was used, and as evidenced in the following quote, a wide range of idiosyncratic information is recorded. In terms of placement outcome, this was often considered irrelevant by the majority of careers staff interviewed:

'When I started at first, I was asking all sorts of stupid things like that. Not whether young people were attractive or not, but whether they were... what their height was and what their weight was. Now I can tell by looking at them what height and more or less what weight they are. If they are overweight, you can tell. If they are underweight, you can tell. Again, the vast majority are just your normal, average weans. I have stopped doing... I don't know that the hair colour or freckles or plukes or anything else is entirely relevant. If they are dirty, and they want to work in an office or a shop, then there could be a case here for somebody saying something. Whether it is up to a careers officer to do that or not, I am not sure. It is a little bit tricky. But, you know, a wean that has got freckles, or purple hair... You can point out in an interview situation that if

they are going for an interview with purple hair, then there is a fair chance they will not get it. So, ordinary things like blonde... whether they were blonde or brunettes or redheads. Totally irrelevant'.(02)

New careers officers, who had only been in the Careers Service for a year or two, commented that they would observe what other careers officers documented in the unit and adapt their own individual style from this. The following careers officer pointed out how some colleagues went to 'extraordinary lengths' when completing the Aide Memoire and that extreme negative and positive attributes were recorded:

'Speaking for myself, I try and be reasonably detailed about it. But some things careers officers write in units are what I would regard as extraordinary lengths ie colour of lipstick, hair, eye-shadow etc. That is not necessary. Perhaps if a young person is particularly scruffy or strikingly well dressed you would comment on it. I mean you have to treat each section on its merits... It has been noted with me that I always write down information on the colour of a person's eyes. I don't know if that is true or not, though someone has commented on that. It is arbitrary. There aren't any clear guide-lines. What I have really done is looked at what other careers officers have done and then done what I think is best'. (07)

In criticising the recording of subjective information about young people's appearance on the Aide Memoire, a minimalist approach was adopted by others:

'The appearance side of it... appearance, speech, physique etc, I just pay lip service to. If I were to interview young people... all I would ask about would be maybe medical problems. If they had no medical problems, then in that section, I would put, 'of average height and appearance, speech fine, health ok'. That's all I would put. I wouldn't get dragged into the subjective side of it. I have seen some units where they have written "wore a yellow jacket"... what does that tell you?' (014)

Interestingly, a careers officer in the disadvantaged area who previously worked as an employment assistant, criticised the content of some Aide Memoires because they did not contain *enough* information. This viewpoint directly contrasts with the previous example, and involves a more accepting orientation to the recording of subjective and idiosyncratic information. Significantly, it was this careers officer's experience of working as an employment assistant

which considerably influenced her decision to record detailed information in the Aide Memoire. The main objective was to assist employment assistants during selection. A good illustration of the pre-selection process is outlined below:

'Everybody has their own style. I have seen some Aide Memoires - I won't mention any names here... its a disgrace. For example, under appearance words like 'fine' have been put in, or 'good', 'not bad', or 'OK' and left at that and nothing ever seems to be done about this. Others tend to write a whole spiel, ie tall, average height, slim build etc. Because of my experience working as an employment assistant and having to place young people into jobs, you maybe had ten kids and the employers only wanted to see five and you had to select on the basis of "the best". So you would go for kids where there was a lot of information on them, ie tall, well dressed, smart, good appearance etc. Whereas if it (Aide Memoire) was very vague, ie 'fine', 'OK' etc, when it comes to a placing point of view, it's difficult for employment assistants to be able to do their recruitment so quickly or efficiently. We do a pre-selection of young people to particular managing agents for interviews. I always write up a lot of information in the Aide Memoire, purely to help the office staff when it comes to placement. The careers officer might not see the benefit of this, they might think, '...the main thing is, what do you want to do pal? Why do you need to write if you are tall, dark, blonde or whatever?' They might not see the importance of doing that. But I think it's important'. (06)

Without question, this careers officer's past experience of working as an employment assistant influenced information management and recording practice. Thus it is important to understand that what information is considered relevant is contextualised within a particular role. In this case, information was assessed within the context of employment assistants' pre-selection and placement role according to employers' recruitment criteria.

In summary, in response to questions about influences on decision making when completing the Aide Memoire, careers officers emphasised how they were able to 'exercise their professional judgement' and 'individuality'. Such views reflect how autonomous decision making is in respect of information management within the Careers Service.

Careers officers also discussed the training they received during their post graduate course in Careers Guidance. Perceptions of the 7 point plan as a method of assessment and broader issues of labelling varied. One view

identified the Aide Memoire a useful mechanism to structure an interview; another view was that too much attention to detail when recording information led to (unintentional) discriminatory practices.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAREERS OFFICERS' TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE AS A BASIS FOR COMPLETING THE AIDE MEMOIRE

When interviewed, careers officers said there were no written guide-lines available to assist them when completing the Aide Memoire. The training they received took place during their post graduate Diploma Course in Careers Guidance. Once their training was completed, they could develop their own technique of recording information:

'The training is basically the post graduate course. Also a careers officer undergoes a probationary year, and within this year they are assessed by the assistant principal careers officer and the area or senior careers officer. One of the skills is the recording of information, mainly in the Aide Memoire, as well as the general unit. Once they have been in a wee while, that is when their wee quirks and mannerisms and methods of recordings appear. But at the end of the day, I think you will find that we all record the same type of information. I think! (01)

There was also no mechanism available to monitor what was recorded in the unit. Again reference was made to the exercise of 'professional judgement':

'The Aide Memoire is a standardised form that we have in the division. It's not something that's actually checked up on. It's up to each individual's professional judgement. As you know, variations occur in the content of the units...' (03)

However, it was suggested that the introduction of initiatives such as Individual Action Plans might result in new careers officers paying more attention to detail when completing the Aide Memoire. An implication is that 'routine' (bureaucratic) aspects of labelling might increase:

'A lot of it has to do with the training course. It was stressed to new careers officers that you have to write down as much information as you can. If we are going to be doing Action Plans, which will tie in with young people's Record of Achievement at school, more and more information is going to be available. So we go down that path'. (06)

An area careers officer with over 18 years experience in the Careers Service thought new careers officers followed the structure of the Aide Memoire more thoroughly than careers officers like himself with more practical experience:

'Careers officers are trained in their training courses to follow what I was taught to call the 7 point plan - which now looks more like the 6 point plan. You tend to find that new careers officers tend to work to that kind of structure... and it does give you a structure for an interview. It probably goes without saying that the more experienced you get... I'm not saying we cut corners, but there are certain types of information that careers officers will deem to be more important than others. And if they don't get information on for example, a young person's interests or actual circumstances, then maybe it isn't crucial at the end of the day. Or it may have been broached at the time of the interview but it wasn't felt necessary to record. It's not a kind of... I never thought of a careers officer as being overly bureaucratic. Probably the opposite, you know, because we are not civil servants, where you get the rule book and you start at A and finish at Z. You are dealing with individuals, everybody is different. Your main strategy is to cope with that. Time constraints may also mean that certain areas are touched upon but not gone into great depth'. (01)

The rationalisation for using the Aide Memoire as a structure to assist careers officers' interviewing technique was explained by a senior careers officer in the disadvantaged area. Generally speaking, it didn't matter how information on the Aide Memoire was written, as long as the information was there and that it was constructive to placement:

'The key to it all is interviewing style. If careers officers feel comfortable with the 7 point plan... some need a very structured approach to interviewing, which would enable them to get all the information and to give the young people what they need as well. Some careers officers don't like to be seen as conforming. Once they finish the Diploma in Careers Guidance they think they can do their own thing. Part of my job was to do assessments for professional careers officers. What I usually found was that with experience, careers officers develop their own interviewing style and although they might not admit to using the 7 point plan, if you actually look at what information they have got, it conforms to

it, they just might complete it in a different order. A lot of careers officers would find it difficult to interview without the Aide Memoire. (05)

Other careers officers evaluated the training received in completing the 7 point plan in a less than positive light:

'Useless really. We had to fill in everything on the Aide Memoire, whether it was relevant or not'. (08)

A careers officer in Area 2 with previous experience within another Careers Service region, pointed out that not all courses in Careers Guidance adopted the 7 point plan model during the VGI. In some regions, this structure of assessment was criticised and no longer used:

'The Aide Memoire is based on the 7 point plan, which I imagine all careers officers have been trained in... Not all the Diploma careers guidance courses do the 7 point plan because it's getting frowned upon in several areas. I'm not very keen on it myself, but in this area, it is used. (07)

AMcD Why would the Aide Memoire be frowned upon?

'The 7 point plan was devised about 40 years ago. A lot of what is in it is common sense. For example, you ask about health etc. What I have always felt, is that it is cross sectional. It sees a young person as static and careers staff get this picture of young people like 'that'... therefore young people will do 'this'. It doesn't take into account, especially in their teenage years, that young people are changing all the time. And in a year's time, young people might have completely different job ideas. It was devised by an occupational psychologist for placing. It wasn't specifically devised to find out career orientation, which is a developmental thing. Some colleges will speak even more harshly about it. And some careers officers who have had a thorough training in the 7 point plan might find it difficult to get a job in a particular area because of that. It can be seen as controversial, but up here it's not.' (07)

AMcD Do you mean within this Region the Aide Memoire is perceived as basically a structure for the careers interview?

'Yes, it can make you slip into a slightly matter of fact way of dealing with young people. The complete other end of the spectrum is what we would call 'contracting', where we would sit down with the young person and beforehand agree how much or how little we were actually going to do with them. But,

with the 7 point plan, you are X,Y,Z, you can't do this, you can't do that, and you can do this, and you can do that. Therefore you are going to be a bricklayer. I mean, that is slightly unfair, but it could be interpreted as that. So it is an on-going argument. I don't particularly like the Aide Memoire, it's just common sense made up. It's subjective. There should be clearer guide-lines, but there aren't'.(07)

Linked to this critique of the 7 point plan, other careers officers made some very important comments about their (negative) reactions to completing the Aide Memoire which are vital to an analysis of labelling strategy and selection processes.

ATTEMPTS AT DE-LABELLING THEIR CLIENT: THE CENSORING OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE BY MODIFICATION OR EXCLUSION:

The moral dilemma that careers officers faced when completing all sections of the Aide Memoire was highlighted by a number of careers officers. One consequence was that certain sections of the 7 point plan were either omitted or information was transmitted verbally to other careers officers. In the following example, the decision not to follow the 7 point plan's structure demonstrates an attempt to try and 'protect' the client, by a process of covert de-labelling:

'Guide-lines... I can't remember any, and I think it would be helpful to say, 'this is the kind of thing you need to know'. I mean... it's a terrible irony, but I did what I thought was right. And I don't know if the guide-lines would suit me because I would do what I thought was a good idea, and the structure and idea that I had was so loose that nobody caught me breaking the rules. So that, I never broke any bad rules. But I just did not do... I mean there was a few bits in the Aide Memoire that I never filled in. Not that I didn't have an idea about it, but I just found it irrelevant, and found it not very attractive for me as an individual to make these kinds of judgements on other people, on the information I had. So there were bits I would miss out entirely, such as personality and appearance sections'. (013)

Careers officers, particularly those newly qualified, could be influenced by the types of information that their colleagues recorded on the Aide Memoire. The following careers officer in Area 2 discussed how he used to observe what was

recorded in the units, and adapt his own individual style from this. However, a concern that negative stereotypes might be created as a result of this working practice meant he adjusted this procedure by not recording specific types of information on the Aide Memoire:

'One thing I don't like - I started doing it and I realised that I was writing it without thinking. For example about speech in the Aide Memoire. Careers officers would write 'local speech' or 'local accent' which basically means 'working class'. I don't like to do that because certain assumptions might be drawn from it which I think might bias the young person, that they are stupid or not particularly bright etc. I have met many, many young people with broad accents that are very, very able, and I don't think it gives any indication of a person's suitability for a job. OK, there are some young people who are never going to be a hotel receptionist, but generally speaking it is wrong to categorise too much. It could be seen as a form of discrimination. If a person shouldn't be discriminated for the colour of their skin or gender, or sexuality, then you don't do it for their accent either'. (07)

This process of not recording information is very important. It highlights careers officers' awareness that certain negative labels might impact on young people's employment and training opportunities. It also shows that careers officers' perceived need to de-label results in part from an over-adherence to the 7 point plan's structure. Ironically, though the intention is to help clients, careers officers might, unintentionally, exacerbate discriminatory practices.

Interestingly, other careers officers were critical (and confused) about how the speech section in the Aide Memoire should be completed:

'Speech? I have never worked out what that means. Does it mean very articulate? Does it mean, maybe you have a speech impediment? What does it mean?' (013)

The researcher pointed out to the careers officer that comments like 'local accent' were written in the speech section of the Aide Memoire. He responded by stating:

'A local accent? Have you seen something like that written down? Did the person that wrote it down, did they have a local accent? It didn't seem to do them any harm. I mean in this office, you have (careers officer mentioned other

colleagues' names here), me... I'm counting me, who have local accents, and it's not 100% affected us particularly. I mean you don't see many bricklayers standing there saying (careers officer put on a polite voice) '...pass the butter John'. It doesn't happen like that, and I think it's a bit silly to suggest that it does'. (013)

Further criticisms concerned the way some careers officers used the term 'monosyllabic' when describing a young persons' speech. Again, it was pointed out how situational factors could influence the way young people responded during their careers interview. This was another justification for suggesting that more group interviews should be conducted with young people in school.

A different view was expressed by a senior careers officer who adopted a more accepting orientation to this issue. The documentation of such information was viewed as a procedural issue related to working practices, and considered relevant only if it impacted on young people's career choice:

'Speech would not affect everything. Some careers officers might write "local accent" as a matter of course, or if the young person was interested in reception work, or working in an office, "local accent" would not affect everything'.(05)

These de-labelling strategies, involving the alteration of suspect information from the Aide Memoire by modification (some of the details might be passed on verbally) and/or exclusion (information is either tippexed out or, as previously identified, omitted from the Aide Memoire altogether) was a major finding in the present research. Careers officers' suspicions about a young person's behaviour might be perceived or reinforced negatively if committed to paper. Attempts to de-label information if dealing with other careers officers or gatekeepers was evident. Verbal communication was preferred, and/or a decision taken to remove or not commit to paper negative information in the young person's unit:

'I always write my unit as though the young person might want to see it. So I would never write anything down that was defamatory. Or I would write it in a way that I could certainly justify it. I think you need some information... When I used to pass units on to other divisions, if I had written anything down so that I could remember it myself, I used to tippex it out, and just not put in anything. Or I would phone up the careers officer and tell them verbally "just watch

this..." or something like that, ie suspicion of drugs etc, but nobody can prove it... just be aware of this etc. But you need a certain amount of information, certainly, otherwise it is useless. But it depends on the wording and how it is done'. (08)

The following careers officer expanded on this theme. Criticising the view put forward that careers officers were all individuals and had their own specific way of completing units, he was of the view that if other colleagues' perceptions about a young person were different (ie more positive) than his own assessments, they should omit (de-label) what he previously wrote on the Aide Memoire and record their own perceptions instead:

'That's not very good though, is it? One of the things that I always said about the Aide Memoire is that they should always be written in pencil. Because if somebody else interviewed the young person... and there have been situations like this, where either I have interviewed someone, and I thought the person was 'this kind' of personality, and somebody else has interviewed them, and got a lot more out of them, because of the kind of personality they had... Then, maybe, they should remove what I said about them. Because they obviously got more out of the young person, a more positive response. And I don't mean scrub it out, because people can still read it. Particularly when it affects... I mean remove it permanently, so it's not there any more'.(013)

The 'type' of young person a careers officer interviewed was also significant when recording information in the unit. A concern was made over the possibility of others negatively labelling young people from information recorded on the Aide Memoire, which might no longer be relevant. Similar informal methods of communication to those adopted by guidance staff identified earlier (ch.8) were outlined:

'Also, you have got to watch. If something was going to be derogatory, especially when I was dealing with young offenders, I would not write it down. I would just put "see me later for details". Because these units are following people around, and you shouldn't write it. I would maybe need that information at the time I was dealing with the young person but perhaps by the time units were passed on, the conviction is spent. It's over and done with. The young person is over their problem. So nobody needs to know about it any more'. (08)

Although agreeing that some information might be censored by careers officers (for example by not disclosing certain information on the Aide Memoire), a senior careers officer stressed that if information was written down, it should remain on the Aide Memoire, and not be removed at a later stage. Such practices could lead to inconsistencies and misunderstandings when others tried to interpret unit data:

' I disagree with that strongly. Any careers officer who picks up a unit should know what is said. The unit is not the careers officer's personal property. It's the Careers Service's property, and as such, anybody can look at it. If there is anything that the careers officer does not want anybody else to see, this should not be written down. If there was information on, for example, a young person's behaviour, what should be done is that the careers officer could mention that this was a problem, but it is no longer applicable. You (careers officer) would put this information on the running record (the continuous interview notes on the Aide Memoire). You don't dismantle things. You can't take that thing away once it has happened. You update, rather than delete. This is a very dangerous trap to get into, because what you would probably find was that somebody reading that back would know that there were gaps in it. They would not have an explanation for something. If it's worth writing down, it stays written down. If there are changes, you update, rather than delete. Because there is a gap there, if you (careers officers) read the Aide Memoire properly, you know something is missing'. (05)

For careers officers, the information they record is not neutral. For that reason they typically adopt certain strategies of information management designed for the most part to de-label and protect their clients. The manner in which this is related to placement is considered below.

USE OF INFORMATION ON THE AIDE MEMOIRE FOR CAREER RECOMMENDATIONS AND SELECTION PROCESSES

Careers staff held views about what information they perceived was important on the Aide Memoire. All careers staff thought information on young people's health was important (see ch.9). As with health problems, when assessing other attributes such as speech and physique, careers staff pointed out how this 'depended on the type of job' the young person was being placed into. For

example, if a young person wanted to be a receptionist, speech might be important, or if they wanted to enter the construction industry or police force, physique and height would be considered important in these circumstances. Personality was also relevant to specific types of employment:

'...if a young person is very introverted, not very forthcoming, and it might be that they are sent to be a hotel receptionist, for example, it doesn't take a genius to work out that they might not be on the right tracks'. (01)

When assessing what information was important on the Aide Memoire, careers officers varied as to which attributes they considered relevant or irrelevant, particularly from an employment perspective. On a general level, information on qualifications, health, personality and general attitude - for example, if the young person was a good timekeeper, reliable, and trustworthy etc - was identified as important depending on the type of employment they wanted to do. The following careers officer's comments reflected his general observations about information documented on the Aide Memoire:

'Well, health has got a bearing as certain health conditions might exclude the young person from certain occupations or make it unwise. That is the only emphasis I would put on health. Appearance, I don't put much stress on at all. Physique, only really on the health sense, if they (young people) have got the strength to do a building job etc. Speech, if the young person is going into a job where they are involved in communication etc. Disposition and personality, well again yes, if it's clear that a young person is quite outgoing and lively etc, it might be that certain job suggestions come to mind, dealing with people etc. If a young person is very shy, which you can get, especially among teenagers, I personally don't see that as excluding them from certain types of jobs, but it might be that they have to mature a bit before considering them for certain jobs. Education, well obviously there are certain entrance requirements needed for some jobs, so you would have to look at that. What their interests are outside school is neither here nor there. It's a talking point... special aptitudes ie, sports, music, might be important though that has not been very relevant in a vocational sense'. (07)

Notwithstanding the vast amount of information recorded about young people's appearance on the Aide Memoire, when interviewed, the majority of careers officers claimed that appearance did not really matter at the time of their *careers* interview; the employment interview was more important:

'Appearance is irrelevant. Appearance might come into some forms of employment, but does that mean that when somebody turns up for a careers interview and they look like a dog's breakfast, does that suggest that they are going to show up like that for an interview with an employer? ...there is absolutely no logical reason for... I mean, I showed up when I was unemployed at the Job Centre looking like death warmed up, but that didn't mean, when I went for an interview, I didn't wear a suit'. (013)

Another careers officer stressed how careers staff had to be cautious about recording information on the Aide Memoire regarding a young person's appearance at their careers interview. Again, more attention was paid to those negative attributes which might impact on subsequent employment placement:

'You have got to be careful with this sort of information (young person's appearance)... If folk saw me on a Saturday morning they would be writing negative things down about me. You have to be careful, ie is it that the young person is just casually dressed? Or is it more a problem of hygiene etc?'. (08)

Although there is a danger of over-generalising from a small sample, the age of a careers officer and associated values concerning young people appeared to impact on assessments during the careers interview. The following observations were made by a more 'traditional' careers officer in his late fifties, who was critical about some young people's appearance when attending their careers interview:

'I think employers would ask for somebody with a smart appearance which is fair enough. And we would try and give them that. I mean, you find some kids walking in here with their jerseys... the jackets with no sleeves on them, and big tears in their jeans and all the rest of it. This is not saying they will go for interviews dressed like that, but you have to point out to them that if they go for an interview dressed like that, you will not get the job. I have even said in some cases, 'I will not send you for a job while you are dressed like that, because it doesn't do... you won't get it. You are wasting your time, their (employers') time and it doesn't do our (Careers Service) credibility any good either'. If we send a kid looking as if they have spent a fortnight in a coal-mine. But, I mean, most kids will screw the bobbin and change. They have always got a shirt somewhere'. (02)

Although it is acknowledged that young people would be unlikely to turn up in jeans, for example, when attending an employment interview, following

standard procedure within the Careers Service, information relating to young people's overall presentation at their careers interview is still recorded on the 'appearance' section of the Aide Memoire. As already pointed out, following the careers officer's recommendation, employment assistants use the Aide Memoire to pre-select young people from information recorded. The observation that this information was more relevant to employment assistants within the Careers Service was made by a senior careers officer in Area 2:

'If the Aide Memoire is being used for placement purposes, it is more likely to be a member of the support staff that is using it to place, so, this is very important. If it was a job and the employer was particularly fussy, then appearance could be very important. Health, appearance, speech might be important for specific jobs, ie for a receptionist's job, speech would be important then'. (05)

In addition, the way in which a young person's personality could be negatively assessed during the Vocational Guidance Interview was highlighted. Again, it was pointed out how situational factors can affect a young person's behaviour during the careers interview. This was particularly evident if the type of employment a young person wanted was considered unsuitable by the careers officer:

'Disposition?... totally irrelevant. Disposition means their (young people's) disposition on that day to you. Not their disposition generally speaking. I don't understand how a careers officer thinks that they can assess someone's disposition or their personality in 45 minutes, in a false, artificial situation. When you are seeing young people under pressure when they maybe don't even want to be there, and maybe they don't know the answers to your questions. When you are maybe not a very good careers officer, ludicrous.... I have never done that. I've not placed kids, say in... that's not true either... I talked to a kid who I thought was very quiet, and very shy, and he wanted to do retail work. I would talk to the young person about... "You know, you seem a wee bit shy. What kind of pressure do you think that is going to put on you when you actually work in a shop etc?" The young person in question thought he would cope OK, and now he is coming on a treat. I think for me to sit there and say you were assessed as being quiet and withdrawn, therefore I am not placing you into retail would be absurd'. (013)

When making observations about types of subjective criteria recorded on the Aide Memoire, an area careers officer identified how careers staff needed to acknowledge that, inevitably, there were various criteria employers were

looking for in young people. The majority of careers staff accepted that employers needed such information, but emphasised caution should be exercised in how this was interpreted:

'The personality and disposition, although it can be really quite subjective, in the real world, it's part and parcel of, if the young person is going for employment, an employer is not just going to look at academic qualifications, but their whole appearance, general presence and how they present themselves. It is important in building up a full picture of young people. Any job is like that. Even college courses are starting to interview prospective candidates... It's about the whole person. So the whole thing about appearance and health is obviously important, as well as disposition, personality. I'll admit it's very subjective. What I see as an outgoing character, someone else might see as being a bit cheeky or whatever. Careers officers are hopefully trained to be realistic and so on'. (01)

Careers officers pointed out how employers would outline specific requirements regarding the 'type' of person they were interested in. Recruitment criteria depended on what employment was available. The following careers officer thought information on the Aide Memoire was more useful for employment assistants within the context of their pre-selection role than it was to careers officers:

'Everything is useful, but it (Aide Memoire) is not really useful to the careers officer. It's useful to the employment assistants for selecting young people for vacancies. If employment assistants get a vacancy in from an office, for example, and employers are looking for someone who has a good appearance and can communicate well, then they can see that from the information in the young person's unit. So they are not going to send a wee shy retiring person to an office vacancy, if the company has actually specified, "this is the kind of person we need". They (employment assistants) do a pre-selection'. (06)

Employment assistants were also asked what information they thought was important on the Aide Memoire, particularly when making decisions about selecting young people for vacancies. One senior employment assistant's response was somewhat reticent:

'...You will have to ask the careers officers about this, I don't know how important this information is'.(09)

On pursuing this issue further, there remained a reluctance to discuss any information documented on the Aide Memoire vis-a-vis her role in the Careers Service:

'No, because we are going by the recommendation. We don't really... the Aide Memoire is just more or less what it says, it's an aide to the memory of what the interview consisted of. At the end of the day, all we are really interested in is the final outcome of what the young person's destination has to be. How they (careers officers) come to this wondrous decision I really couldn't say'. (09)

This rather defensive approach, which involved attributing all decision making and responsibility to the careers officer, wasn't found among any of the other employment assistants interviewed. The majority view is expressed by the following employment assistant:

'I think all the information is important... it has to be weighed up against the vacancy the staff are dealing with, if staff are using this information for selection purposes, for choosing vacancies'. (010)

In summary, a most significant characteristic of careers officers' accounts of completing the Aide Memoire concerned moral questions relating to the recording of potentially negative and subjective information about a young person's appearance and personality, and how these were assessed in terms of suitability to placement. At the heart of this issue is the dilemma between the employment assistant's expressed need for information on the Aide Memoire, so as effectively to place young people into available vacancies according to employer's recruitment criteria (and thus fulfil the Careers Service's pre-selection role), and the careers officer's concern about the potentially stigmatising nature of some of the information recorded.

PERCEPTIONS OF IDIOSYNCRATIC INFORMATION IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE: THE CONCEPT OF MENTAL VISUALISATION AS AN EXPLANATORY FACTOR

Information recorded on the Aide Memoire also included a wide range of idiosyncratic criteria. This included references to colour, length, and style of hair, complexion, and general appearance. For example; 'had missing teeth', 'wears earrings' (males and females), 'young person was wearing ankle socks', 'into black gear', 'punkish appearance' or if the young person resembled a TV personality ie 'young person looks like Elaine C. Smith' etc. Other types of idiosyncratic criteria included references about the young person's personality such as 'a wee tea jenny type'.

When asked why such idiosyncratic information was recorded on the Aide Memoire, a frequent observation was that this was useful as a means of 'mental visualisation' for careers staff. Careers officers pointed out how this information was very useful for employment assistants when selecting and placing clients into employment, particularly if the young person was not in the office at the time when decisions were being made about placement:

'Freckles and all this. Sometimes you can get units full of information like this and no real guidance, and you still don't know what they (careers officers) are doing. I tend to write height and build and whether they are presentable, ie neat and tidy. Really just as a... the height and build is for me to make sure I have got the right person the next time they come to the office. Or, if they have got really nice hair, or if it is really short or long etc, I might mention that just so that I have got this mental picture of them in my mind. Also, this gives the employment assistants something to go on'. (08)

Careers officers also thought the training a careers officer received might be another reason why they documented such information. Overall, however, an unproblematic approach by the majority of careers staff was held regarding this issue:

'This could be two things. Careers officers might do this to remember who the young person is. For other careers officers, this might go back to how they were trained. Sometimes you'll find that careers officers may write on the units a

physical description of the person, and sometimes I have done it myself, but purely to visualise that person, because if you can visualise young people an awful lot comes back to you. If you are dealing with a lot of young people, it is difficult sometimes to remember the face that goes with the name'. (06)

Employment assistants' views as to why some careers officers wrote information such as 'freckles' and 'hair colour' on the Aide Memoire reflected some uncertainty:

'I don't know. I know exactly what you mean, because we get so many young people coming in here who are medium height and build (on the Aide Memoire) and when they actually appear they are either 4ft 2in or 6 ft 7 in! Sometimes I think it's just the repetition of it all. You know... careers officers just get carried away with themselves! Sometimes they maybe just write freckles or something just to break the monotony!. I don't think it's relevant. I think if a careers officer wrote freckles you would find that the young people was probably really well freckled! and its maybe just some kind of impression that they have got. Or sometimes you get people in here who have been practically albino and maybe the careers officer has put very, very fair hair. And if you are verging on albino there might be a good chance your eyesight isn't all that good. Perhaps it has something to do with that! (employment assistant laughs) but I really wouldn't like to say! (09)

Interestingly, although employment assistants agreed with careers officers that this information might be useful as a means of mental visualisation, they did not consider it particularly relevant for placing purposes:

'Freckles or hair colour, I can't see where that would be of use, except when the young person comes in and you try to identify them. For instance, if you looked at the person's unit and it said that they had red hair and freckles; if a couple of kids come to see different careers staff then you could recognise them. As far as employment is concerned, I can't see how it would make any difference'. (012)

When discussing the relevance of recording idiosyncratic information on the Aide Memoire, the following careers officer had some thoughtful points to make regarding wider administrative procedures adopted within the Careers Service. In the absence of tangible criteria for monitoring effectiveness and performance, there is a convincing argument to be made for justifying careers officers' working procedures by recourse to bureaucratic modes of operation. The demonstration of effective accomplishment of careers officers' tasks (ie once the paper work is done the job is done) was put forward as an explanation for the

documentation of the wide and varied range of information gathered by careers officers:

C.O 'Why record this information? Because careers officers are conditioned by the paper work rather than being conditioned by the need of the client'. (013)

AMcD Do you mean the recording of this information is a result of careers officers following bureaucratic procedure?

C.O 'Exactly, it is because that paper (the Aide Memoire) is there and folk like filling in bits of paper. See when you have done a careers interview? How do you know you have done a good careers interview? Well, you have got all these bits of paper. That's a bloody good careers interview!... Great story in one of the schools in (Area 2)... is this guy, a careers officer, goes and looks at some of this stuff, and says 'Look at that Y19 (interview notes given to the young person after their Vocational Guidance Interview), Brilliant! all the writing etc, that's fantastic! Great stuff!... You'll (young person) do this, you'll do that, you'll do the next thing. Brilliant stuff', this guy says, 'that's magic, isn't it?'. Then a guidance teacher laughs and says, 'the only reservation I have about it is that I have another 35 identical reports to that, with only the names changed and the occupation that they (young people) are going into!' (Careers officer laughs). So to some extent the writing of things and the production of nice wee bits of paper, to some people, is a justification for what they do. That's how you do a good careers interview. I've got all this information. The kid might think, "that was a waste of bloody time!". But that's because it's hard to assess how good you are if you don't do that. I mean the irony is... the kid knows all that stuff. How can you help a kid, because they know all that. They know what kind of freckles they have got. Or what kind of hair colour. What's the point?... they know it'.

AMcD They don't know you are writing it down.

C.O 'That's exactly right. They don't know we are writing this down. They would probably think "bloody hell, what an astounding situation!". So I think to some extent people write this down because they want to see that they have done a good job. The careers officers need a tangible guide to '...was that a good interview?'. And in the absence of a real guide as to whether that was a good interview, what they have done is, I think to some extent fallen back on, 'that's a good interview, I've got all this stuff'. And I think that's a very important issue. I'm not saying that happens to everybody. I'm saying with some people, maybe that's the case. The important thing is whether or not you have met that young person's need. And there is no way of assessing that. And, I'm not at all criticising the careers officers for that, because they are under pressure to write this crap out'.

As well as recording idiosyncratic information about young people, there is also a 'circumstances' section included on the Aide Memoire, which specifically involves careers officers asking young people questions about their home background and parents' occupation.

A QUESTION OF DISCRETION?: YOUNG PEOPLE'S BACKGROUND CIRCUMSTANCES AS A CONSIDERATION FOR CAREERS STAFF INQUIRY

Careers officers, particularly in the disadvantaged area, were generally reluctant to ask young people about their parents' occupation and home background; though they recognised its potential importance for decision making:

'I tend to write about young people's circumstances also. I would tend to put in what their mum and dad does. I don't just say '...oh, what do your parents do?'. I would use the questionnaire and ask '...name of parent or guardian? ...So is it your parents you live with?' And then I would talk about what the young person wants to do, and ask, 'are there any influence at home?' Sometimes that can be useful, if the young person is having family problems, ie parents are unemployed or divorced etc. That can have an effect on how young people are feeling about leaving school. Young people's circumstances is a tricky one. I think sometimes the financial situation can be a precedent for them being taken out of school. Or sometimes there is a lot of parental pressure on them to stay, sometimes against their better judgement. That can apply as well'. (07)

The training a careers officer received was also identified as important in influencing what was asked during the Vocational Guidance Interview. Careers officers might see where young people's career ideas were originating from:

'Sometimes it depends on how long careers officers have been in the Careers Service, and where they have been trained. When I started, I was always told you must ask questions on the young people's parents' occupation, to see where young people are getting their career ideas from. With a lot of young people, they want to do a job because that is what their parents do. Or they don't want to do a job the same as their parents. Parents might have strong feelings, ie they don't want their children to do what they had to do and want something better for them. In areas of high unemployment, it can be embarrassing to ask this

question as their parents might be unemployed. But it is quite useful to have this information. I don't ask it as a matter of course, but if a young person is determined to do a job and I don't know why they wanted to do it, I will ask this, and 9 times out of 10 they (young people) will have a relative that is doing that job. That might be the only knowledge of jobs they (young people) have. They might have no knowledge of any other jobs'. (08)

On the young person's Pre-Interview questionnaire (CS18a form), under the section on 'Work', young people are asked "Which jobs have you considered and why?". As can be seen from Appendices 10.1a-d which relate to Area 2, young people's views of the world of work mirrored their experience of the depressed labour market situation in that area, (Appendices 10.1a-b). Part-time work experience and interests could also influence how they perceived their future role in the labour market (Appendices 10.1c-d).

If more information was available on the Aide Memoire, a proactive approach could be adopted by careers staff when making decisions about placement. A story highlighting such issues was outlined by a careers officer in Area 2:

'Sometimes young people's personal circumstances dictate that wee bit extra support would be beneficial. But you don't always know that unless you ask about it. You just write the information down on the seven point plan ...de, de, de... though you might not actually get behind the picture. Sometimes you will sit with the young person, and you know there is something wrong but you can't get them to say it. It happened to me the other week. This boy I had seen before... I knew there was something wrong and he wasn't telling me what it was. And eventually it came out that he had been turfed out of the house. He was living in lodgings and was very unhappy. And it opened up a completely new scenario. Because he was in youth training, he was finding it a real struggle getting up, managing to cook his meals, getting his washing done. He just didn't know how to handle it, cause he wasn't a very able young person anyway. He was obviously on the way to becoming depressed, and he didn't look at all well, so I suggested that he might want to go and see his doctor. And I wouldn't have been able to do that if I had not known that. It is not being nose-y. It is just trying to relate to what is happening in the young person's life. Because it all hangs together. Now we are not social workers, so as far as we go it stops there. I suggest you go to the doctor and "Aye fine" or "no I won't". That's it. You can't go any further than that...'. (06)

This was seen as particularly important if a young person's circumstances impacted to how they were coping within the working environment:

'We have to accept that life impinges... it does impinge... it impinges on us all. In that boy's case, you might get the youth training scheme ringing up and saying, 'Look, his timekeeping is just deplorable, he will have to go'. And you can come back and say 'Actually, the situation is, he is out of the house and he is struggling'. Right? It makes it completely different. But a lot of the time young people won't tell anybody. And they just struggle on and you get this knowledge there is something there, but sometimes you just can't get at it'. (06)

Employment assistants generally considered information about parents' employment as irrelevant to placement, unless the young person wanted to follow the same career as their parents. Though, as with careers officers' accounts, family circumstances might impact on a young person's experience in placement. The quote below is representative of these views:

'Regarding parents' employment. I know that it's on the form, and I know that some careers officers do write in comments about what the parents do. I don't see that it's totally relevant, except if the young person is involved in the same career as their parents and they already know a lot about it. The family circumstances are relevant in that they could be living with a mother only, or the young person might be in a children's home. Young people might have to get additional benefits, ie for a single parent etc. This could be relevant to employment'. (011)

In summary, the problematic nature of decision making when completing specific sections of the seven point plan could be seen in information relating to young people's parents' occupation and home circumstances, particularly in the disadvantaged area. Careers officers commented how some clients refused to reveal the type of employment their parents were in, or asked why the Careers Service wanted to know this information. Though uncomfortable about this, careers staff thought if they had more background knowledge about clients, they could, if necessary, offer relevant advice about benefits or supply additional support to young people in placement.

Of vital significance is whether more attention is paid to young people's attributes in Area 2, and the extent to which this information impacts on destinations. Perceptions about positive and negative attributes recorded in the Aide Memoire and whether this mattered for young people's entry into youth training, employment, further and higher education is considered next.

POTENTIAL DESTINATIONS AS CONTEXTS FOR DECISION MAKING: THE 'TWO SCENARIOS' AS AN EXPLANATORY FACTOR

When making decisions about placements, a careers officer described the way in which there were "two scenarios" operating. A distinction was drawn between information considered relevant for young people entering youth training, and that which related to those going on to further and higher education. For the latter, more emphasis was placed on subjects studied and career choice. Thus, at least during this stage in the transitional process, other attributes about academic youth (excluding academic criteria) were viewed as less significant in affecting career outcome; findings also reflected in the quantitative analysis (ch.6):

'There are two different scenarios here... If you are talking about young people going into higher education, then appearance and speech maybe doesn't really matter as much than if you are placing someone into a job, through the Careers Service doing their placing function. It's kids going into higher education... then their education and what young people are interested in that are the major factors. But if you are talking about young people going into a job or going into YT, then you would start looking at things like their appearance and their personality and what type of person they are for a 'job'. But, somebody who is quite shy and retiring, who has five highers, and is going to University, it doesn't really matter that much. They might have a few problems, but not as much as someone you are trying to place into employment'. (07)

For young people going into YT and employment, more attention was paid to personal attributes such as appearance and personality and how suitable these young people were for 'a job'. In respect of non-academic youth, a careers officer in the disadvantaged area stressed how other attributes were very important when trying to secure placement:

'I would like to think the way the education system is going that employers are looking at the whole person and not just what they have got inside their skulls. It's one of the things that I like to try very hard to get across to young people. Qualifications are not the whole story. Because obviously we are dealing with a lot of kids who don't have particularly good qualifications. The jobs where little or no qualifications are required, then personal characteristics might be more important'. (08)

This included positive attributes such as good appearance and personality, and having the 'right kind' of attitude to work:

'A lot of employers still don't ask for formal qualifications, for either permanent jobs on offer or training programmes... so there is a great compensation for a young person who appears well motivated, has the right kind of attitude, is interested. If you ask employers what they are looking for in a young person, a lot will tell you it's their general demeanour. Do they show interest? Are they willing to learn? Will they come in on time? Will they be reliable? That's as important in terms of their personality traits as paper qualifications. Within reason, obviously, there are certain types of jobs where employers are going to ask for specific types of qualifications. However, young people can certainly compensate for a so called lack of academic qualification, by just their general attitude and demeanour'. (08)

Again as with quantitative analysis which showed how young people with negative attributes were more likely to be unemployed in Area 2 (see ch.6), employment assistants pointed out how young people with positive attributes, such as good appearance, reliability and motivation etc, might get placed before a young person who did not possess such qualities:

'Personality is very important, and physique and health, depending on what young people are going to be choosing. Appearance, someone who is perhaps neat, and fairly confident; if they don't have qualifications, it might be easier to get them placed than the young person who isn't demonstrating any particular qualities'. (012)

The 'client-centred' orientation of the Careers Service's role can be seen in the following description of a careers officer's work with young people. This involved playing up the positive characteristics of his clients and giving

vocational advice and support, rather than adhering to a more 'manpowered-centred' perspective:

'I think personality is important. I don't object to the idea that personality is important to the job choice. I object to the idea that in a 40 minute interview you can assess it. I think willingness is important. And that's not something that you get from other people. I figure my job is... not to ensure that employers... I don't take the heat out of the situation that employers find themselves in. That's why employers interview. They decide what they take on. My job is to try and square people up as much as possible for the options they have chosen. And for the difficulties these options might present them personally with. My job is... I'm here to help the kids, not particularly to help employers, although, I don't mind helping the employers if it is going to help the kids. So my view is... things like personality, a willingness to learn, enthusiasm, people might not be very bright, but they can talk a good game. And that's important. Timekeeping is vital... well behaved, reliable, I maybe structure things on this basis, rather than me assessing them, which I think is entirely the wrong way to go about it'.(013)

The concept of 'selling' young people to employers was emphasised as a major orientation adopted by careers staff. Careers officers, who attempted to present non-academic pupils in a positive light, also pointed out how employers needed to be more realistic regarding the types of young people recruited. For example:

'Yes, we will ask them (employers). We take a vacancy from an employer... it's not just the factual information of the hours and wage rate etc. We would also ask them about the type of person that they want to recruit. And a major part of the careers officer's job in the Careers Service is to sell young people to employers, and to try and make employers be realistic about their recruitment practices. And encourage employers to consider young people who, depending on the nature of the job they are offering... to try and encourage them to consider young people who do have good personality traits, and are proven willing workers. Young people have got ability to learn that might not be reflected in their academic background'. (03)

In summary, a distinction was apparent between information recorded on the Aide Memoire for young people entering youth training and employment and for those going on to further and higher education. This underlines the fact that the careers officers' role with 4th year school leavers is more relevant to selection processes at this stage in the transitional process, and less so for those remaining in school and continuing their education.

