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THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMME

A Qualitative Study of the
Implementation of a Transition
Education Programme for Young
Unemployed People in a New Zealand
Technical Institute

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requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Education at Massey University

Wanda Julie Korndörffer

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ABSTRACT

The social relations of a capitalist mode of production engender contradictions that underpin the lived experience of individuals' daily practice. This practice thus becomes a site of struggle as agents confront structures within an arena of common sense, taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of those social relations. In 1982, a participant observation study of one year's Young Persons Training Programme courses was carried out in one New Zealand technical institute. Participant observation, interviews and documentary analysis were used, within a method employing theoretical realism, to gain access to the ideas, practices and discourses that both contain, and are constructed in, a specific site of struggle: the production of training programmes for unemployed youth. This research focused on the links between social relations, discourse and practice, and used the case study in a reflexive way as material illustrative of particular social relations.

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GLOSSARY

[]	Author's intervention
(...)	Abridged
...	Pause

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The study reported in this thesis is based on the claim that state provisions of transition education for young unemployed people are derived from a flawed analysis of the labour market. This analysis, which is based in orthodox economic theory, leads to the production of transition education and skills training programmes that focus on remediating young people's individual inadequacies vis-a-vis the labour market. While state discourse acknowledges that the youth labour market is oversubscribed, a deficit theory is inherent in the very provision of 'skills training', 'transition education' and 'social and life skills' programmes for young people: that is, while the job market is contracting measurably, young people, in a contradictory fashion, are blamed for their individual failure to gain employment. An alternative economic analysis is used in this thesis, in conjunction with a participant observation study of the Young Persons Training Programme in a New Zealand technical institute, to demonstrate the contradictions and constraints that are faced by those who must live the implementation of transition education at a specific site. This alternative analysis examines critically the concept of 'transition education' and 'skills training' for unemployed young people. It proposes that transition education programmes for young unemployed people are sponsored by the state as substitutes for the lost cultural apprenticeships of employment and that such programmes are structured to reproduce youth into the existing social relations of production, maintain a work ethic in young people through periods of unemployment and place the blame for their unemployment on young people themselves.

Chapter Two provides a theoretical overview of the orthodox economic analyses of the labour market that underpin state provisions of training programmes for unemployed youth and goes on to provide an alternative analysis of the labour market and youth unemployment that is based on marxist theories of capitalist production and cultural reproduction. A review of the five studies of the Young Persons Training Programme carried out to the end of 1982 is provided in Chapter Three along with a brief description of how the study reported in this thesis differs from previous work on the Young Persons Training Programme.

The methodological approach needed to be able to describe and explain the lived experience of contradictory social relations at a specific site of struggle and to articulate the relations between theory and practice. The methodology of the study uses an analytic description of the participants' daily realities and discourse, based on theoretical realism (Keat and Urry, 1982). The theory and practice of this method are outlined in Chapters Four and Five.

The context of the study is examined in Chapter Six where the research site, the participants and the courses are described. Chapter Seven proposes that there were two different ways of constructing YPTP students in official discourse, which is examined as a site of struggle at the levels of policy and practice. Official discourse is perceived as an attempt to reconstruct the concepts of 'youth' and 'transition' – this is accomplished in a period of rising youth unemployment through the reclamation of popular, common sense ideologies in official statements about youth unemployment and transition education. This discourse, however, confronted the reality of the implementation of the Young Persons Training Programme courses in the technical institute, a reality which ensured that transition education did not mechanically correspond with official definitions of young people and their labour market needs.

Chapters Eight and Nine examine the lived reality of the courses for the tutors and the students, the ways in which they coped with the contradictions inherent in the provision of these courses, and the extent to which they were able to penetrate the discourse surrounding the Young Persons Training Programme. Chapters Ten and Eleven extend this analysis within a focus on the specific course content of the programme: the work skills component and the social and life skills component. The concepts of 'skills' and 'training' are examined within the context of this programme being a complex site of struggle for both tutors and students.

The thesis concludes that, while the provision of the Young Persons Training Programme did work to reproduce unemployed young people into the structures and discourses of the labour market, this work of reproduction, based in a flawed analysis of that labour market, was contradictory and able to be resisted by both tutors and students. At the same time, these resistances were limited and compromised by the material realities of the participants' lives and by the hegemonic nature of the discourses that surrounded those lives.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LABOUR MARKET AND TRANSITION EDUCATION

In March 1977 the line charting official unemployment statistics in New Zealand began its ragged but steep ascent from a figure of just over 4,000 out of work in that month to 61,494 registered unemployed in January 1985. In addition to the registered unemployed in 1985, there were 38,742 people on state-subsidised employment and training schemes (excluding vacation workers) (Employment Promotion Conference, 1985a). During the period 1977-1985, the percentage rate of unemployment for those under 25 years of age remained the same (around 60% of the total unemployed). However, the absolute numbers of unemployed in this age group rose substantially in line with the dramatic increase in unemployment overall, and this increase in the actual numbers of those registered as unemployed particularly affected the school leaving age group (15-19 years). The official definition of unemployment in New Zealand structurally excludes those who may want work but who have not registered with the Department of Labour; those who do not want the social stigma of registration as unemployed; those under 16 or married women who decide not to register because of their ineligibility to receive an unemployment benefit; and many of those who are enrolled in training programmes (Public Service Association Research Unit, 1980; Clements, 1978; Roper, 1982; Kay, 1983). It is probable, therefore, that the real levels of unemployment during the period 1977-1985 have been underestimated, particularly among school leavers and those who return reluctantly to school because they are unable to find employment (Department of Education, 1978; Auckland Committee on Unemployment, 1979; National Youth Council Executive, 1979).

State-sponsored training programmes for young people in secondary schools and technical institutes were a direct response to this collapse of the youth labour market in New Zealand (Barry, c.1984: 9). As a form of educational intervention, such training programmes were legitimated on the grounds that they provide

skills for young people which effectively increase their opportunities for access to the labour market (Task Force on Youth Training, 1982). This legitimization was derived from a set of theoretical assumptions about the nature of the labour market and its relationship to the state and to education. It follows therefore that an examination of the role and effects of such training programmes, as a state-initiated educational intervention, should begin with an examination of the theoretical adequacy of the assumptions upon which such an intervention is legitimated. Accordingly, this chapter will

- (i) overview the orthodox economic analysis of the labour market that underpins state educational responses to youth unemployment;
- (ii) provide an alternative analysis of the labour market and youth unemployment that is based on marxist theories of capitalist production and cultural reproduction;
- (iii) examine the concept of transition education as a state response to youth unemployment in the light of this alternative analysis of the labour market; and
- (iv) set out the basis of the study reported in this thesis which examines the lived reality of the Young Persons Training Programme implemented in one New Zealand technical institute.

Orthodox economic and marxist theories agree on many of the empirical foundations of the labour market. For example, both theories accept that a capitalist mode of production requires inputs of raw materials, capital (in the form of fixed and liquid assets) and labour. They also accept that the market is based on supply and demand; that capitalist production is prone to cycles of 'boom and bust'; and that equivalents are exchanged in the market (at least at the level of appearances). Many of the conclusions of orthodox economic theorists are acceptable to marxist theorists as descriptions of the way in which

capitalist markets function. However, there are fundamental differences between the theories as to how and why the capitalist mode of production (and thereby the labour market) operates as it does. These will be elaborated below.

Orthodox economic theory

Orthodox economic theory, beginning with the work of Jevon, Menger and Walras and developed by Wieser, Bohm-Bawerk, Pareto and Marshall (among others), is erected upon Adam Smith's laissez-faire model of the capitalist marketplace. Smith (1776) believed that the four fundamental laws of classical political economy (the laws of rational self-interest, international exchange, free competition, and supply and demand interacting to produce equilibrium) ensured the ultimate welfare and harmony of society – the individual worker, capitalist or landowner operated from a calculating self-interest in the market and the 'invisible hand' of a competitive market regulated the distribution of society's wealth on an equitable basis to labour, capital and land. While the classical theorists recognised that a variety of social evils existed, which were disproportionately visited upon the 'lower orders', these were seen to result from the individual deficiencies, the individual pathologies, of those that suffered (a view that was reinforced by Herbert Spencer's theory of Social Darwinism, a distorted adaptation of Darwin's theory of natural evolution and 'survival of the fittest', which Spencer applied to human society). These beliefs provided the basis for the neo-classical theories of marginal utility which underpin orthodox economic theory and practice in capitalist countries today.

While there is a range of debate within neo-classical economic theory as to the specific causes of various market outcomes, all orthodox economic theorists, whether conservative or liberal, work within the framework of marginalist theory. This framework posits, at an abstract level, that buyers and sellers enter the capitalist marketplace on equal and unconstrained terms in order to make rational, subjectively-ordered preferential choices (Hill, 1981: 3). These preferences are based on a calculation of the marginal utility of each transaction for those

individuals (or collectivities of individuals) who bargain. For example, those whose preferences are for maximising profit, buy labour in the market on the basis of the marginal productivity of that labour, i.e. they are unlikely to buy labour that is not productive over and above its own cost – to do so would be irrational. Thus, calculated individual investment decisions are seen to be the crucial determinant of productivity and hence of earnings (Birnbaum, 1975: 151).

According to the conservative versions of this theory, a freely competitive market equalises individual demand and supply to create a unique equilibrium price structure. In this way, markets for goods and labour are cleared. Liberal orthodox economic analyses, however, are based in Keynes' revision of neo-classical theory which posits a shifting rather than a static equilibrium and thus the possibility that markets will not clear in the short term. Aggregate supply and demand engender adaptations and adjustments towards equilibrium that affect the 'propensity to consume and the inducement to invest' (Keynes, 1936: 379). While Keynes regarded individual liberty, self-interest and personal choice as essential in a capitalist society, he advocated state intervention into the economy through fiscal policies designed to minimise the effects of these adaptations and adjustments and reduce the impact of cyclical recessions on the market (Hansen, 1971: 275-276). Through macro-level demand management, the state could secure full employment and also meet popular aspirations for social welfare (Jessop, 1982: 244; Przeworski, 1985: 207) and thus secure the most propitious conditions for the exercise of individual choice.

Orthodox economists have refined and extended neo-classical theory since Keynes, particularly with regard to the emergence of oligopolies, to the phenomenon of stagflation, to theories of money markets and of distribution and to the current resurgence of a demand for free-market, supply-side economic policies (Showler, 1981). However, both conservative and liberal approaches to theories of the market remain within the marginalist framework with its emphasis on individual psychological attributes (i.e. motivation, aspiration, taste, choice, rationality, habit, expectation, and the effects of pleasure and pain) and individual investment in the market.

Implicit within a conservative conception of the market is the assumption that unemployment arises from disjunctions in the supply and demand of labour. Casson (1979: Chapter 3), for example, claims that in a competitive market economy operating under ideal conditions full employment is achieved by the adjustment of the general level of real wages. An excess supply of labour leads workers to bid wages down which persuades employers to increase their demand for labour at the expense of other factors of production: 'Thus the demand increases, supply contracts, and the excess supply of labour is eliminated' (*ibid*: 31). In practice, however, he sees imperfections in the labour market that inhibit adjustment to full-employment equilibrium. Wages may be artificially fixed and institutionally differentiated; job-seekers may prefer unemployment to taking the first job they are offered; the provision of unemployment benefits induces a worker-preference for leisure rather than employment; both employers and job-seekers may lack perfect information about the market; workers may lack the skills which would make them adaptable in a changing economic environment; the psychological and financial costs of geographical and seasonal mobility may be too high for those seeking employment; and employers may express a preference for particular types of labour, i.e. they discriminate.

Liberal neo-classical economic theories, on the other hand, contend that it is possible to have a market equilibrium below full employment; that involuntary unemployment, therefore, is not attributable to high real wage levels, but to a lower level of demand than will accommodate all the goods that could be produced with full employment. (Demand is used here in its orthodox economic sense to denote a demand that is supported by the money to buy. It is, of course, possible to have a demand for all the goods that could be produced at the level of full employment, but one which is not validated by the money to buy. In an orthodox economic sense, it is possible for farmers to burn crops because there is no demand, even though people are starving.) The Keynesian solution to unemployment is state intervention to stimulate aggregate demand by policies of government spending and/or lower taxes (Hunt and Sherman, 1981: 451ff).