THE PLACEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO 'PREMIUM' AND 'BASIC' YOUTH TRAINING SCHEMES: A CONSIDERATION OF NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE CRITERIA FROM THE AIDE MEMOIRE

A combination of factors might operate to segregate young people from equal participation on YT schemes. However, the present research has shown how wider opportunity structures impact on the allocation of premium and basic YT schemes within both areas, with strikingly more young people entering premium schemes in Area 2 (ch.6). Because of a lack of adequate YT provision and cutbacks in YT funding, a concentration of premium YT schemes is located in this area.

With higher unemployment and subsequent increased competition for vacancies, employers are more selective in their recruitment, particularly in a depressed labour market. If selection is not based on formal qualifications, but rather on more subjective aspects of young people's characteristics, those receiving negative assessments will be less likely to be selected for employer-led basic YT schemes (see ch.6).

As already shown, premium YT schemes receive very negative labels and were infamous among careers staff and young people alike (ch.3). In general, careers staff understood why some schemes were so labelled; the types of young people attending the schemes often caused real difficulties within placements:

'The Training Workshop was called the "Nut Hut" with good cause. In a lot of the cases the young people were absolutely nutters. I think there is a real stigma about Community Industry and the Training Workshop. A lot of young people say point blank they will not go as they would get beaten up or 'eaten by the bears'... there are horrendous problems sometimes. I think supervisors on these schemes work miracles with these weans. I don't think they are given enough support from the District Council or Local Authorities. They wouldn't give young people enough work to do. The CPA (Community Projects Agency) is now down the tubes because of the poll tax, as the Region just couldn't afford them any more'. (02)

Another careers officer, assessing types of training schemes available in Area 2, was very critical of the young people in Community Industry:

'There are some managing agents who are exceptionally good and try to do well for young people in schemes such as Springboard, Community Industry and Workwise, which are the most special needs orientated, and cater for those with behaviour, literacy, numeracy, and social problems etc. They are the main ones. They are all very good in their own ways. But Community Industry is the scheme which I am least happy about. It seems to have the worst problems in microcosm. All the headbangers tend to end up there. It's the last resting place before where ever else young people go before oblivion... that is car crime etc. The staff that work there are conscious of their role in that respect. They are the last safety net. If you slip through that there is nowhere else, and in that sense, it is very important'. (07)

Due to an overall lack of employer-led YT schemes in Area 2, young people with positive characteristics might still be left behind in respect of employment opportunities - an issue also highlighted from evidence relating to the Aide Memoire document:

'In (Area 2), young people will not get good YT schemes, so you are looking at places like Community Industry to pick these young people up. I think in a lot of cases, factors like good appearance etc, don't even come into play. A lot of young people with no qualifications will always end up in the dead end jobs, more menial routine...'. (02)

Again, as with qualitative findings from the Aide Memoire document, careers officers in Area 2 highlighted how they tried to protect some clients from this environment:

'I would have to think very carefully before I would send some young people to Community Industry. Not because I have got anything against CI, but because the other clients there could pick on my client, and give him a hard time. I would prefer to send my clients to non-premium, non-category B schemes. I would prefer to give them as good a chance as possible to get as much out of it. (07)

Employment assistants reported how many young people perceived premium YT training as 'dead end' and not a 'real' YT placement. For example, some

would 'get laughed at'. This negative evaluation of CI extended generally to all premium YT schemes. In comparison to basic YT schemes, the type of recruitment used for premium schemes was also very different. Young people were constantly being submitted to, and dropping out of, premium schemes on a regular basis:

'Places like Springboard and CI are on-going placements and careers officers can submit on an on-going basis. This is very different from ordinary training schemes. Young people are also trained in small squads of maybe 10-15 young people, it's an artificial situation. Placement companies are a much more realistic situation'. (012)

However, not all careers officers held negative views about premium schemes. Some pupils with educational, behavioural, and social problems, often required additional support. This view was developed in the awareness that not all young people could cope within mainstream YT:

'Information is still very, very important. You are also looking at young people with learning difficulties who need continuing support, especially in areas of literacy and numeracy, and almost certainly confidence building skills. The whole socialisation for these young people is very important. They may be exhibiting behaviour problems because they are struggling with school based work. It runs the whole gambit from truancy to non-attendance, reacting to authority badly and so on. I'm not saying every young person is like that, but you can find a number of these young people, who although the school report might ask for exams etc, you need to know what other kind of problems they might have, so that you can give the additional support they need to make the transition from school to training and employment'. (012)

Another employment assistant's story illustrates why she considered premium YT schemes such as CI and the Training Workshops necessary for some who register at the Careers Service:

'I think there are some very good schemes where the training is excellent. Really you couldn't get better training if you were in a permanent job. On the other hand, there are schemes that are not very good. For young people with problems with their attendance, timekeeping or attitude, or if they were in a lot of trouble in their last YT scheme, maybe violent etc... young people are not being categorised (endorsed) just because of ability, it's the whole spectrum. If

you feel that to get this young person a place and to give them a chance of going on and making something of their career, then you will endorse them to try and help them through it. We do need sheltered environments for these young people to go into. It could be you have got a young person who you don't feel that CI or Springboard or Multi-skills is exactly the place for them, but there isn't anywhere else and it's a case of, well, they either go there, to one of these places, which offer quite a wide variety of work, where they have a good chance of a job... and to be fair to the Training Workshop, there was a large number of young people over the last few years who actually got permanent jobs from placements'. (010)

The following employment assistant thought some types of young people (ie those with very negative school reports, including negative behaviour etc) would *never* get accepted by an employer for a job without first passing through youth training:

'Initially, young people might not be totally happy going in there (premium YT) because they are totally under supervision all the time, and I'm not saying Springboard and other schemes are the best place for everybody, but some of the young people have got jobs from it, who really couldn't have gone anywhere else. This is the problem, this is the whole thing about YT schemes. Although a lot of people knock it and at times I think the YT schemes could be better than they are, there are a lot of young people who, without the YT schemes, would never, ever have gotten employment. For instance, some of these wee guys at the Workshop, who really didn't have a lot of ability walking in here (the careers office) they didn't have very much going for them. We (Careers Service) got them into the workshop, and maybe some one or two and a half years later, they were in permanent employment. Albeit, it was maybe labouring or factory work somewhere, but they were in a job. Now, if they (young people) had gone up to that company for an interview for a permanent job, they wouldn't have got it. They didn't have the experience the company would need, they didn't look the part, they didn't come across at all well at the interview... but a year or six months down at the workshop, they were doing reasonably well. We (Careers Service) got them out into placement and we said to the guy (employer) "look, we will give you them (young people) for a few weeks, see how they get on", and a lot of them ended up with jobs. These guys (young people) would never have got into employment. Never. So it (YT) has benefited them'. (010)

Employment assistants stressed how a lack of employment opportunities in Area 2 affected decision making regarding placement. This was because the provision of YT was badly affected by Government cutbacks:

'Sometimes, because of lack of provision in some areas, you are forced to send young people to managing agents that you are not entirely happy with. All of these training schemes are finding difficulties at the moment in that.. they do mean well and they are trying to do the best for the young person on the one hand, but on the other hand they are also businesses and they are trying to balance the books as well, and personally I think these two ideas are incompatible. At the moment, because the Development Agency have cut back on their funding so much, various managing agents have said they doubt very strongly if they are going to have any recruitment for school leavers this year. This Summer is going to be the worst ever with regard to finding places for young people; especially for those with particular special needs, such as literacy and numeracy, behaviour and personal effectiveness problems etc, because they always come last anyway'. (011)

However, in Area 1 even for those young people entering premium YT schemes, the chances of gaining employment from this was judged significantly higher than in Area 2:

'One of my endorsed schemes here in (Area 1) is the local multi-skills training centre, which used to be the Training Workshop. The workshop at one point had six to ten of their trainees going into permanent employment. Now that's an excellent average for young people who have learning difficulties, behaviour problems, etc. So the endorsed schemes are about the appropriate level of support and training. If they are run properly, they are good training for that particular type of young person. Unfortunately, a number of the training schemes... because we have to deal with so many young people, it does tend to maybe bring the programme down a bit as well. It's like saying to... if you took the forty worst kids in a year group, no teacher in a school is going to teach them Monday to Friday, they would crack up. We are expecting these endorsed schemes to deal with some kids who have got real problems. And I have got sympathy for them. But it's about them having the right kind of mechanisms and support within the programme to try and deal with that. At the end of the day, they are not miracle workers, some you win, some you lose. Six guys of ten, in the local training workshop, getting permanent jobs, that's six guys out of ten that won. The other four probably were sacked, they left, they kept going off on the sick, they were unreliable when they went to placement companies. I mean... such is the way of the world'. (01)

In summary, a majority of careers staff held unfavourable views about premium schemes - this related to the quality of training offered, and the trainees themselves - both of which received very negative labels, particularly in Area 2. However, because of the overall lack of YT provision in this area, careers staff were faced with the task of having to send their clients to these schemes,

whereas in a better labour market such as Area 1, entry to basic YT was more a matter of course.

CONCLUSION

This very detailed chapter has highlighted a number of complex issues concerning information management and decision making within the Careers Service, particularly in respect of the completion of the (CS2) Aide Memoire. Firstly, in the context of questions relating to the main influences impacting on careers officers' decision making, a frequent response was to emphasise that they were simply 'exercising their professional judgement' or that they had developed their own 'individual style'. This suggests how autonomous careers officers' decision making is in respect of completing Careers Service documents.

Secondly, variations in the way careers officers completed the Aide Memoire were identified. For example, some careers officers, particularly those recently qualified, wrote very detailed information on the Aide Memoire. Previous experience as an employment assistant also seemed to be linked to a practice of recording a lot of information, in order to facilitate effective placement into training and employment. By contrast, other careers officers were critical of what they perceived as negative and irrelevant subjective information being written about young people. Consequently, a more minimalist approach was adopted when completing the Aide Memoire, and only information considered necessary and relevant to a young person's placement recorded. All of these factors suggest broader influences on the recording of information on the Aide Memoire which are not consistent with their own emphasis on idiosyncratic evaluation.

Thirdly, a most significant feature of careers officers' accounts of decision making concerned their own questioning of the ethics and relevance of recording negative (subjective) information, particularly about young people's appearance or personality in specific sections of the 7 point plan. Careers officers were very aware of this issue and some were uncomfortable about

having to record negative, potentially stigmatising information. However, in line with their training, Careers Service bureaucratic procedure, and the necessity of gathering information for their pre-selection role, they actually do record a huge amount (see ch.5, Table 5.2). The majority of careers staff accepted that the Careers Service needed such information, but emphasised caution should be exercised in how this was interpreted.

For other careers officers, the decision not to complete all sections on the Aide Memoire meant they were engaged in a process of de-labelling designed to protect their client. This involved several attributes including speech and behavioural information and, depending on the circumstances, this might not be committed to paper if viewed as potentially detrimental to placement. For example, if the young person's unit was being passed on to another careers division, the careers officer might either remove (i.e. tippex out) what was previously recorded on the Aide Memoire, or communicate this information verbally. In short, and despite the fact that large amounts of information about such attributes is recorded on Careers Service units, some careers officers have developed accounts which demonstrate its problematic status.

Fourthly, and related, a lot of the information recorded about young people on the Aide Memoire was not available from any other sources (eg height, physique, general and more idiosyncratic information about appearance, presentation during the careers interview, and information on employment/training prospects etc). The significance of this information resides in its relevance for career recommendations and the selection of young people for vacancies. At a general level, information about young people's health, physique, academic potential, and general attitude (ie if the young person was reliable enthusiastic etc) was considered important. However, the majority of careers officers thought a young person's appearance did not really matter (though they highlighted how some employers requested young people with good appearance for certain jobs). Information about appearance was, therefore, recorded on the Aide Memoire and employment assistants referred to this when selecting young people into available vacancies.

Although Careers Service Inspectorate observe careers officers at work and offer suitable comments to them and their seniors, these assessments relate to individual performance in particular circumstances. Reports such as 'The Vocational Guidance Interview' (Bedford 1982a) and 'Vocational Guidance Interviews Explored' (Bedford 1982b), along with relevant guide-lines and check-lists were developed and recently updated (DE 1992b) to help Careers Service Inspectors and others interested in this field to assess the effectiveness of guidance interviews more objectively.

Two general principles are highlighted in the recent guide-lines which are of relevance to the present research and relate specifically to 'judgemental ratings on the check-list'. The first is the distinction between 'outcomes' and 'process'. The check-list is more concerned with the former, ie 'what progress the student has made as a result of the interview'. ('Process' dimensions concentrate more on the skills of the careers officer and are assessed separately). The second, and in relation to the present research, more interesting principle, is what is termed the '**Principle of Parsimony**' (emphasis in text). This involves:

1. Recording what you see and hear happening, not what you infer or guess is happening.
2. Ignoring moral judgements, ie whether you feel that what is happening is desirable or undesirable.

The guide-lines (DE 1992b:3) further state that:

'This principle is central to the approach adopted in assessing interviews. Of course 'internal processes' (thoughts, mental reservations, rejection of ideas etc) are going on all the time in interviews. Experience shows, however, that it is impossible for external observers to assess these internal processes with any reliability at all. Similarly, moral judgements involve the value systems of individual assessors and should be avoided'.

However, as shown, the degree of discretion and autonomy used by careers staff varies. In some divisions, policy follows strict guide-lines, whereas in others, policy offers a framework within which there is much diversity. These issues

are very relevant when assessing careers staffs' decision making concerning information recorded on the Aide Memoire. Although the guide-lines warn against careers staff recording information from inferences about what they think is happening, careers officers, particularly those with more experience in the Careers Service, pointed out how they can get an 'inkling' about a young person during the VGI or that they 'can divine some of the sticks for themselves'.

Similarly, moral judgements might not be avoided, but instead influence a process which results in careers officers selectively recording information on the Aide Memoire, as certain information may be perceived as negatively affecting employment opportunities. In addition, perceived 'suspect' information about young people from other gatekeepers (for example the social work department) might not be written down, but communicated verbally to other careers officers if units are being sent to other Divisions.

The majority of employment assistants pointed out that all the information on the Aide Memoire was important and stressed how information had to be considered alongside the vacancy they were dealing with. It thus seems that the careers officers are caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, they are conscious of the potentially negative implications of their recording practices and might therefore attempt de-labelling strategies. On the other hand, they must of necessity respond to the demand of employers: decisions therefore must be based on specific criteria and, if wrong, place the Careers Service in very bad light. Negotiating on behalf of their clients therefore has to be subtle and informal lest it be revealed as incompetence.

Fifthly, analysis of information on the Aide Memoire draws attention to the very broad range of idiosyncratic criteria being recorded by careers officers. This suggests another aspect of their accounting practice which rests on the practical aspects of their work. A good example is mental visualisation, the documentation of idiosyncratic information as a means of identifying young people when they came into the careers office, even though idiosyncratic information was manifestly not considered particularly useful by employment assistants. Another explanation put forward was that recording a lot of

information on the Aide Memoire demonstrated the effective accomplishment of careers officers' tasks.

The problematic nature of information is also illustrated by information about young people's home circumstances and parents' occupations. In Area 2, because of high unemployment in that labour market, careers officers pointed out how they were often uncomfortable about asking young people questions regarding their parents' occupation. However, such information could influence young people's decision making about when to leave school or highlight where job ideas originated from. Careers staff could also react proactively if they had more information about a young person's background, particularly if this was causing problems whilst in employment or youth training.

Sixthly, a distinction between information recorded on the Aide Memoire for young people entering further and higher education and those entering youth training and employment is evident. It was suggested that 'two scenarios' were operating. For young people going into further and higher education, less attention was paid to attributes such as appearance and speech and more to subjects being studied and career choice. Even if negative attributes were identified, these were considered unproblematic by careers staff. By contrast, for those young people entering youth training and employment, more attention was given to the young person's appearance and personality and how appropriate they were for the type of job they wanted. However, reflecting the overall de-labelling orientation, and consistent with quantitative analysis (ch.6), positive personal attributes such as having good appearance, being well motivated, and having good attendance and timekeeping etc, were generally played up as important characteristics for young people entering youth training and employment, particularly for those with little or no academic qualifications.

Seventhly, the issue of images associated with destinations was also linked to careers officers' evaluations of the information being recorded. This particularly referred to the types of young people entering premium and basic YT schemes within the two areas. Many careers officers held very negative views about

some premium YT schemes, mostly concentrated within Area 2. Similar negative assessments of the types of young people who entered schemes like Community Industry and the Training Workshop were made, which included references to behavioural, social, personal, literacy and numeracy as well as attendance problems.

It is quite clear that opportunity structures within the contrasting labour markets are very significant to young people's training and employment opportunities. Due to a serious lack of youth training provision in the disadvantaged area, young people, who would ordinarily enter quality, basic YT schemes, were entering premium YT schemes like Community Industry and the Training Workshop. Careers staffs' refusal to send some of their more 'sheltered' clients to these schemes, even if there was no other training schemes available, reveals something about how negatively they are perceived. Young people themselves also appear to be very aware of how bad some premium schemes were; for example, careers officers reported how some young people would not reveal to careers staff if they were under social work supervision or had behavioural problems, as this might increase the likelihood for entering such schemes.

Even here, the dilemma facing the careers officer is evident, for the very schemes which potentially involve negative labelling are those which provide the skills necessary to compensate for low academic, low job potential youth. Young people were therefore endorsed by the careers officer so they could have additional support and supervision within their premium training scheme. Moreover, employment assistants discussed how non-academic youth with negative assessments who did not come across well at their careers interview and had bad school reports etc, would never have entered full time employment without going through youth training. When comparisons were made between the two localities, careers officers highlighted how, at one stage, six out of ten of those young people entering premium schemes in Area 1 were gaining employment. By contrast, because of funding cutbacks in youth training provision in Area 2, employers informed the Careers Service that YT recruitment from the new Summer term school leavers was very unlikely.

Finally, and of central concern to the issue of labelling and selection, the Careers Service was identified as offering a pre-selection service to employers, and information in the units assisted this role. Although careers staff tried to 'sell' young people to employers and encouraged them to recruit, for example, non-academic youth with positive attributes, particularly in Area 2, they are judged by employers and managing agents in terms of the effectiveness of their pre-selection service.

If careers officers did not meet employers' recruitment requirements, employers could simply advertise vacancies in the local press. Hence, the pre-selection process regarding the type of young people chosen for available vacancies was more rigorous in Area 2. Those young people identified as having negative attributes were more likely to be selected by employment assistants into premium YT schemes. However, as there were even waiting lists for schemes like Community Industry, in contrast to their peers in the better labour market, more young people in Area 2 were remaining on the Careers Service register unemployed. Due to the concentration of premium YT schemes in the disadvantaged area, young people with positive attributes also experienced difficulties in getting into basic YT schemes and frequently had to accept training in the premium schemes that were available, or alternatively, remain unemployed.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION AND REVIEW OF FINDINGS

The present research has demonstrated that the Careers Service is an effective gatekeeper in the sense that careers officers' responses make a clear difference in the way that clients with health problems and with other attributes are placed into available vacancies. Undeniably, the Careers Service is a crucial mediator. During the transitional process, careers staff are strategically placed to work with school guidance staff and young people in schools and also with the providers of training and employment opportunities.

In the light of early research findings on the Careers Service, (for example Carter 1962; Jahoda and Chalmers 1963), it is easy to see how the 'effectiveness' of this agency has been called into question. Methodological limitations and different measures by which 'effectiveness' was assessed (including client satisfaction, learning and career outcomes) have meant the aims and purpose of guidance were open to varying interpretation. Others have suggested that in areas of high unemployment, guidance is capable of achieving only limited success, both in terms of preparing young people for the world of work and in finding actual placements (Roberts 1977).

It is, however, unthinkable to consider the 'effectiveness' of the Careers Service's role without taking into account the wider opportunity structures operating within different labour market contexts. It is within these contexts that the Careers Service seeks to play the role of advocate and secure suitable placements for its clients. From this perspective, the proactive 'client-centred' function of the Career Service has an added dimension, specifically in promoting equal opportunities for their client group. Indeed, it is this unique role which distinguishes careers staff from other school/post school gatekeepers within the transitional network. This was understood perfectly

by Bazalgette (1982) when he suggested that the Careers Service was *the* key service for young people.

This conclusion has emerged from a number of interlocking research questions which, in a cumulative sequence, take into account the availability of information to careers officers, their use of it in selection and placement, and their simultaneous response to the varying constraints of opportunity structures. In pursuing these questions, careers officers' responses to recognised health problems and to other attributes recorded in young people's units have been examined separately. This conceptual framework enabled six research questions to be defined, three concerned primarily with recognised health problems, and three primarily with the other attributes recorded.

In order satisfactorily to fulfil their role in health selection, careers staff require relevant health information about their client. The first aim of the study therefore involved the identification of careers staffs' perceptions of agencies and individuals such as School Guidance Staff, the School Medical Service and EMAS (Employment Medical Advisory Service), as well as associated sources and patterns of health information flow.

The second aim of the study was to investigate the extent to which the Careers Service had definite consequences for health selection. Earlier studies into young people's transitions from school showed how channelling by the school system, young people's occupational choice, and opportunity structures in the labour market all played a part in the transitional process, though they were not all of the same kind and operated in different ways (Ryrie 1983). Given this, it is important to remember that the Careers Service is only one agency among many engaged in decision making about young people's destinations. The major mechanisms by which young people are allocated into their different roles are complex. Indeed, health selection processes might have more of an effect at a later stage, when young people enter the broader labour market after youth training. What is certain, is that at present, particularly with the growth of youth unemployment and the

introduction of YTS, the Careers Service's role in terms of selection processes is clearly apparent; careers staffs' working practices have had to adapt to ongoing changing political and economic circumstances.

In defining the parameters of the study, one question was whether the present research should focus on careers staff with responsibility for mainstream schools, or on special needs careers officers working with young people in special schools. As a specific interest of this research is in health selection, the exclusion of special needs might seem peculiar. Indeed, it is probable that the research process would have been considerably more straightforward if the special needs group had been selected. Why then concentrate on the mainstream setting?

Detailed familiarisation with the topic (ch.1-2) suggested a number of other health issues were interesting and analytically important. Specifically, an examination of careers officers within the mainstream setting focused attention on problematic information transfer. The mechanisms of communicating health information are less formalised, and subsequently more open to negotiation among mainstream careers staff and other gatekeepers.

Moreover, research which has examined the transitions of young people in special schools has shown how destinations can include entry into Special Further Education, Advanced Post-School Education, and Sheltered Contexts, for example, Workshops and Adult Training Centres (Ward et al 1990). As a major interest in the present research was in health selection in the general population, and in the context of variation in wider opportunity structures in different labour markets with particular reference to YTS, it is for this reason that the mainstream setting was more appropriate to this analysis.

It is in this context that the third aim of the research was identified. Employment and training opportunities in mainstream labour markets differ so markedly that careers officers could be expected to vary the way they

placed those with health problems according to the labour market in which they had to operate.

Furthermore, following the Warnock Report (DES 1978), more young people with health problems and special educational needs were integrated within the mainstream system. Consequently, the distinction between those in special and mainstream schools is less apparent than it once was; and despite the increasing demands being placed on the Careers Service to offer advice and place young people with and without health problems into training and employment (DE 1989), ironically, less health information, particularly from the School Medical Service, is available to them (Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers, 1990). A consequence is that some young people enter employment which could make their health condition worse.

It was not, then, simply a question of whether careers staff had an effect on placement of young people with health problems into youth training or employment. It had also become a question of how mainstream careers staff achieved this with incomplete information, an issue hardly addressed in previous research studies. When considered alongside the increasing demands being placed on careers staff to secure placements for clients with health problems amid growing youth unemployment and a reduction in youth training provision within some areas, the present focus on mainstream schools had become timely and relevant.

In addition to health, the significance of other attributional information was vital to an understanding of labelling strategy and selection processes, and obtaining data on this was the fourth aim of the study. Educational sociologists have shown how factors other than academic ability impact during the schooling process. Middle class students have higher rates of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) because their sub-culture is closer to the dominant middle class culture within the education system. Educationalists' attention to young people's speech (Bernstein 1961), appearance, personality, and home background circumstances (Hargreaves et al 1975; Halsey et al 1980), has been found to vary among pupils of

comparable academic ability in school settings (see Keddie 1973; Ball 1981). In the present research, recording of attributes like these, for example, appearance, height, weight, speech, personality, as well as academic ability in Careers Service units, were examined in relation to selection processes and potential placement outcome. This brought into focus the significance of 'routine' labelling as part of Careers Service information management.

Labelling theory was relevant to the present study because from an organisational perspective, labelling is often an essential component of social order within bureaucratic environments (Rodgers and Buffalo 1974). The applicability of labelling theory to routine processes of everyday information management within the Careers Service can be seen in the structure of the Aide Memoire (CS2), or as it is sometimes referred, the 'seven point plan'. Paradoxically, although careers staff are meant to open up opportunities for their client, institutional pressures towards them recording detailed information about young people reinforces (negative and positive) labelling and impacts on subsequent selection processes. Likewise, reports received from other gatekeepers (for example information recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) by guidance staff) might be uncritically accepted by careers officers and replicated in the Aide Memoire.

Traditional labelling theory has also been widely identified with the study of deviance reflecting the fact that negative sanctions may follow labelling and that some deviant careers are thereby made permanent. Consequences such as these are potentially falsified wherever a proactive, 'client-centred' role is taken by agencies such as the Careers Service in promoting equal opportunities for their client, thus revealing the limitations of traditional labelling theory. In attempting solutions to these theoretical problems, the work of Trice and Roman (1970) was vital in highlighting successful forms of public (in the sense of open or 'civic') proactive re-labelling and de-labelling strategies being implemented by 'deviants', and more significantly in terms of the present research, by mandated 'labellers' also. Examples include organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymous and professionals who initially label deviant behaviour (eg mental illness or criminal behaviour) and then

process the deviant through 'treatment'. Similarly, the influential work of Goffman (1963) has drawn attention to covert de-labelling and re-labelling strategies being employed by stigmatised individuals in order to manage a 'spoiled identity'.

The identification of these studies is very important in that they challenge the original assumptions on which earlier labelling theory were based, and give rise to the fifth aim of this study. Little research attention has focused on whether covert de-labelling strategies are employed by those undertaking the labelling process (the 'labellers' in this instance being the Careers Service), nor have reasons been explored as to why such practices might occur. For example, careers staff might covertly de-label certain information about young people in the units if this is perceived as discriminatory and might negatively affect entry into youth training or employment.

In a certain sense, this issue has far greater significance when consideration is given to the *moral* dilemma faced by careers staff when making decisions about placement. On the one hand, much is made of their 'client centred' role in promoting equal opportunity for young people. On the other hand, particularly since the introduction of youth training schemes, the Careers Service has been under a great deal of pressure to service the needs of employers and managing agents and offer a pre-selection service according to their recruitment criteria. This constitutes the paradox of the Careers Service's role; by being what it *is* (an employers' selection service) and by its duty to fulfil what it *should be* (a client-centred service), careers staff are having to face in many directions at once.

These pressures to provide an employers' pre-selection service form the context for the sixth and final aim of this research - to document the extent to which opportunity structures impact on careers staffs' decision making and, in areas of high unemployment, compel them to pay greater selective attention to general non-health attributes, positive or negative.

In the light of all these considerations, then, this research has attempted to examine careers staff's decision making and working practices within mainstream schools, with specific reference to young people's health and other attributes in contrasting labour markets. To go right to the point, did careers staff pay *more* (negative or positive) attention to health and other attributes in areas of high unemployment?

A vast amount of data is recorded about young people in Careers Service units. While generalisations to the Careers Service are somewhat limited, the findings of this study showed that this occurred in both labour markets. The distinction between information provided by school guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and by careers officers on the Aide Memoire (CS2) showed more health references being made on the former, highlighting how guidance staff get to know young people better in schools and how dependent careers officers are on the CS4 for health information about their client. Indeed, for conditions such as epilepsy (and some other serious health problems including 'heart trouble', 'brittle bones' and 'hepatitis') exclusive reference was made on the School Careers Service Report.

At the same time, findings also revealed a number of serious health conditions (for example, 'spinal problems', 'Crohn's disease', 'cerebral palsy', 'lump removed from breast' and 'haemophilia') which were not recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4). It seems unlikely that school guidance staff would omit such information from the CS4; other health conditions more subject to potential stigmatisation *were* recorded (for example, epilepsy). A more probable explanation is that either this information was communicated verbally, particularly if guidance staff wanted to discuss this issue in more depth with the careers officer, or that the health condition developed after young people left school. Alternatively, if the guidance teacher was new to the job, they would be less likely to have detailed knowledge about individual pupils. During semi-structured interviews, careers staff pointed out how the content of information in the CS4 varied; increased workloads and time constraints on guidance staff

might also affect documentation. An implication is that less information might be recorded, and the potential for labelling therefore reduced.

These data reveal much about the non-disclosure of health information to the Careers Service. It also raises the issue of whether health information obtained from Careers Service units is an accurate reflection of the numbers of young people with health problems in mainstream schools or, whether the figures are under-estimated. These findings therefore support research which call for more health information to be available to the Careers Service (DE 1989) and for improved communication between careers officers and school/post school gatekeepers (Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers, 1990).

In respect of other attributes, again more references relating to young people's timekeeping, attendance, (positive and negative) behaviour, academic ability and home background circumstances were recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) than on the Aide Memoire (CS2). Once more this highlights how careers officers rely on guidance staff for various background information about their client.

Interestingly, however, there were other attributes which were exclusively recorded on the Aide Memoire (CS2). These included various references to height and physique, as well as a range of idiosyncratic attributes describing young people's appearance; for example, hair colour or style and complexion (whether they had freckles, a pale complexion or acne etc). Other references made solely on the Aide Memoire reflected the different work role of careers officers to guidance staff. This included negative and positive perceptions of young people during their Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI) and whether they were viewed as a positive, reasonable or negative job prospect. More general references also included young people's appearance during the careers interview (ie neat and tidy, casual, scruffy etc). Such data not only underlines the way 'routine' processes of labelling and information management occur within the Careers Service, it also raises important questions as to why careers officers record such information at all.

Finally compared to other unit documents, analysis showed more minor health problems and fewer health conditions such as epilepsy and diabetes being recorded by young people on their Pre-Interview forms (CS 18a). This suggests young people themselves may be concealing health information from school guidance staff and careers officers as this might harm employment prospects; a finding supported by other research evidence (DE 1989). Within this context, Goffman's (1963) concepts of 'covering' and 'passing' are important in that they describe how individuals develop covert means to manage a 'spoiled identity' from looming large.

As there are no available Careers Service statistics on numbers of young people with health problems attending mainstream schools, an important issue related to the percentage with health problems from the overall sample. As much as a fifth of young people in the present research were recorded as having a health problem. This finding is important for two reasons. In the first place, it confirms previous research which highlighted growing numbers of young people with health problems entering the mainstream system (DE 1989; DE 1990c). Second, it supported the Careers Service's request for more adequate health information to be made available to careers staff during the transitional process (Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers, 1990).

Analysis also showed that more young people in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) had health problems compared to those in the better labour market (Area 1), and that a greater proportion with health problems left school in their fifth year, suggesting these young people were remaining in school longer (or that they were held back in school because of their health problem). Comparable analysis among those with major health problems (section 2) found a similar pattern.

At present, the general trend in young people's transitions is that the majority enter youth training schemes with only a minority entering employment (see Furlong and Raffae 1989; Furlong 1992). Findings in the present study indicated a similar pattern; more young people entered youth training, and

more with health problems did so, particularly in the disadvantaged area among minimum-age school leavers. Similarly, among all school year-groups, and in both areas, much fewer young people with and without health problems directly entered employment, particularly in Area 2. This shows clearly how opportunity structures impact on young people's routes into the labour market. Interestingly, however, in both areas more young people in all school year-groups *without* health problems were unemployed compared to those with. This suggests that careers officers work proactively for young people with health problems; that is, by effectively placing them into youth training and in keeping them off the unemployment register.

When comparable analysis was carried out for those with major health problems (section 2), a similar pattern to those with any health problem was found. Thus, despite real difficulties in finding employment for their clients, analysis showed that in both areas, (positive) health selection into youth training occurred for those with health problems (and more serious health conditions), particularly in the disadvantaged area, and that less of the above were unemployed.

The effect of opportunity structures on young people's routes into the labour market could be seen even more clearly in the stratification of (support and negative) premium Mode B youth training schemes and basic Mode A (mainstream) schemes in the two labour market areas. Premium 'support' YT schemes generally recruit the least qualified school leavers and are geared towards those young people with poor social skills, learning difficulties, behavioural problems or special needs, thus necessitating a more sheltered, supportive environment. Recruitment to premium schemes requires the Careers Service to endorse their client and includes schemes such as Springboard and CI (Community Industry). The old joke, that the 'CI' initials really mean "Criminals and Idiots", illustrates the negative perceptions of the 'types' of young people attending this scheme.

As the label implies, 'negative' YT refers to those premium schemes which, because of their low status and poor reputation, have become stigmatised by

careers staff and their clients. This includes the Training Workshops (also more commonly referred to as the 'Nut Hut', 'The Fun Factory' and the 'Monkey House'), and Community Project Agencies (CPA's). By contrast, 'mainstream' or basic schemes are the more favoured and employer-led type schemes which offer better training and work placement opportunities for their trainees.

In the present research, as much as seven times the amount of young people entered support schemes in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), compared to those in the better labour market (Area 1). Young people in Area 2 were also over three times more likely to enter negative schemes and over four times more likely to be endorsed within youth training. In addition, more 4th year pupils entered premium (support and negative) schemes and were endorsed within youth training, particularly in the disadvantaged area. Without question, opportunity structures have a major impact on the availability of premium and basic YT provision within the two labour markets. Consequently, it was those minimum-age school leavers from the disadvantaged area who entered the worst premium schemes. Area characteristics were therefore important to differential access to youth training and clearly favoured young people in the better labour market.

However, when considering young people's entry into support and negative YT among those with and without health problems, in contrast to findings for YT in general, *no* significant differences were found, though as expected, the percentages overall were much lower in the better labour market (Area 1). Young people with health problems were not therefore over-represented within premium schemes, particularly in the disadvantaged area which had the greater number; a pattern which might have been evident if negative health selection was taking place. Subsequent analysis of interviews (ch.9) reveal how careers staff attempted to 'protect' young people with health problems from entering schemes like Community Industry because of the negative 'types' working there, even though few alternatives were available. Thus, despite careers staff having to contend with inadequate youth training

provision in the disadvantaged area, again the proactive role is evident for those with health problems.

Transitional research has suggested that non-academic youth who remain in school longer 'collect' more negative attributes (Furlong and Raffe 1989). The reasons why young people remain in school vary; some do so because of a lack of jobs in their locality, others as a means of avoiding YT, or if they are undecided about their career options. Alternatively, some 'conscripts' have to remain in school until 5th year because of changes affecting school entry (Furlong 1992). During the interviews, careers staff stressed the potential disadvantages, particularly among non-academic youth, of remaining in school and later discovering that employment or training opportunities were limited or closed off to them.

Given these observations, the question of whether non-health attributes varied by destinations and year of leaving school was obviously important, as was the question as to whether *more* attention was paid to (negative and positive) attributes in the disadvantaged area (Area 2). Findings showed that in both areas more of those with negative attributes entered YT. As the transitional literature suggests, this could be explained by non-academic pupils who remain in school longer accumulating more negative attributes.

If we allow for this by considering 4th year leavers only, in the better labour market area (Area 1) more 4th year leavers without negative attributes were unemployed compared to those with. By contrast, in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), a reverse pattern was found: more 4th years with negative attributes were unemployed. As these findings relate to minimum-age school leavers, their unemployment cannot be attributable to them remaining in school, 'collecting' negative attributes and then being cut off from certain labour market segments. It seems more likely that due to limited training and employment opportunities in the disadvantaged area, greater attention is given to negative attributes and consequently, these young people were not selected for available vacancies.

It has been argued that those possessing certain characteristics (including lack of educational achievement and disadvantaged family background) only become more vulnerable to unemployment under specific economic circumstances (Raffe 1988). In the present research a similar pattern was found; in the disadvantaged area (Area 2), more 4th year leavers with a combination of negative characteristics were unemployed. The hypothesis that more attention is given to negative characteristics in the disadvantaged area is therefore confirmed and is a central finding of the research.

Interestingly, analysis of positive attributes showed that compared to other destinations, more young people in both areas with positive attributes (including positive: behaviour, academic ability, attendance, appearance, careers interview, and speech) also entered YT. Given that previous analysis showed that more of those with negative attributes entered YT, these findings appear contradictory. However, the paradox may be explained by the fact that there is simply more reference to *any* type of information for young people entering YT compared to elsewhere. Moreover, because of the waiting lists to enter YT schemes in Area 2, even young people with positive attributes have few alternatives other than premium schemes such as Community Industry and the Training Workshops.

Further analysis on positive attributes also showed that compared to their counterparts in the better labour market area, in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) a striking relationship was found among all year-groups in which those without positive attributes were unemployed. Again, these findings suggest that in Area 2, it is those with the most favourable characteristics who are more likely to be selected for available vacancies. Given that findings are controlled for year-groups, this unemployment is not attributable to some young people remaining in school, 'collecting' more negative attributes and finding certain jobs closed off to them.

A final question considered whether those entering further and higher education had more positive attributes compared to other destinations.

Surprisingly, no such pattern was found in Area 1. However, this probably relates to the way the recording of information in Careers Service units is much more of a priority for young people entering youth training and employment in a prosperous area, and less so for those entering college or university. This was confirmed by fieldwork analysis of Careers Service units and from careers staff themselves during the interviews.

Research into the 'types' of young people entering YT suggest it is the most disadvantaged youth who are likely to enter premium schemes in areas of high unemployment (Roberts 1986; Roberts and Parsell 1989a; Lee et al 1990; Peck 1990a/b). The present analysis has shown how more 4th year leavers in the disadvantaged area (Area 2) entered (support and negative) premium schemes, and that greater attention is paid to negative attributes in this locality. Support YT schemes are generally geared towards young people with special training needs. In the present research, more of those with negative attributes including negative academic ability, negative attendance and negative background circumstances, were in support YT compared to other YT schemes. However, evidence also suggested young people in support schemes were of a certain 'type', with more being recorded as having negative appearance, behaviour and speech. By contrast, comparable analysis in the better labour market area (Area 1) found only minor differences among those in support and other YT schemes, with all percentages much reduced. Careers Service documents also revealed how a young person's suitability for various youth training schemes was related to certain attributes like physique and appearance recorded on the Aide Memoire (CS2).

In order to illuminate the quantitative dimensions of Careers Service work, the qualitative component of this project enabled an examination of the interplay between opportunity structures and careers officers' working procedures and decision making regarding placement. A first question related to careers staffs' views of changes which have taken place in the labour market and within Careers Service policy which affected their work with young people (ch.7). This was important because it underlined a

number of ways in which the Careers Service have been beset with increasing pressures whilst attempting to fulfil their duties to their client group, particularly in the disadvantaged labour market (Area 2).

Complementing the quantitative analysis, careers staff in Area 2 highlighted how there was even a waiting list for young people to enter premium schemes such as Community Industry. Consequences of higher unemployment were that increasing numbers of young people in the disadvantaged area were claiming Hardship Allowance. That occupational entry was assessed in terms of opportunities available to young people in the labour market, rather than in reflecting their occupational aspirations, could be seen in the way career recommendations had to be more wide-ranging, particularly in the disadvantaged area. Although careers staff pointed out that young people's decision making and career choice was very important during the VGI, if they were too 'job specific' they would restrict their chance of entering the labour market. Other pressures on careers staff included a growing number of adults contacting the Careers Service, particularly in the worse labour market. Against this background, there was an increased emphasis on careers staff being more 'accountable' to the Education Department. In attempting to balance Regional and Central Government policy and in trying to service the needs of young people, adults, educationalists and employers, careers staff were being pulled in many directions at once.

In addition, the growing involvement of LEC's within careers guidance, the introduction of Action plans and cut-backs in funding for youth training were criticised by careers staff as doing little to help young people find jobs. However, in spite of these changes, and the fact that careers staff felt their status within the Education Department was being eroded, they continued to put forward a proactive perspective in terms of meeting client need.

In line with the 'client centred' perspective of the Careers Service identified previously, when interviewed, all emphasised the proactive aspect of their working relationship with young people. Careers officers also highlighted

how minimum-age school leavers entering youth training or employment were prioritised by careers staff; all 4th year leavers received a Vocational Guidance Interview, whereas 5th and 6th year pupils had to request one. Those young people who had decided on a career in higher education were less likely to request a careers interview, an observation confirmed by analysis of Careers Service units. An implication is that any labelling and health selection processes occurring within the Careers Service arena are more likely among the former.

Labelling and health selection depend on information. It has already been shown that more information about health and other attributes is recorded on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) than on the Aide Memoire (CS2), which suggests careers officers are very dependent on guidance staff for a range of information about their client. A central question addressed in interviews with careers officers related to their perceptions of working relationships with guidance staff in schools and how useful they considered information on the CS4. Overall, careers officers responded positively to guidance staff and stressed the importance of receiving information prior to the Vocational Guidance interview that they could not have knowledge about themselves (this included young people's behaviour, timekeeping and attendance etc).

However, some anxiety was expressed in the way situational and subjective information was recorded by guidance staff on the CS4. Corresponding to research within educational sociology which highlighted teachers' reactions to pupils' appearance and home circumstances (eg Rist 1970; Hargreaves et al 1975; Halsey et al 1980), some careers officers thought negative information relating to young people's personal appearance highlighted a middle class bias among guidance staff, indicating a lack of understanding of those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Other careers officers chose not to disclose information about their client's negative timekeeping and attendance from the School Careers Service Report (CS4). The view that young people might behave more positively within a

working environment was identified as a justification for the censoring and non recording of this information on the Aide Memoire. Yet ironically, careers officers also engage in labelling but in a different manner; by their adhering too much to the structure of the Aide Memoire (CS2), negative labels were reinforced. Employment assistants, however, routinely used information on the CS4 in accordance with their pre-selection role to meet employers' recruitment criteria.

Another question relating to de-labelling involved the informal communication of information from the CS4. Fieldwork analysis of Careers Service units revealed how guidance staff would sometimes write "see me later" on the CS4. When asked about this, careers officers pointed out that if they had built up a level of trust with guidance staff, there was a greater likelihood that information might be communicated verbally and not recorded on the School Careers Service Report. This particularly related to whether information was considered 'circumspect knowledge' (involving young people's home background and domestic circumstances, ie if homeless, or under social work supervision etc), and is a good example of guidance staff de-labelling information from the CS4. This procedure was accepted by some careers officers and not by others. Careers officers were more likely to approve if this lead to proactive measures to assist their client; for example when advising about benefits and giving additional support in placement.

Health information was subject to a different pattern of control. Given that the Careers Service's relationship with other gatekeepers, particularly those with access to health information, was vital to decision making regarding placement, a number of important questions related to careers staffs' accounts of the School Medical Service. This included their perceptions of the availability and content of Y9 and Y10 forms from the School Medical Service and whether information was sufficient to allow effective decisions about placement.

Among all careers staff interviewed, the transfer of health information (Y9 and Y10 forms) from the School Medical Service was generally found inefficient. Paradoxically, although the intention was to protect their client, careers staff stressed they could not make proper decisions about placement based on information which, in their own words, was "worse than useless". Previous research has highlighted the inadequacy of the Y9 system in communicating health information to the Careers Service (Cherry et al 1983; DE 1989). Fieldwork analysis within both areas confirmed this view; very low numbers of Y9 and Y10 forms from the School Medical Service were found in Careers Service units.

Interestingly, when the structure of the Y9 form (Appendix 2.6) is examined more closely it is an example of a situation where official information gatherers (the School Medical Service) suggest careers staff engage in health selection. This is achieved by careers staff having to exclude certain types of employment for young people (for example work involving heavy manual work or heavy lifting) as this may affect an individual's health. However, *no* health information is revealed to careers staff on the Y9 document; a procedure which says much about the reality of careers staff having to work within a context of uncertainty. Moreover, this process can be viewed as a formal means by which school medical officers themselves engage in de-labelling practices by excluding health information from the Y9 form and instead, 're-label' it with a list of 'clues' about the types of work situations which may be unsafe for the young person (for example, "work involving heights", implying epilepsy, or "work with fumes", implying asthma etc). Consequently, the onus is on careers staff to interpret 'coded' information and make appropriate decisions about placement.

As regards the Y10 form, although health information was recorded on this document, careers staff complained they could not interpret medical terminology documented by school medical officers (and this explained why a medical dictionary was kept in the careers office). Without question, the receipt and content of health information from the School Medical Service is and remains a source of contention among careers staff.

Finally, careers staff were asked why this situation had developed as it did. This was important because one view highlighted by careers staff suggested school medical officers might be withholding health information because of a concern that young people would be labelled or stigmatised by the Careers Service. This was met with a strong defensive approach rejecting negative labelling among careers staff, who instead, emphasised a proactive role in relation to their client's health problems. There was a general feeling among careers staff that school medical officers did not consider communication with the Careers Service a priority, nor did they appreciate why relevant health information was so important to careers staff. In line with this, other careers staff suggested this situation was the result of an administrative problem with the School Medical Service which had never been properly dealt with. The Careers Service had therefore developed other mechanisms to gain health information, most notably from school guidance staff.

In responding to how they thought this situation might be improved, careers staff stressed more effective communication between the two agencies was essential. This included alerting school medical officers to the fact that inadequate health information could ultimately restrict career opportunities for young people. Other proposals included the Careers Service receiving Y9 and Y10 forms for all health problems and their structure being improved so that information was more intelligible and relevant to Careers Service decision making and placement. The present research supports these proposals, as well as the conclusion from the Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers (1990:3) that in order to secure more adequate health information, '...firmer guide-lines are required from the Department of Health to the School Medical Service'.

The Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS) was another agency that the Careers Service could contact if they required advice about those with health problems. Careers staff were asked under what circumstances they would contact EMAS and how satisfied they were with reports. The majority of careers staff said they rarely contacted EMAS; a fact confirmed by

fieldwork analysis in both areas which found very few EMAS letters in Careers Service units. As no health information was received from EMAS, if contacted, this agency was used more as a means of support or advice. Compared to the School Medical Service, more favourable assessments were given regarding EMAS. However, if advice was perceived by careers officers to be against their clients' best interests, this might not be disclosed to employers. Once more this highlighted a proactive (de-labelling) perspective.

Careers staff also thought health was more important if young people were entering youth training (and if available, employment), and less relevant for those going on to further and higher education. At this stage in the transitional process, this suggested health selection processes mattered less among academic youth heading for college and university. Quantitative findings supported careers staffs' accounts; compared to other destinations, in both areas, more with health problems (including major health problems) entered YT directly on leaving school. One implication for those perceived to be the fittest and strongest was the likelihood of them being directed towards unskilled labouring work, the reverse of what is usually meant by health selection.

How did careers staff react to uncertainty and shortage of health information? One strategy was to get health information from the young person, but there were some limits on this too. When interviewed, careers staff pointed out some young people never disclosed their health problem to the Careers Service (as they were afraid they might be discriminated in the labour market). This view was confirmed by quantitative analysis (ch.5); compared to the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2), young people were less likely to reveal health problems on their Pre-Interview form (CS18a) to career officers before their Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI).

The type of health problem also mattered. Careers staff pointed out how 'epilepsy' was most subject to concealment. The analysis of Careers Service

units again confirmed this view; exclusive reference was made on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) regarding 'epilepsy', with no reference being made solely on the Aide Memoire (CS2). In addition, mainly minor health problems, for example 'poor eyesight' and 'allergies', were recorded by young people on their Pre-Interview forms. A very good example of young people concealing health information from careers staff could be seen in the fact that, although numbers were low, twice the amount of reference to 'epilepsy' and five times as much to 'diabetes' was made by guidance staff on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) compared to that recorded by young people themselves on their Pre-interview form. Indeed, sometimes it was only when a problem arose in placement that careers staff were made aware that a health problem existed.

A further repercussion of working within the context of uncertainty was that careers staff appeared incompetent to employers, a situation which could have potential negative implications within the context of their pre-selection role. A publicity campaign which highlighted the positive role of the Careers Service and EMAS and potential dangers of young people concealing disabilities from employers has been proposed (DE 1989). This suggests information should be sent out to parents and displayed in schools, Careers Offices, Job Centres, Unemployment Benefit Offices, Youth Centres and GP's waiting rooms. However, during the course of the present study, no such materials were in evidence. By contrast, this study has highlighted how some young people conceal health problems from careers staff and subsequently enter employment which could potentially make their health condition worse.

A renewed consciousness raising campaign drawing attention to these issues is one way forward. The implementation of a broad programme in schools could be adopted by careers officers and school guidance staff to raise questions about health, outline potential implications of concealing health information, and promote the proactive role of the Careers Service and EMAS. More effective exchange of information among school/post school agencies to assist young people during the transitional process is also a

necessity. This could also involve 5th and 6th year leavers documenting health information on their Pre-Interview form (CS18b); at present such information is only collected for 4th year leavers on the CS18a form.

How did careers officers use the health information they obtained? Views diverged on the significance of health to placement. One view held that if this didn't impact on the type of job being considered, health need not be too significant. Other careers officers perceived all health information as vital, even minor problems; a view shared by all employment assistants. As it was the role of the latter to pre-select young people into available vacancies, even trivial information was considered relevant.

A central aim of the study was to show how careers staff took action for the purpose of placing clients with health problems into available vacancies, even within the disadvantaged labour market (Area 2). When interviewed, all careers staff stressed that essentially they were in the business of helping young people with health problems and expressed ways in which they would 'sell' their client to employers. On an individual level, analysis of careers officers' decision making and placement for those with health problems from information recorded in the Aide Memoire (CS2) fully supported this proactive perspective.

The emphasis on young people gaining vocational qualifications could be seen in the criterion for YT endorsement (where trainees receive additional support within youth training). Careers staff highlighted how learning potential and ability to reach NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) requirements were more important issues than health, even serious health problems. Quantitative analysis supported these findings; in both areas among those endorsed within their YT scheme, *no* difference was found between those with and without health problems.

Without question, opportunity structures played a vital part in determining young people's routes in the labour market. Because of a lack of employment

opportunity, the majority of young people entered youth training, particularly in the disadvantaged area (Area 2). However, confirming careers staffs' proactive accounts for those with health problems, in both areas, a greater proportion of young people with health problems (including those with major health problems) entered YT (though not negative or support premium schemes) and fewer were unemployed, particularly in Area 2; suggesting processes of positive health selection took place.

However, corresponding with previous research which showed discrimination in the labour market among disabled youth (DE 1990c), careers officers in the present study were very critical of employers who held negative and discriminatory attitudes towards their clients with health problems. In the disadvantaged area, a careers officer related how difficult it was to get a young person with hearing problems into a good (basic grade) mainstream YT scheme or employment. Even young people with no health problems were on a waiting list to enter premium schemes like Springboard and Community Industry, and managing agents did not want the 'hassle' of recruiting, in this instance, a deaf trainee. In addition, because of the negative reputation and 'types' of trainees attending premium schemes, careers officers often refused to send their clients with health problems (or those perceived as 'young for their age', quiet or withdrawn) to such schemes.

This suggests young people with health problems were not concentrated in the worst premium schemes and that negative health selection did not take place. Instead, by adopting a very proactive approach and expending a great deal of effort in emphasising the young person's positive attributes to employers, the careers officer secured a 'real job' for his client. This is very important as it highlights that careers officers are effective in placing their clients with health problems, even within areas of high unemployment. However, owing to the time taken in 'selling' these young people to employers (with no guarantee that placement providers will positively discriminate in favour of them, particularly in disadvantaged areas), careers officers acknowledge that positive outcomes might not always be found.

Finally, attention focused on the information careers officers record in the Aide Memoire (CS2) or 'seven point plan'. A first question related to what influenced careers officers' completion of the Aide Memoire and how this affected decision making in terms of placement. This was important because analysis of the Aide Memoire underlined how a process of 'routine' labelling occurred as part of Careers Service information management, a practice with elements similar to an orthodox labelling paradigm. As part of their pre-selection service, the Careers Service conformed to employers' recruitment criteria, particularly for entry into premium and basic youth training schemes. A second very important question was whether careers staff paid more attention to young people's other attributes in the disadvantaged labour market.

In responding firstly to what influenced the completion of the Aide Memoire, the concepts of 'individuality' and the 'exercising of professional judgement' were used as justification for decision making. The implication was that no formal mechanism existed to monitor careers officers' recording practices when completing units. Hence Careers Service information management and labelling was often an arbitrary process.

Length of time in the Careers Service, employment status and the introduction of new initiatives (Action Plans) also affected information management. New careers officers and those who previously worked as employment assistants tended to record very detailed information in the Aide Memoire (CS2). This was justified on the grounds of helping employment assistants during the pre-selection stage; the more information recorded, the easier it was to select according to employers' recruitment criteria. One implication is that those with more detailed records may receive priority from employment assistants when selecting for vacancies.

For example, the significance of recording information such as height and physique, as well as information relating to a young person's general presentation during the careers interview was viewed in terms of selection

for placement. Depending on the type of employment or training available (ie secretarial work), careers staff pointed out how managing agents would outline certain attributes they were looking for in the young person (for example, good appearance and speech etc). Following the careers officer's recommendation, information recorded in the unit would then be used as a means of pre-selection.

In a crucial sense, the structure of the Aide Memoire (CS2) or 'seven point plan' is vital to information management and labelling strategy. For sheer practicality, some careers officers thought this had a functional advantage in organising the Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI). More experienced careers officers thought this mattered less; what was more important was meeting individual need. Another important view was that too much attention to the Aide Memoire's structure would ultimately lead to increased labelling and (unintentional) discriminatory practices among careers staff. A good example of negative labelling was the reference to "local accent" in the 'speech' section of the Aide Memoire. To some careers staff, this was a synonym for 'working class' and considered as potentially damaging as gender and racial discrimination.

Another example is young people's appearance. Unless exceptionally unkempt or unconventional, the majority of careers staff thought this was not that important. However, a great deal of attention was paid to the way young people presented themselves during their careers interview. The problematic nature of careers officers' role is further evidenced in their misgivings about asking young people questions from the (home) 'circumstances' section of the Aide Memoire. This particularly related to the disadvantaged area which had high levels of unemployment. Ironically, the actual mechanics of completing the Aide Memoire, although reputedly developed to assist information management and placement, can have the opposite effect.

For others, the recording of negative information about their client in certain sections of the Aide Memoire was morally unjustifiable. Interestingly,

Halmos (1970) argued that counsellors share a concern over certain aspects of their task, including 'the systematic compilation of dossiers in the service of help', and that 'personalist practice' does not always ennoble. In the present study, careers staff adhered to institutional pressures by completing all sections of the seven point plan, whilst attempting to play the role of advocate and 'protect' their client, with the result that processes of de-labelling and re-labelling developed. For example, some careers officers revealed how they voluntarily chose not to complete the 'appearance' and 'personality' sections of the Aide Memoire, or tippexed certain information out if they thought this might negatively affect placement. Others 'modified' or censored 'suspect information' concerning a young person's behaviour, or chose to communicate this verbally to prevent potential stigmatisation. Another view was that the Aide Memoire should be written in pencil so that, if necessary, changes could be made more effectively. Careers officers might also re-label a young person's endorsement category to give them additional help in their training.

The process of labelling a young person is not simple, or unproblematic. It is complex, involving a series of interactions, based on sets of meanings and moral convictions held by the careers officer, which can be modified during interaction with their client so that each stage in the process is negotiable. In reformulating traditional labelling theory, the present research has made some advance towards recognising more complex proactive re-labelling and de-labelling strategies being undertaken by mandated 'labellers' in order to 'protect' their client and secure placement. Implications are that processes of 'routine' labelling and potential negative selection may be somewhat reduced (and potentially under-estimated) at this stage in the transitional process.

De/re-labelling reveals careers officers' dissatisfaction with the present system on two levels: In the first place, the emphasis on young people's appearance, personality, and background circumstances on the Aide Memoire means negative and often irrelevant data is recorded. Second, wider opportunity structures place greater emphasis on careers staff selecting 'more able' youth from this documentation. Because of the high

degree of autonomy in the way career interviews are conducted, the need for continued updating in the theory and practice of interviewing, and regular training in these skills to ensure the continued provision of a professional service to clients is essential. Other models or theories of interviewing could be reviewed and the expansion of complementary activities explored (such as group interviews with young people), without deviating from the centrality of the careers interview. Written guide-lines and regular staff training on how to record and assess information in a way that avoids subjectivity, value judgements and situational bias, and which strictly adheres to relevant employment requirements is essential. Careers Service management should adopt effective methods of consultation with staff at all levels and produce clear guide-lines on policy which enable careers officers to use their discretion professionally. This means more effective procedures are necessary to monitor the quality of guidance interviews and assess performance.

Whilst responding to what influenced the completion of the unit, the practice of recording idiosyncratic attributes (such as 'hair colour' and 'freckles') was acknowledged by careers staff, though considered irrelevant to placement. However, it was not uncommon to see references to such information in the Aide Memoire. Again, analysis of Careers Service units shows how various idiosyncratic references were exclusively recorded in the Aide Memoire (CS2). Interestingly, the concept of 'mental visualisation' was used as justification; such information was useful in identifying young people when they came into the careers office. Alternatively, some careers officers, though questioning its relevance, thought the recording of a wide range of information in young people's units demonstrated the effective accomplishment of careers officers' tasks (ie 'once the paper work was done the job was done').

Careers staff also drew a distinction between information considered relevant for young people entering youth training and employment, compared to those entering further and higher education. 'Two scenarios' were identified; for the latter, information such as appearance, speech and

health was considered less relevant. What mattered more was the curriculum studied and career choice. By contrast, for those entering youth training and employment, attention was given to young people's health, appearance and personality and whether the person was the right 'type' for the job. Quantitative analysis was again consistent with these accounts; in both areas, among those entering youth training more young people were recorded as having (negative and positive) attributes, particularly in the disadvantaged area. By contrast, in Area 1, for those entering further and higher education a reverse pattern was found, with noticeably fewer having reference to any attribute.

In the disadvantaged area (Area 2), careers officers stressed that because they were dealing with many non-academic youth, positive personal characteristics (such as positive timekeeping and attendance, positive attitude etc) were very important to employers during the recruitment process. Employment assistants in Area 2 conceded that particularly among non-academic youth, those with positive attributes would be selected for available vacancies before those without such attributes. Careers staff's accounts were again supported by quantitative analysis; in the disadvantaged labour market, among all year-groups, strikingly more of those without positive attributes and more 4th year leavers with negative attributes were unemployed. Hence, the hypothesis that more attention was paid to young people's attributes in the disadvantaged labour market, and that it relates to outcome was confirmed.

Finally, careers staff were asked about their views on premium and basic youth training schemes within both areas. A vital question related to whether wider opportunity structures impacted on decision making and if selection procedures were more rigorous in the disadvantaged labour market. Overall, negative assessments from careers staff were made regarding the 'types' of young people in premium schemes. Information recorded in the Aide Memoire (CS2) and evidence from quantitative analysis supported their accounts; in the disadvantaged area, more young people with negative attributes, including negative behaviour, appearance and

speech, were in support schemes such as Community Industry and Springboard. Careers staff also highlighted how some young people might not be able to cope within mainstream training. Analysis also showed how more of those with negative academic ability, negative attendance and negative (background) circumstances were in support schemes, which suggested a supportive environment was necessary.

Analysis of the Aide Memoire document also showed how young people with and without negative attributes were in negative premium schemes (including the Training Workshops and Community Programmes), particularly in Area 2. These findings suggest that because of the limited youth training opportunities available in disadvantaged area, young people without negative attributes also entered these schemes as few other training alternatives are available.

This lack of (basic) mainstream YT provision in the disadvantaged area was emphasised by careers staff. The cumulative evidence showed strikingly how young people in this area were much more likely to enter support and negative schemes, particularly among minimum-age school leavers. By contrast, comparable analysis in the better labour market revealed very low percentages. Although questioning the quality of some premium schemes, careers staff in the disadvantaged area pointed out that this was often young people's only opportunity of gaining a foothold in the labour market. By playing the advocate, careers staff attempted proactively to 'sell' young people to employers and encourage them to consider non-academic and disadvantaged youth.

Finally, consideration must be given to the aforementioned research findings in terms of implications for policy and theory. We have seen that careers officers can be effective in the role of advocate, as they are with health problems, but at the same time, opportunity structures can limit or frustrate that role, as they do in accentuating the significance of other attributes of young people. This study has examined the existing literature about young people's transitions from mainstream schools on the crucial issue of whether

it is opportunity structures or attributes of young people which dominate in placement outcome.

On the one hand, research into young people's transitions has highlighted patterns of change and continuity over the past few decades (see Furlong 1992). In the 1960's and early 1970's the transition was a relatively smooth process compared to today's more extended routes into the labour market. In the past, non-academic youth were more likely to enter unskilled/semi-skilled employment on leaving school. By contrast, at present the percentage of school leavers entering full-time employment has greatly reduced. In the late 1970's and 1980's there were also clear class based differences in young people's destinations; fewer minimum-age school leavers from lower working class families entered full-time work than those from other social classes, and more were also likely to be unemployed, on Work Experience and Training Schemes. In the 1990's, research has shown that young people continue to follow very stratified routes into the labour market and that class inequalities in opportunities show no decline (Furlong 1992:12)

Young people are also segmented in the labour market by age, sex, and skill level (Ashton and Maguire 1986) and by occupational shifts caused by the effects of the recession and subsequent aggregate fall in the demand for labour (Raffe 1984;1988). In addition, employers might prefer to hire adults rather than young people, or employ part-time workers as labour costs are lower.

On the other hand, researchers have also identified certain characteristics of young people associated with their successfully finding employment (Raffe 1988; Furlong and Raffe 1989). These include level of qualifications (particularly 'O' levels gained at the end of compulsory schooling), the curriculum studied and age (boys who left school earlier at 16 had a better chance of employment than those leaving at 17 or 18). Family background is also significant; those young people whose fathers were unemployed were more likely to be unemployed themselves (as were young people who had a previous history of unemployment). Finally, area is important; the likelihood

of unemployment varied with the all age unemployment rate in the local labour market.

Interestingly, researchers who examined the spatial aspects of unemployment (Garner et al 1987;1988) suggested that although unemployment among school leavers varied in the cities being investigated, this variation was attributable to the characteristics of the people living in the areas, rather than to the distinctiveness of the area concerned. Those young people with the most appropriate combination of personal characteristics (particularly educational qualifications and father's employment status) had the best chance of employment.

Garner et al (1988) also questioned whether educational credentials brought to the labour market are themselves the outcome of a social process in which area composition is relevant. Later research (Garner 1989 cited in Furlong 1992:122) suggested that neighbourhood deprivation can affect educational attainment among otherwise comparable young people by 2-4 'O' grades. Such disadvantage might negatively affect young people's educational attainment and subsequent employment opportunity. The social composition of an area containing many such families is therefore important to an understanding of young people's transitions. For example, the percentage of young people in full-time education reflects social composition; those young people whose parents had undertaken post-compulsory education and whose fathers were in non-manual jobs were more likely to remain in school. Areas with the highest (adult) unemployment had the lowest percentage of young people in full time work (Furlong and Raffe 1989). Viewed from this perspective, area is not more than a combination of personal characteristics of its inhabitants.

Researchers (see Furlong 1992:136) have pointed out that areas with high rates of unemployment may also have a predominance of declining industries, as well as young people with certain social characteristics; it is therefore difficult to say which of these characteristics has the greatest effect during transitions. It has been suggested that those possessing certain

characteristics only become vulnerable to unemployment under specific economic circumstances; unemployment is therefore caused ultimately by a lack of demand for labour rather than by inadequacies in the labour force (see Furlong 1992:87).

However, the fact that youth training schemes are used as screening devices by employers and managing agents makes it much more likely that young people's characteristics acquire much greater significance during selection processes. Young people are screened not only by their academic ability, but also according to whether they have the 'right attitude' or 'social polish' and by their appearance, personality, speech and gender (Lee et al 1990). Research has shown the better mode A (basic) or employer-led schemes select the most 'respectable' and qualified pupils. By contrast, non-academic and disadvantaged youth or 'dregs' end up on the worst type of premium or 'sink' schemes mostly concentrated in areas of high unemployment (Roberts and Parsell 1989a).

In the present research, possible reasons for the increased significance of young people's attributes were considered within the context of careers staffs' pre-selection role. Of vital interest was whether careers staff paid more attention to young people's health and negative/positive attributes within the disadvantaged labour market and if processes of health selection were evident.

In view of this, this study set out to examine the way the 'traditional' guidance role of the Careers Service has had to adapt to economic and political change taking place in the 1980's and 1990's. Of significance here is the impact of the 'New Right' on guidance policy which relates careers guidance more closely to market principles. Initiatives which directly influenced Careers Service working practice included the development of the 'New Vocationalism' where education and training underpinned employer-led training strategy.

As previously outlined, YTS had crucial implications for the screening and occupational allocation of youth; of vital importance was the way non-educational criteria played a more direct part in young people's transitions. In the present study, consideration was given to the way this function is particularly entrusted to careers staff, specifically in 'fitting' trainees to employers' recruitment requirements. In this way, the structural changes taking place within the labour market could have modified the 'client-centred' perspective of the Careers Service. Careers staffs' survival became dependent on their co-operation with managing agents and employers operating youth training schemes. These events focus attention on the role of the Careers Service as possible agents of 'social control'.

The new conditions which followed the changeover from YTS to YT, including less funding available within special needs schemes, Action Planning, Records of Achievements and the introduction of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's), have had further implications for Careers Service working procedures. Financial incentives have led to employers selecting only those young people able to achieve NVQ level 2 (or higher). Other Government initiatives have involved the implementation of a system of Training Credits and the contracting out of the Careers Service to either Local Authorities, Careers Service Partnerships or Local Employment Companies (LEC's). Overall, it seems that the outcome of these new initiatives is that selection processes within YT became more rigorous and inequalities among disadvantaged youth and those with special training needs widens. In the light of these constraints, this study set out to examine whether careers staffs' proactive 'client-centred' approach to guidance made any difference in terms of placement outcome for those with and without health problems, particularly in an area with limited training and employment opportunity.

In the present research, quantitative and qualitative analysis has shown how a complex of factors affect young people's transitions, but it is argued here that *it is opportunity structures which are the driving force*; not only can they influence when young people decide to leave school, but they also impact

upon the routes young people follow within different labour market contexts, and they affect decision making among careers staff.

Within this context, nevertheless, the Careers Service's unique 'client-centred' role is vital. Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data shows that despite constraints in the labour market, the Careers Service is effective in placing young people with health problems into available vacancies. Findings show positive health selection into youth training (and *not* the worst types of premium schemes) for those with health problems (including major health problems) and that less of the above are unemployed, particularly in the disadvantaged area. In addition, potential negative selection processes based on other attributes were reduced as a result of covert de-labelling and re-labelling strategies adopted by careers officers in order to 'protect' their client.

On a national level, the treatment of disabled people in society has received greater recognition and support, particularly since Government attempts to block the Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill last year. Among the Bill's six provisions, detailed measures in the field of employment require that potential or actual employees with a disability are protected from discrimination and that employers should make 'reasonable accommodations' for disabled people in their workplace. Another provision is the establishment of a Disablement Commission to monitor the effectiveness of the new laws and assist in their enforcement. Those working to promote civil rights emphasised these provisions '...are a vital move towards changing people's discriminatory behaviour and in turn, negative attitudes about disabled people' (The Guardian 21/5/94).

It is important to recognise that while direct health selection in this study was positive, negative selection in terms of other attributes may imply an element of associated (indirect) health selection which is negative. Height and appearance, for example, are related both to health and social mobility, with shorter individuals experiencing downward mobility (Macintyre 1988; Macintyre and West 1991). Similarly, selection by reference to behaviours

such as smoking can also have longer term implications for health (Blane et al 1993). As others (West 1991) have argued, future research into health selection requires greater attention to general attributes which may be indirectly associated with health than previously shown within the inequalities debate (Black Report 1980).

Furthermore, despite careers staffs' attempts at promoting equal opportunity, discriminatory practices among employers and managing agents also remain; they have the final say regarding which young people enter available vacancies. Even among those with health problems who do enter YT, screening devices allow scheme managers to discriminate between those young people who participate in work placement, and between those who are or are not retained by the employer after their training is completed. Hence, the proactive 'client-centred' orientation enacted by careers staff in respect of those with health problems may only be a temporary phenomenon, restricted to this stage in the transitional process. Careers officers admitted that a lot of effort was put into 'selling' young people with health problems to employers, and that other positive attributes such as 'reliability' and 'good motivation' were played up. Other research has shown how young adults with disabilities are more likely to be in lower level jobs and among the long term unemployed (Fry 1986; Hirst 1987)

Because of the way opportunity structures differentially affect the availability of training and employment provision in both areas, Careers Service pre-selection procedures based on attributes which reflect employers' recruitment criteria become increasingly rigorous, particularly in disadvantaged areas like Area 2. That greater attention is given to young people's general attributes in the disadvantaged area is a central finding in the present research. Within this context, the introduction of NVQ's (National Vocational Qualifications) is crucial; managing agents are themselves under pressure to recruit 'more able' youth, and lose out financially if trainees fail to meet NVQ requirements. A consequence is that increased emphasis is given to young people's 'ability to achieve' during the labelling and selection process. Those who have most to lose are

disadvantaged youth with poor social, numeracy and literacy skills, unlikely to obtain NVQ level 2 (or higher). Careers staff in Area 2 pointed out that they were very dependent on offering employers a pre-selection service; if the Careers Service did not adequately meet employers' criteria, the latter could simply develop other recruitment strategies (ie advertise for young people in the local press).

Demonstrating that opportunity structures affect the salience given to young people's attributes has policy implications. Researchers have stressed how no-one can realistically expect all young people to ascend the qualification hierarchy, but a greater medium-term danger is of a growing underclass being left behind (Roberts and Chadwick 1992). Policy developments must therefore include employment initiatives which recruit individuals with targeted characteristics or strive to change those characteristics (see Garner et al 1988). Removing the barriers of traditional educational qualifications and revising the standards on which these are based is also essential, but even more important is the need to encourage straight-forward youth employment, particularly in disadvantaged areas.

Subject to that overriding priority, developing ways to assist careers staff in their various tasks and increase the amount of information, advice and guidance for school leavers is also vital. Lee et al (1987:142) argue there is insufficient work on the micro-sociology of inequality, particularly regarding 'the minutiae of in-market events through which the class situation of the majority of individuals seeking employment is determined'. On the basis of findings in this study, an examination of how best to support and resource those agencies and individuals operating within the transitional network more effectively to meet client need is crucial. Other work confirms this. For example, research has shown how advice from the Careers Service during and following youth training was 'spread thinly', according to the 'need principle' (Roberts and Chadwick 1992). Others have pointed out how there is no effective mechanism for the transfer of mainstream pupils' employment history or medical details between the Careers Service and Job Centre (Doogan 1984). Among disabled youth, the supportive contact network

breaks down when they change locality, leave school or training and subsequently 'disappear' from the system (May and Hughes 1985 in Ward et al 1990). Counselling may therefore encourage the tendency to 'individualise' problems and this may deflect attention away from the deficiencies of institutional and external constraints.

Finally, the proactive role of careers staff will be much facilitated if additional resources are made available to provide young people with relevant skills that will assist their entry and continued progression within the labour market, particularly those most disadvantaged youth in areas of high unemployment. Despite proactive attempts from careers staff to encourage employers to recruit disadvantaged youth, there is a danger in such areas of more young people becoming further marginalised from mainstream society, which in turn has untold negative consequences for young people's future adult social class and potential health status.

References

- Allen, S (1968) 'Some Theoretical Problems in the Study of Youth' *The Sociological Review*, Vol 16. pp319-331.
- Ashton, D. and Field, D.(1976) *Young Workers*, London, Hutchinson.
- Ashton D. and Maguire, M. J. (1980) 'The Functions of Academic and Non-Academic Criteria in Employers' Selection Strategies' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* Vol 8 No 2, July, pp146-157.
- Ashton, D. N., Maguire, M. J. and Garland, V. (1982) *Youth in the Labour Market* Research Paper No 34 Department of Employment.
- Ashton, D. N.. and Maguire, M. J. (1983) *The Vanishing Youth Labour Market* Research Paper No 5, Department of Employment.
- Ashton, D. N. and Maguire, M. J. (1986) *Young Adults in the Labour Market* Research Paper No 55, Dept of Employment.
- Ashton, D. N., Maguire M. J. and Spilsbury, M. (1987) 'Labour Market Segmentation and the Structure of the Youth Labour Market' in Brown, P. and Ashton, D. N.(eds.) *Education, Unemployment and Labour Markets* Imago Press
- Ashton, D. N., Maguire, M. J. and Spilsbury M. (1988) 'Local Labour Markets and their Impact on the Life Chances of Youth' in Coles, B (ed) *Young Careers: The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism* Open University Press.
- Ashton, D. N., Maguire, M. J. and Spilsbury, M. (1990) *Restructuring the Labour Market: Implications for Youth*, Macmillan, London.
- Antoniou, A. G. (1990) 'Medical Advice to the Careers Service' in *Newscheck, Careers Service Bulletin*, Vol 1, No 2, June, pp9-10.
- Bakx, K. (1988) Differential Labour Market Opportunities: A Review of the Literature, *Working Paper No 12, Medical Sociology Unit*.
- Ball, L. (1990a) 'YT-Graduating from YTS' *Unemployment Bulletin* Issue 33, Summer, pp1-4.
- Ball, L. (1990b) 'Training Credits' *Unemployment Bulletin*, Issue 33, Summer, pp5-6.
- Ball, M. (1983) 'The Careers Service and Employer Liaison' *Newscheck, Careers Bulletin*, Vol 1, June.
- Ball, S. J. (1981) *Beachside Comprehensive: A Study of Secondary Schooling* CUP, Cambridge.
- Ball, S. J. (1991) 'Participant Observation with Pupils' in Burgess, R. G. (ed.) *Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods*, Social Research and Educational Studies Series 1, The Falmer Press.

- Banks, M., Bates, I., Breakwell, G., Bynner, J., Elmer, N., Jamieson, L. and Roberts, K (1992) *Careers and Identities*, ESRC 16-19 Initiative, Open University Press.
- Barnes, J. (1979) *Who Should Know What? Social Science, Privacy and Ethics*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Bates, I. (1989) *No More Bleeding, Whining Minnies: The Role of YTS in Class and Gender Reproductions*. ESRC 16-19 Initiative Occasional Papers, Paper 19, University of Sheffield.
- Bazalgette, J. (1982) 'Specialist in Transition: A role for the Careers Service', Lecture to the Annual Conference of the Institute of Careers Officers, in Ranson, S. and Ribbons, P. (1986) *The Management of Change in the Careers Service*. Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Becker, H. S. (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Free Press of Glencoe, New York.
- Bedford, T. (1982a) *Vocational Guidance Interviews: A Survey by the Careers Service Inspectorate*. Department of Employment, Careers Service Branch, July.
- Bedford, T. (1982b) *Vocational Guidance Interviews Explored: A model and some training implications*. Department of Employment, Careers Service Branch, December.
- Bernstein, B. (1961) 'Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning' in Halsey, A. H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C. A. (eds.) *A Socio-Linguistic Approach to Learning*, The Free Press New York.
- Black, D. (1980) *Inequalities in Health: Report of a Working Group*. DHSS, HMSO, London.
- Blackman, S. J. (1987) 'The Labour Market in the School: New Vocationalism and Socially Ascribed Discrimination' in Brown, P. and Ashton, D. N. (eds.) *Education, Unemployment and Labour Markets*, Falmer Press, Lewes.
- Blane, D., Davey Smith, G. and Bartley, M. (1993) 'Social Selection: What Does it Contribute to Social Class Differences in Health?' *Sociology of Health & Illness* Vol 15, 1, pp 1-13.
- Blau, P.M., Gustad, J. W., Jessor, R., Parnes, H. S. and Wilcock, R. C. (1956) Occupational choice: A conceptual framework, *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, Vol 9, No 4 pp531-543.
- Blaxter, M. (1987) 'Evidence on Inequality in Health from a National Survey' in *The Lancet*, July 4th.
- Bloor, M., Samphier, M. and Prior, L. (1987) 'Artefact Explanations of Inequalities in Health: An Assessment of the Evidence' *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 9, pp231-264.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage Publications, London.