These two versions of neo-classical theory appear to be irreconcilable in their analyses of unemployment (the one seeks to reduce the demand for goods, but to

stimulate supply, through lowering wages and increasing productivity (Reserve Bank Bulletin, June 1982), while the other wants to stimulate the demand for goods in order that productivity can rise). The state, however, in basing its interventions in the labour market on orthodox economic theory, works with both versions: the first as a legitimating device for its ideological interventions – there is a constant pressure through official discourse for lower wages and a general ‘belt-tightening’ that will enable a return to economic good health and full employment – the second as an economic response to the collapse of the labour market.

Analyses of youth unemployment that are based on orthodox economic theories (for example, Jain, 1979; OECD, 1980, 1982, 1983), see youth as suffering from specific disadvantages in the labour market in a recession. Young people are said to be unable to compete effectively in the labour market when there is an excess supply of labour because they lack the attributes that employers prefer when they buy labour: youth is seen to be inexperienced, unskilled, unstable and often lacking sufficient educational qualification and, particularly, good work habits. Fewer available jobs and, therefore, a buyers’ market for labour ensure that young people must compete for work with more experienced, skilled, stable and qualified labour. Because of their lack of maturity and the absence of effective careers education, young people are said to be unaware of potential job opportunities and are particularly ineffective in seeking these out. ‘Last-on, first-off’ trade union policies are considered to disadvantage young people who tend to be ‘last-on’ and negotiated award rates of pay and minimum wage scales are said to prevent employers from hiring young people – it is too expensive for them to pay adult wages for less productive labour. It is argued that reduced recruitment in a recession means that fewer school leavers are able to get a first job which would give them work experience and skills. An extended and changing technology demands a more flexible and better-educated workforce than previously – it is claimed that young people are not being adequately served by the education system in this respect. Demographic factors, such as a high post-war birth rate, have increased the supply of youth labour relative to available jobs. As well, married women have increased their participation in the labour market. In addition, it is argued that young people’s dependent status (within families, for example) means that they require less income than other

members of the workforce and can choose to indulge a preference for leisure (unemployment). Youth unemployment, therefore, is seen to result from a combination of structural factors (i.e. disjunctions in supply and demand) and individual attributes (i.e. young people's motivations, tastes, attitudes, experience, qualifications and skills).

The thrust of these approaches is that youth unemployment is the result of a disequilibrium in the labour market which is compounded by various negative attributes of young people so that a structural inequality which favours older, skilled workers results (New Zealand Employers Federation, 1981; Task Force on Youth Training, 1982; Barry, c.1984; Government Transition Education Committee, 1985). For young people to be able to compete equally in the market, their stock of human capital must be equalised with that of adult workers. That is, young people's skills, attitudes and qualifications must be upgraded through the provision of vocational and social skills training which will enable them to compete in a labour market with contracting opportunities for unskilled labour and which will keep intact the disciplines of the workplace during periods of unemployment. The emphasis is on adaptability and flexibility for young people in a changing economic environment and educational and training interventions are seen to be an appropriate state response to the problem of youth unemployment (Skills for Young People, 1985).

Thus state responses to youth unemployment that are based on orthodox economic theory are not only concerned with economic policies aimed at increasing productivity and reducing unemployment. They are also concerned with policies that attempt to upgrade the skills, attributes, attitudes and qualifications of young people so that they are better able to compete in the labour market. While it is acknowledged that transition education and youth training programmes are potentially inflationary (that is, the costs of this type of intervention exceed predicted increased productivity), they are defended on the grounds that they have unaccountable social and future economic benefits (OECD, 1982). In addition, proponents of this kind of response to youth unemployment argue strongly that such policies promote equity in society by equalising the human capital and thus the productivity of all workers (Jain, 1979: 49). The theories of capitalist

production and cultural reproduction that frame this thesis argue, by contrast, that the development of transition education and youth training programmes by the state functions to legitimate and reproduce structural inequality in the labour market and to naturalise the unequal social relations of capitalist production (Cole and Skelton, 1980a: 1-4). This critique of the assumptions that underpin and legitimate state educational interventions in the youth labour market will be set out in the following section.

Critique of orthodox economic theory

Marx, in his critique of Smith and Ricardo's analyses of political economy (Marx, 1912), posited that capital is constantly seeking more capital. Implicit in a capitalist mode of production are processes of competition and accumulation – capitalists cease to be capitalists if they do not compete in order to accumulate capital. This self-expansion of value (i.e. the production, appropriation and accumulation of surplus value) involves capital as a social relation (Fine and Harris, 1979: 3-4). Capital does not exist as 'money' or 'land' or 'fixed assets' except within the fetishism of orthodox economic theory. Capital can only exist as a process within the social relations of capitalist production that are created when labour-power is sold as a commodity and used to create surplus value.

Under capitalism labour-power becomes a commodity, the purchaser is the capitalist, the seller is the labourer. The price of labour-power is the wage.

(Fine, 1975: 23)

Fine's statement concentrates the marxist critique of orthodox economic theory and provides a completely different way of looking at the labour market in a social formation dominated by a capitalist mode of production. Here, labour and capital are no longer regarded as neutral factors in the production process, but as a social relation. Each does not exist without the other. Capitalism is seen as

an historical process that has separated workers from the ownership of the means of production so that they have no choice but to sell their labour-power in the market. In return for a variable wage, their labour-power is put to work to create the surplus value in commodities that the capitalist realises as profit (Kay, 1979).

Because workers have no choice but to sell their labour-power, the social relations of production entail not only the private appropriation of socially-produced surplus value, but also the domination of those who own the means of production over those who do not (Sharp, 1980). These social relations have at least two important general characteristics: the combination of legal personal freedom and equality in the market with the lack of freedom and equality inherent in the subordination of labour to capital, and the hierarchical domination of mental over manual labour (Therborn, 1980a: 43). The unequal social relations and the division of labour, which are therefore integral to the capitalist mode of production, contain the contradictions which are the motor of class struggle and a condition of the existence of the working class (Smith, 1981: 89). The only possible relationship between capital and labour is that of conflict – workers and capitalists struggle over the appropriation of the surplus value produced by labour-power (Burkitt, 1984: 42ff).

A major factor that restricts workers' power to struggle effectively against capitalists is a surplus labour population. A surplus labour population has two important economic functions: first it weakens the bargaining power of employed workers in their wage negotiations (which are part of their struggle over the appropriation of surplus value) and, second, it provides the reserve army of labour that can be used or discarded as capitalism proceeds through its cycles of prosperity and recession (Carnoy and Levin, 1976: 8; Hunt and Sherman, 1981: 75; Giddens, 1981: 36–37). Unemployment is not, therefore, a matter of disequilibrium in a perfect market, nor a matter of labour market preferences, but rather a necessary part of the working mechanism of the capitalist mode of production (Braverman, 1974: 386; Edwards *et al*, 1975: xiv; Carnoy and Levin, 1976: 8; Clarke, 1982: 178).

Youth unemployment is seen as a structural effect of the capitalist mode of

production that affects a specific sector of the population, youth, rather than a result of young people's individual choices, preferences or deficits in the market. The division of labour that is inherent in capitalist production is reflected in the fact that young people, in common with women and black workers, have been used by capital historically as a surplus pool of labour. Skilled, adult, white, male workers have, through a variety of historical struggles, managed to gain advantages in the labour market in terms of conditions and security of employment over these other sectors of the labour force (Marglin, 1978: 47-48n; Cole and Skelton, 1980b; Friend and Metcalf, 1981; Sinfield, 1981). Organised adult labour is in a better position to gain, protect and retain its own employment in the struggle with capital than is young, unorganised, new-entrant labour. This analysis would suggest that, as the reserve army of labour is located within the secondary sector of a segmented labour market (i.e. in an unskilled or, at most, semi-skilled job market characterised by low pay, casual and part-time employment, poor working conditions, insecurity and minimal career structures - Edwards *et al.*, 1975), transition education programmes for unemployed youth will be aimed at that labour market sector. In addition, young people are particularly vulnerable to the restructuring of their adult status in line with the current labour requirements of capital: it is possible to extend the school-leaving age in a variety of ways and to force young people to remain in a dependent position in their families in ways that are not so readily available, at this point in history, when dealing with women and black workers (Bazalgette, 1978: 182; Watts, 1983a: 32; Wallace, 1986: 111). Lettieri (1978: 152), for example, claims that further education is 'forced unproductive labour' for unemployed young people - education functions in this sense to keep young people out of the labour market for a longer period - and Robins and Cohen (1978: 8ff) regard the provision of a youth wage as giving young people the illusion of adult freedom and independence while leaving them still dependent on parental support.

According to this theory, however, the social relations of a capitalist mode of production do not allow unemployed young people to be left to the vagaries of market forces. The generation of future prime-age workers with the requisite skills and attitudes for participation in this form of production must be ensured and attempts are made to extend a very real control over those young people who remain outside the controls of the workplace. To this end, the state responds to youth unemployment by instituting youth training programmes and various forms of transition education.

Transition education

If the market place for the buying and selling of labour power is a free and openly competitive one, then it follows that those who are unable to sell their labour must be lacking some qualities that the successful sellers possess. At one level, this is an accurate appraisal of the labour market and supports a perspective based on the necessity for investment in human capital, particularly through training and education:

The most important chain of exchanges is, of course, that of knowledge for qualifications, qualified activity for high pay, and pay for goods and services.

(Willis, 1977: 64)

However, such an 'obvious' analysis of the labour market operates to obscure the relations of control, competition, alienation and class division that underly the buying and selling of labour. There is an arena of common sense ideas and practices surrounding unemployment, the demands of the labour market and the role of schools in producing employable youth that excludes, by its very common sense nature, any penetration of the labour market in a capitalist economy that might challenge those ideas and practices. As Codd (1984: 12) claims, 'common sense knowledge structures mass consciousness in ways which mask and mystify the existing power relations and social arrangements' and various discourses interact with common sense perceptions of reality to produce a general, if fragmented, consent to the social order (Belsey, 1980: 2ff).

The discourses that are produced within this arena rest on a set of unacknowledged contradictions, the major one of which is that, although there are measurably insufficient jobs being created to absorb the potential workforce (Gallacher and Bowie, 1983: 162), the unemployed are still held to account for their lack of employment. While capital sheds labour in the resolution of its shortterm crisis of declining profitability (and particularly youth labour as this is relatively expensive), the process of leaving school and selling one's labour

power on the market is seen as an individualised process of 'fit' – it is the individual who cannot get a job and it is therefore the individual who is 'unemployable' and lacks the skills that effective training could provide that would 'fit' the person into employment (Townsend and Devereux, 1981). Unemployment thus becomes, at the level of the discourses of common sense, orthodox economic theory and the state, a temporary condition based on individual pathology, rather than a permanent structural feature of the process of capital production and accumulation that devolves unequally on different sectors in society (Rees and Atkinson, 1982). The production of temporary and modifiable pre-employment programmes emphasises both the shortterm nature of the problem and the adaptability of the solution to 'individual needs', and the legitimating discourse that surrounds the programmes coheres with the common sense notions about unemployment – namely that individuals are unemployed because they are deficient in some way and that, therefore, they need skills and attitude training to enable them to become productive and disciplined workers that are acceptable to employers (Cohen, 1984: 119). However,

If it is the case, as the preponderance of evidence suggests, that most of the work places for which vocational students are being prepared do not require significant amounts of skill, understanding of the technology involved in the production process, nor innovation on the part of the worker, then specific cognitive and manual skills training seems, at best, superfluous. Especially if the requisite skills can be quickly acquired on the job, then it seems clear that the "investment" both by the state and the student in curricula to develop such skills may be wasted.