- Bradley, S. (1992) 'A Case-study of the Careers Service Placement Function', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 20 No 1, pp 90-107.
- Brown, P. (1987) *Schooling Ordinary Kids: Inequality, Unemployment and the New Vocationalism*, Tavistock, London.
- Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, Unwin Hyman, London.
- Burgess, R. G. (ed.) (1984) *The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies*. The Falmer Press.
- Burgess, R. G. (ed.) (1985) *Issues in Educational Research: Qualitative Methods*. The Falmer Press.
- Bynner, J. (1991) 'Transition to Work: Results from a Longitudinal Study of Young People in Four British Labour Markets' in Ashton, D. N. and Lowe, G. (eds.) *Making their Way: Education, Training and the Labour Market in Canada and Britain*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Byrne, D. (1971) *The Attraction Paradigm*, New York, Academic Press.
- Carr-Hill, R. (1987) 'The inequalities in health debate: A critical review of the issues', *Journal of Social Policy* 16, 4, pp509-542.
- Carter, M. P. (1962) *Home, School and Work*, London Pergamon Press.
- Carter, M. P. (1966) *Into Work*, Penguin.
- Casson, M. (1983) *Economics of Unemployment*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.
- Cherry, R. (1974) 'Do Careers Officers Give Good Advice?' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 2, pp27-40.
- Cherry, R, Gear, R and Waldron, H. A. (1983) 'Occupational Health and the School Leaver' *Community Medicine*, 5, pp 3-10.
- Cherry, N. and Gear, R. (1987) 'Young People's Perceptions of their Vocational Guidance Needs: Influences and Interventions' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* Vol 15, No 2, pp 169-181.
- Cicourel, A. V. and Kitsuse, J. I. (1963) *The Educational Decision-Makers*, Bobbs-Merill, Indianapolis.
- Cleaton, D (1993) 'Careers Education and Guidance in British Schools', *Careers Guidance Today*, Institute of Careers Guidance/National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers (NACGT), pp18-21.
- Cockburn, C. (1987) *Two Track Training: Sex inequalities and the YTS*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Cohen, S. (1972) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, St Albans, Paladin.

Coles, B. (1986) 'School-Leaver, Job Seeker Dole-Reaper: Young and Unemployed in Rural England', in Allen, S., Waton, A., Purcell, K. and Wood, S. (eds.) *The Experience of Unemployment*, Macmillan, London.

Confederation of British Industry (1989) *Towards a Skills Revolution*. CBI.

Confederation of British Industry (1993) *A Credit to Your Career*. CBI.

Corbett, J. (1989) *Choices after 16* (2nd edition) Unit 4 Special Needs in Education. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press

Crouchman, M. R. (1986) 'The Role of School Medical Officer in Secondary Schools' *Journal of Royal College of General Practitioners*, 36, pp 322-324.

Davis, P. (1991) 'How valid are Criticisms of Careers Education and Guidance?' in *National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers (NACGT) Journal*, October, pp6-10.

Daws, P. (1978), *Careers Bulletin*, Summer p3.

Daws, P. (1977) 'Are Careers Education Programmes in Secondary Schools a Waste of time? - A Reply to Roberts' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 5, No.1, pp10-18.

Department of Education and Science (1978) *Special Educational Needs (The Warnock Report)*. London: HMSO.

Department of Employment (1980a) *Memorandum of Guidance*

Department of Employment (1980b) *The Careers Service 1974-1979*, London.

Department of Employment (1981a) *The Careers Service and Employers: A synopsis of some recent research findings*, Careers Service Branch.

Department of Employment (1981b) *Written Statements of Vocational Advice: Approaches to Careers Service Practice*, Careers Service Branch.

Department of Employment (1981c) *Placing Young People into Employment: Approaches to Careers Service Practice*, Careers Service Branch.

Department of Employment (1982) *The Careers Service 1980-81*, London.

Department of Employment (1985a) *The Careers Service 1983-84*, London.

Department of Employment (1985b) *Labour Market Data Employment Gazette*, Vol 93, No 8 August.

Department of Employment (1987) *Working Together for a Better Future* London, HMSO.

Department of Employment (1988) *Curriculum Matters 10*, London, HMSO.

Department of Employment (1989) *Proposals for Ensuring that Young People with disabilities are not placed in unsuitable employment or training*, Consultative Paper.

Department of Employment (1990a) *Employment for the 1990's* London, HMSO.

Department of Employment (1990b) *Training Credits for Young People: A Prospectus*, London HMSO.

Department of Employment (1990c) *Employment and Training for People with Disabilities*, Consultative Paper, Employment Department Group.

Department of Employment (1991a) *Education and Training for the 21st Century*, Vol 1, London, HMSO.

Department of Employment (1991b) *The Future of the Careers Service*. Consultation Document, March.

Department of Employment (1992a) *Careers Guidance Needs of 16-19 Year Olds in Post-Compulsory Education: A Report on the Findings*. Careers Service Branch.

Department of Employment (1992b) *National Standards and Indicators for the Careers Service*. Careers Service Branch, December 11th.

Dingwall, J. (1980) 'Ethics and Ethnography' *Sociological Review*, Vol 28, pp871- 884.

Doeringer, P. B. and Piore, M. J. (1971) *Internal Labour Markets and Manpower Analysis*. D.C. Heath: Lexington, Mass.

Doogan, K. (1984) 'Disadvantaged Youth in the Pursuit of Work' in Varlaam, C. (ed.) *Rethinking Transition: Educational Innovation and the Transition to Adult Life*, The Falmer Press, London.

Dunn, J. and Grimwood, H. (1984) 'Changing Perspectives: Careers Officers, Social Control and Transition Problems' in Varlaam, C. (ed.): *Rethinking Transition: Educational Innovation and the Transition to Adult Life*. The Falmer Press, London.

Evans, A. W. and Richardson, R. (1981) 'Urban Unemployment: Interpretation and Additional Evidence', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol 28, pp107-124.

Finn, D. (1987) *Training without jobs: New deals and broken promises*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Fox, A. J and Goldblatt, P.O. (1986) *Have Inequalities and Health Widened?* Working Paper No 7, Social Statistics, Research Unit, The City University, London.

Fretz, B. R. (1981) 'Evaluating the effectiveness of careers interventions', *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, Vol 28 pp77-90.

Fry, E. (1986) *An Equal Chance for Disabled People: A Study of Discrimination in Employment*, The Spastics Society, Campaigns and Parliamentary Unit, London.

- Furlong, A. (1987) 'Coming to Terms With The Declining Demand For Youth Labour' in Brown, P. and Ashton, D. N. (eds.) *Education, Unemployment and Labour Markets*, The Falmer Press.
- Furlong, A. and Raffe, D. (1989) *Young People's Routes into the Labour Market*, Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh.
- Furlong, A. (1990a) 'Labour Market Segmentation and the Age Structuring of Employment Opportunities for Young People', *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol 4, No 2, pp253-269.
- Furlong, A. (1990b) 'A Decade of Decline: Social Class and Post-school Destinations of Minimum Age School Leavers' in Wallace, C. and Cross, M. (eds.) *Youth in Transition: The Sociology of Youth and Youth Policy*, Falmer, Basingstoke.
- Furlong, A. (1992) *Growing up in a Classless Society?: School to Work Transitions*, Edinburgh University Press.
- Furlong, A. (1993) 'The Youth Transition, Unemployment and Labour Market Disadvantage: Gambling on YTS', *Youth and Policy*, 41, pp 24-35.
- Garfinkel, H. (1957) 'Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies', *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (Nov) pp420-425.
- Garner, C.L., Main, G. M. and Raffe D. (1987) *Local Variations in School Leaver Employment and Unemployment within Large Cities*, Centre of Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh, Nov.
- Garner, C.L., Main, G. M. and Raffe D. (1988) 'The Distribution of School Leaver Unemployment within Scottish Cities', *Urban Studies*, 25, pp133-144.
- Garner, C. L. (1989) *Does Deprivation Damage? Report to the John Watson's Trust*, Edinburgh.
- Ginzberg, E, Ginzberg, S.W, Axelrad, S and Herma, J. L. (1951) *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*, Columbia University Press. New York.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago, Aldine.
- Goodman, J.F.B. (1970), 'The definition and analysis of local labour markets: Some empirical problems', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, pp179-196.
- Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Asylums*, Harmondsworth, Penguin
- Gray, J. (1980), 'Guidance in Scottish Secondary Schools: A client evaluation', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 8, No 1, pp129-145, Jan.

Gray J. and Sime, N. (1990) *Extended Routes and Delayed Transitions Among 16-19 Year Olds: National Trends and Local Contexts*, ESRC 16-19 Initiative Occasional Papers, 20, University of Sheffield.

Halmos, P. (1965) *The Faith of the Counsellors*, London, Constable.

Halmos, P. (1970) *The Personal Service Society*, London, Constable.

Hakim, C. (1993) 'Research Analysis of Administrative Records' in Hammersley, M. (ed.) *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, In association with The Open University, Sage Publications.

Halsey, A. H., Heath, A. and Ridge J. M. (1980) *Origins and Destinations*, Clarendon press. Oxford.

Hammersley, M. (1979) *Analysing Ethnographic Data: Research Methods in Education and the Social Sciences*. A third level course, Block 6 : Making Sense of Data. Open University Press.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, Tavistock, London.

Hargreaves, A. (1985) 'The Micro-Macro Problem in the Sociology of Education' in Burgess, R. G. (ed.) *Issues in Educational Research: Qualitative Methods*, The Falmer Press.

Hargreaves, D., Hestar, S and Mellor, F. (1975) *Deviance in Classroom*. RKP, London.

Hart, N. (1987) Class health and survival: the gap widens' *Radical Community Medicine*, p10, Spring.

Hart, P.E. (1988) *Youth Unemployment in Great Britain*, The National Institute of Economic and Social Research Occasional Papers, XL111, Cambridge University Press.

Hawthorn, R. (1992) 'Guidance Vouchers: How Effective Are They?' Newscheck, *Careers Service Bulletin*, Vol 2 No 10 August.

Heafy, M. and McGregor, A. (1990) 'Disadvantaged Youth and the Labour Market: The Case of Community Industry in the Lower Clyde Area' *Youth and Work* pp31-39.

Herriot, P. (1981) 'Towards an attributional theory of the selection interview' *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 54, pp 165-173

Hillage, J. and Wilson, A. (1992) *Employers' Requirements of the Careers Service*, IMS (Institute of Manpower Studies) Report No 222, July, University of Sussex.

Himsworth, H. (1984) 'Epidemiology, Genetics and Sociology' *J. Biosoc. Sc.*, 16, pp159-172.

Hirst, M. (1987) 'Careers of young people with disabilities between the age of 15 and 21 years', *Disability, Handicap and Society* 2 (1) pp61-74.

HMSO (1983) Fourth Report from the Committee of Public Accounts, Department of Employment, Manpower Services Commission, Special Employment Measures, Session 1983-4.

Holland, J. L., Magoon, T. M. and Spokane, A. R. (1981) 'Counselling Psychology: Career Interventions, Research and Theory', *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol 32, pp279-305.

Hyman, H. H. (1967) 'The Value Systems of Different Classes' in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.) *Class, Status and Power*, RKP, London.

Illsley, R. (1987) 'Occupational Class, Selection and Inequalities in Health: Rejoinder to Richard Wilkinson's Reply' *Q. J. Soc. Affairs* 3, p213.

Jahoda, G. (1952) 'Job Attitudes and Job Choice Among Secondary Modern School Leavers' (Part 1) *Occupational Psychology*, vol xxvi, 3, pp 125-140, July.

Jahoda, M. and Chalmers, A. D. (1963) 'School Leavers Recall of their Interview with the Youth Employment Officer', *Occupational Psychology*, Vol 37, 2, pp112-121.

Jahoda, M. (1982) *Employment and Unemployment a Social-Psychological Analysis*, Cambridge University Press.

Jones, E. E. and Davis, K. E. (1965) 'From Acts to dispositions: The attribution process in person perception' *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 2, pp219-266.

Jones, E. E. and Harris V. A. (1967) 'The attribution of attitudes' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 3, pp1-24.

Jones, E. E. (1979) 'The Rocky Road from Acts to Dispositions', *American Psychologist*, 34 pp107-117.

Jones, P. (1983) 'The Effects of Rising Unemployment on School Leavers', *Department of Employment Gazette*, 1, pp13-16.

Jones, P. (1985) 'Qualifications and Labour Market Outcomes Among 16 Year Old School Leavers' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* vol 13, No 3, pp 275-291.

Katz, M. R. (1969) *Can Computers Make Guidance Decisions for Students?* College Board Review No.72, London.

Keddie, N. (1973) 'Classroom Knowledge' in Young, M.F.D. 'Tinker, Tailor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation', Penguin Harmondsworth.

Keenan, A. (1977) 'Some relationships between interviewers' personal feelings about candidates and their general evaluation of them', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 50, pp275-283.

Kidd, J. and Killeen, J. (1992) 'Are the Effects of Careers Guidance Worth Having? Changes in Practice and Outcomes' *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, Vol 65, p219-234.

- Killeen, J. (1985) *Psychology, Sociology and Work Entry*, Hertford: NICEC.
- Killeen, J. (1986) 'Vocational Guidance for Adults: A Study of Demand' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 14 No 3, pp225-239, September.
- Killeen, J. and Kidd, J. (1991) *Learning Outcomes of Guidance: A Review of Recent Research*, Research Paper No 85, National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling, Employment Department Group, Sheffield.
- Killeen, J., White, M. and Watts, A. G. (1992) *The Economic Value of Careers Guidance*, National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling, Policy Studies Institute, London:
- Kinnear, J. K. (1975) *Discussion Paper on Selective Interviewing*, Careers Service, Wales.
- Kushner, S. and Logan, T. (1985) 'The Careers Service and the Curriculum: Trapped in the Corridor' *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol 15, No 1, pp22-31.
- Lee, D., Hardey, M., Marsden, M., Masters, K. and Rickman, P. (1987) 'Youth Training, Life Chances and Orientations to Work: A Case Study of the Youth Training Scheme' in Brown, P. and Ashton, D. N. (eds.) *Education, Unemployment and Youth Labour Markets*, The Falmer Press
- Lee, D., Marsden, D., Rickman, P. and Duncombe, J. (1990) *Scheming for Youth: A Study of YTS in the Enterprise Culture*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Le Grand, J. and Illsley, R. (1986) The measurement of Inequality in Health. Paper Presented to a Meeting of the British Association For the Advancement of Science, Bristol, 1-5 September 1986.
- Lemert, E. M. (1967) *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice Hall.
- Livock, R. (1981) *Screening in the Recruitment of Young Workers*, formerly University of Hull. Department of Employment Research Paper Series, Paper No 41.
- Lewis, S. (1990) 'Disability - Looking at the Person', *Unemployment Bulletin*, 33, Summer p16.
- London, M. and Hakel, M.D. (1974) 'Effects of applicant stereotypes, order and information on interview impressions', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 59, pp41-53
- Macintyre, S. (1986) 'The Patterning of Health by Social Position in Contemporary Britain: Directions for Sociological Research', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 23. No 4, pp 393-415.
- Macintyre, S. (1988) 'Social correlates of human height', *Science in Progress*, Oxford, 72, pp493-510.

Macintyre, S. and West, P. (1991) 'Social developmental and health correlates of attractiveness in adolescence, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, Vol 13, 2, pp149-167.

McGregor, A. (1980) *Urban Unemployment: A Study of Differential Unemployment Rates in Glasgow*, Edinburgh Central Research Unit, Scottish Development Department.

Main, B and Raffe, D. (1983) 'Determinants of Employment and Unemployment Among School Leavers: Evidence from the 1979 Survey of Scottish School Leavers' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol 30, Nov, pp1-17.

Main, B. and Shelly, M. (1988) The effectiveness of YTS as a Manpower Policy, Discussion Paper no 8801, University of St. Andrews.

Mair, D and Wood, C. (1981) Male Unemployment in Scottish Cities, Herriot Watt University, Department of Economics.

Manpower Services Commission (1977) *Development of the Youth Opportunities Programme*, Sheffield, MSC.

Manpower Services Commission (1978) *Young People and Work*, Manpower Studies No 19781, London, HMSO.

Manpower Services Commission (1982) *Youth Task Group Report*, London, HMSO, April.

Manpower Services Commission (1984) *Code of Good Practice on the Employment of Disabled People*, London, MSC.

Marmot, M. G and McDowell, M. E. (1986) 'Mortality Decline and Widening Social inequalities' *The Lancet*, 2, p274.

May, D. and Hughes, D. (1985) The prospects of leaving school for the mildly mentally handicapped, *British Journal of Special Education*, 12, 4, Research Supplement, pp151-158.

McKie, L. (1990) 'The Youth Training Scheme: The Panacea of the 1980's, the liability of the 1990's?' *Youth and Work* pp8-20.

Melhus, G. E., Hershenson, D. W. and Vermillion, M. E. (1973), 'Computer assisted versus traditional counselling with high and low readiness clients', *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, vol 3, pp137-144.

Millar, D. (1965) *Words That Fail*, California Department of Mental Hygiene, Sacramento.

Morrell, J. (1990), *The Employment of People with Disabilities: Research into the Policies and Practices of Employers*. Employment Department Group, Research paper No 77.

Myers, J. and Bean, L. (1968) *A Decade Later*, New York, Wiley.

NACEDP (1985) *The Additional Employment Problems of Young Disabled People*. Working Party: National Advisory Council on Employment of Disabled People.

NACGT (1988) 'The Changing Context and Structure of Guidance in Schools' *National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers' Journal*, June, pp4-7 (author not cited).

O'Conner, D. (1981) *The Probabilities of Employment on Leaving Work Experience Schemes*, Government Economic Service Working Paper No 53.

Oldfield, R.C. (1941) 'The Psychology of the Interview' in Hopson, B. and Hayes, J (eds.) *The Theory and Practise of Vocational Guidance*, Pergammon Press, London.

OUP (1972) *The Sociological Perspective: A Glossary of Sociological Concepts: A Second Level Course*, Open University Press.

Payne, J. (1985) 'Changes in the Youth Labour Market 1974-1981', *Oxford Review of Education*, 11, pp167-179.

Peck, J. A. (1990a) 'The Youth Training Scheme: regional policy in reverse?' *Policy and Politics*, Vol 18 No 2, pp135-143.

Peck, J. A. (1990b) 'The State and the Regulation of Local Labour Markets: Observations on the Geography of Youth Training', *Area*, Vol 22, No 1, pp17-27.

Peck, J. A (1992) 'TECs and the Local Politics of Training', *Political Geography*, Vol 11, No 4 pp 335-354.

Peck, J. A. (1993) 'The Trouble with TEC's... A Critique of the Training and Enterprise Councils Initiative', *Policy and Politics*, Vol 21, No 4, pp289-305.

Porteous, M. A. and Fisher, C. J. (1980) 'Counselling, Support, and Advice: The Adolescent Viewpoint', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 8, No 1, pp 67-75.

Power, C, Fogelman, K and Fox, A. J. (1986) 'Health and Social Mobility During the Early Years of Life', *Q. J. Social Affairs*, 2, pp 397-413.

Power, C., Manor, P. and Fox, A. J. and Fogelman, K. (1990) 'Health in childhood and social inequalities in health in young adults', *J. Royal Statistical Society*, 153, 1, pp17-28.

Raffe, D. (1983a) 'Employment Instability Among Less Qualified Young Workers', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 11, 1, pp21-34.

Raffe, D. (1983b) 'Education and Unemployment: Does YOP make a Difference and will YTS?', in Gleeson, D (ed.) *Youth Training and the Search for Work*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- Raffe, D. (1984) 'The Transition From School to Work and the Recession: Evidence From The Scottish School Leavers Survey 1977-83' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol 5 No 3, pp 247-265.
- Raffe, D. (1986), Change and Continuity in the Youth Labour Market: A Critical Review of Structural Explanations of Youth Unemployment, in Allan, S., Purcell, K., Waton, A. and Wood, S. (eds.), *The Experience of Unemployment*, Macmillan, London.
- Raffe, D. (1987) 'The Context of the Youth Training Scheme: An analysis of its strategy and development', *British Journal of Education and Work*, Vol 1, No 1, pp1-31.
- Raffe, D. (1988) 'The Story So Far: Research on Education, Training and the Labour Market from the Scottish Surveys' in Raffe, D. (ed.), *Education and the Youth Labour Market*, Education Policy Perspectives Series, The Falmer Press.
- Raffe, D. and Courtenay, G. (1988) '16-19 On Both Sides of the Border', in Raffe, D (ed.), *Education and the Youth Labour Market: Schooling and Scheming*, Lewes, Falmer.
- Raffe, D. (1989) 'Longitudinal and Historical Change in Young People's Attitudes to YTS' *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol 15, no 2, pp 129-139.
- Raffe, D. (1992) 'Participation of 16-18 year olds in Education and Training', National Commission on Education, Briefing 3, *Times Educational Supplement (Scotland)*, May 29th, p12.
- Ranson, S. and Ribbons, P. (1986) *The Management of Change in the Careers Service*, Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Reddy, H. and Brannigan, C. (1979) *A Study of Interview Handling by Careers Officers*, Local Government Training Board (LGTB), Research Report Summary.
- Rees, T. (1984) 'Slow learners: From special education to special programmes?', in Varlaam, C. (ed.) *Rethinking Transition: Educational Innovation and the Transition to Adult Life*. London, The Falmer Press.
- Rist, R. (1970) 'Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education', *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol 40.
- Roberts, K. (1968), 'The Entry into Employment: An Approach Towards A General Theory', *Sociological Review*, Vol 16, pp 165-179.
- Roberts, K. (1977) 'The Social Conditions, Consequences and Limitations of Careers Guidance' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 5, No.1, January, pp1-9.
- Roberts, K. (1984) *School leavers and Their Prospects: Youth in The Labour Market in The 1980's*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Roberts, K., Dench, S and Richardson, D. (1986) *The Changing Structure of Youth Labour Markets*. Research Paper No 59, Department of Employment, London.

Roberts, K. (1986) *Premium Provision in Liverpool*. Report to the Manpower Services Commission, Department of Sociology, University of Liverpool.

Roberts, K., Dench, S. and Richardson, D. (1988) 'Youth Unemployment in the 1980's' in Coles, B. (ed.) *Young Careers: The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism*. Open University Press.

Roberts, K. and Parsell, G. (1989a) *The Stratification of Youth Training*. ESRC 16-19 Initiative Occasional Papers Series, No 11, City University London.

Roberts, K. and Parsell, G. (1989b) *Opportunity: Structures and Career Trajectories from age 16-19*. ESRC 16-19 Initiative Occasional Papers Series, No 1, University of Liverpool.

Roberts, K., Siwek, M. and Parsell, G. (1989) *What are Britains 16-19 Year Olds Learning?*. ESRC 16-19 Initiative Occasional Papers Series, No 10, City University, London.

Roberts, K and Chadwick, C. (1992) *Transitions into the Labour Market: The New Routes of the 1980's. A Study of Transition 1984-1987*. Research and Development No 65, England and Wales Youth Cohort Study, Series No 19, University of Liverpool.

Rodger, A. (1968) 'The Seven Point Plan' in Hopson, B. and Hayes, J. (eds.) *The Theory and Practice of Vocational Guidance*, Pergamon Press.

Rogers, W. J. and Buffalo, M. D (1974) 'Fighting Back: Nine Modes of Adaptation to a Deviant Label', *Social Problems*, Vol 22, pp101-118.

Ryrie, C. A. (1983) *On Leaving School: A Study of Schooling, Guidance and Opportunity*. The Scottish Council for Research in Education, Edinburgh.

Rutter, M., Tizard, J and Whitemore, K. (eds.) (1970) *Education, Health and Behaviour*. Longmans, London.

Sako, M. and Dore, R. (1986) 'How the Youth Training Scheme Helps Employers', *Employment Gazette*, 94, 1, pp195-204.

Scheff, T. (1966) *Being Mentally Ill*. Chicago, Aldine.

Schmitt, N (1976) 'Social and situational determinants of interview decisions: Implications for the employment interview' *Personnel Psychology* 29, pp79-101

Schwartz, H. and Jacobs, J. (1979) *Qualitative Sociology: A Method to the Madness*. London, Macmillan.

Scottish Consumer Council (1989) *In Special Need: A Handbook for Parents and Young People in Scotland with Special Educational Needs*, (SCC), Edinburgh.

Scottish Home and Health Department (1973) *Towards An Integrated Child Health Service*. Edinburgh HMSO.

Senior, J. G. (1983) *School Leavers and Employment in the Motherwell Area* (Unpublished PhD Thesis) Economic and Social Research Council, Glasgow University.

Shelley, M. (1988) 'Has the Bottom Dropped out of the Youth Labour Market?' in Raffe, D (ed.) *Education and the Youth Labour Market: Schooling and Scheming*. The Falmer Press.

Showler, B. (1976) *The Public Employment Service*. Longman, London.

Siann, G., Draper, J. and Cosford, B. (1982) 'Pupils as Consumers: Perceptions of Guidance and Counselling in a Scottish School' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 10 No 1. pp 51-61.

Silverman, D. (1985) *Qualitative Sociology and Methodology*. Aldershot, Gower.

Spencer, H. (1884) *Man Versus the State* (New Edition) Penguin Books, (1969).

Spencer, L. (1988) *Going on YTS: The Recruitment of Young People with Disabilities*. Social and Community Planning Research, Training Agency, Research and Development, No.45.

Spencer, L. (1991) *From School to Work: Career Decisions Among Minimum Age School Leavers*. Social and Community Planning Research, Department of Employment.

Standing Committee of Regional Careers Officers in Scotland (1990), Response to the Consultation Paper: 'Proposals for Ensuring that Young People with Disabilities are not Placed in Unsuitable Employment or Training' (1989), Department of Employment.

Stern, J. (1983) 'Social Mobility and the Interpretation of Social Class Mortality Differentials', *Journal of Social Policy*, 12, pp27-49.

Sugarman, B (1970) 'Social Class and Behaviour in Schools' in Craft, M. (ed) *Family, Class, and Education*. Longman. London.

Super, D. E. (1957) *The Psychology of Careers*. New York, Harper and Row.

Super, D. E. (1981) 'Approaches to Occupational Choice and Career Development in Britain, in Watts, A. G., Super, D. E. and Kidd, J. M (eds.) *Career Development in Britain*. Cambridge, CRAC/Hobsons.

Swann, W. (1988) 'Trends in special school placement to 1986: Measuring, assessing and explaining segregation' *Oxford Review of Education* 14 (2) pp139-161.

Sykes, G. M. and Matza, D. (1957) 'Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency', *American Sociological Review*, 22, pp664-670, Dec.

(TES) (1991) TECS: Shotgun Match of Ideology and Pure Necessity, *Times Educational Supplement*, March 15, p10.

(TES) (1992) Fury at Forsyth's Bill to hive of Careers Service, *Times Educational Supplement*, September 25, p1.

The Guardian (1994) 'Commons Fury As Scott Wrecks Disabled Bill', 21/5/94.

Thomson, G., Dyer, S., Thomson, K. (1987) *The Practice of Recording*, Department of Education, University of Edinburgh.

Thomson, G., Riddell, S. and Dyer, S. (1989) *Policy, Professionals and Parents: Legislating for Change in the Field of Special Educational Needs*, University of Edinburgh.

Thurow, L. C. (1975) *Generating Inequality*, Basic Books. New York.

Tomlinson, S. (1982) *A Sociology of Special Education*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Trice, M. H. and Roman, P. M. (1970) 'De-labelling, Re-labelling and Alcoholics Anonymous', *Social Problems*, Vol 17, pp538-546.

Vagero, D. (1989) 'Inequality in Health - Some Theoretical and Empirical Problems'. *Scan J. Soc. Med.*

Varlaam, C. (1984) *Rethinking Transition: Educational Innovation and the Transition to Adult Life*. Falmer Press.

Walford, G (1991) (ed) *Doing Educational Research*. Routledge. London

Ward K., Riddell S., Dyer M. and Thomson, G. (1990) *The Transition from School for Pupils with Special Educational Needs: A Provisional Analysis of Data on Recorded Young People*. Department of Education, University of Edinburgh, University of Stirling

Watts, A. G. and Herr, E. L. (1976) 'Careers Education in Britain and the USA: Contrasts and Common Problems' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 4 No.1, Jan, pp129-142.

Watts, A. G. (1978) 'The Implications of School-Leaver Unemployment for Careers Education in Schools', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol 10, No 3. Sept, pp233-250.

Watts, A. G. and Kidd, J. (1978) 'Evaluating the Effectiveness of Careers Guidance: A Review of the British Research' *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, Vol 51, No 3 Sept, pp235-248.

Watts, A. G. (1986) 'The Careers Service in Schools: A Changing Relationship' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol 14, No 2, pp 168-185.

Watts, A. G (1987) 'Beyond Unemployment? Schools and the Future of Work' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol 35, No 1. Feb, pp1-19.

Watts, A. G (1991a) 'The Impact of the "New Right": Policy Challenges Confronting Careers Guidance in England and Wales' *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* Vol 19, No 3, pp230-245.

- Watts, A. G. (1991b) 'Individual Action Plans: For Whom?' *Careers Education and Guidance*, December, pp.21-22.
- Watts, A. G. (1992) 'Careers Education and Guidance - An Overview of Research and the Shifting Policy Environment' *Careers Education and Guidance*, April, pp2-4.
- Watts, A. G., Stern, E., and Deen, N. (eds) (1993) *Careers Guidance Towards the 21st Century*. Cambridge: CRAC/Hobsons.
- West, P. (1988) 'Inequalities? Social Class Differentials in Health in British Youth' *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 27, No 4, pp 291-296.
- West, P., Macintyre, S., Annandale, E. and Hunt, K. (1990) 'Social Class and Health in Youth: Findings from the West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study' *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 30, pp 665-73.
- West, P. (1991) 'Rethinking The Health Selection Explanation for Health Inequalities', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 32, pp373-384.
- 'What Employers look for in School Leavers' (1987): The Results of a Study Carried out by the Recruitment and Training Research Unit at the Polytechnic of Wales, Reprinted from *Transition*, June 1987.
- White, T. (1990) 'Special Training Needs and TECS' *Unemployment Bulletin*, 33 Summer, p8.
- Whitehead, M. (1992) *Inequalities in Health: The Health Divide*, Penguin Books.
- Whyte, William Foote (1984) *Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience*. Sage Publications.
- Wild, D. and Williams, B. T. (1983), Editorial: 'The need for and difficulties of an improved occupational health advisory service for school leavers' *Community Medicine*, 5, p1.
- Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour*, Saxon House, London.
- Wilkinson, R. G. (1986) 'Socioeconomic Differentials in Mortality: Interpreting the Data on Size and Trends' in Wilkinson, R. G. (ed.) *Class and Health: Research and Longitudinal Data*. London: Tavistock.
- Wilkinson, R. G. (1987) 'A Rejoinder to Illsley', *Q. J. Social Affairs*, 3, pp225-228.
- Wilson, E. (1975) *Sociobiology - the New Synthesis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Youthaid (1979) Study of the Transition from School to Working Life (First Report).
- Youthaid (1981) Study of the Transition from School to Working Life (Second Report).

What employers look for in school leavers

	Very or quite Important	Important	Not very Important
	%	%	%
Reliability and trustworthiness	91	7	2
Punctuality	91	9	0
Willingness to learn	88	9	3
Ability to work as member of a team	85	14	1
Enthusiasm	82	17	1
Clean and tidy appearance	78	20	2
Ability to work with minimum supervision	61	33	1
Initiative	59	34	7
Ability to work with figures	56	30	14
Ability to write clearly and concisely	52	38	10
Well organised	52	42	6
Ability to speak fluently/with confidence	51	40	9
Friendliness	44	44	12
Some qualifications related to job	35	22	43
Good 'O' level/CSE in academic subjects	30	31	39
Qualifications in vocational subjects	23	36	41
Good dress sense	23	38	39
Some general work experience	23	22	55
Creativity	22	46	32
Work experience related to job	21	16	63

careers service


**CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT**

SCHOOL

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 5					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposed S/L Date					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix - <u>outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn</u> Behaviour - <u>behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive</u> Reliability - <u>very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable</u> Verbal communication - <u>fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate</u>		FURTHER COMMENTS: HAS SPEECH DEFECT							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/ <u>clubs and organisations/</u> posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other -		YOUTH CLUB A.T.C. BOXING							
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good/variable/poor</u>									
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/</u> <u>occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent</u>									
HEALTH: <u>Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/</u> <u>speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/</u> <u>diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other</u>									
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: FAIRLY SMART									
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)				
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred
ENGLISH	NC	EX							
MATHS	NC	VG							
SCIENCE	S(F)	VG							
SOCIAL STUDIES	NC	EX							
COMMERCE	NC	EX							
HOME ECON	NC	VG							
DRAMA		EX							
MUSIC			NC						
FRENCH			MOD						
			MOD						
POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER STUDY: <u>Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE</u>		NC = NON CERTIFICATE							
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:									
PART-TIME WORK: ---									
CAREER INTERESTS: SHOE FITTER									
GENERAL COMMENTS: A REAL 'TRIER', HE DOES HIS BEST AT ALL TIMES HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A MOST ENTHUSIASTIC HELPER IN CHARITIES WORK.									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER		DATE:		SIGNED:					

careers service



CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

SCHOOL:

NAME: (Mr/Ms) _____ DATE OF BIRTH: _____ CLASS: _____
 ADDRESS: _____ TEL. NO: _____ Proposed S/L Date: **MAY 90?**

PERSONALITY:
 Ability to mix—outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn
 Behaviour—behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive
 Reliability—very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable
 Verbal communication—fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate

ACTIVITIES: sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/
 (in/out of school) posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/
 reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—

TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/poor

ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/
 occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent

HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/
 speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/
 diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other

FURTHER COMMENTS

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: **COULD BE CLEANER**

PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)			S5 (19)			S6 (19)		
	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred
MATHS	S								
ENGLISH	S								
FRENCH	O								
BIOLOGY	O								
CRAFT/DESIGN	S								

POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER STUDY: Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE ?

SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE: _____

PART-TIME WORK: **PAPER ROUND**

CAREER INTERESTS: ?

GENERAL COMMENTS:

A SAD CHILD, ALWAYS IN TROUBLE

SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER: _____ DATE: _____ SIGNED: _____

careers service


**CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT**

SCHOOL

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 5		
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposed S/L Date:		
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix—outgoing/ <u>usually relates well</u> /reserved/withdrawn Behaviour— <u>behaves well</u> /satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability— <u>very reliable</u> /generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication— <u>fluent/fairly fluent</u> /has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate				FURTHER COMMENTS:		
ACTIVITIES: sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ (in/out of school) posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest; <u>music</u> ? reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—				NOTHING ON RECORD I REGRET TO SAY		
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good</u> /variable/poor						
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good</u> /frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent						
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ <u>diabetes</u> /epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other						
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: EXCELLENT						
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)	
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result
ENGLISH	0	E	1			
MATHS	0	E	1			
ARITH	0	E	1			
HISTORY	0	E	1			
PHYSICS	0	E	1			
CHEMISTRY	0	E	1			
FRENCH	0	E	3			
ACCOUNTS	0	E	2			
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/ <u>Advanced FE/HE</u> FURTHER STUDY:						
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:						
PART-TIME WORK: NONE ON RECORD						
CAREER INTERESTS:						
GENERAL COMMENTS: MATURE PUPIL WHO SHOWS A HIGH LEVEL OF TALENT AND MOTIVATION						
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:				DATE:		SIGNED:

**PREDICTIONS NOT
POSSIBLE AT THIS
STAGE**

careers service


**CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT**

SCHOOL:

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 4					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposed S/L Date:					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix—outgoing/ <u>usually relates well</u> /reserved/withdrawn Behaviour— <u>behaves well</u> /satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability—very reliable/ <u>generally reliable</u> /tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication— <u>fluent/fairly fluent</u> /has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENTS PLEASANT, COOPERATIVE BOY							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) <u>sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—</u>									
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good</u> /variable/poor									
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good</u> /frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent									
HEALTH: <u>Good general health</u> /poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other									
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: GOOD									
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)			S5 (19)			S6 (19)		
	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred
Subject									
MATHS	S								
ENGLISH	S								
PHYSICS	O								
CHEMISTRY	O								
CRAFT & DESIGN	S		B/4						
TECH STUDIES	S		S/4						
POTENTIAL FOR <u>Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE</u> FURTHER STUDY:									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:									
PART-TIME WORK: MILK / PAPER ROUND									
CAREER INTERESTS: ENGINEERING									
GENERAL COMMENTS: NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT HIS STUDIES, ALTHOUGH HE IS BY NO MEANS A STUPID BOY. HE IS AN UNDERACHIEVER HE IS UP VERY EARLY (4am) TO DO A MILK RUN, HAS HAD A DIFFICULT CHILDHOOD WITH A NUMBER OF PERSONAL PROBLEMS									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:					DATE:				
SIGNED:					SIGNED:				

careers service


**CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT**

SCHOOL:

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 5					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposed S/L Date:					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix—outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour—behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability—very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication—fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENTS PLEASANT GIRL, MUTUAL SERIOUS MINDED.							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—									
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good</u> /variable/poor									
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good</u> /frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent									
HEALTH: <u>Good general health/poor eyesight</u> /colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other		SHORT SIGHTED							
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: SMART AND TIDY APPEARANCE									
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)				
Subject	Level	Effort	Good/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred
ENGLISH	0	VG	2						
MATHS	0	VG	2						
ARITH	0	E	1						
HISTORY	0	VG	2						
ACCOUNTS	0	E	1						
FRENCH	0	E	1						
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE FURTHER STUDY:									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:									
PART-TIME WORK:									
CAREER INTERESTS: PRIMARY TEACHING / BANK									
GENERAL COMMENTS: A TRIER, CAREER CHOICE FITS HER ABILITIES. I CAN JUST SEE HER BEHIND THE CASHIERS DESK IN THE HALIFAX!									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:					DATE:			SIGNED:	

CAREERS SERVICE - DIVISION

4th YEAR PRE-INTERVIEW FORM

IN CONFIDENCE

DATA PROTECTION ACT

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY YOU MAY BE HELD BY THE REGIONAL COUNCIL ON COMPUTER FILES.

ANY INFORMATION HELD IN THIS WAY WILL BE USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING THE CAREERS SERVICE TO PLACE CLIENTS IN SUITABLE VACANCIES, TRAINING SCHEMES OR TERTIARY EDUCATION AND MONITORING THE PROGRESS OF CLIENTS WHILE THEY ARE REGISTERED WITH THE CAREERS SERVICE.

Name _____ School _____
 Address _____ Class **4C**
 Tel. No. _____ Date of Birth _____

Please list all the subjects you are taking this year and tick (✓) the subjects in which you hope to sit 'O' grades, R.S.A., or other examinations.

Subject	'O' grade	Standard Grade	Other exams.	Non-certif.
Maths		✓		
English		✓		
Technical Drawing	✓			
Art	✓			
Computers		✓		
P. E.				✓
R. E.				✓
Social Studies				✓
Standard Science		✓		

When do you intend to leave school? Please tick (✓).

- At end of 5th or 6th year. Please complete section A overleaf.
- Christmas this year Please complete section B overleaf.
- At end of 4th year Please complete section B overleaf.
- Christmas next year Please complete section B overleaf.
- Uncertain Please complete section B overleaf.

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illnesses. Please give details? *weak right eye*

Are you colour blind? *N/D*

Section A

After 5th/6th year what do you intend to do?

Seek Employment/Training Go to College/ University Don't know

Do you require further information on any particular career(s)? Please list. *Computer operator*

You will have the opportunity to discuss your plans with a Careers Officer during your 5th year. If however, you require help urgently before then please tick this box.

Give details of the help required.

Section B

The following is a list of opportunities in Employment/Training/Further Education which may be available to you when you leave school.

Look carefully through the list and mark your first 3 choices in the boxes below.

- Office Work (with typing)
- Nursing
- Engineering
- Office Work (without typing)
- Nursery Nursing
- Garage
- Computer Work
- Caring for People
- Artistic Work
- Catering/Baking
- Scientific Work eg. lab.
- Farming
- Hairdressing
- Factory
- Gardening
- Shop
- Building
- Armed Forces

1st Choice

2nd Choice

3rd Choice

If none of the above suggestions suit you then please tick one of the following.

I have no ideas at all.

I am interested in something else.

It is

Signature Date

4th YEAR PRE-INTERVIEW FORM

IN CONFIDENCE

DATA PROTECTION ACT

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY YOU MAY BE HELD BY THE REGIONAL COUNCIL ON COMPUTER FILES.

ANY INFORMATION HELD IN THIS WAY WILL BE USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING THE CAREERS SERVICE TO PLACE CLIENTS IN SUITABLE VACANCIES, TRAINING SCHEMES OR TERTIARY EDUCATION AND MONITORING THE PROGRESS OF CLIENTS WHILE THEY ARE REGISTERED WITH THE CAREERS SERVICE.

Name _____ School _____
 Address _____ Class 4.R
 Tel. No. _____ Date of Birth _____

Please list all the subjects you are taking this year and tick (✓) the subjects in which you hope to sit 'O' grades, R.S.A., or other examinations.

Subject	'O' grade	Standard Grade	Other exams.	Non-certif.
Geography	✓			
French	✓			
Accounting	✓			
Biology	✓			
English	✓			
Arithmetic	✓			

When do you intend to leave school? Please tick (✓).

At end of 5th or 6th year.

Please complete section A overleaf.

Christmas this year

Please complete section B overleaf.

At end of 4th year

Please complete section B overleaf.

Christmas next year

Please complete section B overleaf.

Uncertain

Please complete section B overleaf.

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illnesses. Please give details?

Cataract.

Are you colour blind? **NO**

Section A

After 5th/6th year what do you intend to do?

Seek Employment/Training Go to College/ University Don't know

Do you require further information on any particular career(s)? Please list.

"A career in British Rail" careers pack

You will have the opportunity to discuss your plans with a Careers Officer during your 5th year. If however, you require help urgently before then please tick this box.

Give details of the help required.

Section B

The following is a list of opportunities in Employment/Training/Further Education which may be available to you when you leave school.

Look carefully through the list and mark your first 3 choices in the boxes below.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| Office Work (with typing) | Nursing | Engineering |
| Office Work (without typing) | Nursery Nursing | Garage |
| Computer Work | Caring for People | Artistic Work |
| Catering/Baking | Scientific Work eg. lab. | Farming |
| Hairdressing | Factory | Gardening |
| Shop | Building | Armed Forces |

1st Choice

2nd Choice

3rd Choice

If none of the above suggestions suit you then please tick one of the following.

I have no ideas at all.

I am interested in something else.

It is

Signature Date

IN CONFIDENCE

DATA PROTECTION ACT

APPENDIX 2.2c

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY YOU MAY BE HELD BY THE REGIONAL COUNCIL ON COMPUTER FILES.

ANY INFORMATION HELD IN THIS WAY WILL BE USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING THE CAREERS SERVICE TO FIND CLIENTS IN SUITABLE VACANCIES, TRAINING SCHEMES OR TERTIARY EDUCATION AND MONITORING THE PROGRESS CLIENTS WHILE THEY ARE REGISTERED WITH THE CAREERS SERVICE.

Name _____ School _____
 Address _____ Class **4C**
 Tel. No. _____ Date of Birth _____

Please list all the subjects you are taking this year and tick (✓) the subjects in which you hope to sit 'O' grades, R.S.A., or other examinations.

Subject	'O' grade	Standard Grade	Other exams.	Non-certif.
SOCIAL & VOCATIONAL SKILLS		✓		
ART AND DESIGN		✓		
HISTORY	✓	✗		
SCIENCE		✓		
PHYSICAL EDUCATION		✓		
MATHS		✓		
ENGLISH		✓		

When do you intend to leave school? Please tick (✓).

- At end of 5th or 6th year. Please complete section A overleaf.
- Christmas this year Please complete section B overleaf.
- At end of 4th year Please complete section B overleaf.
DONT? KNOW
- Christmas next year Please complete section B overleaf.
- Uncertain Please complete section B overleaf.

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illnesses. Please give details?
WHEN I WAS LITTLE I USED TO GET SORE HEADS BUT THEY ARE AWAY NOW
 Are you colour blind? **no**

Section A

After 5th/6th year what do you intend to do?

Seek Employment/Training Go to College/ University Don't know

Do you require further information on any particular career(s)? Please list.

You will have the opportunity to discuss your plans with a Careers Officer during your 5th year. If however, you require help urgently before then please tick this box.

Give details of the help required.

Section B

The following is a list of opportunities in Employment/Training/Further Education which may be available to you when you leave school.

Look carefully through the list and mark your first 3 choices in the boxes below.

Office Work (with typing)	Nursing	Engineering
Office Work (without typing)	Nursery Nursing	Garage
Computer Work	Caring for People	Artistic Work
Catering/Baking	Scientific Work eg. lab.	Farming
Hairdressing	Factory	Gardening
Shop	Building	Armed Forces

1st Choice

2nd Choice

3rd Choice

If none of the above suggestions suit you then please tick one of the following.

I have no ideas at all.

I am interested in something else.

It is

Signature Date

4234

CAREERS SERVICE DIVISION

C.S. 181
(6/85)

5th/6th YEAR PRE-INTERVIEW FORM

IN CONFIDENCE

DATA PROTECTION ACT

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY YOU MAY BE HELD BY THE REGIONAL COUNCIL ON COMPUTER FILES.

ANY INFORMATION HELD IN THIS WAY WILL BE USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING THE CAREERS SERVICE TO PLACE CLIENTS IN SUITABLE VACANCIES, TRAINING SCHEMES OR TERTIARY EDUCATION AND MONITORING THE PROGRESS OF CLIENTS WHILE THEY ARE REGISTERED WITH THE CAREERS SERVICE.

Name _____ School _____
Address _____ Class _____
Tel. No. _____ Date of Birth _____

What qualification do you already have (Give Grades)	O	H	Module or 'Other'	What subjects/modules are you taking this year	O	H	Module or 'Other'

Which route are you considering?

- Returning to school for 6th year.
- Higher Education - University
- College (Higher Grade Entry)
- Further Education College ("O" Grade Entry)
- Employment
- Uncertain
- Leaving at Christmas

Please Tick

What is your Career Aim?

Did you have an Interview with a Careers Officer in 4th Year?

Do you now wish an Interview with a Careers officer?

Yes/No

If no, do you wish to request careers information; if so please give details

Signature

Date

**GENERAL DUTIES OF EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANTS AND CLERICAL WORKERS
WITHIN THE CAREERS SERVICE**

EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANTS

Update Employer's Register.

Give general advise to young people on employment rights, minimum qualifications for FE/HE courses and benefits etc.

Contact other agencies on behalf of young people (ie Social Work Department, Unemployment Benefit Office, Department of Social Security etc).

Make visits to young people on placement ie carry out YT reviews.

Meet school leavers at outlying schools and arrange employment interviews.

Conduct job search (annually) by visiting/telephoning employers in area.

Keep employers register up to date.

Assist at careers exhibitions.

Attend Senior Employment Assistants meetings (every 3 months).

Attend courses related to job.

Update record of review sheets for endorsed trainees.

Issue Bridging Allowance forms.

Register young people seeking employment.

Advise young people of acceptance for Bridging Allowance from Department of Social Security, date of expiry and procedure to remain registered after expiry date (a letter is sent on acceptance and mid term).

Advise young people of benefit entitlements (if any).

Compile registrations for weekly statistical sheets.

File CSI's (units) and statistical cards in appropriate sections of register.

Lapse young people who do not respond to letters (to 'holding' register for 4 weeks and then to the dormant file).

Compile weekly and monthly statistical count.

Compile bi-annual statistics on school leavers initial destinations (one for Summer and one for Christmas leavers).

Take details of vacancies from employers/managing agents.

Send young people for interviews

Follow up on interviews: find out how young people got on, whether they were successful at their interview, if they want the job etc. Gather details about pay and conditions of work.

Record details from computer regarding vu-vacs vacancies.

Forward completed applications to vu-vacs.

Arrange administration of system (ie updating files if young people move from YT to further/higher education or found work files).

Issue application forms to young people.

Arrange appointments for Careers Officers with young people in schools (and deal with administration associated with this).

Arrange visits (educational/industrial/college) for Employment Adviser.

Type visit reports regarding above (ie what type of employment/training the company or industry is involved in, how many vacancies they might have etc).

Compile CS1's (units) for S4 pupils after Summer holidays and ensure S5/6 numbers are accurate.

File screening forms CS18a/b (Pre-Interview forms) issued to schools prior to interviews being arranged and file school reports (CS4's) in units.

Work with Careers Officers during training modules with YT trainees.

Order stationery and supplies

Order catering supplies (training room).

GENERAL DUTIES: CLERICAL ASSISTANTS

Receptionist - see young people as they come into office, pass on information to Careers officers, make appointments for young people and Careers Officers.

Answer telephone enquires for careers officers; make appointments in diary when careers officers are not in office.

Open, date and distribute mail.

Check electronic mail (daily).

Send out mail (daily).

Compile and issue requested careers literature to school pupils.

File and update prospectuses and careers related information.

File and update the main office filing system.

Undertake photocopying and typing duties for Careers Officers/Senior Employment Assistants.

Update schools career libraries.

Update Careers Service manual.

Type information for display in schools.

Arrange booking-in system for visitors to training room.

Make appointments in diary for Careers Officers.

Reclaim money spent weekly from imprest account (account for stamps and petty cash).

Arrange cleaner's time-sheet - weekly.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: FAIRLY PLUMP GIRL, BUT PRETTY. DARK CURLY HAIR. SPEECH AND HEALTH FINE.	Disposition/Personality: REASONABLY OUTGOING, PLEASANT GIRL. FITS INTO THE SCHOOL SYSTEM EASILY
Interests: APPLIED TO DO VOLUNTARY WORK IN HOSPITAL.	Education:
Special Aptitudes:	Circumstances:

INTERVIEW NOTES

ONLY INTERESTED IN NURSING AND IS CONSIDERING
 APPLYING TO COLLEGE IN GLASGOW. HOWEVER, ADVISED
 TO CONSIDER B.N. AS WELL. COULD MAKE CNA A
 LEVEL AT COLLEGE. ARRANGED VISIT TO HOSPITAL.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: **AV. HEIGHT,
OVERWEIGHT, SHORT DARK
HAIR. CASUALLY DRESSED,
BUT TIDY. SPEECH FAIR.
HEALTH - NORMAL.**

Disposition/Personality:

**QUITE A QUIET LASS WHO DOESN'T SEEM
TO HAVE A LOT TO SAY FOR HERSELF.
WOULD BENEFIT FROM
ENCOURAGEMENT.**

Interests:

**BABY SITTING
TV.**

Education:

Special Aptitudes:

Circumstances:

1 OF 14 CHILDREN!

INTERVIEW NOTES

**DEFINITELY LEAVING AT SUMMER.
WORKING PART-TIME IN SHOP.**

**SHOP WORK (PREFERS SUPERMARKET TYPE OF WORK)
WOULD COPE OK WITH THIS, WOULD BE BEST STARTING
IN YTS BECAUSE OF THE SUPPORT GIVEN.
SHE'S THE KIND OF LASS WHO GIVEN THE CHANCE, WOULD
BE A STEADY, RELIABLE WORKER.**

**IF NO SUCCESS IN OBTAINING SOMETHING SOON,
MIGHT BENEFIT FROM PREMIUM PLACEMENT.**

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: AV. HEIGHT, CLEAN, NEAT APPEARANCE. SPEECH FINE.	Disposition/Personality: PLEASANT LAD, COOPERATIVE BIT IMMATURE, BUT KEEN.
Interests: ORGANISES TUCKSHOP MILK/ACCOUNTS PIT GARAGE/SALES.	Education: SCE'S AT GENERAL & FOUNDATION LEVEL KEEN ON CRAFT & DESIGN
Special Aptitudes: VERY RELIABLE GOOD ATTENDANCE RESPONSIBLE.	Circumstances: PARENTS SEPARATED, STAYS WITH MUM.

INTERVIEW NOTES

LEAVING IN MAY IF HE GETS A JOB
INTERESTED IN ENGINEERING, MECH, BUILDING,
SOINERY, ELECTRICAL.

WILL CONSIDER PRINTING BUT NOT KEEN ON GARAGE

CRAFT BORDERLINE BUT INTERESTED IN PRACTICAL
SIDE AND GOOD SCHOOL REPORT.

THE CAREERS SERVICE: LINKS WITH OTHER SCHOOL/POST SCHOOL GATEKEEPERS

Psychological Service

The Psychological Service is part of the educational department. Educational Psychologists work with young people from pre-5 to post 16 age groups who have educational, behavioural or emotional problems and physical, mental and sensory disabilities. Educational Psychologists are also responsible for opening a Record of Needs for young people. They liaise with the careers officer through the Future Needs Assessment (usually in special schools) and have one-to-one discussion with individual clients (though not all special needs pupils in mainstream schools have a psychologist). Overall, careers officers claimed links with the psychological services were good.

Social Work Department

Communication between the Careers Service and social work department vary from individual to individual (in particular the Social Work department have an involvement with young people in List D schools). Careers staff claim to have little or no background information from this department when placing a young person with social work involvement. Although the social work department has legal restrictions on the disclosure of information, their Code of Confidentiality of Social Work Records states that there should be close co-operation between local authority agencies.

Peripatetic Teachers

Peripatetic teachers provide extra support in (mainstream) primary and secondary schools for young people who have visual and hearing impairments or English as a second language. Generally, the Careers Services' links with peripatetic teachers is good. Peripatetic teachers receive some in-service training on the work of the Careers Service (with particular reference to special needs).

Occupational Psychologist

The Region's occupational psychologist offers a support service to careers officers. They are useful for a second opinion in difficult cases (ie personality/behavioural problems), and can also administer tests which the Careers Service does not have access to. An occupational psychologist can also be used as a first step prior to The Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC).

The Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC)

The Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC) provides short-assessment courses (normally for 3 months) for adults and young people. Submission is carried out via the aforementioned ERC Psychologist. The Careers Service (or if dealing with adults, the Job Centre) can make referrals of young people to these centres.

The Disablement Resettlement Officer (DRO)

Disablement Resettlement Officers (DRO's) work from Job Centres and are responsible for registering people as disabled. DRO's give advice on training and special schemes which are specifically designed to encourage employers to recruit disabled people. (Careers officers might refer young people with health problems to the job centre if they need advice from the DRO). Also, this agency works closely with the Disablement Advisory Service (DAS).

The Disablement Advisory Service (DAS)

The disablement Advisory Service is designed to help employers to adopt and implement good policies and practices in the employment of disabled people. They advise on special aids to employment and adaptation to premises and equipment which is specifically geared to help disabled people in their working life. The Careers Service (and the Job Centre) can offer employers further information about this agency.

Specialised Agencies

The Careers Service (particularly special needs careers officers) also has links with the specialised agencies such as SSMH, RNID, RNIB, epilepsy and spina bifida associations, and will can contact these agencies if they need further advise about their client.

IN CONFIDENCE

*BOY/GIRL

Careers Service-Certificate of School Health Service

Surname		Forenames	
Address			
Date of Birth	Date of Examination	School	

In my opinion this pupil may not be suitable for:-

- (a) heavy manual work or heavy lifting
- (b) work involving exposure to dust and fumes
- (c) work demanding continual exposure to weather
- (d) work at heights or near vehicles or machinery
- (e) work requiring fine or accurate vision
- (f) work requiring normal colour vision
- (g) work with a high dermatitis hazard
- (h) work requiring normal hearing
- (i) work involving handling or preparation of food

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

In my opinion this pupil is advised to wear at work:-

Spectacles
Hearing aid

Other remarks:-

Name and address of family doctor:-

Signature of School Medical Officer _____

Address _____

*Delete as appropriate

GUIDE TO COMPLETION OF FORM Y9

1. These Notes give guidance on the medical criteria to be applied in completing form Y9. The Employment Medical Adviser will be available for consultation about any question related to the completion of Y9.
2. The section of the Y9 dealing with work starts, "In my opinion this pupil is NOT suitable for" This is followed by nine items which are now considered in turn.

(1) HEAVY MANUAL WORK OR HEAVY LIFTING

This covers a very wide range of conditions, such as poor general physique, and many defects of the musculo-skeletal system. This very general group, with a great variety of possible defects, and an equally large variety of types of work, calls in each case for the fullest exercise of judgment by the doctor, not only in his assessment of the physical condition of the young person, but also in his understanding of what is involved in the particular job being considered. Some jobs obviously involve severe exertion of heavy lifting, often both. In others the need for heavy lifting, which may be only occasional, can easily be overlooked. Thus a precision machining job may involve the moving and positioning of very heavy pieces of work. Many conditions other than defects of the musculo-skeletal system have to be considered here. For example, disorders of heart and circulation, chronic respiratory disease, and chronic renal disease may, depending on their nature and severity, call for limitation of the amount of exertion required at work.

(2) WORK INVOLVING EXPOSURE TO DUST AND FUMES

This restriction is aimed at young persons who have chronic or recurrent disease of the respiratory system, which would make them less able than fully healthy persons to tolerate the amount of dust and fumes which are unfortunately inseparable from certain occupations in spite of measures taken to reduce them. Decision is not difficult with the major conditions - bronchitis, asthma, bronchiectasis etc - but careful consideration should be given to the young person with a history of being "chesty" although examination may show nothing abnormal. The upper respiratory tract must also be considered; chronic nasal catarrh, sinusitis, chronic otitis media would also be likely to be made worse by working in dusty and fume-laden conditions. Other things such as chronic blepharitis or conjunctivitis must be considered.

As far as the environment at work is concerned, it is usually obvious when dust and fumes are present either all the time or from time to time, but this is not always so. The doctor familiar with industrial medical problems will be aware of the considerable risk of bronchospasm from sensitisation to concentrations of di-isocyanate vapour which may be quite unnoticeable on inspecting the place of work. Here even a family history of allergy should be considered before deciding whether a young person should be allowed to work where there is any risk of exposure. As with all the other aspects of assessing whether a job is suitable for a particular young person, only familiarity with industry and the actual conditions in the workshop will enable the doctor to be aware of other special hazards, present or future, which may not be indicated at all by the name of the job.

(3) WORK INVOLVING CONTINUAL EXPOSURE TO WEATHER

As with (1) this is a very general restriction, and its application will be very much a matter for the individual judgment of the doctor concerned. Chronic or recurrent chest illnesses, upper respiratory tract infections, running ears, conjunctivitis, "poor circulation" with a tendency to chilblains, many skin conditions, a past history of rheumatic fever, all these are amongst the factors that will have to be taken into consideration.

(4) WORK AT HEIGHTS OR NEAR VEHICLES IN ACTION

This refers to young persons who are liable to sudden loss of consciousness, and therefore chiefly to epileptics. It is impossible here to deal with the whole complex subject of epilepsy, with all its varieties, but some guidance can be given on the sort of factors to be taken into account, and the range of employment open to epileptics, which is far wider than generally believed even by doctors. Doctors and

employers have in the past tended to impose far wider and more sweeping restrictions on the employment of epileptics than are necessary, or could be justified on any rational arguments. Thus the old Y9 used the phrase "Work at heights or near moving machinery or moving vehicles". This, as often interpreted, would exclude the epileptics from employment in practically any factory, most of which contain some kind of moving machinery. (A domestic vacuum cleaner, refrigerator, or electric razor all incorporate moving machinery but hardly constitute a hazard to epileptics.)

What has to be considered in each case is what happens during an attack, and what effect this would have on the individual himself, any other people, and on fragile and valuable objects and equipment. Much simple and sensible advice intended for employers is given in a small booklet called "Employing Someone with Epilepsy," produced by the Ministry of Labour and the COI in 1967 and obtainable from HMSO. It is based on practical experience over many years of the employment of epileptics in industry; some quotations from it will be made below.

"In many cases the manifestations of epilepsy follow a consistent pattern so that it is possible to regard those who are affected as coming within one of the following groups:

- (a) Those who have only a slight momentary loss of consciousness without any fall or fit.
- (b) Those who have brief attacks of unconsciousness associated with convulsion but who have all, or almost all, their attacks at night or at about the time of getting up in the morning.
- (c) Those who have long enough warning of a fit to allow them to stop work and sit or lie down in a suitable place.
- (d) Those who have their attacks at regular intervals which can be fairly accurately predicted.

All these, in addition to others whose fits are brought under control by treatment, could and should be able to undertake suitable employment." The doctor must first make a full assessment of the nature and pattern of the young person's epilepsy, getting information from the School Health Service and the GP if necessary, and of course also from the parents. If there have been no attacks for 2 years under regular medical treatment many neurologists consider the epileptic should be regarded exactly as a "normal" person, even to the extent that he should be allowed to drive a car. If attacks still occur the doctor must decide whether the person is likely to suffer more injury from an attack at his place of work than he would from one at home or elsewhere. There are many jobs where a fit at the place of work could not result in the person falling into, or coming into contact with, the machinery, even when maintenance is taking place. "However, a great deal of experience has been gained in placing those suffering from epilepsy in employment, and it is possible to mention certain types of work which have proved suitable. For example, they can use a wide variety of hand tools and also a number of machine tools - certain lathes, presses etc; they have been successfully employed in spray-painting bays, in stores and warehouses, as shop assistants, telephonists, receptionists, shorthand-typists and on clerical duties."

Apart from work at heights and with vehicles in action there are many other obvious hazards: power-driven machinery where dangerous parts are exposed and accessible during maintenance, electrical switchgear, furnaces, hotplates etc, tanks of water or chemical solutions, solitary situations. But "there is no evidence to suggest that, where care is taken in selecting suitable employment particularly for the epileptic who is likely to have an occasional fit at work, the frequency of accidents among employees suffering from epilepsy is any greater than that occurring among the ordinary working population". But as already mentioned, it is not only the epileptic who should be considered. If he has attacks, he should not be employed in any job where an attack might endanger others.

(5) WORK REQUIRING FINE OR ACCURATE VISION

Obviously if a young person has a defect of vision which cannot be corrected to provide normal vision he should not be employed on work which makes demands on visual acuity. Apart from refractive errors, defects of ocular muscle co-ordination and of the fields of vision must be considered.

(6) *WORK REQUIRING NORMAL COLOUR VISION*

Apart from the Armed Services, the merchant navy, civil aviation, the railways etc where anyone likely to be required to see and act on signals by coloured light or flag has to have normal colour vision, there are some jobs in industry where normal colour vision is necessary. Apart from obvious ones such as textile dyeing, and colour illustration, there are others such as the electrical industry where colour coding is used to identify different circuits and a mistake could have lethal results. At the same time it is as true in this context as elsewhere that the doctor must have knowledge of industry, and in particular of the actual job or kind of work involved. Not every job in the electrical industry, ranging from making heavy equipment such as large motors, generators etc to the most delicate electronic components requires normal colour vision. The young person must be considered for the particular work he wishes to take up, in consultation with the employer; the temptation must be resisted to take the easy way out and impose a "blanket" restriction such as "unfit for electrical industry".

(7) *WORK WITH A HIGH DERMATITIS HAZARD*

This is another very general category. Dermatitis is probably the commonest industrial disease; the hazards of different jobs vary very widely. Clearly if a worker is handling, and liable to get his skin contaminated by, chrome and other plating solutions, various materials in chemical industry, caustic solutions, degreasing and other solvents, cement, synthetic resins and hardeners, cutting and other oils in engineering, to name only a few examples, he is more likely to get dermatitis than if his work leaves his hands fairly clean and dry. Where the young person has a history of eczema and dermatitis, or certain other skin conditions, it is advisable not to place him in work known to carry a high skin risk. Local knowledge of experience in the actual job concerned will enable the doctor to assess the degree of risk. Here again there is a danger that the doctor will be too restrictive. Many workers, including young persons, who have shown themselves somewhat prone to dermatitis, have proved quite able to continue with the work concerned by conscientiously taking all the necessary precautions. To do this may involve intelligence and a high degree of persistence and each young person will have to be carefully judged to assess whether he comes into this category.

(8) *WORK REQUIRING NORMAL HEARING*

Normal hearing is necessary in many occupations both to enable the job to be done, and also in the interests of safety. Apart from obvious cases such as piano tuning, using, testing and repairing auditory communications equipment such as radios and telephones, there are less obvious ones such as in engineering where keen hearing may be necessary to detect an abnormal sound from a piece of machinery such as a car engine. Normal hearing is also necessary in any job where spoken communication with other workers is needed, particularly where safety may be involved. Knowledge of the job itself will indicate whether normal hearing is essential.

(9) *WORK INVOLVING HANDLING OR PREPARING FOOD*

This is directed to the health of the consumers of the product and not to that of the young person himself. There is detailed legislation dealing with food handling, and it might be felt that this is not the concern of examinations carried out under the Factories Act. This is a wrong view, because it is clearly against the interests of a young person that he should be allowed to start in work which he might have to abandon after being examined under the appropriate regulations. The School Medical Officer is not expected to carry out bacteriological and other special examinations on every child who might later wish to enter the food trade. But what he can and should do is to note any condition found on ordinary examination, or coming to his notice (eg a hospital report on some gastro-intestinal disease) which he believes would make the young person unfit to work with food. Chronic pyogenic skin infection, particularly staphylococcal, chronic URT infection, running ears, and chronic gastro-intestinal disease all come into this category. If the young person's condition is followed up and the infection appears to have completely ceased the restriction should be reconsidered if the young person still particularly wishes to enter the food trade.

3. Y9 has spaces for recording the opinion that "this pupil is advised to wear at work:

(1) spectacles,

(2) hearing aid."

This is necessary because so many young persons dislike wearing either and might try to conceal the disability which makes them necessary.

MEDICAL REPORT ON SCHOOL LEAVER WITH SPECIAL NEEDS - Y10

This report should be completed for schools leavers with special needs only. In other cases Form Y9 should be used.

*** DELETE AS NECESSARY**

SCHOOL _____

SURNAME _____ FORENAME(S) _____

ADDRESS _____

G.P. NAME _____

Date of Birth _____ ADDRESS _____

Diagnosis (Main Disability first)

Age of Onset _____ Attitude to Disability:

SPEECH: - *Intelligible
 *Intelligible with difficulty
 *Unintelligible

HEARING: - *Normal/Partial/Deaf

Average Hearing Loss:	Frequency:	.125	.25	.5	1.0	8.0 KHz
	L					
	R					

Type of Hearing Aid _____ Worn Regularly YES NO

How significant is the difference made by the hearing aid?

VISION: R L

Visual Acuity	NEAR (State N Number)	Unaided		
		Aided		
	DISTANT Use Snellen System	Unaided		
		Aided		

Visual Fields: *Impaired/Not Impaired Registered as: *1. Blind
 Colour Vision: *Impaired/Not Impaired (Date if Yes) *2. Partially sighted - category 1
 *3. Partially sighted - category 2

CAPACITY FOR LEARNING: *Impaired/Not Impaired

EMOTIONAL STABILITY: *Impaired/Not Impaired
 (if yes, please qualify)

BLADDER/BOWEL CONTROL: *Impaired/Not Impaired

Independence in toileting: *Always needs help/Occasionally needs help/Does not need help

WEARS APPLIANCES: Yes/No - PLEASE SPECIFY

EPILEPSY: Seizures (State Frequency)

Date of last seizure _____

	Day	Night
Major		
Minor		

Frequency - Frequent/Infrequent/Isolated

HEART: Impairment or Disease *YES/NO

LUNGS: Impairment or Disease *YES/NO

_____ *YES/NO

USE OF LIMBS:

Code as:

1. No impairment 2. Slightly impaired 3. Substantially impaired 4. Grossly impaired or absent

	Arms		Hands and Fingers			Legs		
	Range of Movement	Muscle Power	Co-ordination	Muscle Power	Sensation	Range of Movement	Muscle Power	Sensation
R								
L								

USES: *Wheelchair (Self propelled/Electric/Walking Stick/Other Aid)**WEARS:** *Calipers/Spinal Jacket**GENERAL EFFECT OF DISABILITY ON ABILITY TO:** (Please indicate by code numbers as above)

Walk		Stand	Sit Only	Hurry	Balance	
With Load	Without Load				Static	In Movement
Kneel	Stoop or Bend		Push and Pull	Lift and Carry	Climb	
	Occasional	Prolonged			Stairs	Ladders

ABILITY TO TRAVEL TO WORK:

*Need for special driving assessment

*Can use public transport: WITH/WITHOUT ESCORT

*Will need special transport, SPECIFY _____

(Further information on above mentioned defects, diseases, behavioural problems. Please indicate if regular treatment might be required during working hours.)

Signature of Doctor _____ Date _____

Name and Address of Doctor _____

STATEMENT BY PARENT OR GUARDIAN

I agree that this report may be sent to the Careers Service with copies to the Employment Medical Adviser and my General Practitioner. I understand that the report will be treated as confidential but that it may be disclosed to the members of a Disablement Advisory Committee, or Panel if application is made for registration under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Acts, 1944 and 1958.

Signature of Parent/Guardian _____ Date _____

Signature and _____

Address of Witness _____

FORM Y10—NOTES FOR GUIDANCE

The precise functional assessment of a handicapped school leaver depends not only on the nature and degree of the disability but also on such factors as total personality, home background and the range of employments available. The purpose of the report form is not to make a specific assessment of fitness or otherwise for any given employment but to indicate to the Careers Officer the degree and nature of functional impairment which might affect choice of employment. Direct and full consultation between the Careers Officer and School Medical Officer will of course be desirable or necessary in many cases—the form should enable the Careers Officer to judge when and on what points further information is needed.

HEARING The standard of normality is ability to hear ordinary conversation in the presence of background noise corresponding to that of an average office (including outside street noises) without the use of a hearing aid.

VISION Substantial defect of near vision should be noted under 'General Remarks'.

INTELLIGENCE 'Impaired' means the child has been classified as educationally subnormal even where there has been no formal ascertainment.

EMOTIONAL STABILITY 'Impaired' means the child was emotionally unstable or maladjusted on leaving school or that his history gives grounds to expect a period of instability on leaving the school environment. Marked behaviour problems should be noted under 'General Remarks'.

ARM MOVEMENT Relates to the total range of the movement of the limb as a whole.

ARM MUSCLE POWER Probably best assessed in terms of ability to lift and hold ordinary heavy objects (e.g. suitcases or buckets of water), light objects only (e.g. books or cups) or inability to handle light objects effectively.

HANDS AND FINGERS

COORDINATION Relates to ability to make skilled use of hands irrespective of muscle power and without regard to whether the incoordination is of nervous or muscular origin.

MUSCLE POWER Relates mainly to grip and ability to exert pressure on object being handled.

WALK WITH LOAD Includes ability to maintain balance of load and person.

WALK WITHOUT LOAD Such factors as pain on walking should be taken into account.

STANDING Normality should be regarded as the ability to carry out work which involves substantial periods of standing.

SIT ONLY Relates to sedentary occupation. Details of disability should be noted under 'General Remarks'.

BALANCE-STATIC Relates to ability to retain position in the working attitude, whether sitting, standing or bending.

BALANCE IN MOVEMENT Relates to unsteadiness or clumsiness in walking and should take account of any disability which may cause difficulties in walking over an uneven floor or along a narrow gangway.

STOOP OR BEND OCCASIONAL Should include defects of balance which make any stooping difficult undesirable.

STOOP OR BEND PROLONGED The effects of stooping on high myopia should be considered.

PUSH AND PULL Should be considered in terms of ability to manoeuvre such mobile objects as a truck or trolley.

LIFT AND CARRY Relates to ability to lift a moderately heavy object, such as a small packing case or suitcases, from the ground to a table or bench.

CLIMB STAIRS Normality is ability to go up and down a flight of 15 ordinary stairs at a normal speed without using a handrail.

FIT TO WORK If part-time indicate number of hours a day.

FIT TO TRAVEL TO WORK If 'yes' indicate whether by public transport in rush hours or whether special transport required.

'General Remarks' should be used to indicate if regular or periodic medical treatment is required during working hours or if a prolonged course of treatment involving absence from work is planned.

Department of Education
 Director: Edward Miller CBE MA MEd MLitt



Strathclyde
 Regional
 Council

A nuclear-free zone authority

An equal opportunities authority

Tel

Our ref

Your ref

If phoning or
 calling ask for

Date

To:

Health and Safety Executive
 Scotland West Area
 Employment Medical Advisory Service
 314 St. Vincent Street
 Glasgow G3 8XG

Careers Service Enquiry

DETAILS OF YOUNG PERSON

Name
 Address

Date of Birth

MEDICAL CONDITION

YP had an operation to repair cruciate tendon in his left knee in September 1990. He can now walk short distances and still attends Physiotherapy.

DOCTOR

G.P.

Consultants :

EMPLOYMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION

Currently attending a full time Electronics course at College. Thereafter interested in 1. Professional football 2. Electronics 3. Warehouse work 4. Engineering. When should he be fit to undertake full time employment?

I would appreciate your advice on the above case.

Signed

WHEN COMPLETED THIS FORM MUST BE SENT TO THE LOCAL CAREERS OFFICE

F2404

HEALTH AND SAFETY EXECUTIVE

Reprinted September 1979

FACTORIES ACT 1961, EMPLOYMENT MEDICAL ADVISORY SERVICE ACT 1972

NOTICE OF TAKING INTO EMPLOYMENT OR TRANSFERENCE OF A YOUNG PERSON

Section 119A of the Factories Act 1961 requires an employer not later than seven days after taking a young person under the age of 18 into employment to work in premises or on a process or operation subject to the Factories Act 1961 or transferring a young person to such work from work not subject to that Act, to send a written notice to the local Careers Office.

NAME OF OCCUPIER

ADDRESS OF FACTORY OR PLACE OF WORK (If construction industry and the young person has been taken into employment, or transferred, to work on a particular site, the address of SITE should be given)

DATE OF TAKING INTO EMPLOYMENT/TRANSFERENCE

(delete inappropriate item)

NATURE OF WORK TO BE DONE BY YOUNG PERSON

*If temporary holiday employment
Probable date of termination

Please give the following information so far as it is known:—

SURNAME OF YOUNG PERSON (capitals)

*MAIDEN NAME IF MARRIED WOMAN (capitals)

CHRISTIAN NAME (or FORENAME)

ADDRESS

DATE OF BIRTH

*N.I. No.:

NAME AND ADDRESS OF LAST SCHOOL ATTENDED

*DATE LEFT SCHOOL

Signature

Date

Position in firm

Provision of the information in items marked * is not a statutory requirement but it will be helpful if employers will provide it in appropriate cases.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING
EMAS SURVEY

DIVISION	DATE OF RETURN	REGISTERED	UNREGISTERED
ARGYLL AND BUTE	JANUARY 1988	NIL	NIL
AYR		NIL	54
DUNBARTON		9	37
GLASGOW		13	276
LANARK		10	280
RENFREW		2	57
TOTAL		34	704
ARGYLL AND BUTE	JULY 1988	NIL	NIL
AYR		NIL	68
DUNBARTON		14	29
GLASGOW		9	289
LANARK		6	311
RENFREW		2	57
TOTAL		31	754
ARGYLL AND BUTE	JANUARY 1989	NIL	NIL
AYR		NIL	56
DUNBARTON		8	28
GLASGOW		13	276
LANARK		14	272
RENFREW		3	71
TOTAL		38	703
ARGYLL AND BUTE	JUNE 1989	NIL	NIL
AYR		NIL	56
DUNBARTON		7	33
GLASGOW		25	231
LANARK		17	256
RENFREW		2	100
TOTAL		51	676
ARGYLL AND BUTE	JANUARY 1990	NIL	NIL
AYR		1	34
DUNBARTON		4	30
GLASGOW		28	161
LANARK		14	207
RENFREW		2	100
TOTAL		49	532
GRAND TOTAL		203	3,369

REGISTERED - REGISTERED DISABLED

UNREGISTERED - COULD BE REGISTERED, BUT CHOOSING NOT TO PLUS THOSE WITH MINOR PROBLEMS.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF DATA IN CAREERS SERVICE UNITS

Below is a list of sources of administrative data which may be found in Careers Service units (CS1's). The type and amount of information available vary according to individual requirement.

(CS4) School Careers Service Report

(CS2) Aide Memoire (7 point plan)

(CS18a) Young Person's Pre- Interview Form (4th Year)

(CS18) Young Person's Pre- Interview Form (5th/ 6th year)

(CS19) Interview Notes

EMAS Report

Y9/Y10 Form

(Y20) YT STN's (Special Training Needs) Endorsement Form

YTS Review

ERC (Employment Rehabilitation Centre) Report

Future Needs Assessment Report

(BA1) Bridging Allowance Form

F2404 Form

(CS25) Form

(The CS25 form requests information about young people's destinations and is used for statistical purposes within the Careers Service).

CATALOGUE FRAME UNIT NUMBER 562

GENERAL INFORMATION ON SCHOOL LEAVER

MALE ✓

FEMALE

D.O.B 10/9/74

S/L DATE 3/90 SCHOOL 02

SUBJECT	LEVEL	RESULT
ENGLISH	3	(NOT SHOWN).
MATHS	3	
BIOLOGY	0	
CHEMISTRY	0	
TECH. DRAWING	0	
CRAFT & DESIGN	0	

Young Person's Career Aim GARAGE TRADE / MECHANICDescription of Training/Employment GARAGE / BODY WORK

Employer/Training Provider

R.T.I.T.B (COACHBUILDERS) 6/90DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE IN UNITREFERENCE TO HEALTH / ATTRIBUTE (OTHER)School Careers Service Report
(CS4) (4th/5th/6th Year)USUALLY RELATES WELL, NEEDS SUPERVISION,
VERBAL COMMUNICATION: HAS DIFFICULTY. TIMEKEEPING
VARIABLE, ATTENDANCE: FREQUENT ABSENCES DUE TO
TRUANCY. HEALTH: NORMAL. POOR EYESIGHT. SHORT ON
ACADEMIC ABILITY. EASILY LED INTO 'SCRAPES'
SHALTY ATTENDANCE.

Aide Memoire (CS2) ✓

NO HEALTH PROBLEMS. POOR EYESIGHT
SMALL LAD. IMMATURE APPEARANCE, TIDY.
QUIET BUT CO-OPERATIVE. WELL MOTIVATED, AND
HAS ALREADY WRITTEN TO FIRMS. KEEN ON GARAGE
WORK

C.O. 2.

Pre-Interview Form (4th/5th Yr)

NO HEALTH PROBLEMS

Interview Notes ✓

SUBMITTED R.T.I.T.B 31/6/90

EMAS Report

Y9 Form

Y10 Form

YT STN's Endorsement Form

YTS Review

ERC Report

Future Needs Assessment Report

Bridging Allowance Form

F2404 Form

EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONS FROM YOUNG PERSON'S VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE INTERVIEW

The following is an example of questions asked by a Careers Officer during the Vocational Guidance Interview (VG1) with a 4th year mainstream pupil.