(Violas, 1981: 148)

According to Edgley (1978: 21) industrial skills 'require no particular intelligence, can be learned in four or five weeks or less, and are properly exercised without conscious attention' and these properties are rapidly becoming the attributes of clerical, sales and service skills. Blackburn and Mann (1979), Braverman (1974)

and Gorz (1978a) support this claim (although there are cogent arguments that 'deskilling' is a more complex process in practice across firms and across industries than Braverman, for example, admits in theory - Hill, 1981; Wood, 1982; Thompson, 1983). Cohen (1984: 105) asserts that 'the emphasis given to 'skilling' in both the secondary school curriculum and the 16-19 training provision, is primarily about the inculcation of social discipline'. Marks (1983: 119), writing in the New Zealand context, demonstrates clearly that, even if workers did need a higher level of skill for present production, the 'average skill levels, as measured by educational attainment, increased slightly between 1976 and 1981'. (It should be noted, however, that rises in the levels of education do not necessarily reflect rises in the skill levels of work - Freeman-Moir, 1980: 24.)

The problem for the state, then, on behalf of capital, is not one of sufficient investment in human capital to produce a necessary level of skill in workers, nor is it one of equity. The problem is centrally one of how to maintain a cultural apprenticeship for young people, that is, how to maintain a 'work ethic' and a set of common sense cultural attitudes towards work, when work in its traditional sense is not available (Willis, 1984). Finn and Frith (1981: 59) state that

... the real key to the importance of policies concerning youth lies in the necessity of ensuring both the reproduction of the labour force over time and the stable recruitment of the young to their role as the next generation of workers and parents. And here working class youth represents a 'weak link'; for the potential labour force must be prepared not only for entry to work, but also for wage labour within the antagonistic social relations of capitalism; this is the kernel of the problem of the transition from school to work.

The 'problem' of transition only comes to the fore, therefore, when there is a crisis in production that dislocates the smooth, though fragile, transition from school to work; when the framework of adult identity that work provides in our

society is fractured. And this is not just any work, but wage labour within a particular set of social relations, the wage labour that underpins the production of profit within Marx's labour theory of value (Meek, 1973: 183). One of the ways in which the state attempts to deal with this problem is through the creation of training programmes and transition education aimed specifically at the pool of young unemployed (or potentially unemployed), programmes that are overt substitutes for the lost cultural apprenticeships of employment. By providing courses that say to young people that their unemployment results from their own lack of social and vocational skills, it is possible for the state to maintain a commitment to waged labour and to the social relations of production in these young people (Markall and Gregory, 1982: 59-60). Such a response serves the ideological function of blaming young people for their continued unemployment (Cohen, 1984: 119). As Stafford (1981: 57) has pointed out:

Criticising the personal characteristics of young people ensures that responsibility and, more seriously, the blame for unemployment can be diffused and deflected away from the state and transferred onto young people themselves.

In addition, transition education is not a homogeneous process for young people within the social relations of capitalist production: it is differentiated along class lines in its starting points, the experience of transition itself and in its destinations. (Clarke and Willis, 1984: 7). The provision of training programmes and transition education not only reinforces the notion that the market for labour is freely competitive and fair (i.e. that all that unemployed young people lack are skills which can be provided through transition education). It also reinforces the common sense distinction between mental and manual labour, a division that is central to the production of capital, by replicating the hierarchical ordering of the labour market: a differentiation of knowledge and access to knowledge, which reflects the deskilling and alienating aspects of the labour market for those in subordinate sectors (Behn et.al., 1976; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Gorz, 1978b), is inherent in the structures of transition education programmes. Education is the process whereby capital attempts both to reproduce an individually competitive (yet hierarchically ordered) workforce that will 'fit' the needs of the labour

market and, at the same time, to control workers by promoting skill and knowledge divisions among them (Wilson, 1979: 8–13). And transition education is seen as a part of that process that reinforces common sense explanations for such division and renders invisible the conflict between capital and labour in the market. The state, therefore, makes functional economic, political and ideological responses to youth unemployment that serve to organise the fractions of capital and disorganise the working class. At the same time, it uses orthodox economic theory, implicitly or explicitly, as its rationale for many of these responses. The crisis of youth unemployment is not that of 'skills', 'qualifications' or 'adaptability' – it is a crisis in the reproduction of the 'work ethic', 'work habits' and 'disciplined attitudes' in young people and it is this crisis that the state attempts to resolve at the ideological level by the provision of transition education programmes (Hextall, 1980). Such programmes facilitate keeping school leavers in a holding pattern until work is available, reproduce youth into the existing social relations of production, maintain a work ethic in young people through periods of unemployment and place the blame for their unemployment on young people themselves.

The critique of responses to extensive youth unemployment that are based in orthodox economic theories is substantial. Not only are programmes that are based on orthodox approaches to the market perceived as inadequate as a means of resolving the problem of youth unemployment – more importantly such programmes are seen as an integral part of the ideological interventions by the state in the conflict between capital and labour which work to mystify the relationship between qualifications, work and wages (Gleeson and Mardle, 1980: 147). The questions that are raised by such an analysis of transition education are centrally those of structure and agency. What are the structural constraints and effects of such programmes on the agents who implement and participate in them? How do agents rationalise participation in programmes which, in Wright's terms (1979), are working structurally against their fundamental interests while appearing to work in their immediate interests? Is it possible for agents to penetrate common sense and official discourses to the extent that they can demystify the relationship between qualifications, work and wages?

The study reported in this thesis addresses these questions through an examination of the lived reality of a training programme for unemployed young people, the Young Persons Training Programme (YPTP), implemented in 1982 in one New Zealand technical institute. Chapter Three reviews studies of YPTP to the end of 1982 and contrasts these with the present study.

CHAPTER THREE: THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMME

In 1978, as a response to increasing youth unemployment, the New Zealand government introduced a new educational initiative - Special Training Programmes - for young unemployed people. These Special Training Programmes were replaced by the Young Persons Training Programme (YPTP) in 1979. The aims of the courses were a straightforward vocational preparation of trainees to make them 'job-ready', along with a broader educational 'upgrading' of trainees through the provision of social and life skills course components. The stated aim of the programme was 'to provide training for young job-seekers who clearly need some form of vocational training (whether in social or occupational skills) before they can be referred to an employer for placement' (Department of Labour, 1979). The Young Persons Training Programme was implemented in technical institutes, community colleges and senior technical divisions of secondary schools; courses ranged from three days to twenty weeks, with most courses being between three and six weeks in length, and enrolled only a small number of young people (the usual enrolment was fourteen students per course); and the students on the courses were selected from a pool of young unemployed people who had registered for work with the Department of Labour. Flexibility was built into the funding and structure of the courses to suit local needs, but courses were not approved if they contained any skills training that was normally part of an apprenticeship. This limited the range of courses to sub-apprenticeship training in such fields as farm labour, general labour, process work, sales, service and clerical work.

By December 1982, five studies of YPTP had been carried out with reference to the provision, implementation and outcomes of the programmes - Matthews, 1981; Wilkinson, 1981; Field, 1981; Dale, 1982; and Signal, 1982. Given that YPTP was officially implemented at the end of 1978, these five studies to the end of 1982 represented a sizeable body of research. Together with a variety of departmental and institutional reports on YPTP, they provided a substantial quantitative and

qualitative cross-validating overview of the provision of the courses, the attributes of those students participating in YPTP and the responses of tutors, administrators and employers to the programmes. These studies, however, were basically descriptive and set out to describe either the way the programmes were set up, the way they were implemented and/or their outcomes. They did not locate the provision of YPTP within an analysis of the relationships between education and the labour market, nor did they provide an analysis of the social structures within which the Young Persons Training Programme was developed. The premises and theoretical bases of the programme remained unexplicated and the focus of the research tended to be on making the programme more efficacious, both in overcoming hinderances to the attainment of stated objectives and in enabling individual young people to cope with the effects of unemployment.

Related studies of the Young Persons Training Programmes to December 1982

There have been various institutional reports that have been produced concerning Young Persons Training Programmes to the present date which will be drawn on in the body of the thesis. However, this section of the chapter will focus on those five studies that attempted not only to describe, but also to evaluate some specific area of YPTP. These comprised the only 'research' on YPTP which was completed before the end of 1982, the end-date of the study reported in this thesis.

Wilkinson, A. (1981) A study of some unemployed young people in Palmerston North

Wilkinson's report, the research for which was undertaken between May and October 1980, is not explicitly about YPTP - it is intended as a more general study of young unemployed people's lived experience. However, Young Persons Training Programme students were used as subjects for this essentially qualitative research which provides a comprehensive overview of the subjective experience of being young and unemployed:

This study attempts to give a credible human voice to the wealth of statistics presently pervading journal articles and newspaper stories on unemployment. Our primary aim is to try and bring about the coincidence of two separate worlds: to give those who work a glimpse into the everyday struggles and frustrations of a group of young people who are unable to work.

While Wilkinson claims that he has not imposed a theoretical framework on the study, 'but tried to take the kind of sociological approach that attempts to allow the subjects to define and express those concerns that are most important for them in the situations they find themselves in', he does in fact use an interactionist, phenomenological perspective to give meaning and structure to those subjective concerns. For example, he states that

The 'world' of unemployment does not provide an encompassing and protective environment, for society tries to ensure that the unemployed person remains the outsider. There is no adequate 'meaning system' for the unemployed person to become part of so that a sense of self worth and respectability can be sustained. The unemployed person is forced to construct his or her own 'lifeworld', the structures of which typically revolve around an atrophied sense of identity.

Although Wilkinson does provide a brief review of some of the relevant literature, particularly Casson (1979), he does not attempt an analysis of the causes of unemployment. The value of his research lies in the presentation of selected excerpts from interviews with students on YPTP. These interviews explore issues of concern for the students that cover their previous work experience, their attitudes towards employment, their aspirations, the reality of their present situations, and the students' own explanations of unemployment. Wilkinson frames their explanations of and reactions to unemployment within the theoretical concept of the need for individuals to maintain a group identity through the use of rituals and legitimacy devices. In our society, paid

employment provides that group identity or 'map of the world'. This 'world of meaning' that is shared within a group is destroyed for the unemployed individual who becomes isolated from the group through a series of 'degradation ceremonies':

The process of denunciation effects the ritual destruction of the individual's public identity. For the unemployed person, denunciation comes with 'the dole' and the continuance of the 'Poor Law Mentality'.

At the end of his report, Wilkinson makes a series of recommendations concerning youth unemployment and YPTP that emphasise ensuring that the unemployed know that they are not the cause of their own unemployment and on 'boosting a sense of personal assertiveness in an otherwise completely powerless situation'.

While paid employment is a powerful source of social identity and group belonging, the implications of Wilkinson's research for the study reported in this thesis relate to his lack of analysis of the social relations within which individuals struggle to make meaning of their lives and the extent of the power that they have as agents to effect changes in their lived experience.

Matthews et al (1981) Skills Training in Northland: An Evaluation

Matthews' study was designed to give full consideration to the basic aims of the main agencies involved in the Northland Community College YPTP courses, that is, the Department of Labour, Department of Maori Affairs and the Community College. These aims were seen to be 'improving the employability of young people and helping them to find work'. There are two main parts to the study:

- (i) 'Assessment of the educational results of the courses in terms of actual learning, or achievement, or the changes which occurred in the trainees during their time at the College', and

- (ii) 'the success rate of the trainees in gaining jobs or participating in further training'.

Details are given of the results of a series of interviews held with ex-trainees from thirteen courses, with employers, parents, Departmental officers and tutors. In addition, several case studies and typical responses of trainees and employers are provided (p.10).