C.O: Hello I saw you some time ago in December in class and we had a talk about career options. Just in case you've forgotten, my name is and I'm the schools careers officer.

C.O: What I would like to do today is to find out what subjects you are taking, how you got on in your prelims, how you like school, anything else you are interested in at school, what you do in your spare time, a couple of questions about your health, and what you hope to do when you leave school. Okay?

C.O: Can you tell me what standard grades you are taking this year?

Pupil: English and O.I.S.

C.O: O.I.S? Is that Office Information Studies?

Pupil: Yes.

C.O: Anything else?

Pupil: Maths, French, History Science and Art.

C.O: How did you get on in these subjects (careers officer mentions a number of subjects being studied by the young person).

Pupil: OK, I'm getting on alright in all of my subjects but maths is the most difficult.

C.O: What sort of level are you taking these subjects in?

Pupil: General level.

C.O: How did you get on in your prelim exams?

Pupil: I passed all my subjects and got a 3 grade in English, O.T.S, French, History and Art and a 4 grade in Maths and Science.

C.O: What subject do you enjoy doing best?

Pupil: Art.

C.O: Do you quite like for example English as a subject?

Pupil: Yes, but our English teacher was changed and the new one is a bit weird.

C.O: How do you find school as a place to be?

Pupil: It depends on what kind of mood I'm in. I'm in a can't be bothered mood right now.

C.O: So you aren't kicking the door down in the morning trying to get in then (smiles)?

Pupil: No (smiles back).

C.O: What do you do in your spare time? Are you involved in any school activities, or are you a member of any youth clubs etc?

Pupil: I play netball and like swimming and I used to be a Key Youth Club member.

C.O: What about hobbies? What do you like to do with yourself regarding any hobbies you might have?

Pupil: I go skating.

C.O: Ice skating?

Pupil: Yes, I go with my pals on a Saturday morning in the Town Centre .

C.O: Anything else?

Pupil: Listen to records and like discos.

C.O: What do you do at home? Do you do anything practical or related to what you might want to do regarding your career choice?

Pupil: I like cooking and I baby-sit quite a lot for a neighbour.

C.O: What about your health? Do you wear glasses? Have you been checked for colour blindness? Do you have any allergies? ie asthma? epilepsy? diabetes? Or have you ever had any illness which has kept you off school for any amount of time? Have you ever been in hospital?

Pupil: No, apart from hayfever it's fine. I get tablets in the Summer, as cut grass affects it.

C.O: So all in all your health is pretty good. You are healthy enough then?

Pupil: Yes, it's fine.

C.O: Can you tell me who else is at home apart from yourself?

Pupil: My mum and dad and big sister.

C.O. Can you tell me what your dad does, what his job is?

Pupil: He is a taxi driver.

C.O: And your mum, does she work?

Pupil: Yes, she works in Superdrug.

C.O: Any other brothers and sisters at home?

Pupil: Just my big sister .

C.O: What does she do?

Pupil: She works in an office for a Building Society.

C.O: What about yourself, what do you see yourself doing when you leave school?

Pupil: I would like to be a nursery nurse, or work in an office.

C.O: Have you ever had any work experience in these areas?

Pupil: I had work experience in an office at the Development Corporation.

C.O: What do you know about finding work in this area? Do you have any idea of how you might find out more about this type of career choice or what kind of qualifications are needed?

Pupil: I was going to apply to college for a Nursery Nursing Course.

C.O: If for some reason you don't get into this type of training/employment, or you change your mind about this, can you think of anything else you might be interested in? We are all usually good at more than one thing. Is there anything else or other alternatives that interest you?

Pupil: My first choice is Nursery Nursing and if I can't get this then I would like to try office work.

C.O: When have you thought about leaving school?

Pupil: I want to leave at the end of fourth year.

C.O: Is there anything else you might want to ask me? Any areas we haven't covered so far?

Pupil: Some information when the Nursery Nurse courses start at college.

C.O: If you hold on I will give you a note of what we have talked about so far. You can come and speak to me whenever I'm in school or drop into the careers office, (careers officer tells the young person where this is located). Today you were told to come for this interview, if you do decide to stay on, in 5th year you have request an interview by filling out a pre-interview form. If I don't hear from you, I'll assume that you have enough information and that you are getting on alright with your studies. In the meantime, I will order the information on the career areas you are interested in, and will send this out to the school over the next few days. Thanks for coming along, and good luck in your exams.

End of interview.

INTERVIEW NOTES

Name..... School.....

Your ideas:

YOU PLAN TO LEAVE SCHOOL IN MAY
YOU DEFINITELY WANT AN OUTDOOR JOB
WE DISCUSSED:

My suggestions:

HORTICULTURE / GARDENING
BRICKLAYING / PAINTING AND DECORATING
CAR BODY TRADES: THESE ALL APPEAL TO YOU.
WE TALKED ABOUT JOBS, APPRENTICES AND YT.

We agreed:

I WILL SEND YOU FURTHER INFORMATION ON THESE AND
ADDRESSES FOR YOU TO WRITE TO.
ALSO, KEEP CHECKING THE SCHOOL NOTICE BOARD
FOR CURRENT VACANCIES.
I WILL CONTACT YOU IN APRIL REGARDING
SUBMITTING YOU FOR INTERVIEWS IF I HAVEN'T
HEARD FROM YOU BEFORE THIS.

Nearer your school leaving date you will be considered for employment/training as agreed.

You should:

apply to: **AS DISCUSSED**

get more information from:

leaflets attached/to follow

school careers library

call at the Careers Office about job/training
vacancies when you leave school

see MAP CARD for Careers Office address and
phone number

Open from: Mon.-Thurs. 8.45 a.m.-4.45 p.m.
Friday 8.45 a.m.-3.55 p.m.

The earliest you can leave school to start work

Date..... Careers Officer.....

You or your parents can arrange to see me again if you wish.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**FACE SHEET****I. D. Code****Office Code****Level of employment in Careers Office****Qualifications****Gender****Age****Biography (ie How did you get to be a careers officer and why? How long in the careers service?)****If in the careers service for a number of years, any changes from when you started to the present day?**

INTERVIEW WITH CAREERS OFFICERS AND EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANTS: GENERAL QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. BACKGROUND TO CAREERS STAFFS' ROLE

a) Briefly, could you describe what the role of a careers officer/employment assistant is/should be?

Careers officer allocated to specific schools in area?

How many young people interviewed in each academic year?

How often?

At what stage in their studies?

Does this differ when young people are in 4th/5th or 6th year?

Do 4th year pupils require more career guidance than 5th/6th year?

Where do interviews take place? (school/ careers office)

Are all young people subsequently registered at careers office?

2. CAREERS OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL GUIDANCE STAFF

a) How much contact do you have with school guidance staff? How important do you view this relationship?

b) How useful is the School Career Service Report (CS4) prior to the VG1 as an additional source of information?

c) What information on the CS4 is most useful to the Careers Service and is any information not useful?

Personality

Ability to mix

Behaviour

Reliability

Verbal communication

Time-keeping and attendance

Health

Personal appearance and hygiene

Academic predictions

General comments from the school guidance teacher

Home background circumstances

d) How useful is this information in helping the Careers Service identify potential premium or initial training candidates?

e) Are there instances where there is a delay or difficulty in obtaining the School Career Service Report (CS4)?

Do guidance teachers object to completing them for all yeargroups?

Too time consuming?

If no report available would you request one ?

Reason? Young Person Absent - health/truancy?

Does standard of completion vary ?

Do you receive verbal reports?

f) Are there instances where the CS4 is not as necessary or important for some pupils depending on their year at school or career choice?

5th or 6th year?

Going to university?

3. THE AIDE MEMOIRE (CS2)

a) What information is most important in the Aide Memoire when making decisions about placement?

Health

Appearance

Physique

Speech

Disposition

Personality

Circumstances

Education

Special aptitudes

Interests

b) Any information on the Aide Memoire essential/useful/not useful?

c) Any written guide-lines for completing Aide Memoire?

What training do careers officers receive?

Why write information about 'freckles' / 'hair colour' etc?

Bureaucratic procedure?

Why record information about young people's parents employment/
and home circumstances ?

d) Thinking about non-academic youth, what information is important in the Aide Memoire?

Appearance

Personality

Physique

Health

Any other

e) To what extent does information in the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) affect selection processes within the Careers Service?

f) How important do careers staff view the young person's career choice when making career recommendations?

h) Who has access to the information contained in the unit, Aide Memoire and School Careers Service Report?

4. CAREERS STAFFS' PERSPECTIVES ABOUT HEALTH

a) How important is information about health?

Is all health information important?

Depend on career choice? (YT/employment/further/higher education)

Implications for careers staff and young people if there is no health information available?

b) Does type of health condition matter

serious/trivial health problems

5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE

a) How do you view your relationship with the School Medical Service?

What do you expect them to do?

Do they meet your expectations?

If not, why not?

How much contact with this agency?

Only contact the receipt of a Y9 or Y10 form?

b) What is your opinion on the availability and content of Y9 and Y10 forms from the School Medical Service to the Careers Service?

Very few Y9 or Y10 forms available in the units

Any info better than no information at all?

'Worse than useless'?

Potential consequences of inadequate health information?

c) Why do you think School Medical Officers do not issue many Y9/Y10 forms to the Careers Service?

Confidentiality of information

Administrative problem

Fear that young people might be discriminated against in labour market?

Time constraints or lack of resources?

Communication always been 'rather tenuous'

Lack of understanding of each others needs?

d) What do careers staff think of a situation where some school medical officers might suspect the Careers Service of using health information against the interests of young people?. What are careers staff's views on this?

e) Can you suggest ways in which the receipt and content of health information from the School Medical Service might be improved?

Y9 form issued for all health problems

Content of forms modified

Develop better links with School Medical Service

6. PERCEPTIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT MEDICAL ADVISORY SERVICE (EMAS)

a) Under what circumstances do careers officers contact EMAS?

Specific health conditions? (cerebral palsy/epilepsy).

b) Are there any problems involved with contacting EMAS?

Cannot contact EMAS until young person leaves school
Problems in waiting for a report/delay of entry into work
How is information communicated? (written/verbal report).

c) How satisfied are careers officers with reports from EMAS? Do you think this process can be improved in any way?

Generally satisfied?
It is an 'authoritative backing'.
What are the advantages/disadvantages?
Do careers officers perceive EMAS as helping/ not helping?

7. CAREERS SERVICE LINKS WITH OTHER AGENCIES

a) Briefly, could you tell me what links Careers Officers have with other agencies and how you view your relationship with them?

The Social Work Department

The Disablement Resettlement Officer (DRO)

The Disablement Advisory Service (DAS)

The Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC)

Educational Psychologist

Peripatetic teachers

The Job Centre

b) Any agencies I might have left out?

8. CAREERS SERVICE LINKS WITH MANAGING AGENTS AND PERCEPTIONS OF YT

a) How do you view your relationship with Managing Agents?

b) Can you briefly discuss what Careers Service working procedure is with regard to placing young people into YT and establishing links with employers and managing agents?

How much contact?

Under what circumstances?

Are Managing Agents agreeable to YT reviews by careers staff?

Do careers staff communicate health or attributional information to employers and managing agents?

c) Could employment assistants outline their pre-selection role in respect of young people's entry into employment and youth training

d) What are careers staffs' views regarding 'premium' and 'basic' schemes in the two areas?

Certain 'type' of young person selected for premium or basic schemes?

Young people labelled or stigmatised by being on certain schemes?

e) In general, what is your opinion of YT?

Bridge to employment

Young people have little choice (removal of benefit for 16-18 year olds).

Good way of gaining work/training experience and qualifications

Quality of schemes variable?

Slave labour

f) Do you ever have to submit a young person to YT perhaps not of their choice, because of a mismatch between what they want to do and what training is available? How do you feel about this?

g) Does the Careers Service have any information about what happens to young people once their youth training is finished?

h) Could you briefly discuss the role of the Placement Companies with me?

Does the Careers Service have any input regarding the type of placement young people enter as part of their training?

Are placement companies very selective of those sent for off the job training?

Are Managing agents under pressure to supply only the best trainees for placement?

To what extent do financial considerations affect selection processes within YT?

i) Depending on the type of youth training entered, what characteristics do you think managing agents look for in young people, particularly non-academic youth?

Neat and tidy appearance

Good general health

Strong physique

Clear speech, articulate,

Reliable, good time-keeping etc.

9. LABOUR MARKET AREA AND WIDER OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

a) How important is area when placing young people into training or employment?

b) In what way do area and wider opportunity structures affect careers staff working procedure and employment recommendations?

Are young people more constrained in their career choice in certain areas?

Implications for careers staff's pre-selection role and decision making regarding placement?

c) In what way does the growing involvement of LEC's, more adults contacting the Careers Service, and new initiatives (introduction of Action Plans and Record of Needs etc) affect careers staff decision making and working procedure?

10. SPECIAL NEEDS

a) Finally could you briefly discuss young people with special needs with me?

How often do you receive files from young people at special schools?

Is more health/attributional information available (eg Future Needs Assessment and Record of Needs) for those in special schools?

Are links with other agencies better for those in special than mainstream schools?

Implications for young people with health problems in the mainstream system?

CODES FOR TOTAL NEGATIVE/POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES**NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES****NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR/PERSONALITY**

- 017 Young person is immature/easily led into 'scrapes'.
- 021 Stubborn character
- 024 Young person needs supervision
- 027 Cheeky/gallous
- 028 A bit of a con man
- 029 Young person is unreliable
- 019 Serious disposition/ sullen/dour

NEGATIVE ACADEMIC ABILITY/ATTITUDE IN SCHOOL

- 161 Young person is not academic
- 179 Young person comes across as rather dim
- 167 Young person is struggling with exams
- 160 Young person could work harder in school
- 190 Young person lacks motivation/gives up easily

NEGATIVE TIMEKEEPING AND ATTENDANCE

- 039 Variable timekeeping
- 040 Poor timekeeping
- 046 Poor attendance
- 047 Very poor attendance
- 048 Occassional truancy
- 049 Frequent truancy

NEGATIVE APPEARANCE

- 130 Untidy appearance
- 135 Punkish appearance

- 136 Into black gear
- 137 Wearing heavy make-up
- 139 A bit old fashioned/a wee tea jenny type
- 144 Young person looks and speaks like a boy but is a girl, hard to distinguish this

NEGATIVE CAREERS INTERVIEW

- 020 Unco-operative at interview
- 189 Young person doesn't come across well at interview

NEGATIVE SPEECH

- 032 Poor speech/inarticulate/mumbles/speech a bit stilted
- 033 Monosyllabic
- 034 Local accent
- 063 Speech defect (stutter)

NEGATIVE CIRCUMSTANCES

- 173 One parent family/parents separated/divorced
- 174 Family has health or domestic problems
- 175 Young person has social work involvement
- 176 Young person referred to Children's Panel
- 177 Young person in Children's Home/Homeless Unit
- 180 No real parental interest at home

IDIOSYNCRATIC

- 133 Wears earrings (boy/pierced ear etc).
- 138 Missing teeth!
- 140 Comments about skin tone (eg pale/ ruddy complexion/sallow skin/freckles)
- 141 Prominent ears
- 142 Young person looks like TV personality (eg looks like a small Elaine C. Smith etc).
- 143 References to hair colour and style (eg blonde hair, permed hair, uses hair gel etc).

POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES

POSITIVE ACADEMIC ABILITY

- 153 Excellent student/model pupil
- 154 Good Further Education and College prospect
- 157 Always a willing worker/dilligent in class
- 166 Works to academic potential

POSITIVE BEHAVIOUR/PERSONALITY

- 005 Behaves well
- 007 Mature/sensible/responsible
- 008 Well motivated
- 009 Pleasant/likeable/friendly
- 010 Young person is very reliable
- 011 Young person gets on well with peers
- 012 Young person is reliable
- 184 Young person is generally reliable
- 013 Confident/outgoing character
- 022 Bright/intelligent character, quick witted

POSITIVE TIMEKEEING AND ATTENDANCE

- 037 Excellent timekeeing
- 038 Good timekeeping
- 041 Excellent attendance
- 042 Good attendance

POSITIVE APPEARANCE

- 125 Excellent appearance
- 192 Has pleasant, good appearance
- 127 Smart and tidy appearance
- 128 Trendy appearance/fashion conscious
- 169 Has a mature appearance

POSITIVE SPEECH

- 030 Articulate
- 031 fairly fluent/fine/ok

POSITIVE CAREERS INTERVIEW

- 026 Comes across well at interview

POSITIVE CIRCUMSTANCES

- 181 supportive/stable home background/both parents long term employed

ABILITY TO MIX/ QUIET/SHY

- 001 Very shy/quiet
- 002 Quiet
- 003 Bullied by peers
- 006 Needs to be more forthcoming
- 016 Low self esteem

CODING LIST

INFORMATION FOR CODING RECORDS: SUMMER 1990 UNIT DATA

PERSONALITY

Ability to mix

001 - very shy/ very quiet/ very introverted /very timid

002- quiet /reserved/ shy /yp1 admits to being shy /yp is very quiet and shy, blushes easily / yp is generally a loner who tends to go around on his own / yp keeps herself to herself / inhibited / seemed ill at ease - shy? / quite nervous / can appear tense/ withdrawn /keeps himself to himself

003- yp bullied by peers

004 - yp relates well/ usually relates well

BEHAVIOUR

005 - behaves well /co-operative /attentive / good listener / polite / mannerly /well mannered/ helpful/ honest/ contributes well in class discussions/ responsible

183 - behaviour satisfactory (new code- referred to quite often in school report)

006 - yp needs to be more forthcoming (at careers interview and in class) yp is reserved / yp person needs to project herself more/ yp could be a bit more forward in & out of class/ yp is very reticent/ yp was not very enthusiastic for a careers interview - was referred by the PGT for interview/ yp will need to develop the outgoing side of her personality for hairdressing tho' this

1 yp = young person /co = careers officer

might come naturally out of school atmosphere/quite hard to get anything from young person - shy

007 - mature / mature character /maturing/level headed / sensible / even tempered / orderly mind / good solid pupil / forthright / uncomplicated / thoughtful /serious minded / realistic/ stable/ yp has been a very normal, steady and pleasant pupil/ responsible/ straightforward lad/ forthright / streak of common sense/ thoughtful

008 - new code yp is well motivated/ keen to do well/ positive attitude/ yp should do well

009 - pleasant / very pleasant/ quite pleasant/ nice lass / nice laddie / likeable / very likeable/ unassuming / very personable / personable cheerful / easy going/ sense of humour / yp smiles easily/ friendly open manner/ affable / quite amenable/ charming girl

010 - yp is very reliable (new code)

011 - gets on well with peers /staff/ very popular/ popular/ should be able to work well with others/ small group of friends

012 - yp is reliable

184 - yp is generally reliable (new code - often mentioned in school report)

013 - confident /outgoing character / lively character/ confident - knows own strengths and weaknesses /self assured / yp has an up front character / independent / self-contained manner/ won't be sat on / knows on mind / charming! well travelled/quietly confident/ quite confident/ fairly confident/ quiet determined character/ (unit 761 - outgoing type of person - "changeable" / very hard to get to know, very individual - unit 784)

14 - over confident /self assured in an aloof way /yp is over-confident and too ready with excuses. He is easily distracted and distracts others. Will not achieve his potential unless he gets down to hard work. When in a group, he dominates others, and wants his own way / very independent / very hard to get to know /very individual/ rather aloof

015 - (new code) yp is considered not the best candidate (by the C.O. and/ or school guidance teacher) for the type of work they want.

016 - low self esteem /yp lacks self confidence /possibly lacking in a little self belief / doesn't always do justice to herself/ seems to be on the quiet side, slightly lacking in self confidence?

/not over-confident/ yp is insecure about leaving school/ yp has never 'flowered' in school / lacks some confidence academically/ can be over critical of herself and others

017 - immature /immature, a bit giggly / immature, but not silly / can be a bit boyish for age / gullible / yp liable to be influenced by a strong temperament difficult to comment on yp - he is generally quiet but does very little house contact. Willing to join in any nonsense in class, but not an instigator/ serious mature appearance conceals a fair degree of immaturity - yp will do "silly things" - fairly easily led /yp can be easily led. He can dig in at times and then be reduced to tears/ a bit immature/ rather immature/ easily led into scrapes/ a little immature intellectually, could do with organising herself a bit better/ yp has not fully taken on self-responsibility

018 - casual approach/seems to lack much sense of urgency / rather laid back at interview / very laid back / a bit laconic but answered well enough/ lethargic/ a bit lethargic / not much fired by ambition / easy going/ very relaxed /lacks sparkle/ yp has lazy spells/ casual manner, rather off hand/ a little droll

179 - (new code) yp comes across as rather dim /a very slow lad for which thinking seems to be painful

019 - serious disposition /yp had quite serious disposition / quite solemn /very sombre/ serious, a bit gruff / serious disposition, sullen / a bit dour initially / serious faced / fairly serious, "flat demeanour" / very dour looking - quiet to the point of being a bit sullen / sullen, seemed a bit wary, not co-operative)

020 - unco-operative at interview/ yp unco-operative at interview/ attitude a bit huffy / a bit sulky/ surly initially / not over talkative / non-communicative / yp has a cynical attitude developed through older sibling but not really true nature. This makes relationships difficult for him / Articulate, cocky, querulous very defensive 'why should I tell you about my parents occupations' etc. Unsatisfactory interview - terminated the interview early due to yp's attitude/ yp requested interview because his housemaster said he should! Really not interested / not over cooperative yp not keen on having an interview latterly as he was returning to 6th year- spent 40 mins going over all possibilities, after which he just shrugged his shoulders as to the interviews usefulness!

026 - (new code) - comes across well at interview /co-operative at interview/ presentable/ yp makes a good impression in interview/ yp presents his /herself well/ yp is a very good listener/ yp interviews well

155 - (new code) - comes across reasonably well at interview/ ok, quite pleasant/ disposition/ personality - ok/ reasonable

189 - (new code) - yp doesn't come across well at interview / yp doesn't present too confidently not is orally fluent - shy/ yp has relevant group of subjects but doesn't come across well at interview and doubt craft entry (unit number 376) yp is quite co-operative but doesn't interview too well.

021 - stubborn character / yp was pretty stubborn, had set ideas /yp has a determined character/ confident, if a little stubborn!

022 - bright/ intelligent character/ quick witted / bright eyed and bushy tailed / perky/ bubbly / boisterous and cheerful

023 - scatter-brained can be a bit scatty / a little dizzy)

024 - needs supervision/ disruptive / erratic /has had frequent clashes with authority / carries a yellow behaviour card for close monitoring / yp is intelligent and no trouble in his academic classes tho' can be disruptive and uncooperative in House contact with his pals / yp not reaching his potential, behaviour often loud, aggressive and ill-mannered/ yp has strong personality but very serious behavioural problems. Despite many corrective measures still truants. He has been one of the most disruptive pupils in my care (School Guidance Teacher)/ yp's behaviour is often arrogant and untruthful - he gets on alright with peers but he has had many a brush with authority. Can be cheeky and uncooperative esp when told off - can be violent when riled / yp was suspended from school for a period/ yp is friendly with a dubious group.

025 - extrovert /extrovert - popular, leadership qualities extrovert, very likeable/ yp is normally an extrovert, quiet the last few months / a real extrovert, enjoys being involved/ extrovert, enjoys socialising yp is very exuberant, sometimes too much in class situations / hyperactive / very lively, almost hyperactive / a bit of a live wire/ yp is unpleasantly extrovert and loud

026 - (new code) comes across well at interview / co-operative at interview/ yp presents himself / herself well/ yp is presentable/ yp makes a good impression in the interview

027 - cheeky- gallow / can be insolent and cheeky in a group, no problems on his own / chatty, but this could easily turn to cheek / co-operative to the point of rudeness, bumptious, came to the interview under sufferance /yp a bit defiant in S3 & S4, now maturing / very glib manner, rather off hand / a little rough around the edges/ brash manner cynical attitude

028 - a bit of a con man - can very often feel yp can't be trusted / a dodgy character in some respects - can be charming when he wants/ always ready with an excuse/ very plausible yp who promises the earth and never delivers

029 - yp is unreliable/ yp tends to be unreliable/ can be unreliable

VERBAL COMMUNICATION

030 - articulate / fluent / clear speech / polite speech / well spoken

031 - fairly fluent / speech fine / OK / reasonable)

032 - poor speech / has difficulty / speech unclear / inarticulate / yp does not present too confidently or is orally fluent / not too articulate / speech a little hesitant / speech a bit stilted / mumbles / yp speaks Urdu - has difficulty with the spoken word)

033 - monosyllabic

034 - local dialect / broad speech / Liverpool accent)

035 - talkative / a "blether" / chirpy / chatty / vocal

036 - soft spoken / quiet spoken

063 (new code) - speech defect (stutter)

TIMEKEEPING

037 - excellent (very good)

038 - good

039 - variable

040 - poor

ATTENDANCE

041 - excellent / very good)

042 - good

043 - variable (good till last term / many short absences/ average

044 - frequent absences due to illness

045 - absences condoned by parent

046 - poor attendance

047 - very poor attendance / not likely to do well in any exam due to high absence rate / atrocious attendance - no possibility of success anywhere

048 - occasional truancy

049 - frequent truancy

106 - some absences due to illness /quite often mentioned in school report

HEALTH (CODE 050 - 124)

050 - very healthy looking

051 - good general health/fit and healthy / fit/ keeps well / (NHP) No health problems / (NKHP) No known health problems /(NAHP) No apparent health problems /normal health / health OK/ (NMP) No major problems.

052 - never looks particularly healthy / health poor (no specific reason given).

EYESIGHT

053 - poor eyesight /slight eyesight difficulty - no mention re condition/ yp is supposed to wear glasses/ needs glasses

054 - wears glasses /specs for reading / tv /wears contact lenses)

055 - squint

056 - long sighted

057 - short sighted

058 - colour blindness /possible colour defect/ slightly colour blind/ partial

059 - slight lazy eye

060 - weak right eye (left eye)

061 - dyslexic/ word blind

062 - double vision in right eye (left eye)

CHEST COMPLAINTS

064 - asthma /- asthma - quite serious at times /asthma - brought on by lying down / yp missed a lot of time last year due to genuine illness, which may have contributed to his unexpectedly poorer showing in exams - asthma since 2 years old / yp suffers from asthma and uses intal and ventolin inhalers/ yp has slight asthma

065 - bronchitis yp has slight bronchitis.

ALLERGIES AND SKIN COMPLAINTS

066 - allergies /- allergic to oranges / allergic to dust, pollen etc /allergic to cats, dogs / allergic to penicillin - causes tissues to swell / allergic to metal but controlled by medication / allergic to milk

067 - hayfever

068 - skin complaint /yp hands came out in rash - working at hairdressers / skin complaint - has to avoid sun

069 - eczema some eczema on face /eczema on hands - grease and detergents a problem / slight eczema)

070 - psoriasis /psoriasis on hands, legs, feet (cleared up now)/ psoriasis - on hands and stomach

071 - acne/ on face / acne, especially on forehead/ yp has poor complexion

OTHER HEALTH PROBLEMS

072 - rare blood type

073 - Osgood schlatters disease (of the knee)

074 - anaemia /yp has dizzy spells

075 - diabetes

076 - epilepsy

077 - grumbling appendix

078 - aspetic athritis

079 - heart trouble / hole in heart healed up when 12 years old - scar remains / yp has heart murmur / yp had heart value replacement

080 - haemophilia

081 - yp had kidney removed

082 - yp had physiotherapy - regularly attends Hospital

083 - yp gets headaches

084 - migraine

085 - yp suffers from nose bleeds

086 - knee problems

087 - (chronical ?) sinusitis - sometimes causes headaches

088 - always getting colds/ chest infections

089 - minor chest complaints

090 - weight problem - /was self-conscious of weight in past - attendance very poor, frequent truancy/ * have code for weight in physique section - numbers 148 -152, this code refers to yp perceiving their weight as being a problem.

091 - back problem

092 - viral infection /yp had viral infection for 1 month - in hospital, now improving

093 - damaged finger on hand /tendon in right finger snapped had operation, becomes painful after a lot of typing.

094 - meningitis /yp had meningitis when 2 years old

095 - hernia /yp thinks she has a "hienus hernior" but doesn't think it is serious

096 - hearing problems / poor hearing / yp has had many ear operations /yp in hospital last year for operation on ear /yp is partially deaf and overcomes this with hearing aid and lip reading /I have "sore ears"- Pre-interview form completed by young person. /health - ears - had problems but has been given the "all clear"/ slight hearing impairment - no real problem

097 - yp has had stitches in his lip - been in fight

098 - yp expecting a baby

099 - glandular fever

100 - German measles

101 - cerebral palsy

102 - scarlet fever

103 - spinal problem - yp had congenital spinal problem has had 2 operations on spine

104 - tonsils out

105 - mouth ulcers/ teeth problems

106 - some absences due to illness (no mention of condition)

107 - hepatitis -

108 - yp's hair all fell out /mum paints black stuff on hair to make it look as if she has hair - had considered moving away from home because of her hair.

109 - period problems

110 - period bowel syndrome - serious nervous disorder

112 - yp in hospital to have lump removed from breast

113 - brittle bones

114 - stomach gastric problems

115 - yp has weak left arm from breakage

116 - yp seems to be accident prone - always off because of mishaps at school.

117 - Crohn's disease

118 - broke jaw last year accidentally with golf club - says still a bit dodgy

119 - yp was severely injured car crash - made excellent recovery tho' more able academically before the accident (no mention regarding particular health condition)

120 - yp has club feet - yp has had many operations on her feet/ yp has slight limp due to club foot

121 - Weak knees - no prolonged standing

122 - yp takes a pain in her side which causes her to be off school for weeks

123 - yp has claustrophobia - small rooms, lots of people

124 - yp has phobia about school

191 (new code) yp has rheumatism

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE (CODE 125 - 152)

125 - excellent / excellent appearance and confident manner to match / excellent (apart from jeans!) / immaculate / always perfection / very good / first class / high standard of personal hygiene / very well cared for / very attractive / extremely attractive / very pretty girl - pre-raphaelite looks / very good appearance / very smart and tidy / sophisticated appearance / attractive appearance / personal appearance and hygiene very good / (unit 723 - personal appearance and hygiene very good, unsophisticated appearance, very well presented / very presentable

126 (new code) - casual dress / sometimes a little casual / clean but casual / dressed casually in a tracksuit /

192 (new code) good appearance / pleasant appearance (sometimes mentioned in aide memoire by careers officer) ie might say good appearance and smart and tidy appearance

127 - smart and tidy appearance / wears school uniform / always in school uniform / smart and tidy, wears school tie / well groomed / tidy appearance / well turned out / smart and clean / good / no problems / personal appearance and hygiene - ok on both counts / clean and presentable / well turned out, conscious that good appearance is important / appearance fine

128 - trendy appearance / fashion conscious / modern style leather jacket - girl)

129 - reasonable appearance OK / acceptable / usually satisfactory / generally alright / reasonably smart and clean / usually smart and tidy / usually clean / wears school uniform, usually tidy / hygiene ok, not very smart / fine / a bit tousy / presentable / quite tidy

130 - untidy appearance / untidy but clean / a bit untidy / bit untidy for school norm / rather untidy appearance / could make more of appearance / mostly untidy / a little on the scruffy side / scruffy - perhaps just needed a shave / always untidily dressed / untidy - uncooperative re school dress / can be slovenly in appearance / appearance quite poor/ untidy and dishevelled / poor appearance - untidy - clothes a bit dirty / yp has a long history of poor personal hygiene/

131 - yp is a 'poor wee soul'

132 - looks or appears young for age/ immature appearance/ a bit young for age /short and immature in appearance/ quite young manner - though not immature / shy laddie -quite young/ yp is very young for his year group / yp is still a bit young/ yp is a little young still/ boyish appearance / still looks like a "wee boy"/looks boyish * This code refers to yp looking young for their his age group - not the same meaning as 017 -ie yp is immature/ or behaves childish/ silly

169 - (new code) yp has a mature appearance

133 - wears earrings /pierced ear

134 - Twin

135 - punkish appearance / "slightly punk" but clean /punkish but improving! - more conscientious than appearance might suggest / slightly punkish /punky appearance

136 - into black gear /more conscientious than appearance might suggest

137 - wearing heavy make-up / well made up, very dramatic looking

138 - missing teeth!

139 - a bit old fashioned / a wee tea jenny type

140 - comments re skin tone /sallow skin /very pale complexion/ ruddy complexion/ freckles

141- prominent ears

142 - yp compared to a TV personality by careers officer/yp looks like a small Elaine C. Smith / yp looks like Helen Landoes the comedienne

143 reference to hair colour and / or style /blonde hair /fair hair/dark hair/ red hair/ brown hair/ very curly short hair, hanging over face/ short spiky hair /hair "slicked back" / short dark styled hair / wavy hair/ curly hair/ permed hair / yp uses hair gel/long hair - boy

144 yp looks and speaks like a boy but is a girl. hard to distinguish this

HEIGHT

145 - Tall /- quite tall/ tall appearance/ tallish/ tall (5'8" - girl)

146 - Average/medium height / Average height 5'5"

147 - Below average height /not very tall/ small /smallish /short and immature in appearance - could be bullied in some situations/ petite / small in height/ small appearance /very small

PHYSIQUE

148 - Heavy build /Roubust /Stout / sturdy / stocky build/ strong build/ well made / roubust/ good build

149 - athletic appearance

150 - Overweight / rather plump/ dumpy /overweight

151 - Average/medium build

152 - Slim build/slim/ slight build/ gangly - awkward /lean /wiry build

**GENERAL COMMENTS FROM SCHOOL REPORT (SCHOOL GUIDANCE TEACHERS)
AND FROM AIDE MEMOIRE (CAREER OFFICERS).**

(GENERAL) POSITIVE COMMENTS RE YP GOING ON TO HIGHER EDUCATION

153 - An excellent student/ model pupil /an outstanding pupil in every respect / An excellent student, excellent school record throughout/ Exceptional / very good academic pupil/well above average for her year - shows initiative/ outstanding prospect / very good student/ very likeable, open, honest, straightforward young lad, super attitude to study and school, won top endeavour prize in S5. Top of academic ability (5 A's in Highers) /smashing young man, mature, well rounded personality, likeable, sensible, sense of humour. Excellent student, should continue to do well/ Quiet, thoughtful, shy at times, mature very able student, likeable, well motivated, very diligent. A general chat about going to university would be appreciated/ All marks well above average - a model pupil, should be heading for university./ A model pupil in all respects. Effort always to a high standard./ yp is one of our strongest students if not the strongest 5 straight A's; pleasant manner, articulate, quite confident, but not brash/ yp is certainly university material - one our outstanding pupils/ an excellent pupil for university.

154 - good further and higher education prospect/ good college prospect/ degree level material/ Nice laddie, polite and articulate interested in H/E / Talented boy - Higher prospects good / Pleasant, quiet girl, have absolutely no doubt yp would be better to go to college - maximise strengths, minimise weaknesses/ yp has H's potential/ yp deserves college place/ yp is aiming for university, good university candidate/ no problems re university entrance/ yp should just about make university- reliable and mature, a doer.

**(GENERAL) POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE COMMENTS REGARDING YOUNG PEOPLE
FROM SCHOOL GUIDANCE TEACHER AND CAREERS OFFICER**

155 - (new code) comes across reasonably well at interview

156 - A good type of boy/girl / Sound type of chap, liked staff and peers / character-wise, a likeable young man / delightful, mannerly lad, mature and sensible./ a good type of boy who would give of his best/ good reliable lad who deserves success - not outstanding but a trier/ very able student/ good reliable girl / good solid pupil with supportive parents/ a very personable lad/ very nice girl/ marvellous girl, mature/ a charming yp / comes across as a very nice laddie

155 - (new code) yp comes across reasonably well at interview/yp presents fairly well

157 - always a willing worker/diligent in class/ conscientious /works hard/ a charming girl, disciplined approach to unsupervised study/ Very helpful and co-operative - only pupil in class to attend CITE evening / Level of application is always high. Relates well to staff and peers alike/ Is conscientious and cooperative in class/ Mature, polite, well spoken, hardworking keeps a high standard of hygiene and is very presentable No problems academically, always a willing worker/ Yp is a very hard worker no problems at all with motivation/ appears the conscientious hardworking type/ a trier/ yp shows a serious approach to his studies

166 - (new code) yp works to academic potential/ good academic potential

AVERAGE ACADEMIC ABILITY

158- yp is of average academic ability/bit worried about yp - aiming for degree level that may be beyond her but could cope with HND/ Average ability, nice lass who shows a caring, considerate attitude and shows a reliable, conscientious attitude to her work. Deserves success /Pleasant, steady average ability/Works to academic potential/A good reliable lad who deserves success/ Yp has been a very normal, steady and pleasant pupil/ not outstanding in any way/ yp is expected to pass a group of 'o' levels/ yp has 'o' level potential/ commitment for degree level questioned/not brilliant, but probably get there through sheer hard work

UNREALISTIC CAREER IDEAS

159 - yp has vague or unrealistic career ideas /Nice lad but not really prepared to take advice / Pleasant enough but not too realistic yp needing an injection of reality - should be searching for employment / yp's aspirations are too high / yp has head in the clouds attitude re future / pleasant lad, but totally clueless and unrealistic re career options / yp no ideas re what he wants to do spent 40 mins going over all the possibilities after which he just shrugged his shoulders as to the interviews usefulness!/ Art school will be out of reach, yp will need to modify his aims / yp could be over ambitious vague re career choice/ yp is under aiming - chosen nursing/ yp has mixy choices, rather vague manner

COULD WORK HARDER IN SCHOOL

160 - yp could work harder at school/ yp is clever, but does not fulfil true potential / yp is somewhat "colourless" - seems to lack sparkle and would benefit from interest and encouragement / yp always polite and cooperative works well in general but could push herself more / yp is not enthusiastic about his studies, although he is by no means a stupid boy / Very casual attitude, relationship with staff mixed, but starting to improve 4th year / yp has never really applied himself /yp has a very carefree attitude to school/ yp's application has deteriorated/yp has ability but has not used it/yp seems to give up too easily on encountering difficulties/ Report indicates that yp has given up trying in school/ yp needs to commit himself to greater effort / yp is not overly ambitious/yp gives little effort and often settles for 2nd best/ yp is in a group who do not have a positive work attitude /yp is outgoing, extrovert, not fully taken on self-responsibility, occasional/frequent truancy, tends to be unreliable/A reasonable type of boy who can be led into mouthing off at times in an open situation. Lacks overall application in most subjects/yp tends to have a chip in his shoulder and resents criticism however constructive. He could certainly work harder / Capable, but often work appears untidy and dishevelled / Attitude to class work is poor and yp is generally regarded as lazy. Out of class his attitude is unacceptably familiar and rude* (separate code for rude) / Yp is an underachiever - he is up very early to do a milk run (4 am)/ Yp had a milk run - gave it up, too tired/ Yp's results do not reflect his ability passed H history but otherwise disastrous exam results/ yp has no real commitment to school

GENERAL COMMENTS RE NON-ACADEMIC PUPILS

161 - yp is not academic /Not academic/not academically inclined /limited academic ability / not a natural academic, but tries hard /yp struggling with school work - quite conscientious pupil, struggling a bit with work /yp found adjustment to highers very hard / yp is of below average ability /yp unlikely to gain many passes in o' grades / yp unlikely to gain many passes in h' grades / yp not sitting any exams / basically quiet but not shy, likes a sense of structure in his work - could work at something methodical where the outcome/expectations are clear. Difficult to see him being creative/ Academically poor, but always gives his best / Quite co-operative, but not much 'fired' by ambition - shaky attendance

190 (new code) - yp lacks motivation/ drive/ initiative/ yp is afraid to tackle problems - gives up easily/ if yp motivates will have many talents/ given motivation yp could reach much higher levels

GENERAL COMMENTS REGARDING PLACEMENT PROSPECT

162 - excellent placing prospect /yp will make an excellent and reliable employee for whoever she works for /yp would impress a potential employer / Quite a painstaking, assiduous pupil, perfect attendance so far this session/yp has potential for full range of careers/ I consider yp to be an excellent type of boy who will give his best in any work situation/ yp impresses at interview/ excellent apprenticeship prospect/ excellent craft/ technical prospect

163 - (new code) reasonable placing prospect

164 - good placing prospect / straightforward placing prospect, soft-spoken, quiet girl, quite shy, nice pleasant and co-operative though - should be easy to place / yp should be placed quite quickly - good candidate/ yp should do well/ straightforward interview/ yp should succeed/ good placing potential/ good employment potential yp will I believe be an enthusiastic employee

165 - good craft/practical prospect /good craft prospect - yp should be well suited to a craft apprenticeship in joinery, plumbing etc / Although small, good craft prospect/yp main strength lies within practical subjects

166 - yp works to academic potential/ yp works well to academic ability - yp does not lack ability / yp has good academic potential

167 - (new code) yp is struggling with exams ('o' levels and higher grades - not same as code 161 relating to yp people who are not academic) yp underachieved in exams/ yp could have trouble in exams / yp's 'o' levels are borderline/ yp not hopeful of higher passes/ yp failed highers/ yp returning to school to resit highers/ yp going to College for more qualifications

168 - reasonable or limited craft prospect /yp is robust tho' slightly built - submitted for garage work but 5'2" & under 8 stone, so chances?/ yp is a reasonable craft prospect /craft borderline for yp

169 - (new code) mature appearance

170 - good office / secretarial/ clerical / administrative potential /- Tall, slim, long dark hair, very good appearance, yp is a very pleasant young lady I feel she could do well in an office job / good appearance, long red hair, quiet but pleasant, suitable for office work, makes a good impression / yp is an excellent worker and thoroughly deserved her success in her certificate

exams. She has a very caring approach to people. Is interested in working with children. This was fully reflected in her outstanding success in social & vocational studies. Her strongest subject is secretarial work, and I see office work as her best bet/ yp is qualified for a good office job/ yp (male) - job in local govt / civil service would suit yp very well/ appearance and manner suited to clerical work/ yp to be recommended for good office junior position /yp choices seem suitable for career in office/ clerical work

171 - yp seems well suited to chosen career/yp is well suited to career in nursing /yp has artistic ability - very sensible girl with strong personality - seems very single minded in desire to teach drama -looks the part, definitely not wearing standard school uniform! / School guidance teacher - A trier: Career choice fits yp's abilities I can see her behind the cashier's desk in the Halifax! / yp very interested in being a beautician and would like a qualification in this line. She has always been interested in the creative side of things and this is where her talents lie/yp would be a perfect candidate for the police.

015 - (new code) yp is considered not the best candidate (by the careers officer) for the type of work they want

172 - co and / or school guidance teacher/ parents think yp should leave school/ yp should consider leaving after S4 / yp wants to stay on at school, but his parents don't see any point to this as his attitude is extremely poor. Could you please explain to yp what advantages there are in him leaving school at the moment. If he continues in the same vein as since August, I don't see any point in him carrying on at school for his own good / brash manner, wasting time at school but not without ability attitude poor, not a popular lad

185 (new code)- yp wants to leave school/ yp is not interested in school/ yp is keen to find work / yp is desperate to leave school and start work / yp is not happy at school/ yp does not see school in a positive light

INFORMATION REGARDING BACKGROUND CIRCUMSTANCES

173 - One parent family or parents separated /yp's home background was horrific - parents separated and yp now lives with dad. Real problems with certain staff in lower school. Unfortunately, due to lack of parental control, yp has never been given support to work at school. Consequently, his results, in my opinion, do not reflect his ability. Also had frequent absences due to illness - (no mention of condition).

Yp's parents separated 5 years ago. Now lives with mum - was badly affected by the separation and it still bothers him. Is inattentive in some classes but no major instances of misbehaviour.

Yp stopped attending school at xmas - unknown to parents - poor 'o' grades - 3 out of 7 (yp has H' potential) Parents split up - pressures on boy, problems of communication, yp has potential.

Yp's father divorced for second time

174 - Yp's family has health or / domestic problems (discussed in school report and /or aide memoire)

General comments on school report to careers officer: "Domestic disruption - do not reveal knowledge".

School report: Yp is a mature, responsible boy. His father was killed in an horrific road accident a few years ago, which also seriously injured an older brother. Yp has appeared to have now overcome this, and is making good use of study facilities. He has clear career goals and, if given the opportunity, he will do well. Personal appearance & hygiene - excellent, always smartly dressed. Aide Memoire: ave/tall height, good build, good appearance (acne). Keen on banking. Yp submitted - bank /clerical work.

Yp lives with sister - father coal miner - invalidated out and lives in Yp has had very difficult year because of health (viral infection) and family problems. Might manage a couple of higher - missed a lot of schooling through absence. Was in hospital, now improving & coping better.

Yp's parents both profoundly deaf

Yp's mum is deaf

Disappointing o'level results after a difficult year for family - father seriously ill before finally getting successful heart transplant.

Yp personal problems affected exam results - trouble in Iran - and yp's relative was executed.

Yp did not sit any exams - gran died at time of exams and she stayed with grandfather.

Problems at home, yp's older brother took a stroke

Yp has no father, brother (30) has assumed responsible role

School report: comes from a large family but has not mixed well in school. Absences due to illness/frequent truancy- has been ill recently, tends to be untidy - yp's negative and often disruptive attitude has kept him back Could be better in a work situation. Aide Memoire: small thin lad, brown hair, poor wee soul. Disposition /personality, ok - reasonable. Yp wants a trade - unlikely but definitely a practical job, very keen to find work.

Home problems - yp now staying with grandparents.

Home background troublesome, difficulties with stepfather.

Yp's mother lives with boyfriend - both drink, causes instability & conflict in the house between yp, her sister and mother. Mother has thrown them out of the house - now back but unlikely for long.

Yp has 2 brothers who have been in a lot of trouble inside and outside of school - yp has not been in any trouble

175 - Social work involvement

Casual dress, average height and build neat appearance, pleasant, likeable polite and friendly - under social work supervision - domestic problems - record of theft/shop lifting 2 years ago. Careers choice construction/painting and decorating. Yp comes across as a keen, enthusiastic type - given the opportunity he could do well.

Social work contacted - social worker wants to portray yp in a good light as she thinks she is a "lovely girl". Report to go the children's panel for a "silly incident of no consequence".

School report: Serious problems at home. Yp lives with grandmother - senile. 260 possible/116 absences. Bit untidy at times. Yp has ability but his absences have resulted in damaging his chances of success. He is having to deal with a very demanding situation at home. There is obviously a lack of support - simply because his grandmother cannot cope. Social services are involved. Aide memoire: Poorly dressed, social, polite lad.

176 - Yp referred to Children's Panel

Difficult home background - referred to child guidance. He is unlikely to succeed in his S5 'o' grade courses. Yp entertains unrealistic ambitions at times. School report: Yp is sullen, introverted, taken advantage of by others. Frequent absences due to illness (60% attendance). Health, wears spectacles, poor speech, migraine. Usually neat and tidy. Aide Memoire: Very detailed notes - Yp expected to fail most of his exams. Has been submitted to numerous placements - not happy at most of them eg ARTS (Anne Rodgers Training Salon) phoned C.O. -

yp was "totally unsuitable - he was uncommunicative and wouldn't wear his glasses - ARTS say he's as "blind as a bat" without them. Yp now on unemployed file.

YP referred to Children's panel in S1 - one serious incident of misbehaviour in school. Outside school his choice of friends is poor - frequent truancy- greatly underachieves due to lack of interest and effort.

177 - Yp at Children's Home / Homeless Unit

Yp in House (Children's home). No formal academic qualifications. Social work involvement/Yp is at House (short term stay for homeless youth).

178 - One parent family

Yp has mother only, has had a difficult childhood with a number of personal problems/ Working single parent / yp sacked from Bairdwear for wearing a hat. Lives with mum who doesn't work.

179 - yp comes across as rather dim/ a very slow lad for which thinking seems to be painful (new code - was previously yp's parents unemployed - which is now coded in the parents occupations section).

180 - No real (parental) interest at home

181 - Positive Comments Re Yp's Home Background

Stable home, both work / Both parents long term employed /Good supportive home background /Yp is last of long line of (name of family given here/ supportive and stable home background /Yp's progress closely monitored by parents - both teachers / Nice big lad, steady and quiet. Calm, quite easy going, can lack drive. He may get pushed further than he really wants to go by his mum, who is very supportive/ School report: Both parents in long term stable employment - Yp appears to have rich life and wide interests outside school. Personally I have found a lack of open-ness in the lad but no faults. Clean and well clothed but lacks presentation. Has never worked to capacity / unit 786 - parents well off - yp has been indulged by them, failed all exams - stayed till 6th year, but should have left in 5th year

182 - Yp endorsed within YT scheme STN (Special Training Needs) Category A, B or C (yp needs additional support in yt training/might have literacy and numeracy, or behavioural problems etc).

183 - behaviour satisfactory - (new code) referred to quite often in school report

184 - yp is generally reliable - (as above)

185 - yp wants to leave school/ yp is not interested in school/ yp is not happy at school

186 - yp was sacked/ or paid off from training or employment / sacked for disruptive behaviour/ for stealing/ for wearing a hat/ yp was paid off as company was having considerable cutbacks/ yp self terminated her training as she was not turning up for work etc (this information generally documented in the interview notes section which follow the Aide Memoire).

187 - Yp criticised YT scheme (eg Training Workshop/Community Industry/ Microcomp/yp said trainees there were very rough/ 'evil'/ into drugs / yp didn't want to go to Microcomp as certain gang there /yp referred to the training workshop as the 'Nuthut'/ yp refuses to consider yt or the training workshop.

188 - Miscellaneous:

Yp is the brother of the infamous (name of brother given here) - both adopted (coded 188)

Yp's parents are Jehovah witnesses and don't work - yp wants to be a visitor the Jehovahs witness full time. Only really interested in p/t work. Extremely quiet, not forthcoming in any way.

yp is only child

yp has poor handwriting

189 - (new code) - yp does not come across well at interview

190 - (new code) - yp lacks motivation

191 (new code) - health - rheumatism

192 (new code) - yp has a pleasant/ good appearance

End of coding frame

CODING RECORD UNIT NUMBER **562**

GENERAL INFORMATION ON SCHOOL LEAVER

MALE

FEMALE

D.O.B

S/L DATE **8/90** SCHOOL **02**

SUBJECT

LEVEL

RESULT

Young Person's Career Aim 1. **003** 2. 3.
(GARAGE/MECHANIC)

Description of Training/Employment

Employer/Training Provider

DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE IN UNIT

REFERENCE TO HEALTH/ ATTRIBUTE (OTHER)

School Careers Service Report (CS4) (4th/5th/6th Year)

004 024 029 032 039 049 051 161 017

Aide Memoire (CS2)

(no mention parents occupation)

147 132 127 051 002 026 008 053

Pre-Interview Form (4th/5thYr)

Interview Notes

EMAS Report

Y9 Form

Y10 Form

YT STN's Endorsement Form

YTS Review (placements)

ERC Report

Future Needs Assessment Report

Bridging Allowance Form

F2404 Form

* (see unit for additional information).

**CAREERS SERVICE LIST OF YT (SUPPORT) SCHEMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE
WITH SPECIAL NEEDS: PHYSICAL HANDICAP/LEARNING DIFFICULTIES**

1. C.I
2. SPRINGBOARD
3. LINK
4. MIDSCOT
5. LAGTA
6. S.T.A.
7. J.C.S.

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX (2.19a-h)

Background to research design and methodology

What follows is a more detailed account of certain aspects the research design and methodology outlined in chapter 2. Each section in Appendix 2.19a-h is arranged chronologically following the sequence by which the research process took place. This includes background information about preliminary interviews with a range of transitional gatekeepers, types of interview systems within the Careers Service, and the organisation of Vocational Guidance Interviews in school. Further information relates to how access was negotiated in the research setting, confidentiality and research data, the categorisation of units in the careers office, and the surrounding context of the research setting and researcher influence. Final consideration is given to outlining in more depth the range of topics discussed with careers staff during semi-structured interviews.

a) Preliminary interviews with transitional gatekeepers

As a starting point in examining the network of gatekeepers involved during young people's transitions from mainstream schools, informal preliminary interviews were carried out with a range of research subjects including school guidance teachers and careers officers within the Glasgow area. In settings such as schools and in health and employment institutions, formal permission was required. When contacting a careers office or school, a process similar to what Dingwall (1980:871) termed a 'hierarchy of consent' was acknowledged. Initial contact by letter, explaining the purpose of the research topic and summary of questions likely to be discussed was sent to the Education Department (Careers Service Branch) within Strathclyde Regional Council and also to the Headteacher in schools within the Glasgow area. Once this request was granted, contact names were supplied so that informal interviews could be arranged.

Over the next few months, issues relating to the study's main research aims were more precisely conceptualised. Interviews included School Medical Officers and persons connected with the Employment Medical Advisory Service (EMAS), and the distinction between mainstream and special needs careers

officers was identified at this stage. Careers officers also outlined types of YT schemes available which led to interviews with those in charge of YTS Special Training Needs (STN) and mainstream schemes. Contacts were also made with colleges of further education offering taught postgraduate courses in careers guidance and proved a useful source for obtaining background information. For example, one college sent out the reference list recommended for postgraduate trainee careers officers.

Other sources were contacted for more information about Y9 and Y10 forms, including the Scottish Home and Health Department, and Greater Glasgow, Lanarkshire, and Argyll and Clyde Health Boards, who indicated that they did not have statistics of this nature or that such data was not routinely collected and considered inaccurate. There was even uncertainty about whether or not school medical officers should be completing Y10 forms. Careers staff complained about not receiving Y9 and Y10 forms and had no statistical records of these data.

Preliminary interviews were invaluable in identifying the network of gatekeepers involved during young people's transitions from mainstream schools and in examining their relationship with the Careers Service. For example, school medical officers described their relationship with careers staff as being 'rather tenuous'. The Job Centre was also given initial consideration in the research design but was excluded because no information is forwarded to this agency from schools or the Careers Service. One description put forward by careers staff was that they were 'friendly rivals' with the Job Centre. Another view was that careers staff generally got on well with this agency, but had little contact with staff and did not share vacancies or communicate health information. Such information therefore facilitated a prioritisation of some of the main research issues and helped identify those school/post school gatekeepers of most relevance to the present study. Overall, interviewees were willing to discuss a wide range of research questions and provided examples of information available to careers staff before and after the Vocational Guidance Interview (VGI).

b) Interview systems within the Careers Service

The interview systems adopted within Careers Service divisions vary. Some divisions operate on the basis of what has been termed the 'open access' or 'self referral' system. In this interview procedure it is not compulsory for the Careers Service to see all school leavers; pupils must contact the Careers Service by their own initiative. Information specifying when Vocational Guidance Interviews take place is highlighted on a notice board in school and appointments are made for pupils to see the careers officer (usually by guidance staff). Alternatively, some careers divisions use the 'blanket' interview procedure, whereby all young people receive a careers interview. This procedure has been criticised as being too rigid and suiting administrative requirements rather than individual need.

c) The Vocational Guidance Interview

The organisation of Vocational Guidance Interviews is influenced, among other things, by the geography of the area covered by the local authority and its size, by the preferences and demands of the educational setting where the careers officer is situated, by resource constraints, and also by the degree of discretion and autonomy exercised by each careers officer. External developments such as the introduction of Action Planning, TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative), Training Credits and increased links with LEC's (Local Enterprise Companies), have led to the suggestion within the Careers Service that this might herald a return to 'blanket' interviewing. However, in the areas in which the present research was conducted, a policy more in line with 'selective' interviewing (see ch.2) was apparent (see also Kinnear 1975).

An example of questions asked by a careers officer during the Vocational Guidance Interview appears in Appendix 2.13 at the end of the thesis. This information is taken from observational fieldwork data from the present research, which took place within the school setting. The aim was to establish what types of issues are discussed by the careers officer with young people at this stage.

For the most part, careers officers asked each young person the same questions and adapted these to suit individual requirement. Questions generally focused

on the type and level of standard (or 'O') grades being studied, on hobbies, health problems, home background information and on the type of employment the young person was interested in. During the VGI, the careers officer also completed the Aide Memoire (CS2). As outlined in chapter 2, this documented the careers officer's impressions of the young person's speech, appearance, physique, personality, and communication skills etc. The Aide Memoire also contained information about the young person's hobbies and home background circumstances, ie how many brothers and sisters were living at home, whether parents were working and what job they did etc.

At the end of the interview, the careers officer completed the Careers Service 'Interview Notes', which are documented on the CS19 form. This is a written statement of what is discussed between the young person and the careers officer during the VGI (see DE 1981b). The CS19 identified young people's career ideas and highlighted subsequent action to be taken (see Appendix 2.14). Two copies of the CS19 are made. One is given to the young person, with the suggestion from the careers officer that they show this information to their parents; the other copy is retained by the careers officer and placed in the Careers Service 'unit' (CS1). Only one copy of the Aide Memoire (CS2) is made. This is also stored in the unit and filed in the Careers Office for future selection and placement purposes.

d) Negotiating access within the research settings

The problem of gaining access to necessary data and developing an appropriate research design is well documented in accounts of research studies (see Burgess 1984; 1985; Walford 1991). As Whyte (1984:20) notes 'Research has to be opportunistic because you don't know what you are going to discover. The things you discover may not be what you set out to do'. Following contact with Area 1 and Area 2 Careers Offices, an informal interview with a careers officer was arranged to discuss the purpose of the research project. During the interview a request for access to the information contained within Careers Service 'units' was made (if possible, for a particular yeargroup of school leavers). Permission to accompany a careers officer with the aim of observing Vocational Guidance Interviews with young people was also requested.

Senior staff within Area 1 and Area 2 Careers Offices and staff at Careers Service Headquarters were informed about the research project. It was suggested the researcher outline in writing what was discussed with the careers officer when requesting data (for example, background information about the purpose of the research, types of information required etc). This letter was then sent to both Careers Office areas and to Divisional Headquarters. After approximately one week, both Area 1 and Area 2 Careers Offices confirmed that access to undertake fieldwork had been granted.

e) Confidentiality and research data

It has long been acknowledged that the issues generated in the conduct of research fieldwork may involve important ethical questions. There is increasing debate about research ethics, the protection of human subjects, privacy, the confidentiality of research data and the limits of what is permissible in the name of social science. It has been argued that both gatekeepers and researchers have come to see knowledge as a kind of 'private property', for which there is only a restricted market (Barnes 1979). Issues of confidentiality were discussed with careers staff. No names or addresses of young people or careers staff would be recorded or disclosed in any way. If highlighting information documented in the Aide Memoire (for example, to illustrate processes of 'routine' labelling or potential health selection), data would be copied in the researcher's handwriting on a blank document to prevent identification. This would also apply for other sources of data used, including the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Interview Notes (CS19 form).

f) Categorisation of Units in the Careers Service

It was estimated that abstraction of Careers Service data would approximately take four months. Information for each school leaver had to be extracted manually from the young person's unit. These were categorised in the filing system by alphabetical order and year of birth, and filed according to whether the young person entered YTS, Initial Training within YTS, Found Work or entered Further and Higher education. Also a minority of units, (less than 1%), were placed in either a 'Holding' or 'Live' register. The 'Holding' register related

to those young people who had ceased contact with the Careers Service and their destination was 'Unknown'. Alternatively, young people could be placed on a 'Live' register, which meant they were on Bridging Allowance and waiting to find a placement. If the researcher was uncertain about the way information was recorded in the units, careers staff would act as interpreters.

g) The surrounding context of the research setting and researcher influence

The context of the social location where research takes place is very important. Being in the research setting for a relatively long period of time offers the advantage of seeing and hearing at 'first hand' what takes place within the Careers Office. Fieldwork was undertaken in the 'front office' with a predominantly female staff of employment assistants and clerical workers. More contact was therefore made with these staff, although careers officers were often in the front office when not in schools. Ball (1991) observed how shared gender is likely to increase the degree of intimacy in the research relationship (and therefore the depth of data obtained). However, conversations were informal with all careers staff and a wide range of issues concerning the research project were discussed.

Such extended conversations complemented observational accounts of working procedures within the Careers Office and assisted the research process, particularly when thinking about themes to develop during semi-structured interviews. Overall, staff were always friendly and supportive (for example, whilst at the careers office the researcher was invited to a special social evening organised for a member of staff).

In qualitative research much is said about the importance of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The issue of bias in research should be acknowledged. In designing and carrying out fieldwork, all researchers are selective. By adopting rigorous research methods the researcher can attempt to minimize the extent to which values affect sociological conclusions. For example, as unit data are confidential and often contained personal details about young people's circumstances, it was important to gain careers staffs' trust. This

trust was reflected in instances whilst undertaking fieldwork when, for example, careers officers would direct the researcher's attention to specific units containing information about young people's health problems.

Other types of data, such as recent letters written to and received from EMAS were identified. This was interesting as during data collection of Summer 1990 units, it was unusual to find evidence of careers staffs' formal communication with EMAS. It appeared that whilst in the careers office the researcher's presence somewhat increased careers staffs' awareness of health.

Overall, the researcher's presence did not appear to inhibit careers staff discussing a range of issues regarding wider opportunity structures and new initiatives affecting the Careers Service (such as funding cutbacks in YT, unemployment, the introduction of Action Plans and the involvement of LEC's with the Careers Service etc). Adopting a method which came close to participant observation had the greater advantage of allowing an insight into the actor's perspectives of the world and the effects of the social location on these perspectives (see Hammersley 1979:20), which could then be used to check accounts given in semi-structured interviews. For example, the researcher was given a copy of the Careers Service Manual¹ by a senior member of staff, who smiling, pointed out that 'this is how things are supposed to happen'.

h) Semi-structured interviews with careers staff

Semi-structured interviews with careers staff lasted approximately one and a half to two hours. Permission was requested to tape record interviews, as this would allow a more complete recording of what was discussed (than if taking detailed notes) and meant the researcher could concentrate more on the interview itself. Listed on the interview schedule (see Appendix 2.15) were prompts related to main research questions, and space made available so brief notes could be taken in case of tape recorder failure (which also allowed a summary of issues discussed). To begin with, questions related to careers

¹ The Careers Service Manual is published by the Scottish Office, and is a reference book to 'help careers officers in their work and complements the Secretary of State's memorandum of guidance to education authorities, ED advisory booklets and Careers Service circulars' p7.

officers' and employment assistants' descriptions of their working role in the Careers Service. Questions then centred on a range of topics, which included:

- 1) Careers staffs' general perceptions of (political and economic) changes affecting the Careers Service, particularly within the contrasting localities. Specifically, this involved the identification of the way in which opportunity structures and external and internal constraints impacted on decision making regarding the effective placement of those with and without health problems.
- 2) Careers officers' perceptions of their relationship with guidance staff in schools and how important they viewed this relationship. This topic was also useful in examining methods of formal and informal means of communication with these two agencies.
- 3) As it was important that questions measured theoretically defined concepts relating to aspects of 'routine' labelling and health selection processes, careers staff were asked what types of health and other attributes were most important on the School Careers Service Report (CS4) and Aide Memoire (CS2) when making decisions about young people's placement into employment, youth training, further and higher education.
- 4) Another topic focused on the training careers officers received and if there were any written guide-lines for completing the Aide Memoire (CS2). This was very useful in examining careers officers' negative and positive views of the 7 point plan as a model for interviewing, and attitudes towards situational and subjective factors affecting the recording of information. This topic was also vital in examining careers staffs' 'client-centred' role in promoting equal opportunity issues, specifically in relation to health, and the way in which moral considerations might affect recording practice and placement decision making. It was also useful in eliciting information about potential de-labelling and re-labelling strategies and examining reasons why these tactics might be employed.
- 5) Careers staffs' overall perceptions of young people's health problems, the identification of types of proactive and reactive decision making and subsequent

relationship to (occupational) outcome in the contrasting areas were crucial to an examination of positive/negative health selection. A vital theme was, did health matter? Another sub-theme involved careers staffs' views of their relationship and receipt of health information and advice from other gatekeepers, specifically the School Medical Service and EMAS. How did mainstream careers staff respond to working within a context of uncertainty and what were the consequences of this for placement decision making? The apparent variability in the Careers Service's receipt of adequate health information from the School Medical Service meant issues surrounding an anxiety over potential stigmatisation and discrimination, as well as formal processes of de-labelling and re-labelling health information from the Y9 document could be further examined.

6) Finally, careers staffs' role in offering a Pre-Selection service to employers and managing agents was examined. This concept was considered within the context of the identification of the Careers Service as an agent of 'social control' in adapting individuals to available career opportunities in both areas. Implicit here is the right of careers staff to take decisions about who is 'able' and who is not, and involves a consideration of how health problems and other attributes impact on young people's routes into the labour market, particularly entry into types of premium and basic youth training schemes (see ch.3) within the two localities.

CHANGEOVER FROM YTS TO YT: SUMMARY OF NEW INITIATIVES

The Government's White paper 'Employment for the 1990's', claimed the aims of YT was to secure broad-based quality training leading to recognised National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's) for all young people. Among the key objectives of the new programme were:

- the achievement of qualifications equivalent to NVQ level 2 as the minimum attainment level for young people on the programme.
- a strong emphasis on still higher levels skills, particularly at craft and technician levels.
- appropriate, quality provision for young people with special training needs (STN).

According to the White Paper, the new terms within YT contain a strong emphasis on outputs and flexibility and take into account the young person's school-based Record of Achievement and any Individual Action Plan. Following recommended Government guide-lines, below is a summary of these two initiatives.

1. Record of Achievement

Briefly, the Record of Achievement was developed because those young people leaving school with few or no formal qualifications had no evidence of their achievements derived from full-time education. Aims were therefore to provide a fuller picture of the students abilities and potential. The ROA should therefore belong to the pupil. The process of reviews start when pupils enter secondary education and this is undertaken by the pupil, with the support of the school and the teachers. The Government also recommends that employers should be involved in the development of ROA's, particularly so that strong links can be developed between them and local schools. The ROA should also provide the careers officer and employer with improved information about young people and should help at all stages of the job selection process.

2. Individual Action Plans

The Individual Action Plan should also belong to the pupil and reflect the out-comes of a systematic and comprehensive assessment and guidance process linked with the ROA process and product. It should contain information on: broad educational goals, including general skills and personal qualities to be developed; broad career goals; any specific knowledge, skills, qualifications or other achievements. It should also include routes of achieving the above ie work experience, visits to industry or abroad etc. This may involve a wider variety of FE and HE institutions, training providers and employers and also include a timetable, both short term, for regular review of the IAP, and long term for achieving the goals.

Also, each young person is to be given a personal training plan which is to be kept up to date and each trainee is to be issued with a NOVRA (National Record of Vocational Achievement). With the exception of certain young people with special training needs, all young people in training and vocational programmes under YT are to have the opportunity to progress to at least NVQ level 2 or an equivalent qualification.

The Government's Guarantee

There is no change in the Government's guarantee ie each young person under the age of 18 who is in the labour market but without a job is entitled to an offer of a place on YT. Progress to jobs with training is to be encouraged. If despite earlier efforts a young person remains without a job with 6 months to go before completion of their particular programme, he/she is to be offered opportunities to enhance their prospects of finding jobs.

Young People With Special Needs

Within YTS, the official definition of young disabled people is:

'Those who suffer from physical, mental or sensory handicap and/or have moderate to severe learning difficulties which puts them at a substantial disadvantage in the labour market'.

According to government guide-lines, all young people with special training needs within YT must be identified and appropriately provided for. However unlike YTS, Special Training Need

identified in YF does not automatically mean extra funding. Three new types of Special Training Needs (STN) were identified:

1. Young people needing a period of Initial Training or preparation (for a maximum of 6 months).
2. Those for whom it would be unfair and unreasonable to expect to participate effectively on level 2 training.
3. Those who have a reasonable prospect of achieving qualifications at level 2 provided they receive sufficient additional support and help.

Each young person in the second group is to be offered an Individual Action Plan and be given the support they need to progress as far as they can towards general and vocational competences (and wherever possible to achieve NVQ level 1).

The Training Agency

YT

SPECIAL TRAINING NEEDS/INITIAL TRAINING ENDORSEMENT

THIS COPY SHOULD BE RETAINED BY THE ENDORSING OFFICE

To SPRINGBOARD

From _____

Tel. _____

Scheme Title SPRINGBOARD

*This form introduces/Thank you for contacting me about _____
 who is being considered for a place on your INITIAL TRAINING
 _____ program

If this young person starts on the programme, you must retain this form as confirmation of my endorsement of the need for additional training/support as indicated below.

Information on young person's special training need(s)

* Cross out the one which does not apply

CATEGORY OF SPECIAL TRAINING NEED

(Please tick box)

- A
- B
- C

Comment on the nature of the additional training/support which must be provided

Any enquiries regarding this endorsement should be directed to _____ at this office

Signature _____
 Position _____
 Date _____

ENDORISING OFFICE STAMP

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL
DIVISION CAREERS SERVICE

YOUTH TRAINING
SPECIAL TRAINING NEEDS

CATEGORIES A, B AND C
A BRIEF GUIDE TO ENDORSEMENT

SPECIAL TRAINING NEEDS

Criteria for Endorsement Categories A, B and C. All young people with Special Training Needs must be identified and appropriately provided for under Youth Training.

Youth Training providers will be expecting the Careers Service to provide the identification of those with Special Training Needs, and in the case of those identified as being within Category B, to provide Individual Action Plans related to their Special Training Needs.

This is a collation of information to expand on the Special Training Needs Categories A, B and C. It will hopefully provide some solid basis for careers officers making endorsements for Youth Training entrants and fulfill Youth Training providers information needs.

CATEGORY A

This category is for young people who require a period of initial training, or preparation, prior to entry to Youth Training. This period of Initial Training may last up to 6 months.

Under YT, Initial Training is only for those with Special Training Needs. Initial Training is not for non STN young people who have not made a decision as to which type of work would suit them.

Category A' should cover those young people who would not initially cope on YT, even in a Category B funded place.

Who should be endorsed in Category A

- 1 Young people who are vocationally uncommitted and would be endorseable as having Special Training Needs under Categories B and C.
- 2 Young people who are immature, socially as well as vocationally, and will need the opportunity to see what the demands of training are, prior to entering YT.

CATEGORY B

Young people who cannot be expected to attain NVQ level II, even with extra help, will be categorised as having Special Training Needs Group B by the Careers Service. These young people may have difficulties arising from one or more of the following causes:

- emotional/behavioural difficulties
- physical or sensory disabilities
- learning difficulties
- language difficulties

These groups are likely to have modest educational attainments in literacy, numeracy and communication skills; and may lack vocational direction or family support.

It is vital to point out that Category B endorsement is all about the young person's performance and individual training needs rather than on a definition of their disability.

Young people who have any of these disabilities may not be endorsable Category B if they can manage to attain NVQ Level II without their problems affecting their attainment.

As a result, Category B is a very fluid situation as a definition of ability underpins all of Category B. For young people with Special Needs under YTS, special services are provided, eg Community Service for the Deaf or Blind Reader Service. The Careers Service recommends this should continue, otherwise the chances of attaining NVQ II are diminished.

NB The attainment of NVQ II is the important part of Category B : having a disability, which may hinder chances of gaining NVQ II, is secondary to this point on performance.

The following provides an outline of difficulties.

I Emotional or Behavioural Difficulties

This could cover young people who are likely to have:-

- ongoing Police contact and a history of offending;
- a history of violence;
- a history of sexual abuse both by and to the client;
- ongoing Psychological Services contact;

- a history of moral risk;
- a history of truancy or interrupted schooling;
- ongoing Social Work supervision;
- a Section 16 Care Order;
- psychiatric conditions - diagnosed and undiagnosed;
- a personality disorder, eg painfully shy;
- difficulty coping with authority and peers.

II Physical or Sensory Disabilities

This does not include all "disabled" young people per se. It refers to those whose disability has impaired learning and is likely to require further support.

This could include:-

Pre-lingually deaf;

Visually impaired;

Diabetic - when energy levels are reduced during working hours;

Motor problems - when there is a skills reduction and output may be slower, eg poor or slow handwriting;

Severe speech defects;

Epilepsy - differential delivery due to medication;

Mobility - only where it affects ability to attain NVQ;

Degenerative conditions, eg Cystic Fibrosis.

Many, if not most, of these disabilities can cause a lack of confidence and communication problems which further detract from the young person's ability to attain.

III Learning Difficulties

This (dis)ability may not be separated from the rest.

This category may include:-

Low attainers;

Those with a Record of Needs;

Those who have been on Initial Training;

Dyslexia;

Those who needed remedial help in school;

Reading ages below the norm - 10 years;

Those who have been tested and found lacking in specific skill and/or learning areas;

Those who have been endorsed Category C or non-endorsed once their STN have become apparent on YT;

Those whose expected pattern of commitment to YT would be that they are likely to have a number of different schemes, mainly because of their perceived inability to cope with the demands of YT.

IV Language Difficulties

This group may include:-

Speech defects - Aphasia;

English as a second language;

Poor communication skills.

CATEGORY C

This category is for trainees who have a reasonable prospect of achieving NVC II, provided they receive sufficient additional help and support. This would focus mainly on personal effectiveness and help with literacy and numeracy. Under YTS, many of these young people are identified and endorsed by Managing Agents, after commencement of training, as STN 1 young people. Presently the Careers Service may be identifying and endorsing them as Premium.

The major task for the Careers Service is a judgement of what young people may be able to achieve in up to three years time.

A mechanism for case conferences may enable progress to either Category B or non-endorsed status.

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 5					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposed S/L Date:					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix — <u>outgoing</u> /usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour — <u>behaves well</u> /satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability — <u>very reliable</u> /generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication — <u>fluent</u> /fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENTS: A PLEASANT, RELIABLE PUPIL WHO SEEMS KEEN TO DO WELL.							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and <u>outdoor interests/clubs and organisations</u> / posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other —		KARATE BADMINTON							
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good</u> /variable/poor									
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good</u> /frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent									
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other		TAKING MEDICATION, SEEMS TO BE COPING WELL. SHORT SIGHTED							
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE:		EXCELLENT							
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)			S5 (19)			S6 (19)		
	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred
Subject									
ARITH	0	E	1						
CHEMISTRY	0	E	3						
ENGLISH	STD	E	2	H	E	C			
GERMAN	0	E	2						
HISTORY	0	E	2	H	E	C			
MATHS	0	E	2	H	E	C			
PHYSICS	0	VG	3						
TECH DR	0	E	2						
ECONOMICS				H	E	C			
ACCOUNTS				0	E	2			
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE FURTHER STUDY:									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:									
PART-TIME WORK: NONE									
CAREER INTERESTS: NO IDEA									
GENERAL COMMENTS: A PLEASANT, RELIABLE AND CONSCIENTIOUS STUDENT, WHO WAS VERY DETERMINED TO JOIN THE RAF, ARMY OR POLICE UNTIL DEVELOPING EPILEPSY A YEAR AGO. NOW BADLY REQUIRES ADVISE AND SUPPORT TO FIND A CAREER WHICH SHE WILL BE ABLE TO COPE WITH.									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:					DATE:			SIGNED:	

A MODEL PUPIL

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: EPILEPSY SHORT SIGHTED	Disposition/Personality: EXTREMELY PLEASANT GIRL WELL MOTIVATED
Interests: BADMINTON, KARATE READING, CYCLING MODEL AIRCRAFT.	Education:
Special Aptitudes: TRIED A PAPER ROUND, GAVE IT UP, NOT WORTH IT.	Circumstances: M - PART TIME CLEANER 2OB - ARMY (2OB = TWO OLDER BROTHERS).

INTERVIEW NOTES

HAD HEART SET ON JOINING FORCES - WRAF (ALSO INTEREST IN POLICE) HOWEVER, LAST YEAR DEVELOPED EPILEPSY - NOW ON MEDICATION FOR IT. GETS ABSOLUTELY NO WARNING WHATSOEVER - JUST PASSES OUT ETC. REGAINS CONSCIOUSNESS AFTER A COUPLE OF MINS., SORE HEAD, TIRED ETC. NOW DOESN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO - HER WHOLE WORLD IS UPSIDE DOWN. WE DISCUSSED HER SITUATION. SHE WILL COMPLETE A CASCAD QUESTIONNAIRE NEXT WEEK, THEN HAVE ANOTHER INTERVIEW. (SHE DIDN'T EXPRESS MUCH INTEREST IN ANY OTHER TYPE OF WORK I SUGGESTED - WILL NOW HAVE TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE AND I STRESSED THIS TO HER). THINKING OF COLLEGE OR EMPLOYMENT WITH P/T STUDY. INTERESTED IN SPORT? /ACCOUNTANCY. 8/90 CASCAD FORM COMPLETED AND SENT OFF. VISIT TO - AERODROME ARRANGED IN JUNE. SINCE THEN, VARIOUS PHONECALLS ETC. HAS MADE A GREAT EFFORT TO FIND WORK HERSELF; WRITTEN TO AIRLINES & M.O.D ETC. HAS BEEN OFFERED AN AIRCRAFT APP'SHIP AT AIR SERVICE TRAINING SCHOOL. YOUNG PERSON CALLED TO SEE ME IN OFFICE. VISIT ARRANGED TO AERODROME FOR MYSELF, YOUNG PERSON AND PARENTS. TRYING TO FIND HER SOME SOURCE OF FUNDING/GRANT. SUBMITTED TO AIR TRAINING SCHOOL FOR SCHOLARSHIP 8/10/90.

careers service



CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

APPENDIX G.1 SCHOOL

NAME: (Mr/Ms)

ADDRESS:

PERSONALITY:
 Ability to mix — outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn
 Behaviour — behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive
 Reliability — very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable
 Verbal communication — fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate

ACTIVITIES: sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/
 (in/out of school) posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/
 reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other —

TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/poor

ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/
 occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent

HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/
 speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/
 diabetes/epilepsy heart trouble haemophilia/migraine/any other

DATE OF BIRTH:

CLASS: **4**

TEL. NO:

Proposed S/L Date:

FURTHER COMMENTS:
**VERY COOPERATIVE
 EXCELLENT ATTITUDE
 AND SPIRIT**

**HEART VALVE
 REPLACEMENT**

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: **VERY GOOD**

PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)			S5 (19)			S6 (19)		
	Level	Effort	Pred. Result	Level	Effort	Pred. Result	Level	Effort	Pred
Subject									
ENGLISH	S	4							
MATHS	S	5							
FRENCH	S	4							
H.ECONs	O	N/A							
SCIENCE	S	6							
SOC STUDIES		MOD							
ARITH	O								
BIOLOGY	O								
MOD STUDIES	O								

**STRUGGLES ACADEMICALLY
 BUT TRIES HARD IN
 CLASS.**

POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE
 FURTHER STUDY:

SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:

PART-TIME WORK: **PAPER ROUND.**

CAREER INTERESTS:
CLERICAL WORK

GENERAL COMMENTS:
**HAD A MAJOR HEART OPERATION IN NOVEMBER.
 IT WAS SUCCESSFUL, BUT HE WILL PROBABLY
 BE ON PILLS FOR THE REST OF HIS LIFE.**

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:

HEART OPERATIONS
SEDENTARY JOB.