This study is a descriptive, wide-ranging evaluation of the implementation and effects of thirteen YPTP courses in one community college during 1980. While Matthews' research is contained within the premises of YPTP, i.e. she does not raise these premises for question, she does indicate some of the contradictions that are present when young people are offered training courses for jobs that are not available. The study also demonstrates the 'patch up', temporary nature of YPTP provisions for unemployed young people, and the difficulties that this presents for those who work with the programmes. In principle, Matthews' study is untheorised - it is a neutral piece of research that describes and evaluates objectively a series of YPTP courses. However, the unacknowledged theory that underpins the study is that the labour market functions fairly and competitively and that young people have specific disadvantages in that market which can be ameliorated by the provision of training programmes. Employers' analyses of young people's deficiencies in the labour market, and the social benefits of making young people more 'employable' through attendance at YPTP courses, are accepted as given. Specifically, the college is seen by those who tutor in YPTP 'as an extension of the workplace not as an extension of the secondary system' (p.19); that is, the emphasis in the programmes is on training rather than education. However, the question of whether employers, therefore, rather than community colleges and technical institutes, should be supplying this training is left unexamined. The articulations between education and the labour market are not made explicit in the study even though they are alluded to in several ways. For example:

Since special training courses began the average criteria for jobs has become progressively higher and higher educational qualifications. UE holders are thus likely to

find themselves making tea, or its equivalent, and gaining little satisfaction. Those without school qualifications therefore are now in greater need of a skill or practical experience that they can present to an employer. Skills courses are providing this competitive "edge" and trainees are able to show prospective employers a useful testimonial on their individual strengths and attitudes.

This credentialism is accepted as an inherent and natural attribute of the labour market in a recession and is not raised for critical analysis.

Matthews' study, then, provides a good overview of the implementation and effects of YPTP, and of some of the problems associated with the provision of YPTP. It does not, however, provide an analysis of the relationships between education and the labour market. Instead, the study accepts implicitly an orthodox perspective on those relationships (as discussed in Chapter Two).

Field, M. (undated) An evaluation of the Young Persons Training Programme

Field's study appears to have been written up in December 1981. It refers to an evaluation of YPTP which compared programmes implemented in 1981 in six Department of Labour districts and which had four key research objectives:

- (i) To measure the effectiveness of YPTP in assisting young job seekers to become 'job ready';
- (ii) To examine the appropriateness of existing criteria for selecting trainees to attend YPTP courses and the level of adherence by Districts to the selection criteria;
- (iii) To determine the influence of the availability of subsidised training and employment on the job history of trainees;

- (iv) To determine the view of other interested parties with regard to YPTP operations. (pp. 1-2)

The research methodology consisted of semi-structured interviews with ex-YPTP trainees, District Employment and Vocational Guidance Service staff, course tutors and supervisors, and employers, along with a documentary analysis of Department of Labour district final course reports and monthly employment reports.

As with Matthews' study, Field's is a comprehensive evaluation of the major parameters of YPTP that is presented in an descriptive atheoretical way. It also contains an implicit acceptance of an orthodox perspective on the labour market and youth unemployment. Young people are seen to be unemployed because of the ineffectiveness of their job search activities:

Either they have been unemployed too long and they've lost the motivation and desire to get out and start, do their round of employers and so on and they've lost heart, they've given up ... (interview protocol)

or because of their individual deficiencies:

Most tutors and Department of Labour staff noted that many trainees have domestic and personal problems and have poor health coupled with a negative outlook on life. At their worst, the trainees may have lost their motivation to work and lack self-regulating and self-developing habits.

Field accepts the assumptions underlying the Young Persons Training Programme that young people are unemployed because they lack work skills, good work attitudes and habits, qualifications and job-seeking skills. The neo-classical theory of the labour market that underlies these premises is left unquestioned. In addition, the articulations between education and the labour market are taken for granted and unexplored. However, Field's study is valuable because of its extensive presentation of employer and Employment Officer interview protocols.

While these are not interpreted critically, they provide an indication of the way in which representatives of these groups perceive unemployed young people and the labour market. This qualitative material is rarely available.

Signal, L.N. (1982) An outcome evaluation of the Waikato Technical Institute's marae-based Young Person's Training Programme

Signal's report presents an outcome evaluation (that is, an 'evaluation of whether a programme is working, whether it is meeting its aims and objectives effectively') of a unique six-week marae-based YPTP course run at Waikato Technical Institute in 1982. The course was established specifically to meet the needs of unemployed Maori young people and it included one week spent living on a local marae. The researcher used participant observation to gather data, but with a specific aim: to emphasise those of the day's events which illustrated the effectiveness of the course in meeting its objectives. She also developed questionnaires to measure student performance on each of the objectives of the course. These questionnaires were administered at the beginning and the end of the course. A non-equivalent group, the Automotive Maori Pre-Apprentice Course at Waikato Technical Institute, was also surveyed as a comparison with the YPTP group. The report is intended to provide 'feedback to tutors and administrators and a considerable number of recommendations are made about ways to maintain and increase course effectiveness'. In addition, an alternative to the present course is suggested.

Signal asserts the necessity for YPTP tutors to teach to Department of Labour aims, but does not explore the tensions and contradictions that mark the relationship between Department of Labour and Department of Education aims (i.e. between labour market 'needs' and educational provisions). The Department of Labour aim of making students 'job-ready', and the demand for a course content that meets this aim, is seen as unproblematic:

As the Labour Department are responsible for all programmes

for the unemployed it is they who have set the aim of YPTP courses. (...) The phrase used by Labour Department employees is "to make the students job-ready". The specific objectives of the programme and the course content are determined by the tutors. These are directed towards the aim of making students "job-ready".

Signal's goal is to enable tutors to fulfil this requirement effectively, rather than to examine critically the requirement itself. Yet the problematic nature of YPTP is evidenced in the 'difficulties' that Signal discusses with reference to the implementation of both the research and the course. An example of this is the question of student 'needs'. Signal identifies these needs explicitly with Department of Labour aims for the course (p.9). However, when she discusses whether the course objective of 'assisting students to be more skilled in presenting for and searching out job opportunities' has been met effectively, it becomes obvious that, in reality, student 'needs' and student perceptions of their situation are divergent from Department of Labour aims:

... students found it difficult to understand the relevance of this objective and were thus reluctant to practise job interviews. Comments such as "why should we do job interviews, there aren't any jobs" were expressed a number of times.

This central contradiction in the provision of the courses, one that the students themselves were quite aware of, is seen as a remediable obstacle by Signal. While she recommends that permanent jobs be available for all students at the end of the course or, alternatively, that the Department of Labour change its 'unrealistic' aim of making the students job-ready, she does not question the initial provision of the courses. The hidden curriculum of the course is unacknowledged. Statements such as:

The police and the justice system were presented to the students in a very positive light. Students were encouraged

to see the police as people there to help them, reflect the normative social control functions of the programme. They mask the reality of a society where over fifty percent of the prison population is Maori (Maori Economic Development Commission, 1985: 24) and all of the students on the course were Maori. Signal does not question these ideological messages and provides only a truncated analysis of both the premises of YPTP and the contradictory position of the students on the course.

The value of Signal's research lies in its description of the lived experience of a YPTP course. The qualitative detail of course content and implementation, and tutor-student interactions, has been documented rarely – a situation which the present study seeks to redress.

Dale, D. (1982) An evaluation of an intervention programme for unemployed young people

Dale's is an experimental study designed to evaluate the effects on participants of the YPTP pre-employment course run by the Wanganui Senior Technical Division, in terms of

changes in self-esteem, locus of control, psychological well-being, job-seeking skills and activities, and use of time while unemployed.

Twenty-six unemployed young people were paired on a self-esteem measure and randomly assigned to an experimental or a control group. The experimental group undertook a six-week YPTP pre-employment course and the effects were evaluated by comparing before and after measures for both groups. Dale states that

Positive effects were demonstrated for psychological

well-being, knowledge of job-seeking activity, use of time, and the degree to which subjects benefitted from the course.

However, these positive effects were minimal and could in some cases, as Dale herself states, be attributed to factors other than attendance or non-attendance at a pre-employment course. Stafford (1982: 20) has also pointed out that these effects are often temporary - the detrimental psychological effects of unemployment return for ex-trainees who are unemployed.

Useful demographic data on the twenty-six subjects of the study are provided in terms of factors of sex, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, family, schooling and unemployment. In addition, the scores of the self-esteem, locus of control, General Health Questionnaire, life satisfaction, use of time, job skills and job specification questionnaires are provided.

Dale's is a study of the individual psychological attributes of unemployed young people and does not attempt to offer an explicit explanation of the causes of unemployment. There is, however, an embedded set of theoretical assumptions in her work: young people are individually disadvantaged in the labour market and they need skills that will enable them to cope successfully, at an individual level, with the effects of unemployment:

These courses are generally intended to help the young person to cope more effectively with being unemployed. What this actually means in terms of course content and style is a debatable question. In the face of continuing unemployment, ie, without creating jobs, one answer might be to attempt to counter the individual psychological ill-effects of unemployment.

The limitations of Dale's research are that she does not examine the relationships between YPTP and the labour market and her study brackets social structures, social relations and history in order to investigate the effects of YPTP as an intervention in young people's lives. Possible economic, political or

ideological functions of YPTP are not stipulated or analysed and the normative control premises of YPTP are taken for granted in the study:

YPTP courses at the very least provide the structure for meaningful use of time, social contacts, and required activity for unemployed young people. However, it also seems essential that any course must use methods which promote self-responsibility and self-esteem to facilitate the learning of whatever skills are being taught, and to be conducive to longer-term meaningful use of time for those who remain unemployed.

A critical analysis of the Young Persons Training Programme would focus on the courses as a site of struggle for young unemployed people and their teachers and examine the taken-for-granted assumptions about unemployment and the labour market that underpin Dale's research.

Critical analysis of the Young Persons Training Programme as a site of struggle

There are contradictions inherent in the provision of training programmes that prepare young people to enter the unskilled sector of the labour market, when employment opportunities in that sector are contracting substantially and structurally. A critical study of such programmes would raise questions that are not examined in empirical studies such as those cited above. For example, in relation to the students on the YPTP courses, specific questions would be:

- (i) How do unemployed young people cope with the contradiction between popular beliefs such as 'work hard, get educational qualifications and you'll get a job', and the perceived mismatch between the labour force and the job market which produces a pool of unemployment?
- (ii) What strategies do these students use to reconcile this contradiction in their consciousness and action?

- (iii) How far, if at all, are the students able to see through the common sense belief which holds that young people are unemployed because they are individually inadequate?
- (iv) How far is this common sense belief reinforced by the provision of the courses such as the YPTP?

Willis (1983) argues that, to effectively address questions such as these, research should examine:

... the actual experiences of men and women, the way felt contradictions are understood, the doubts, uncertainties and fears of real people: in a word the grounds of culture. ... The point is to see how material change and developing contradictions affect, and are affected by, modes of living, the ways of understanding them, and by what capacities they are either resisted or accommodated.

The research on YPTP undertaken in 1982 that is reported in this thesis is an attempt to raise the premises and theoretical bases of the programme for critical analysis and to site the data within an analysis of the relationships between education and the labour market and of the social relations that underpin the programme. It is a study of the Young Persons Training Programme which examines the material conditions, cultural practices and lived experience within which these dislocations and contradictions of common sense perceptions occurred. The research focuses on the ways in which those centrally involved in YPTP, the students and tutors, talked about their perceptions and understandings of their experience in YPTP and the ways in which they acted on that experience. At the same time, analysis of the discourse that surrounded YPTP is used to deconstruct the words and actions of the students and tutors; that is, to get beneath the level of appearances in examining their experience, to try to site that experience within sets of structural relationships (Wright, 1979: 11). The objectives of the study reported in this thesis are, therefore:

- (i) to describe, using a variety of qualitative approaches, the policies, practices and lived experiences of the Young Persons Training Programme within a New Zealand technical institute;
- (ii) to develop a theoretical account of the YPTP as both a state intervention in the labour market and as lived experience for the individual agents concerned;
- (iii) to examine the effects of the discourse associated with a particular implementation of the YPTP within an analysis of the wider discourse on school-to-work transition.

The practical and theoretical difficulties involved in such research will now be addressed.

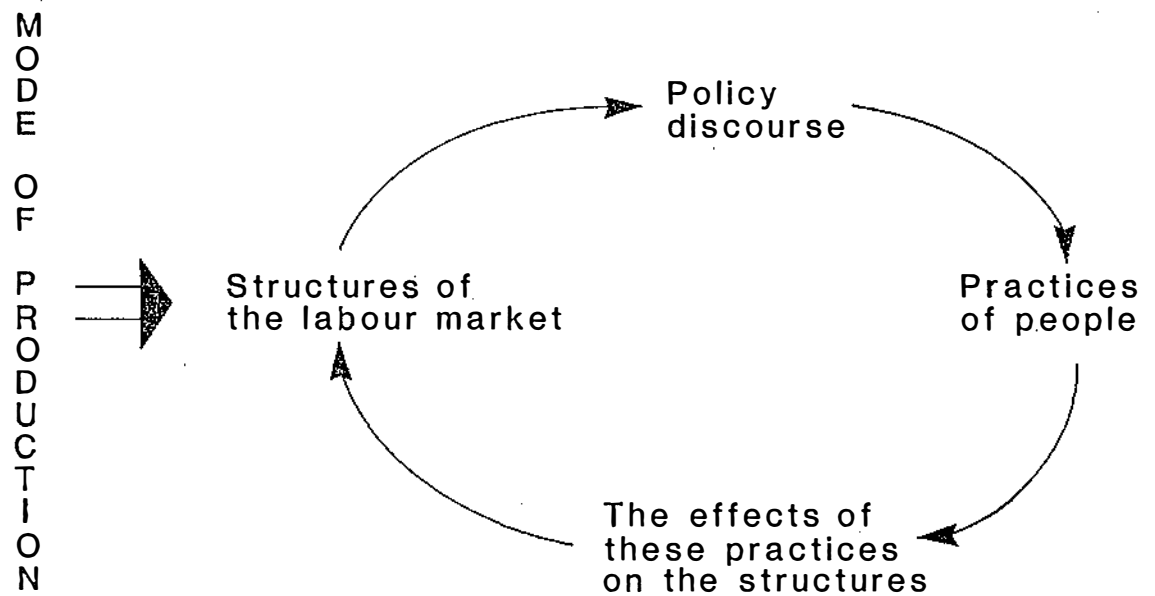
CHAPTER FOUR: METHOD AS THEORY

In this chapter, an account is provided of the theory that framed the methodology that was used to gather and analyse data in the study. While it is recognised that theory and practice are inextricably and integrally linked, there is a focus on methodological theory – an account of methodological practice is set out in Chapter Five.

The theoretical argument of the previous chapters implies that those who teach and learn within the framework of 'transition education' do not live that experience as a seamless fabric of common sense interpretation but as a ruptured and contradictory commonsense. These ruptures and contradictions, it is argued, reflect the difficulty people have in making sense of a socially contradictory economic system. This thesis seeks to examine and make sense of these distortions in the fabric of the everyday lives of participants within a transition education programme. For this purpose a methodology was required that would provide access to the discourses and practices of those participating in the YPTP courses and to the official discourse that surrounded the implementation of the Young Persons Training Programme. To this end, a participant observation study of one year's YPTP courses in a technical institute was carried out. This method follows research practices adopted by Keddie, 1971; Nash, 1973; Sharp and Green, 1975; Willis, 1977; Murray, 1978; Corrigan, 1979; Gleeson and Mardle, 1980; Pollert, 1981; Stafford, 1981; Griffin, 1985; and Lees, 1986, among others. Ethnographic work at specific physical locations as well as at specific relational sites enables access to the ideas, practices and discourses that both contain, and are constructed in, a specific site of struggle: in this case the production of training programmes for unemployed youth.

The strengths and weaknesses of ethnographic methods in social science are

well-documented by, among others, McCall and Simmons, 1969; Webb *et al*, 1969; Denzin, 1970; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973; Mehan and Wood, 1975; Filstead, 1979; Adelman, 1981; Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis, 1982; and Emerson, 1983 - these strengths and weaknesses will not be enumerated. However, it is necessary to attend to some of the features of research in which the focus is on the links between social relations and practice; that is, research which uses data arising from a study at a particular location in order to illustrate and explain the specific character of social relations and practices. The focus of the study was not the Young Persons Training Programme itself - rather it was the way in which the structures of the labour market are translated into practice at a particular site of struggle. The dynamic that structured the study can be demonstrated clearly in a diagram:



This diagram provides a simplified illustration of the way in which the structures of the labour market, the policy discourse that arises from those structures, the actual practices that follow from policy decisions and the effects of these practices on the structures of the labour market are underpinned by the contradictions that are inherent in a capitalist mode of production. These contradictions are expressed in a variety of ways at every level of the movement from structure to discourse to practice and back to structure and create each level as a site of struggle (Gintis and Bowles, 1981: 50). It is the complexity of this dynamic that is the focus of the present investigation (Williams, 1973: 16). Leaving aside the specific concern of this thesis with transition education programmes, the location for such an investigation might as easily have been carried out, for example, in a classroom of a secondary school, on the floor of a factory, in an office or at the Department of Labour Job Centre. The YPTP was selected because the programme sits at the interface of school and work and promised to provide a particularly clear illustration of the relationships between structure and agency in that nexus.

This chapter contains three sections that discuss the theory that underpins (1) the research method, (2) data collection procedures and (3) the analysis of data.

The research method

The theoretical claims of this thesis, as discussed in Chapter Two, are that the social relations of a capitalist mode of production are contradictory in specific ways and that these contradictions are lived at specific sites of struggle. One arm of the study attempts to get a grip on the discourse that surrounds the social relations of the Young Persons Training Programme in order to reveal these contradictions by systematic analysis. The second arm of the study attempts to demonstrate how those contradictions are manifested and lived in the practices of those directly involved in the implementation of the training programmes, for social relations are, of course, constituted by the practices of people (Grimshaw

et.al., 1980: 74). The methodological demands of the first aspect may be met by a form of textual analysis able to reveal contradictions, closures and exclusions in texts (which in this thesis are taken to be written and spoken texts). Knowledge of social practice is facilitated by direct observation of the day-to-day actions and practices of group members by ethnographic research (Jenkins, 1983; Robinson, 1974). Thus the study relies heavily on participant observation supported by analytic techniques which develop a theoretical dialectic between discourse and practice able to reveal the ways in which specific contradictions affect lived relations.

This dual method, as employed in this research, is constructed within theoretical realism (Reid, 1969; Bhaskar, 1975, 1979; Benton, 1977; Harré, 1983; Keat and Urry, 1982). Realism asserts that social relations must be treated as real existents in the world. Such entities are, to use Bhaskar's distinction, real while not actual – while social relations do not have a material existence as physical objects, they are not the less real. Social relations exist and may be known in and through the material practices of people. They are lived, that is they are expressed in social structures and institutions and in human action, and they have real effects, specifically on other social relations and through a multitude of consequences that sociologists recognise as unanticipated and unintended. To reveal the nature of these social relations requires the adoption of a naturalistic approach to scientific investigation.

The central methodological problem relevant to this study is the standard anthropological problem – that of credence. Kemmis (1982: 78) claims that

... case study work is like all forms of science: it is an empirical process of truth-seeking; it is a social, cultural and cognitive process; and it resolves in its practice the double problem of justified true belief – the justification of belief and belief in justification.

By thus stressing that the central methodological problem for ethnographic work in social science is that of all forms of science, the study situates itself within

the naturalist tradition. In order to establish credence, the theoretical argument of the thesis must possess an internal logical coherence and the analysis of the ethnographic description must reveal the real character of the struggle to live within contradictory social relations. While there is no final way to establish credence of this sort (i.e. those who examine the study can simply withhold belief), there are specific ways in which the credibility of ethnographic analysis can be reinforced: the theory must have logical coherence, the contextual evidence must demonstrate the links between theory, observation and personal accounts, and a correspondence must be evidenced between text and practice.

The analysis of discourse rests on established criteria of logical argument. Perhaps the central difficulty is that of demonstrating that the links that exist between a contradictory discourse and the lived experience of individuals are real in the way realist theory claims. Always the question is one to be settled by a grounded interrogation of evidence and argued demonstration. Theoretical realism, used in conjunction with participant observation, does not aim to produce law-governed explanations:

Empirical research bears on the theory at a number of different points, both in providing some of the evidence for hypothesized entities with specific powers, and in characterizing the explicandum. Second, empirical research is never on its own sufficient to confirm a particular explanation - this is because in [theoretical realism] the explicandum is to be viewed as the outcome of the synthesized relationships between the different social entities whose causal powers happen in part to be realized. Analysing this process of synthesis is always a partly theoretical activity.

(Keat and Urry, 1982: 249)

In other words, 'hypothesized entities' (in this case, social relations and social powers) can be demonstrated to have a real existence, not by verifiable measurement or in terms of the predictive value of the data, but in terms of their analysable effects. The method succeeds not by confirming a set of causal relationships but by producing theoretically coherent interpretations of observed events which have contextual validity within real social situations.

There are four questions one can ask of participant observation work. First, do the actions and discourse of the participants in the study support the interpretations that the researcher has made of the relationships between contradictory social relations and lived experience? The interview data may, in fact, be at odds with participant action - their discourse may contradict their practice (Harris' favourite example is of Indian peasants who assert the sacred nature of all cattle but who nevertheless adopt practices that lead to the death of a great deal more bull calves, which give no milk, than cows - this is a contradiction which they are unable to acknowledge, 1979). What counts as ethnographic accuracy is whether there is a consistency in the participants' actions and discourse overall, even if this is a consistency of contradiction, that underlines the explanations that are being offered in the study. Second, does the researcher establish routines in the participant observation that are recognised ways of entering the lived experience of the participants? Third, are descriptions and analyses checked with those involved in the study and to what effect? In other words, do the participants recognise the descriptions as true and do they feel that the analysis makes sense of their lived social relations? And, fourth, is it possible to reinforce the descriptions and analyses with work that has been completed in similar areas? In this case, do reports on YPTP from other technical institutes and community colleges support the study at least at the level of description? These are the questions that have guided the selection and analysis of data presented in subsequent chapters.

A criticism could be made that the data are used in the analysis selectively, that only a small amount of data which supports the thesis is selected out of the mass

of data available. The implication might be that, if the reader had access to the whole of the data, then the thesis would not be proved. In some last instance, it is impossible to answer criticism of this sort – the problem of scepticism arises when the understandings reached through scientific work are not treated as provisional truths (like many truths reached by science) but as mere fabrications (Kemmis, *ibid.*: 84). To paraphrase Bill Williamson (1982: 228) a participant observation study, itself reflecting the selective interests of the researcher, runs the risk of distorting seriously the reality it seeks to describe: 'there must always be gaps in the record which no research technique can fill'. Williamson used two methods in his study to control distortion; the first was constant dialogue with participants and the second the testing of interpretations with others: 'the result is not the truth of the matter; rather it is a plausible account', something that is consistent with what the participants know. In terms of this thesis, therefore, it has been assumed that to establish credence in terms of the method, (1) the theory must be rational and coherent; (2) substantive and coherent links must be demonstrated between theory and description; and (3) the researcher must reduce the possibility or plausibility of alternative explanations of the data (Gleeson and Mardle, 1980: 132). These points are taken up again in the Conclusion of this thesis.

Data collection procedures

In order to gather data about people's lived experience, one must enter the world of their everyday lives (Stubbs, 1976: 73). To this end a variety of qualitative methods of data collection were employed within Willis' (1980: 94) 'flexible range of particular techniques to be drawn upon according to our theoretical needs':

participation, observation, participation as observer, observation as participant, just 'being around', group discussion, recorded group discussion, unfocused interview, recorded unfocused interview.

This use of multiple methods of data collection coincides with McCall and Simmons (1969) claim that participant observation is not a 'single method but rather a characteristic style of research which makes use of a number of methods and techniques'.