Disposition/Personality:

GOOD SCHOOL REPORT, BEHAVES WELL,
VERY RELIABLE. NICE LAB. COOPERATIVE.
GOOD ATTENDANCE.

Interests:

SPORT AND OUTDOOR
INTERESTS.
WORKED ON PAPER
ROUND, STOPPED
THIS.

Education:

STRUGGLES ACADEMICALLY, BUT
ALWAYS GIVES OF HIS BEST.

Special Aptitudes:

Circumstances:

M - FACTORY

D - DSS

* 1YS

*(1YS = ONE YOUNGER SISTER).

INTERVIEW NOTES

DAD WANTED TO ATTEND INTERVIEW, YOUNG PERSON HAS HAD A FEW OPERATIONS AND WILL HAVE TO UNDERGO MORE (REPLACEMENT) VALVES ETC; ONLY LAST FOR SO LONG. DAD WANTED TO STRESS AS LONG AS YOUNG PERSON IS NOT IN AN ENERGETIC PHYSICAL JOB THEN UNDER NORMAL CONDITIONS, HIS HEART CONDITION WILL POSE NO PROBLEMS. YOUNG PERSON IS KEEN TO GET A CLERICAL JOB. DAD IS ANXIOUS THAT LAB WILL FIND EMPLOYMENT WITH A MAJOR EMPLOYER SO THAT HIS SON WILL HAVE A STEADY, SECURE JOB; EG DISTRICT/REGIONAL COUNCIL ETC. DAD IS NOT KEEN ON YTS, BUT AGREES THAT IF IT'S THE ONLY OPTION AND IT'S A 'GOOD' SCHEME THEN THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

21/5/90 PHONECALL TO SRC, HE IS LIKELY TO BE STARTED, THO' CANT BE TOLD AT MOMENT, AS IT'S NOT OFFICIAL YET.

2/7/90 YOUNG PERSON SUBMITTED SRC / CLERICAL YT.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:

YOUNG PERSON IS VERY SELF-CONSCIOUS. HE HAS A LARGE BUMP OVER HIS LEFT EYE, WHICH HE TRIES TO HIDE BY WEARING HIS ANORAK WITH THE HOOD UP.

Disposition/Personality:

WITHDRAWN, INARTICULATE & INHIBITED

Interests:

Education:

NON ACADEMIC, SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES

Special Aptitudes:

GOOD TIMEKEEPING & ATTENDANCE. GOOD BEHAVIOUR, RELIABLE (SCHOOL REPORT).

Circumstances: DOMESTIC SITUATION ALSO TROUBLED; MUM IS A SINGLE PARENT WITH DEPRESSIVE HEALTH PROBLEMS. HIS GRANNY SEEMS TO TAKE CARE OF HIM, BUT SHE IS EITHER UNAWARE OF HIS DIFFICULTIES, OR IS RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT THE FACT.

INTERVIEW NOTES

YOUNG PERSON HAS HAD SEVERE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES THROUGHOUT HIS SCHOOL CAREER. FROM EARLY PRIMARY DAYS HE HAS DIAGNOSED LEARNING PROBLEMS. HE IS WITHDRAWN TO THE POINT OF ALMOST BEING A RECLUSE. HE IS OF VERY LIMITED ACADEMIC OR PRACTICAL POTENTIAL. HE HAS NO IDEA WHAT HE WANTS TO DO WHEN HE LEAVES IN MAY.

I HAVE TO ADMIT I'M NOT VERY SURE WHERE WE COULD PLACE HIM WHERE HE WON'T GET EATEN BY THE BEARS.

HE HAS HAD CONTACT WITH THE EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST. BUT THEIR REPORTS DON'T HELP MUCH, EXCEPT TO SAY HE IS A GUY WITH A LOT OF PROBLEMS. WILL ARRANGE FURTHER INTERVIEWS.

careers service

Strathclyde
Regional
Council

APPENDIX 6, 3a
CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT

SCHOOL

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS 5					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposer S/L Date					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix—outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour—behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability—very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication—fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENTS:							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—		KEEN ON FOOTBALL ARTISTIC TALENT							
TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/poor		NOT INTERESTED IN SCHOOL. POOR ATTENDANCE RECORD AT PRESENT.							
ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent									
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other									
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: CLEAN, NEAT AND TIDY									
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)				
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred
ART & DESIGN	S		4						
ENGLISH	S		4						
SOCIAL & VOC	S		4						
MATHS	S		5						
PE	S		5						
SCIENCE	S		1						
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE NO FURTHER STUDY:									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE: GARDENING WITH THE DISTRICT COUNCIL									
PART-TIME WORK: MILK BOY?									
CAREER INTERESTS: SEEMS TO VARY									
GENERAL COMMENTS: MIGHT BE WORTH LEAVING IMMEDIATELY IF A SUITABLE PLACE IS AVAILABLE. THIS BOY HAS HARDLY ATTENDED SCHOOL SINCE SUMMER, AND IS WASTING HIS TIME IN SCHOOL. COULD YOU PLEASE EXPLAIN TO HIM WHAT ADVANTAGES THERE ARE IN HIM LEAVING SCHOOL AT THE MOMENT. IF HE CONTINUES IN THE SAME VEIN AS SINCE AUGUST I DON'T SEE ANY POINT IN HIM CARRYING ON AT SCHOOL FOR HIS OWN GOOD.									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:					DATE:		SIGNED:		

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

<p>Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:</p> <p>TALL, MEDIUM BUILD SPEECH ✓ FIT</p>	<p>Disposition/Personality:</p> <p>COOPERATIVE IN A ONE TO ONE SITUATION!</p>
<p>Interests:</p> <p>MILK AND PAPER ROUND ENJOYS DRAWING</p>	<p>Education:</p> <p>SS LEAVER, UNWISE.</p>
<p>Special Aptitudes:</p> <p>WORK EXPERIENCE/ GARDENING</p>	<p>Circumstances:</p> <p>F - BRICKLAYER M - SHOP VARIABLE TIMEKEEPING</p>

INTERVIEW NOTES

GALLOUS

NOW DECIDED AGAINST HIS ORIGINAL CHOICE GARDENING & WANTS ENGINEERING OR PAINTING AND DECORATING. (PREMIUM OR CPA). HAS ALSO WRITTEN TO R.A.F. NOW DOING WORK EXPERIENCE IN ENGINEERING FIRM. TO BE GIVEN ENGINEERING, BUILDING AND GARAGE ADDRESSES, LISTS AND APPLICATIONS. TO OFFICE RE APPLICATIONS - RATHER NEGATIVE RE YT. PARENTS NOT KEEN ETC. HOWEVER, PREPARED TO GO FOR SOME INTERVIEWS, LONG DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS.

CHOICES NOW: ① GARAGE.
 ② HORTICULTURE
 IF UNSUCCESSFUL, TRAINING WORKSHOP/CPA BUT NOT KEEN

careers service

Strathclyde
Regional
Council

APPENDIX 6.1a
CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS 4		
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposi: S/L/Dat 3/98		
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix— <u>outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn</u> Behaviour— <u>behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive</u> Reliability— <u>very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable</u> Verbal communication— <u>fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate</u>		FURTHER COMMENT: QUIET, GENERALLY STICK TO A SMALL COMPANY, TENDS TO BE A LITTLE WITHDRAWN.				
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) <u>sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/</u> <u>posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/</u> <u>reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—</u>						
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good/variable/poor</u>						
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/</u> <u>occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent</u>						
HEALTH: <u>Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/</u> <u>speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/</u> <u>diabetes/epilepsy heart trouble haemophilia/migraine/any other</u>						
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: NEAT & TIDY						
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)	
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result
ENGLISH	S		3			
MATHS	S		3			
FRENCH	S		2			
SCIENCE	S		4			
FOOD/NUTRITION	S		2			
CRAFT & DESIGN	S		2			
TECH DRAWING	S		2			
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE FURTHER STUDY:						
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:						
PART-TIME WORK: PAPER ROUND						
CAREER INTERESTS: ANYTHING PRACTICAL						
GENERAL COMMENTS: A QUIET, WELL BEHAVED BOY. I WOULD MAKE A BIG EFFORT FOR HIM TO RECEIVE A WORTHWHILE PLACEMENT. HE WILL BE A STEADY, RELIABLE WORKER.						

SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:

DATE:

SIGNED:

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: MEDIUM HEIGHT, AV BUILD BLACK HAIR, NEAT & TIDY. * NHF'S (NO HEALTH PROBLEMS)	Disposition/Personality: A QUIET LAD, BUT COOPERATING
Interests: SPORT FOOTBALL PAPER ROUND	Education: POTENTIAL IN CRAFT AND DESIGN & TECH DRAWING
Special Aptitudes: GOOD APPEARANCE TIMEKEEPING FINE INTERESTED IN CRAFT/ PRACTICAL WORK	Circumstances: STABLE BACKGROUND

INTERVIEW NOTES

AIMING FOR CRAFT APP'SHIP.

WELL MOTIVATED, HAS STARTED APPLYING HIMSELF.

JOINERY 1ST CHOICE, SHOULD ATTAIN CRAFT.

ADDRESS LISTS GIVEN, AND FORMS / CITB FORM
COMPLETED

30/7/90 SUBMITTED TO CRAFT YT (JOINERY)

DEV CORP CONSTRUCTION.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL -- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION -- CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

<p>Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:</p> <p>AV HEIGHT, STRONG BUILD, CLEAR OPEN FEATURES, BROWN HAIR, SMART DRESSER, ARTICULATE.</p>	<p>Disposition/Personality:</p> <p>RARELY STOPPED TALKING BUT LACKS A wee BIT OF CONFIDENCE THAT COMES WITH MATURITY</p>
<p>Interests:</p> <p>MUSIC FOOTBALL</p>	<p>Education:</p>
<p>Special Aptitudes:</p>	<p>Circumstances:</p> <p>* 108 - STEP 6K</p> <p>* 108 = ONE OLDER BROTHER</p>

INTERVIEW NOTES

IS KEEN ON BANKING ETC.
HE HAS AN UP-FRONT CHARACTER & WOULD DO WELL IN SALES
ESP RETAIL MANAGEMENT. TRIED TO GET HIM TO SEE 3 H'S
AS HIS GOAL ON LEAVING. ALSO TO CONSIDER HND IN
COMMUNICATION OR BUSINESS STUDIES.

24/6/90 IS NOW SEEKING EMPLOYMENT. WILL APPLY TO
BANKS ETC.
MAY ALSO CONSIDER YTS WITH REGIONAL OR
DISTRICT COUNCIL / CLERICAL YT.

3/9/90 SUBMITTED TO DISTRICT COUNCIL, CLERICAL YT.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: AVERAGE HEIGHT, SLIM BUILD, APPEARANCE QUITE POOR, SPEECH POOR. ASTHMA- NO LONGER SUFFERS	Disposition/Personality: PLEASANT BUT VERY UNRELIABLE
Interests: KUNG-FU, KARATE, MUSIC TABLET AND MACARON ROUND MAGAZINE DELIVERY	Education: FOUNDATION LEVEL SUBJECTS ENGLISH AND MODERN STUDIES BEST SUBJECTS.
Special Aptitudes:	Circumstances: 1 YOUNG BROTHER M + F - UNEMPLOYED

INTERVIEW NOTES

HAS APPLIED TO THE ARMY BUT WAS REJECTED BECAUSE OF HIS HEALTH. HE IS ALSO INTERESTED IN THE POLICE AND FIRE SERVICES. IS INTERESTED IN ELECTRICAL WORK, BUT WILL NOT ACHIEVE THE STANDARD REQUIRED FOR THIS.

I HAVE DISCUSSED BUILDING, SEMI-SKILLED ENGINEERING, SALES, STORES AND SOCIAL CARE WORK WITH HIM. HE HAS PROMISED TO CALL IN AGAIN AND LET ME KNOW WHAT KIND OF WORK HE WISHES TO APPLY FOR.

BECAUSE OF HIS APPEARANCE AND SPEECH HE IS LIKELY TO BE PREMIUM.

22/5/90. TO OFFICE - WISHES TO BE PUT FORWARD FOR STORES AND SOCIAL CARE. LIKELY TO BE PREMIUM CATEGORY B.

20/7/90. DOESN'T WANT TO GO BACK TO LINK, NO WAY WILL HE CONSIDER SHOPWORK. NO LONGER WANTS ANYTHING TO DO WITH O.T. S.T. (OFF THE JOB TRAINING) EITHER. ARRANGED INTERVIEW FOR TOMORROW WITH MYSELF. (LINK STATED HE HAD LITERACY/NUMERACY PROBLEMS). LINK FEEL THEY CAN REALLY DO NO MORE FOR HIM. SUBMITTED TO MIDSCOTT/I.T. 8/90

careers service

Strathclyde
Regional
Council

APPENDIX 6.5D

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS: 4					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Propose S/L Date 5/31					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix — outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour — behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability — very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication — fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENTS: — WITHIN A SMALLISH GROUP.							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) <u>sport and outdoor interests</u> /clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama-community involvement/any other—		— ACTIVE IN S1/S2 ICE SKATING S4							
TIMEKEEPING: <u>Good</u> /variable/poor		— UNTIL S4 — DISAPPOINTING THIS YEAR.							
ATTENDANCE: <u>Good</u> /frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent									
HEALTH: <u>Good general health</u> /poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies-skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy heart trouble-haemophilia-migraine/any other									
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE:		— FAIR.							
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)	S5 (19)	S6 (19)						
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred
ENGLISH	S	C							
MATHS	S	B							
SCIENCE	S	B							
HISTORY	O	DROPPED							
DRAMA	MOD								
SOC. VOC	S	B	G3						
POOR/MSR	S	B	G3						
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE FURTHER STUDY: <u>NON ADVANCED FE BUT LITTLE SIGN OF MUCH INTEREST.</u>									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE: — HOUSE (SOC. VOC).									
PART-TIME WORK:									
CAREER INTERESTS: <u>S1 - S4 WITH CHILDREN. DID QUITE WELL AT — HOUSE (SOC. VOC PLACEMENT). HAIRDRESSING.</u>									
GENERAL COMMENTS: HAS NEVER "FLOWERED" AT SCHOOL. SOMETIMES DISPLAYED A RATHER NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THOSE SUBJECTS SHE COULD HAVE DONE BETTER IN. ON THE OTHER HAND, SHE CAN BE VERY COOPERATIVE, AND WITHIN A WELL DEFINED SITUATION, SHE COULD DO FINE. SHE WILL PROBABLY MATURE INTO A PLEASANT, RELIABLE PERSON.									
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:					DATE:			SIGNED:	

PREDICATIONS ARE A RESULT OF LIMITED ABILITY AND POOR SELF-CONFIDENCE

SOME IMPROVEMENT IN WORK RATE RECENTLY. PRACTICAL WORK GOOD.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

<p>Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:</p> <p>NHP'S. DARK HAIR APPEARANCE - REASONABLE</p>	<p>Disposition/Personality:</p> <p>OK, QUITE PLEASANT</p>
<p>Interests:</p> <p>ICE SKATING SWIMMING FRIENDS.</p>	<p>Education:</p>
<p>Special Aptitudes:</p> <p>AVON REP (JUST NOW) USED TO DO A PAPER ROUND</p>	<p>Circumstances:</p> <p>M - NURSE D - ENGINEER * 105 - ELECTRONICS FIRM 2/2 (* 105 = ONE OLDER SISTER)</p>

INTERVIEW NOTES

1. HAIRDRESSING (NOT A BRILLIANT SUBMISSION?)
2. NURSERY NURSING - NOT INTERESTED IN F/T COURSE
3. CATERING - WOULD CONSIDER THIS ✓
4. SHOP WORK - NOT KEEN

(SPRINGBOARD, WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THIS, IF POSSIBILITY OF GETTING A JOB THRO' IT.

INFO ORDERED. CHECK JOB PROSPECTS IN SPRINGBOARD.

YOUNG PERSON SUBMITTED TO HAIRDRESSING COLLEGE 8/90

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS 4					
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Proposi: S/L/Dai 5/9					
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix – outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/ <u>withdrawn</u> Behaviour – behaves well/ <u>satisfactory</u> /needs supervision/disruptive Reliability – very reliable/ <u>generally reliable</u> /tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication – fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/ <u>inhibited</u> /inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENT							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama:community involvement/any other –		LIKES TV, LITTLE ELSE.							
TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/ <u>poor</u>									
ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent <u>absences due to illness</u> ;good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent		ATTENDANCE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IRREGULAR.							
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble haemophilia/migraine/any other		DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE GOOD HEALTH.							
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE:		RATHER UNTIDY AND UNKEMPT							
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)	S5 (19)	S6 (19)						
Subject	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred
MATHS	F/G	P	F						
ENGLISH	F/G	P	F						
SCIENCE	F/G	P	F						
MOD STUDIES	O	G	Fail						
DRAMA	M		PASS						
HOME ECON	F/G	P	F						
SOC & VOC	F/G	G							
POTENTIAL FOR <u>Non-Advanced FE</u> /Highers/Advanced FE/HE									
FURTHER STUDY:									
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:									
PART-TIME WORK: P/T WORK									
CAREER INTERESTS: WOULD LIKE TO WORK WITH HANDICAPPED CHILDREN.									
GENERAL COMMENTS: A VERY WITHDRAWN PUPIL. SHE HAS FEW FRIENDS AND TENDS TO BE RATHER SULLEN.									

SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:

DATE:

SIGNED:

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

<p>Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: Av. HEIGHT SLIM BUILD, LONGISH FAIR HAIR, PROTRUDING EARS, NEAT ENOUGH. SPEECH FAIR; CAN BE INDISTINCT, TENDS TO MUMBLE. HEALTH - NORMAL.</p>	<p>Disposition/Personality: NOT A HAPPY GIRL. SERIOUS MANNER. A LONER, I THINK. WOULD NEED SUPPORT. QUIET, ALMOST WITHDRAWN.</p>
<p>Interests:</p>	<p>Education: IRREGULAR ATTENDANCE, THOUGH DENIES THIS! HAS COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS</p>
<p>Special Aptitudes:</p>	<p>Circumstances:</p>

INTERVIEW NOTES

1. NURSERY NURSING

NO CHANCE - THOUGH SHE REFUSES TO SEE THAT ACADEMICALLY
IT IS WAY BEYOND HER & SHE'D NEVER PASS THE
SELECTION PROCESS.

2. HAIRDRESSING

NOT ANNE RODGERS Y.T.S. CALIBRE I FEAR.

3. SPRINGBOARD Y.T.S. - DEFINITELY BEST FOR -
PREMIUM PLACE, SHE NEEDS THE SUPPORT AND
MOTIVATION PROVIDED TO HELP HER MAKE THE
ADJUSTMENT INTO THE WORLD OF WORK.

14/12/90 CALLED TO OFFICE. DOESN'T LIKE SPRINGBOARD
& WANTS TO DO SEWING AT C.I.
WILL CALL ON MONDAY MORNING FOR SUBMISSION

NAME: (Mr/Ms)			DATE OF BIRTH:			CLASS: 4				
ADDRESS:			TEL. NO:			Proposed S/L Date				
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix—outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour—behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability—very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication—fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate			FURTHER COMMENTS NONE KNOWN							
ACTIVITIES: (in/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other—										
TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/poor			OCCASIONAL ABSENCE TO LOOK AFTER MOTHER							
ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent										
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other										
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE:										
PERFORMANCE:		S4 (19) 10		S5 (19)		S6 (19)				
Subject		Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred/Result	Level	Effort	Pred
HISTORY		O	G	DL						
MATHS		S	VG	6						
Home ECONs		S	P	5						
ENGLISH		S	G	5						
SCIENCE		S	G	6						
SOC & VOC		S	G	4						
POTENTIAL FOR Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE FURTHER STUDY:										
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE:										
PART-TIME WORK:										
CAREER INTERESTS: FACTORY OR SHOP										
GENERAL COMMENTS:										
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:						DATE:		SIGNED:		

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

<p>Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: HEAVY MAKE-UP, SHORT DARK HAIR, USES GEL. SPEECH OKAY. N.H.P.</p>	<p>Disposition/Personality: COMMUNICATES REASONABLY WELL</p>
<p>Interests: ICE SKATING, MUSIC, DISCO'S, SWIMMING. WORKED IN A GROCER VAN FOR 2 MTHS. WORK EXPERIENCE — HOTEL.</p>	<p>Education: UNLIKELY TO DO WELL IN HER S GRADE EXAMS</p>
<p>Special Aptitudes:</p>	<p>Circumstances: SISTER - MANAGERESS IN A SHOP DAD - PROOSERS</p>

INTERVIEW NOTES

SHOP / FACTORY / COOKERY - STRATHCLYDE TRAINING AGENCY

FIRST CHOICE IS TO CATERING, HOWEVER, THE FACT SHE WAS WEARING HEAVY MAKE-UP MAY BE A PROBLEM HERE. SHE IS ALSO INTERESTED IN ANY FACTORY WORK OR SHOP WORK.

YOUNG PERSON SUBMITTED TO SMBA (SCOTTISH MASTERS BAKING ASSOC) YT. 8/90.

careers service

Strathclyde
Regional
Council

APPENDIX 6.6a

NAME: (Mr/Ms)		DATE OF BIRTH:		CLASS:		
ADDRESS:		TEL. NO:		Propos S/L D		
PERSONALITY: Ability to mix — outgoing/usually relates well/reserved/withdrawn Behaviour — behaves well/satisfactory/needs supervision/disruptive Reliability — very reliable/generally reliable/tends to be unreliable/unreliable Verbal communication — fluent/fairly fluent/has difficulty/inhibited/inarticulate		FURTHER COMMENT: QUITE RESERVED, BUT WON'T BE SAT ON.				
ACTIVITIES: (In/out of school) sport and outdoor interests/clubs and organisations/ posts of responsibility/practical and technical interest/music/ reading/art/drama/community involvement/any other —		AS PART OF SVS RUNS SCHOOL TUCKSHOP. HELPS OUT AT PLAYGROUP.				
TIMEKEEPING: Good/variable/poor		9 LATES RECORDED				
ATTENDANCE: Good/frequent absences due to illness/good till last term/ occasional truancy/frequent truancy/absences condoned by parent		12 ABSENCES TO DATE.				
HEALTH: Good general health/poor eyesight/colour blindness/poor hearing/ speech defect/asthma/bronchitis/allergies/skin complaint/ diabetes/epilepsy/heart trouble/haemophilia/migraine/any other						
PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE: SLIGHTLY BUILT, BUT ROBUST. CLEAN, BUT CAN BE UNTIDY.						
PERFORMANCE:	S4 (19)		S5 (19)		S6 (19)	
	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result	Level	Effort	Pred/ Result
Subject						
ENGLISH	G/F	C				
BIOLOGY	O	B/C	Fail			
MATHS	G/F	C				
HISTORY	O	B/C	Fail			
CRAFT/DES.	G/F	B				
SOC. VOC	G/F	B				
COMPUTING						
P.E.	M					
KEYBOARD	M					
POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER STUDY: Non-Advanced FE/Highers/Advanced FE/HE						
POSSIBLY F/E COLLEGE MODULES						
SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE: MAY '90						
PART-TIME WORK: ? CAN'T BE SURE AT THE MOMENT						
CAREER INTERESTS: JOINER (DIDN'T GO TO CITB!) GARAGE, BUILDING, ENGIN.						
GENERAL COMMENTS: A LIKABLE LAD, BUT LACKS ANY REAL MOTIVATION. HE FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO WORK WITHOUT SUPERVISION AND GIVES UP EASILY. NEEDS TO BE GIVEN LOTS OF ENCOURAGEMENT, BUT QUITE PLEASED WHEN SUCCESSFUL. TWIN OF —						
SEE GUIDANCE TEACHER:			DATE:		SIGNED:	

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health:

ROBUST THO' SLIGHT
BUILD. BIT UNTIDY.
MUMBLES.

Disposition/Personality:

QUIET LAD AND NOT VERY
ARTICULATE

Interests:

MILK ROUND

GARAGE

Education:

5 GRADES G & F (GENERAL E
FOUNDATION). NON ADVANCED FE
POTENTIAL.

Special Aptitudes:

GOOD ATTENDANCE

Circumstances:

TWIN OF -

INTERVIEW NOTES

22/2/90. KEEN ON PRACTICAL AREAS - ENGINEERING.
JOINERY, GARAGE - MECHANICS, BRICKWORK.

HAS RELEVANT GROUP OF SUBJECTS, BUT DOESN'T
COME ACROSS WELL AT INTERVIEW - DOUBT CRAFT
ENTRY?

UNSURE OF LEAVING DATE, RECOMMENDED AFTER S4 AND
APPLICATIONS TO BE MADE NOW.

CHOICE: ① BUILDING - CRAFT UNLIKELY, HOWEVER SUBMITTED
CITB AND CPA. KEEN ON LATER, WOULD BENEFIT FROM
SUPERVISION.

② ENGINEERING 2ND CHOICE - ENTRY?

③ GARAGE - SUBMITTED SMILEYS BUT
5' 2" AND UNDER 8 STONES, SO CHANCES??

YOUNG PERSON SUBMITTED TO CITB (CONSTRUCTION) YTS
11/6/90.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School.....

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: N.H. P's SMALL THIN LAD BROWN HAIR (POOR WEE SOUL).	Disposition/Personality: OK, REASONABLE
Interests:	Education:
Special Aptitudes:	Circumstances: M - H/WIFE D - VAN DRIVER 30B - ALL WORKING 24B - 1 SECONDARY 1 PRIMARY

INTERVIEW NOTES

YOUNG PERSON WANTS A TRADE - UNLIKELY, BUT
DEFINITELY A PRACTICAL JOB.

HE IS VERY KEEN TO FIND WORK.

INTERESTED: BRICKLAYING AND PLASTERING.

SUBMITTED TO TRAINING WORKSHOP / PRACTICAL WORK
4/6/90.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: SMALL BOY IN STATURE AND PHYSIQUE. PALE COMPLEXION, BLONDE HAIR, CLEAR SPEECH, A BIT STILTED IN CONVERSATION	Disposition/Personality: SEEMS COOPERATIVE ENOUGH NOT OVER COMMUNICATIVE, HOWEVER, IMMATURE.
Interests: FOOTBALL.	Education:
Special Aptitudes: LIKES ENGLISH / P.A.L.	Circumstances:

INTERVIEW NOTES

LEAVING AFTER SH. NON ACADEMIC LAD. INTERESTED IN
FACTORY/WAREHOUSE. MAYBE OK FOR MICROCOMP, BUT
MORE LIKELY TRAINING WORKSHOP. ALSO INTERESTED IN
BUILDING TRADES, SO COULD SUBMIT TO CPA TOO.
WILL ORDER INFO AND TO REGISTER.

SCHOOL REPORT INDICATES NEED FOR SUPERVISION, WILL NOT
BE SUITABLE FOR EMPLOYER LED SCHEME.
NO SOCIAL WORK INVOLVEMENT.

SUBMITTED TO CPA BUT PAID OFF.

11/9/90. SUBMITTED TO TRAINING WORKSHOP.

STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL - DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - CAREERS SERVICE

AIDE MEMOIRE

Name DOB School

Date of Interview Careers Officer

Appearance/Physique/Speech/Health: EYES OK c/c MEDIUM HEIGHT AND BUILD. BLONDE, SPIKEY HAIR, GOOD APPEARANCE, VERY NICE.	Disposition/Personality: NICE, FRIENDLY, PLEASANT.
Interests: SPORTS OUT DOOR INTERESTS.	Education: STANDARD GRADES ENGLISH 3 MODERN STUDIES 3 MATHS 5 CHEMISTRY 3. FRENCH 4 ITALIAN -
Special Aptitudes: GOOD TIMEKEEPING AND ATTENDANCE, RELIABLE.	Circumstances: M - OFFICE D - CHIP SHOP YS - HOTEL BUSINESS

INTERVIEW NOTES

10/4/90. LOOKING FOR SOINERY TRAINING.
ALTHOUGH PASSED HIS CITB TEST, HAS NOT YET GOT A
PLACEMENT. OVERQUALIFIED FOR THE TRAINING WORKSHOP
AND PROBABLY NOT 'PREMIUM'. HOWEVER, TRAINING
WORKSHOP CONSIDERS HIM MARGINAL - QUALIFICATIONS
NOT RELEVANT TO THE WORK HE WANTS.
IF NO OTHER ALTERNATIVES, TO BE ENDORSED.

4/6/90 SUBMITTED TO TRAINING WORKSHOP / SOINERY.

WORK EXPERIENCE - PUPIL ASSESSMENT FORM

PUPIL'S NAME _____

NAME OF FIRM/ORGANISATION _____

Please tick the appropriate column, and comment as you see fit.

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	COMMENTS
ATTENDANCE	✓				
TIMEKEEPING	✓				
APPEARANCE	✓				
SELF-CONFIDENCE		✓			
ENTHUSIASM		✓			TRIED NEW ACTIVITIES
INITIATIVE		✓			
WILLINGNESS TO LEARN	✓				
ATTITUDE TO WORK		✓			
ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE		✓			TENDED TO BE QUITE QUIET
ABILITY TO MIX		✓			
POTENTIAL FOR THIS TYPE OF WORK		✓			HANDLED THE CHILDREN WELL

General comments about pupil

Coped well with the new & different experience of handicapped children

Comments about the work experience scheme

Signed _____ Position _____ Date _____

HEALTH NOTES

CONFIDENTIAL

1990 - 1991

: HIGH SCHOOL

TO: ALL STAFF

HEALTH NOTES

The Health Notes are being issued to all staff this year. It is important that they should not be left where they may be seen by anyone other than a member of staff. Nor should they be thrown out - they will be collected in again before next session's are issued.

SEPTEMBER 1990

HIGH SCHOOL.

HEALTH NOTES - SESSION 1990 - 1991

Issued to all Staff

Board of Studies

Librarian

Nurse

Issued - September 1990.

NOTES ON EPILEPSY

The following are some extracts from "The Schoolchild with Epilepsy" - a Teacher's Guide

NOTE: Petit Mal	-	[REDACTED]	4R1
Grand Mal	-	[REDACTED]	6R2

The condition of these pupils is controlled by drugs and (apart from
: it is very unlikely that you will ever witness a "turn" or "fit" in
school, but in the unlikely event, the following information may be helpful.

WHAT EPILEPSY IS.

"Epilepsy" describes a tendency to recurrent fits or seizures. These result from disturbances in the normal electrical activity of the brain. The nature of the fit will depend on the part of the brain first affected and on where and how fast the disturbance spreads. There are many kinds of epilepsy and many types of fit.

Epilepsy is not a disease, nor is it a mental illness. Between fits the brain works quite normally. Epilepsy can affect children of all levels of intelligence. Epilepsy observes no social, racial or geographical boundaries. Anyone may develop epilepsy.

THE CAUSES OF EPILEPSY

Epilepsy can be caused by scarred brain tissue resulting from head injury at birth or in an accident, or from battering, by brain damage caused by infections and fevers, by tumours, by bio-chemical abnormalities (e.g. low blood glucose or calcium levels) and by hormonal changes.

In many cases however no cause can be identified, and the child is said to have "idiopathic" epilepsy. The child inherited a brain that is highly sensitive and has a low seizure threshold.

PRECIPITATING FACTORS

Fits may be triggered off by a variety of stimuli. These can include boredom, anxiety, stress, sudden loud noises, bright and flashing lights and lack of food or sleep. Failure to take medication regularly is a common factor. Too much medication may also precipitate fits. Some girls are particularly likely to have seizures just before their monthly period. Some children are affected by one stimulus only, some by a number of stimuli. We do not always know what triggers off a fit.

PETIT MAL

The child has brief periods of interrupted or clouded consciousness, easily mistaken for day dreaming, or inattentiveness. The child is seen to stop suddenly and stare into space. Slight movements of the eyelids may be detected. The attacks can occur dozens of times a day and can lead to serious learning difficulties

MAJOR OR GRAND MAL

The child may cry out, lose consciousness and fall to the ground. A still stage is followed by jerking or convulsing. The lips may turn blue. The mouth often fills with frothy saliva which may be blood stained if the tongue or cheeks have been bitten. The child may be incontinent and (usually) soils himself. During the fit, which may last several minutes, the child is unaware of what is going on. Consciousness is regained spontaneously. The child may be dazed and confused for a period, have a bad headache and need to rest or sleep. Full recovery rarely takes longer than an hour, often much less.

PETIT MAL

1. Keep calm and reassure the class.
2. Observe the fit carefully particularly in the case of petit mal, the regularity and the length of the fits should be noted.
3. If possible, let the fit run its natural course. The child should be firmly but gently led away from any source of danger.
4. Reassure the child when full consciousness is regained and give an opportunity to rest.
5. Inform the parents.

GRAND MAL ATTACKS

1. Keep calm and reassure the class.
2. Note the time: a doctor may need to know exactly when the fit started. Observe the fit carefully: the information may be valuable.
3. Do not move the child unless he/she is in danger (e.g. at the top of stairs, at the edge of a swimming pool, near a hot radiator).
4. Put something soft under the child's head (e.g. a firm cushion or a rolled up jacket).
5. Loosen clothing around the neck and make sure that airways are clear.
6. Do not try to restrict the child. Let the fit take its natural course. Keep a clear space around the child.
7. Do not force anything into the mouth or attempt to give anything to drink.
8. As soon as possible turn the child on to his/her side into a shock recovery position so that the mouth can drain of saliva blood or vomit.
9. Reassure the child during the period of confusion that follows the regaining of consciousness.
10. Give the child the opportunity to rest. The period of rest might be extended to lunch time if a fit occurs in the morning, or until the end of the school day.

11. Let the parents know that the child has had a fit.

N.B. There is no need to call a doctor or ambulance unless one fit follows another without full recovery in between, or unless the child remains unconscious for much longer than is usual for him or her.

HOW THE TEACHER CAN HELP

1. Discipline The child with epilepsy should be treated in the same way as other children in the class. Classroom discipline should not be lessened for fear of inducing a fit.
2. Level of Achievement Many under-achieve because their intellectual ability is underestimated and insufficient challenges are given. Progress can be made given an extra time and positive support.
3. Need for Stimulation Boredom can trigger off fits. Children with epilepsy need a full timetable with challenge. They should not be allowed to play on their handicap.
4. Safety Restrictions could be minimised with the emphasis on what the child can do. Each case of epilepsy is unique and medical advice should be sought about the appropriate restrictions, if any, for each child. Games and physical activity should be encouraged although climbing can be dangerous and extreme fatigue should be avoided. Swimming should be encouraged but needs careful supervision. Home economics teachers should consider the hazards of cookers and hot liquids; the technical teacher may need to select appropriate projects. The child should be encouraged to participate in extra curricula activities, class outings and organised holidays.
5. Inattentiveness Teachers should be cautious about reprimanding any child for day dreaming. Concentrating can be fragmented by sub-clinical discharges.
6. Attitude of child and class If the teacher deals with fits calmly and competently, accepts the child with epilepsy as an ordinary class member, and explains epilepsy to the class, all the pupils will learn to understand and accept the condition sensibly.
7. Avoid Labels and Generalisations The use of the label "an epileptic" should be avoided as it obscures the child's individuality. Fits are epileptic, children are not. Many children will out-grow their epilepsy and it is important that they should not be left with a feeling of being different.

SPARE TIME

What do you do in your spare time?

I play football, play badminton and watch T.V. And listening to music

Do you have (or have you had) any part-time job(s)? If so, please give details. If you haven't, please write 'NONE'.

NONE but have done paper

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illness? Please give details.

NO

Are you colour blind?

no

REMAINING AT SCHOOL

If you are considering remaining at school for another year, please state the subjects which you hope to study.

(This section is crossed out with a diagonal line)

LEAVING SCHOOL

What do you hope to do when you leave school? Please tick (✓) — you may be interested in more than one.

Find work ✓	Go to college	Go to university	Don't know
----------------	---------------	------------------	------------

WORK

Which jobs have you considered and why?

Yt 5 because I will probably not get a full time Job. I would like to be a football player.

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

Which courses (if any) have you considered?

(This section is crossed out with a diagonal line)

YOUR TURN TO ASK

Please give details of any information which you would like from your Careers Officer.

I would like a ~~Careers~~ interview with the Careers officer.

What do you do in your spare time?

I go walks with my friends up
or I will play my keyboard in the House.

Do you have (or have you had) any part-time job(s)? If so, please give details. If you haven't, please write 'NONE'.

I sold toys and christmas cards for a neighbour he sells coned
apples as well. I get paid depending on how much I sell

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illness? Please give details.

I have Asthma I had a serious case of Asthma but I didn't
take an Attack

Are you colour blind? No.

REMAINING AT SCHOOL

If you are considering remaining at school for another year, please state the subjects which you hope to study.

LEAVING SCHOOL

What do you hope to do when you leave school? Please tick (✓) – you may be interested in more than one.

Find work ✓	Go to college	Go to university	Don't know
----------------	---------------	------------------	------------

WORK

Which jobs have you considered and why?

I want to go to a training scheme doing Joinery
I like Joinery because I like drilling holes into wood and
making things out of wood.

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

Which courses (if any) have you considered?

YOUR TURN TO ASK

Please give details of any information which you would like from your Careers Officer.

How to get into a Youth Training scheme.

Signature

Date

S.1200(a)

SPARE TIME

What do you do in your spare time?

I go to ice skating most of the time and listen to music.

Do you have (or have you had) any part-time job(s)? If so, please give details. If you haven't, please write 'NONE'.

Yes I worked in a small Grocer Van and served people and gave them there change.

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illness? Please give details.

No

Are you colour blind?

REMAINING AT SCHOOL

If you are considering remaining at school for another year, please state the subjects which you hope to study.

English, Home Ecomics, Soc - Voz, Maths.

LEAVING SCHOOL

What do you hope to do when you leave school? Please tick (✓) – you may be interested in more than one.

Find work ✓	Go to college ✓	Go to university	Don't know
----------------	--------------------	------------------	------------

WORK

Which jobs have you considered and why?

I would like to work in a shop or be a cook, because I like work with people and give them there change, and I like cooking.

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

Which courses (if any) have you considered?

YOUR TURN TO ASK

Please give details of any information which you would like from your Careers Officer.

SPARE TIME

What do you do in your spare time?

Watch television Listen to music
and go to disco's and goes to
the baths and sports centre.

Do you have (or have you had) any part-time job(s)? If so, please give details. If you haven't, please write 'NONE'.

NONE

HEALTH

Do you have any health problems or have you had any serious illness? Please give details.

Are you colour blind?

REMAINING AT SCHOOL

If you are considering remaining at school for another year, please state the subjects which you hope to study.

LEAVING SCHOOL

What do you hope to do when you leave school? Please tick (✓) - you may be interested in more than one.

Find work ✓	Go to college	Go to university	Don't know
----------------	---------------	------------------	------------

WORK

Which jobs have you considered and why?

Hairdresser because I like to
do all the styles and like watching people
cutting hair and I like washing hair and
drying and setting peoples hair

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

Which courses (if any) have you considered?

YOUR TURN TO ASK

Please give details of any information which you would like from your Careers Officer.

If I leave school and I want to be a
hair dresser will the people in a
hairdressing shop help to train me like will
it train in a shop or what