While recommended 'ideal' procedures regarding entry into the field, methods of participant observation, interviewing techniques and ways of establishing an acceptable role were noted and proved invaluable in the field, the guiding feature of this research, from day to day, was principled eclecticism. If opportunities presented themselves, they were taken and, if a particular technique worked, it was used again - flexibility was essential. This flexibility arose, first, from the unique nature of this type of research - for there are no models that will 'fit' exactly participant observation studies that are carried out in different places and at different times - all ethnographic studies are irreplicable in this sense. Second, because the researcher had no previous experience with this type of research, it was sometimes necessary to follow intuition rather than prescription. Occasionally, sheer common sense indicated that the use of a particular 'technique' would be inappropriate. As Silverman (1985: xii) observes, some of these issues can only be settled by practical experience. Third, the majority of the participants in this study (the students and the tutors) were lacking experience, confidence and some sense of continuity within the system - this meant that they were alienated and negatively disposed in a variety of ways which often prevented the systematic use of 'techniques' that they would have recognised as such and resented or that could have been considered to be manipulative. And, fourth, the 'ideal' procedures relate to those studies which, as Willis points out, are aimed in a covertly positivist way at producing the subject as object, at producing validations, generalisations and triangulations, rather than in reflexively relating subject (researcher) to subject (researched):

... where the researcher, in whatever form, can theorize, so to speak, on his/her feet, for all the difficulties and disorientations, reflexivity can allow the progressive constitution of the concrete in relation to theory, not merely as an analytic protocol but as a dynamic, dialectical method.

(1980: 94)

The study is based on three main sources of data: observations, interviews and documents. The procedures involved in collecting this data are described in Chapter Five.

Analysis of data

The analysis of the data collected in this study falls into two distinct parts; (i) the analysis of the official discourse that surrounded the implementation of the specific YPTP courses; and (ii) the analysis of the participant observation and interview material.

(i) Discourse analysis:

The first aim of the study was to gather discourse that related to state policy on transition education and training programmes for unemployed youth and to the implementation of the Young Persons Training Programme in particular. Official discourse produced within a capitalist society will characteristically reflect the contradictions inherent in the social relations of that mode of production. These contradictions are rendered invisible in official texts through the use of 'closures', procedures that attempt to close-off or prevent other readings. The role of official discourse is essentially one of organisation and selection; it limits the discursive field in ways which sustain the legitimisation of state policies and relegate alternate discourses to the realm of the extra-discursive, that is to the unspoken (Kellner, 1978: 51-59). Such discursive closures, however, always point by their silence to that which has been excluded. By definition, official discourse acknowledges the extra-discursive, the unofficial, and, in its very existence, creates the grounds of struggle between the discursive and the extra-discursive for control of meaning (Burton and Carlen, 1979: 50-51).

In deconstructing official discourse, therefore, discourse analysis is used to expose the text, where meanings are produced, as a site of struggle. In other words, the very powers and dangers that the text attempts to master and exclude

can be brought to bear against it from within itself. In deconstructing the text, what is not said and contradictions within the discourse are sought out in order to 'open up' the text to alternative readings (Foucault, 1972: 25). As Belsey, in her work on critical practice (1980: 104), argues, 'Composed of contradictions, the text is no longer an object for passive consumption but an object of work by the reader to produce meaning' (added emphasis). Wood (ibid.) outlines clearly the idealist roots and 'profound vacuity' of that discourse theory which rests on the assumption 'that social and political forces are constituted by discourse itself, with little foundation in social relations' (p.5) and claims that, in the end, such discourse theory is 'little more than a verbal conjuring trick' (p.70). However, her realist critique of the theory does not preclude its use as a powerful tool of analysis. Barrett et al (1979: 15-18), who also criticise discourse theory for its underlying idealism, claim that it is 'quite legitimate to focus analysis on the internal structures of texts themselves, to examine how texts work as meaning-producing practices in their own right. It may be thus possible to indicate ways in which textual practices may operate 'unconsciously' in contradiction with their own conditions of existence'.

The technique of textual deconstruction inherent in discourse theory is employed in this thesis in order to examine the way in which official discourse attempts to structure not only a particular 'reading' of youth unemployment and the mechanisms of the labour market, but also particular subjects within transition education, i.e. the YPTP students. However, while the state does attempt to create subjects in the Althusserian sense of the word where the subject is seen as nothing more than a bearer/support/effect of the social relations of production (Althusser, 1971; Coward and Ellis, 1977; Molina, 1977), official discourse addresses concrete social individuals who 'are always already constructed as class-ed, sex-ed and age-ranked subjects' (Johnson, 1979: 75; see also Therborn, 1980b: 80) within a specific cultural field. The notion of 'subject' used in the thesis, therefore, is Marxian in the sense of mutually-dependent individuals (a class) not only being the subject of the social relations of production, but also the producer of those relations (Larrain, 1981). In other words, people are active agents who resist subjection (discursive and

non-discursive) within a set of historically and structurally determined constraints.

People bring their individual experiences, traditions and beliefs to an interpretation of official discourse in ways that do not guarantee a pre-specified discursive subjection – they are subjects, an ‘I’, within the discourse, in addition to being the subjects (as objects) of the discourse. Official discourse then must cope with people as agents and it does this by reclaiming ‘commonsense’. When the extra-discursive (or the effects of contradictory social relations) threatens to intrude, official discourse attempts to remedy the state’s legitimisation crises ‘by celebrating a subjectivist empiricism [commonsense]’ (Burton and Carlen, *ibid.*: 139). Gramsci makes it clear that this common sense resounds in people’s lived experience (Kellner, 1978) and its reclamation, therefore, is a powerful source of both legitimisation and closure for official discourse (Lawrence, 1982: 48). Belsey argues (*ibid.*: 3) that, by presenting its resolutions as ‘obvious’ and ‘natural’, discourse is able to reduce attempts to interrupt or penetrate the text that would raise for question the taken-for-granted assumptions of common sense (as ideological practice rather than non-truth – Burton and Carlen, *ibid.*: 62). In addition, appeals to the ‘obviousness’ of its resolutions provide the basis for the appearance of consensus within official discourse, which again reduces the legitimacy of attempts to interrupt the text to reveal the contradictions underlying official policy.

Analysis at this level, therefore, involves exposing the contradictions that are integral to the text (whether spoken or written); pointing out the exclusions and the closures of the text; and demonstrating the ways in which the text reclaims (or fails to reclaim) common sense. Chapter Seven details some of the ways in which official discourse attempts to construct a ‘transition education subject’, the ways in which it normalises this construction and the ways in which it excludes other constructions of that subject. At the same time, analysis reveals that this official discourse is a process arising out of antagonistic social relations, a process of struggle (Macdonell, 1986) that is never fully resolved in favour of the state as a mediator of the contradictions of capital production. Official discourse must ultimately confront reality and, as is demonstrated in

Chapter Seven, it is here that its legitimation is most at risk.

Discourse analysis is a tool that has been developed within a problematic framework, a framework that is often based on idealist assumptions. It is seemingly an unlikely methodological tool for use within a realist study. However, there is no contradiction if the idealist roots of discourse analysis are recognised and if it is used with appropriate caution as an heuristic device; if it is recognised that the state does behave in Althusserian ways, that it does attempt to construct or 'hail' subjects through discourse, and that those 'subjects' are, in fact, agents who resist or accommodate such discursive construction at specific sites of struggle; and if it is recognised that discourse in itself does not create social relations and social forces.

(ii) Analysis of participant observation and interview data:

The second aim of the study was to gather 'focused information' (Gleeson and Mardle, *ibid.*: 134) that would reveal the contradictory social relations of the Young Persons Training Programme and the way in which those social relations were lived. An attempt was made to discover 'the social reality' of YPTP and its institutional practices in order to articulate the contradictions between the discourse and practices of those producing, implementing and being served by YPTP and the actual structural relations underlying the programme.

Silverman (*ibid.*) argues that the accepted polarity between quantitative method and qualitative method misleads researchers into seeking verifiable empirical description (at either pole) rather than explanatory relational analysis. For Silverman the qualitative researcher's claim should not be to 'representativeness but to faultless logic' and a consistent realism which

'implies that social structures are 'real', in the sense that they are reflected in social relations which may be

hidden from (though expressed in) the perceptions of the individual. ... realism implies that such data reproduce and rearticulate cultural particulars grounded in given patterns of social organisation.

(ibid.: 157)

Willis (1980: 95) argues for a recognition of the reflexive relationship of researchers to their subjects and a recognition of the homogenising, controlling tendencies of qualitative techniques (ibid.: 94). From the uncertainties and insecurities of the reflexive relationship of subject and subject in the research process can arise the theoretical 'surprises' that are the essence of research that is more than a mere reconstruction, however detailed and rich, of appearances.

This part of the study was carried out in a reflexive manner – while the researcher did enter the investigation with assumptions as to the way in which the structures of the labour market operated (as presented in Chapter Two), she was open to the realities of the participants' responses to living within those structures and did not preconceptualise those responses. While it is obvious that impressions were formed, modified or rejected during the period of the research, the analysis proper was carried out after leaving the field. By reading and re-reading field notes and interview transcripts, by building up descriptive and analytic impressions of the field, and by carrying out simple counting procedures on the student interview responses (for example, father's occupation or student employment history), it was possible to be surprised by the data (Barton and Lazarfeld, 1969: 163ff; Willis, 1977: 165). For example, it was assumed on entry to the field that both the tutor group and the student group would each be homogeneous – in fact, sifting through the data supported the impression gained in the field that the groups were heterogeneous. Because the analysis of these data relied on substantiating the links between underlying social relations and appearances, the analysis then focused on the heterogeneity as a feature of the study that needed explanation.

The analysis went beyond simple description of appearances and integrated the two arms of the study to embrace a whole moment of the social world. The relations between discourse and practice within that social world were uncovered and made problematic and, at the same time, there was a constant dialectical shift from description of that social world, from description of both discourse and practice, to an analysis of the social relations that structured the appearances. An integral part of this analysis was the feeding back of the writing-up of the study to the two relatively permanent tutors at the technical institute and on-going discussion of the study with those involved in implementing YPTP at Departmental and technical institute levels in other centres. (Middleton, 1987: 17, expands on the importance of producing an analysis which is authentic and comprehensible to the participants in this type of research). Their responses to the description and analysis of the YPTP courses are discussed in the Conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHOD AS PRACTICE

This chapter outlines the way in which the theory of the method of data collection was implemented in practice. Because of the personalised nature of the method through which the data was collected, the following account is presented in the first person.

Observations

While general observations in the technical institute were carried out for the period of the study, the focus of observation was the YPTP course. My position as observer at the beginning of the first course was obvious. It was very uncomfortable being the only person in the room without a clearly identified role. Although the students and the tutors were aware that a study of YPTP was being made, their knowledge of the project was minimal at that point. What was advantageous was that few of the people in the room knew each other in that initial period. The first week was spent in 'getting to know you' games and self-revelatory whole-group discussions in which I participated and, by the end of the first week, I was able to establish a necessary rapport with students and tutors. My role then became crystallised (by others) as that of 'older student writing a book' and ceased to be of interest or concern to the students. Although the study and the research role were explained, these were never fully comprehended by the students mainly because they considered my work boring and of no relevance to their lives. I was asked on several occasions by students: 'Don't you get bored doing this?', but in the main they ignored my work as researcher within the group. I participated in whatever the students were doing for the ten weeks of the course as if I were one of them, and I tried not to make

notes during the times I was with them so that my role as researcher did not intrude. Visitors to the classroom or people we met on outside visits, and sometimes even the tutors, assumed that I was one of the students. This integration was aided by the fact that, although I was older than these students, I wore similar clothes, a similar hairstyle, had a similar class background and used their language - I was as poor as they were and had similar difficulties with basic survival. While they assumed that I must be very 'brainy' to be at university, and they found this threatening as an 'objective fact', they accepted me at a personal level as a member of their group, as one of them.

Three weeks after the first course began in 1982, another ten-week skills course was started. Two courses were run concurrently during the next two terms and this concurrence created difficulties for the research. First, choices had to be made between courses in terms of participation: in the end, attendance at a particular class was chosen on a day-to-day basis selected on (a) a balance if possible between the two courses and (b) anything of special interest that was happening or due to happen in a course. Second, the students in each course were unhappy about time that I spent in the other course; they felt that I was deserting 'the group' and it became necessary to reassert the role of researcher and re-explain the nature of the study. During the second half of each course, interviews were completed with each student and this, too, cut into the time available for observing the course. While these interviews did remove me temporarily from 'the group', i.e. they put me into a different role in relation to the students, it was easy to slip back into the role of group member. Students accepted my interactions with tutors as a function of my age and my work, i.e. it was 'natural' that, at times, I would want to spend time talking with the tutors, and these interactions did not appear to affect my group membership. The students themselves spent considerable periods of time talking with tutors outside of normal course hours and, in general, did not perceive barriers between membership of their group and membership of the tutor group.

Note-taking provided a challenge: either obvious notes were made during the classes (which drew instant attention to my research role and changed the dynamics operating in the group - this was very clear - the students always

commented when I took notes in front of them), or field notes were made during the breaks, the disadvantages being the loss of opportunities to talk to students and tutors at that time. Ultimately, it became more important to be accepted as a 'normal' part of the group by both students and tutors than to make on-the-spot notes – to be otherwise was to change the practices of both. Notes, therefore, were taken when and where it was unobtrusively possible, often at night. When notes were made in class, these were taken as openly as possible; i.e. I would ensure that the student seated next to me could read the notes and I would write them in longhand rather than shorthand. This appeared to reduce student apprehension about the note-taking to a marked degree.

The observation period was a process of constant negotiation and re-evaluation of my position as participant observer. In establishing the role of researcher, it was necessary to prove to the students and tutors that I was genuinely involved in their lives to the extent that my own life was changed by the experience. Unless all of the participants, including myself, were convinced of my genuine involvement, there was no way that they would offer up any of their 'real' rather than 'social' selves. This type of research cannot be completed effectively without a trust being built up among the participants that is based on honest responses and a genuine empathy in the relationships. In other words, the researcher has to contribute something real, affectively, to the relationships so that they become two-way processes. Neither the tutors nor the students in this study would have given me more than two minutes of real interaction if they had been given nothing in return. They demanded my opinions, reactions and interactions as a price of membership in the group and in the course. This meant that the participant observation was physically and mentally draining – a lot of my emotional resources went into maintaining the relationships at an intense level. The reward was, I believe, a genuine entrée into the tutors' and students' daily lives and discourse.

Interviews

There were three interview populations and interview approaches differed slightly for each group:

Administration – this group included relevant administrators in the technical institute (e.g. the Principal, the Head of Department), relevant local Department of Labour officers, Regional Officers of the Department of Education and local Employment Advisory Committee members. Both formal taped interviews and informal interviews were undertaken with members of this group – these were usually followed up with informal discussions as the study progressed. The formal interviews, which took from one to two hours to complete, were entirely unstructured: while the focus of the interview was obviously the policy and implementation of the YPTP courses, the format of the interview was conversational with the interviewee setting the limits of the interview. The rationale for adopting this format was an attempt to encourage the interviewee to ‘open up’ – there was a tendency for this particular group of interviewees to present standard ‘official’ answers to questions about YPTP policy and implementation unless they became relaxed enough to discuss their real feelings about the programme and youth unemployment.

Tutors – this group included the six tutors on the YPTP courses in the technical institute during 1982, the Course Supervisor (who was also a tutor), and the Student Health and Counselling Nurse (who was also a tutor). An extended (up to three hours) formal taped interview was undertaken with each of these tutors as well as many informal discussions about YPTP. In five cases, where the tutor contact with courses extended over the whole year, follow-up taped interviews were undertaken. While these interviews were semi-structured – that is, a range of similar questions were covered in each interview that were open-ended and could be built on in each case by the interviewer – the structure of the interview was never paramount. The tutors’ daily practices (which had been observed), remarks that they had made in informal conversations, and their collective reactions to government policy and practice in the area of youth unemployment and training, were all used to try to elicit their own theories and common sense discourse about the provision and implementation of the courses.

I set out to return transcripts of interviews to both the tutor and the administrator groups in order to achieve validation or confirmation of the data and to enable the participants to play an active role in the research. This was based in a simplistic notion of what should be achieved in ‘social action’ research,

i.e. research that engages in active dialogue with the participants. The reality, however, proved disastrous and I decided not to continue the practice. In the case of the administrative group, returning the transcripts with their revelations of 'real' rather than 'official' feelings about the YPTP programme jeopardised the continuation of the study. Statements were denied (even though these were confirmed in subsequent readings of the relevant tapes) and demands were made that the transcripts be altered to a more 'official' line. While these demands were of interest in themselves (and, if I had felt more secure in my role in the institute at that stage, could have been investigated for what they revealed about the gap between official and common sense discourse at this level), they created ruptures in my relationships with important members of the administrative group. As Newby (1977: 402) makes clear, 'it is not always an easy matter to engage in a more provocative interviewing style without appearing arrogant and ruining the rapport carefully built up with respondents who are not used to the experience and who may feel slightly threatened by it' and, in order to maintain access to the courses, I ceased to feed transcripts back to this group. In the case of the tutor group, returning the transcripts generated an intense interest in what individuals had said in the interviews. While the interviews were conducted in confidence, there was pressure on individual tutors to share their transcripts with other tutors and pressure on me from the Course Co-ordinator to show her all of the transcripts - 'I need this information to help me to know more about the tutors and how they see the courses'. Again, I ceased to feed transcripts back to this group in order to maintain the confidentiality that had been guaranteed at the interview. The difficulties with transcript return were a direct result of my inexperience with this method and a failure on my part to confront the reality of the type of research that I was engaged in - to return the transcripts and become engaged with the effects of this action would have required a different type of research with different aims (Roberts, 1981).

Students - this group included sixty-six out of a total of eighty-three students on the courses. Seventeen students either left the courses before they were interviewed (n=12), were unavailable for interview because they were ill, absent or on work experience (n=4), or refused to be interviewed (n=1). Formal taped interviews were undertaken with these sixty-six students based on a set of structured questions - the same questions were asked in each interview with each

student but these were regarded as open-ended 'starter' questions, questions that would encourage the interviewee to talk freely about their lives and how they located these lives within a wider view of the world. This meant that each interview varied from fifteen minutes to three hours in length, depending on how forthcoming the interviewee was. The taped interviews usually lasted approximately thirty minutes and were conducted consecutively with all the students in each course, to as great an extent as possible, in order to reduce their opportunities for discussion of the interview with each other before participation. This was a somewhat pious hope – completion of the interviews for each course usually took at least a week and a half by the time I had caught up with those who were on work experience, off sick, simply absent at the time of the interview, and so on, and it was obvious that the students did discuss the interview schedule with each other. These interviews were undertaken in the last half of each course because, by that stage, it could be expected that the students would have formed some ideas about the course and the tutors and the way in which the course fitted into the labour market and, in addition, have developed a relationship with me such that they would be prepared to be interviewed.

Innumerable informal discussions/conversations were undertaken with the students about their lives, unemployment in general, the course, the tutors and so on at a variety of sites – the classroom, the cafeteria, parties, on the stairs, in the ladies toilet and on the street. These discussions reinforced many of the statements made in the formal interviews both individually and collectively. In addition, three taped interviews were conducted with groups of students where the members of a course were interviewed together.

The students were not in the same 'free adult' position as the administrators and the tutors – while they could refuse to be interviewed, there were subtle pressures on them to acquiesce to requests for an interview. (For example, they saw the researcher and the tutors as people who might be able to influence their employment prospects.) The fact that only one student refused to be interviewed is not a testament to my research skills, but rather a confirmation of the binds of their relationship with the labour market. That student provided one of the rare examples in the courses of articulated and actioned student resistance to

'authority' – her resistance was based on a real insight into the research process that was being done to them:

I'm not doing any fucking interview! You just want to find out lots of things about me and how I think like I'm an object. It won't do anything for me.

(Rochelle, 16)

While it was desirable in the interviews with the administrative and tutor groups to make the whole process as relaxed and comfortable as possible, I considered that this was not the best way to handle the student interviews. These students knew that they were to be interviewed; they were apprehensive about this; it was important not to pretend to be doing anything other than interviewing them (for example, to do anything that would imply a hidden curriculum). Many of the students had had experience with social workers, counsellors and psychologists and were aware of professional interview techniques at this level (for example, leaning towards the 'client' and maintaining eye contact) and they were capable of expending considerable energy combatting strategies that they perceived as manipulative. The interviews were, therefore, conducted in as straightforward a manner as possible – I sat on one side of a classroom desk with the tape recorder on the table top and the student sat on the other. The student was told exactly what would happen in the interview and what would be done with the results subsequently. All of the technical operations were quite open; there were no hidden tape recorders; the students could see the list of questions and were reassured that everyone was being asked the same questions. If they requested it, their interview was played back to them. The student set the limits of the interview: some of their responses were monosyllabic throughout the interview; in some cases they refused to answer or evaded specific questions. At no stage in the year of interviews with students did I feel that more in-depth responses could have been gained in a formal interview if different techniques had been employed.

Documents

The documents that were used as part of the data base were of two kinds - those documents relating to the Young Persons Training Programme that were on file at the technical institute and those documents relating to transition education and youth training that were produced by the government as public policy statements or recommendations.

In November 1981, the files held by the Head of Department at the technical institute were in the process of being reorganized and it was possible to gain only partial access to the relevant YPTP files. These were selected out by the Head of Department and made freely available. However, in February and March 1983, the files were made available for complete perusal without pre-selection and the data that had been collected previously were confirmed and added to.

From 1981 to 1985, several major government policy documents were issued which were drawn on in the analysis of official discourse in this study:

Jobs and People: The Government's Employment Strategy (1981); Task Force on Youth Training (1982); Employment Promotion Conference (1985); Government Transition Education Committee (1985); and Skills for Young People (1985).

Additional data

The major means of data collection for the study are outlined above. However, I also attended three seminars/conferences/hui for YPTP tutors and Department of Education officers that were held in Wanganui (x1) and Rotorua (x2) during 1982; four local technical institute YPTP tutors' and administrators' meetings during 1981 and 1982; and two local Employment Advisory Committee meetings in 1982 where YPTP was discussed in some depth. These confirmed and added to the data gathered elsewhere and provided the opportunity of discussing YPTP policy and implementation with a wide range of people involved with the programme. One of the procedures used to select students onto the courses, held at the Department

of Labour local office, was also attended.

The research schedule

In October 1981, a letter was written to the technical institute requesting access to carry out a case study of its Young Persons Training Programme courses. Permission for this research was granted and, during November to mid-December 1981 and part of January 1982, data were collected from the available files. During that time, opportunities were taken to make myself known to the staff and to get permission from the YPTP staff to participate in their classes and conduct interviews with tutors and students in 1982. It was possible during this period to get a 'feel' for the technical institute, to establish a role in the institute, to become an accepted figure in the staff-room, and to work out the relative status of the transition education staff within the technical institute hierarchy.

In February 1982, the first ten-week YPTP skills course for that year - Reception and Typing Skills - commenced. I participated fully in the course from the second day (I was asked not to be present on the first day which was a 'settling in' period for the students) until the second course, Foodhandling Skills, began three weeks later. At this point, I divided my participation time between the two courses (see Observation above). Interviews with tutors and administrators were carried out at times convenient to the interviewees; interviews with students were carried out in the last half of each of the courses.

This pattern of participant-observation and interviewing continued through the following four ten-week courses until the end of the year. From January until March 1983, I was given free access to the YPTP files in the institute and I spent this time collecting further data. In addition, I participated in the preparation the tutors and the institute were making for the implementation of the new School Leavers Training and Employment Preparation Scheme (STEPS). This programme was created to cater specifically for the training needs of 15 and 16 year olds

who would no longer be eligible to enrol on a YPTP course. This participation extended my information base with regard to transition education policy and practice.

March 1983 was the official date for the termination of the Young Persons Training Programme and I had accepted this as a convenient date for the termination of my case study. However, in December 1982, YPTP was reprieved for a further year and I was given the opportunity to tutor in several YPTP and STEPS courses in the institute. While I felt that I had collected sufficient data for my purposes, these teaching opportunities were seized as a means of adding to data and gaining a different perspective on the courses: I had participated up to this point essentially as a student in the courses and I now had the opportunity to participate as a tutor (even if I were a tutor who travelled with a different point of view from other, 'normal', tutors on the courses). While the analysis of data was made on the basis of the courses implemented in the 1982 year, I obviously drew on the extra material I gained in 1983 to reinforce my analysis and to give me more confidence in my conclusions.

Presentation of data

In Chapter Four it was pointed out that the description and analysis of data are interwoven in the following chapters. There are two specific points that need to be made:

- (i) Appendices Three and Four present (a) raw field notes from one full week of observation in two courses; (b) an example of a complete interview with a work skills tutor and an example of a complete interview with a social and life skills tutor; (c) three examples of complete individual student interviews; and (d) one example of a complete group interview with students. These are provided as an illustration of the some of the raw data that are the basis of analysis in the thesis.

- (ii) Student protocols are labelled in the thesis with the age of the student and with a pseudonym that identifies the student (correctly) as female or male. This appeared to be a basic necessary identification which would not detract from the claim that the protocols represent general themes. The student group is large enough for anonymity to be protected even though sex and age are given. Tutor protocols are not labelled because (a) the tutor group is small – any form of labelling that is consistent throughout the thesis would enable the identification of individual tutors even though anonymity was guaranteed at the time of interview (Middleton, 1987: 19, refers to the difficulties of maintaining anonymity for research participants in a country with a population as small as New Zealand's); and (b) the tutor protocols, unless specified otherwise, are meant to be representative of themes rather than an individual tutor's views – I am not attempting to create an in-depth profile of individual tutors but to identify their responses as a group to teaching in the YPTP courses.

The context of the study, including the site, the participants and the programmes, is described in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX: THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The Young Persons Training Programme was never intended as anything other than a temporary response to what was regarded as a short-term crisis in the youth labour market. Because of its expedient nature, YPTP was inadequately financed and resourced; it had no research base or forward planning, and was a hit-or-miss, ad hoc response by the state to an immediate political crisis (Barry, c.1984: 9). A complete description of the background context of the programme is provided in Appendices One and Two and in the Report on a Review of the Young Persons Training Programme (Department of Labour, 1985). The point to be made here is that the implementation of the Young Persons Training Programme examined in this thesis consisted of institute-based specific skills courses - that is, officially, they were specific sub-apprenticeship skills training courses that were initiated by the Department of Labour and approved by the local Employment Advisory Committee (which consisted of Department of Labour officers, technical institute representatives, Trades Council and community organisation representatives and Vocational Guidance Officers). The courses were then financially approved by the Department of Education and implemented by the technical institute. They were not work-based training on employers' premises nor institute-based pre-employment courses which were the other major forms of YPTP.

The Site

The technical institute where the YPTP courses examined in this study were implemented had four departments in 1982 (Trades, Commerce, Technical and General Studies, and Nursing and Health Studies) spread over five sites

throughout a city with a population of 60,000. While the total of registered unemployed people as a percentage of the labour force in New Zealand at 31 August 1981 was males: 3.22% and females: 4.82%, the region served by the technical institute had registered unemployment rates of males: 2.84% and females: 3.63% (Jobs and People: The Government's Employment Strategy, 1981). Youth unemployment rates were similarly lower than the national average in this area. (Appendix Nine provides useful information about employment in the city.) The institute employed a full-time staff of seventy and a part-time staff of just under two hundred and was in a period of expansion because of the development of the Nursing and Health Studies and Commerce Departments. However, in common with other technical institutes in New Zealand at that time, the apprenticeship student numbers (i.e. Trades) were declining. (New Zealand Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes, 1985: 1, notes that new apprenticeship contracts in New Zealand fell from 10,052 in 1974 to 6,795 in 1984.)

The administration of the technical institute occupied an old brick two-storey building in the central city area and this was seen as the hierarchical apex of the institute. Several prefabricated buildings, which housed various building apprenticeship courses, were also on this site. An old house on the same premises contained the caretaker's flat, the Students Association rooms, a disused student cafeteria and a number of small offices including the Student Nurse's office. The Young Persons Training Programme was generally sited within this composite set of buildings.

Any discussion of the site of this study must recognise the ambivalence of the term 'site' in connection with the YPTP courses. Officially, the site of these courses was the technical institute. Materially, they were sited within the buildings of the technical institute. However, it was difficult to pinpoint the physical location or even the existence of YPTP within the institute. If a member of the teaching, clerical, administrative or caretaking staff was asked where a YPTP course was at any moment of the day, a reply such as these was typical:

'Have you tried Room 17?'

'Perhaps they're in the cafeteria'

'Do we run that course?'

'I don't know - they might be at Green Street'

It could take several hours to find the apparently non-existent site of a YPTP course. As the tutors commented: 'The only time anyone ever looks at us is when we do something wrong'.

In many ways the courses did not appear to be sited within the technical institute at all and it was not unusual for a YPTP tutor, during the period of this study, to be left with a class with no room in which to teach or, having started a class, to discover that she had to vacate the room and find another. Not only were rooms not booked for YPTP classes as a matter of course, they were sometimes 'unbooked' arbitrarily and without notification. For example, a tutor might arrive at the video-viewing room with her class (having reserved the room in advance) to discover that the room had been taken over by a staff member with more status and seniority for his own purposes. Or a tutor might arrive for her 11-12am class to discover that, while the room had been booked for YPTP from 8.30-11am and 1-4pm, it had been reserved by another class for 11-12am and no alternative room had been pencilled in for her. If she were employed solely for that particular spot during the week, the confusion multiplied because she would be unsure about making alternative arrangements. YPTP tutors were sometimes observed leading students like ducklings through the corridors of the technical institute and between sites searching for a vacant classroom:

You'd turn up and you had a class waiting and you were hoping that you'd found an empty classroom and you were hoping that nobody turned up in the next five minutes because it would be embarrassing to have to pick your mob up and go and look for another place.

(Tutor)

Occasionally, under these circumstances, classes would be held in local coffee bars or the park or on the handkerchief of green grass outside the cafeteria at the technical institute. The psychological pressures on the YPTP tutors to be seen as 'proper' technical institute tutors (see Chapter Eight: Tutors) were such that these unconventional sites were resorted to only in desperation. At no time during the study were classes sited in this way 'because the students enjoy it' or as a preferred alternative to the technical institute classrooms. The site of YPTP in this institute was insecure and tenuous from the points of view of the administrators, the tutors and the students.

The low status of these courses within the technical institute was exemplified by the nature of the rooms that were made available for most of the YPTP teaching. While few of the teaching facilities in the institute were especially good, as one YPTP tutor put it:

Out of all these unappealing rooms, we were given the very worst rooms. We were given the noisiest, hottest, darkest and most poky rooms; the rooms that no-one else wanted.

The rooms were cold (or hot, depending on the season), uninviting and a bleak reminder of all the worst aspects of an education system that, in its technical education, serves overtly to process the labour force (Gleeson and Mardle, 1980; Atkinson *et al.*, 1986). They were 'chalk and talk' classrooms and any attempt to weaken (in Bernstein's, 1971, terms) the framing of classroom relations and the classification of curriculum content, had to attempt to overcome the physical environment of the rooms. The YPTP tutors tried to provide physical settings for the students that were different from 'school' (which many of these students had rejected), but as Grace (1978, 110) points out,

...the realization of teachers' ideologies and intentions is frustrated in important respects by the physical and social constraints of their work situation.

Desks could be pushed to the walls and chairs arranged in a circle, or students could be encouraged to form small discussion groups, but the psychological effects of the physical setting of these rooms were overwhelming for both tutors and students.

During the whole of 1982, tutors battled to be given their own 'home rooms' for students, furnished with bean bags and tea/coffee-making facilities - somewhere that the students could make their own, decorate as they pleased, and invite guests into. They succeeded to the extent that they were given two old prefabricated buildings to work in, semi-permanently, half-way through the year. However, they were unable to win administrative support for a home room that belonged to these students in the sense that, as adults, the students could have some control over their daily physical environment. This idea was rejected on the grounds that 'normal' technical institute students did not have home rooms.

Tutors had ambivalent feelings about the site of YPTP courses. They all wanted the status of the programmes to be upgraded within the institute (i.e. for the students to be recognised as genuine members of the technical institute student body; for better equipment and teaching facilities to be provided; and for the tutors themselves to be able to feel that they 'belonged' in a professional sense to the institute). At the same time they saw real advantages for these students if the programmes were implemented on a separate, autonomous site from the main technical institute site. Given the attitudes expressed towards the YPTP students by other staff and 'real' technical institute students (see the Participants: Students section below), there were obvious benefits in separating the two groups of students, in reinforcing the differences between them. YPTP student needs could be more easily catered for, and it would be more possible to raise student self-esteem and self-confidence, outside of the technical institute structures and away from the administrative gaze:

The kids could relax and be individuals and we wouldn't have to keep up the attitude of disciplining them.

(Tutor)

At the same time, however, all of the YPTP tutors saw the advantages of having the programmes attached more firmly to a 'real' technical institute site:

There was talk about making home rooms for us away from this campus. And I thought it was a good idea, but, on thinking about it, it might not be a good idea because, once you got labelled as a separate unit, you wouldn't have the status of belonging to the Tech.

(Tutor)

Since the period of this study, the technical institute has shifted most of its operations into architecturally-designed buildings on a new landscaped site, leaving the transition education courses behind on the old site. This formal separation of sites resulted partly from choice on the part of the transition education tutors: they preferred to conduct their business away from the scrutiny of the 'normal' technical institute tutors, administrators and students. They have come to prefer marginality. If, however, they had not made this 'choice', it is still likely that they would have remained on the old site, that their peripherality to the real business of the technical institute would have been reinforced, as there was simply not enough room for them on the new site. The courses are seen as temporary, marginal and expendable, just as the students are, and both are under-resourced on the assumption that they are neither 'real' courses nor 'real' students.

The Participants

(i) Tutors

Each of the six YPTP courses implemented in 1982 employed a tutor who was responsible for teaching the work skills relating to the title of the course. A

chef was hired to teach foodhandling; a secretarial tutor to teach reception and typing and office skills; and a person who had worked in a store to teach warehousing and retail skills. There were four tutors who were employed in this capacity. They usually worked with the students for twenty hours per week, generally for the whole of each morning, and were employed only for the duration of a course.

In addition, two tutors were employed part-time, course by course (but throughout the whole of 1982), as social and life skills tutors. One of these tutors, a qualified secondary school mathematics teacher, taught basic numeracy while the other taught communications or word skills.

One tutor was employed in a full-time temporary position to co-ordinate the courses, arrange work experience for the students, and teach social and life skills such as interview and job-seeking skills. This tutor had a background in counselling.

While there were several visiting speakers in each course – a trade union representative, a person from an animal welfare organisation, a speaker from Amnesty International and a representative from the Inland Revenue Department, for example – the only other regular tutor for these students was the technical institute's Student Health and Counselling nurse. She spoke to the students formally at least once a week on subjects ranging from safety and self-protection at work to nutrition and sexually transmitted diseases. Informally, she interacted with the students daily as they visited her office for headache remedies, contraceptive advice, hearing tests and general health and welfare counselling.

In all, eight tutors participated in this study. Their ages ranged from 35 to 45. Two were male and six female, but, in order to provide anonymity, all of the tutors are referred to as 'she' in this thesis. The male tutors showed no marked difference from the female tutors in their interview responses and teaching practice. As is demonstrated in Chapters Ten and Eleven, the difference within

the tutor group was between those tutors who taught work skills and those who taught social and life skills: the work skills tutors were basically trades tutors who believed that, if the students worked hard, they would 'make it' in the labour market while the social and life skills tutors worked within a 'professional', liberal paradigm that influenced their curriculum development, pedagogy and evaluation of the students. In 1982, the tutors in YPTP in this institute were drawn from the community; they were not technical institute trades tutors (although the tutor for Reception and Typing Skills did teach part-time in the secretarial courses offered by the technical institute). They were either people who had a particular skill to offer (for example, a chef) or they were people who were seen to have personal qualities that would enable them to teach 'life skills' to unemployed youth. These latter positions were advertised initially as the courses developed from 1978 - the tutors who were appointed as a result of advertisement were re-appointed to teach social and life skills (SLS) as each further course was approved. The work skills tutors were appointed to each course on word-of-mouth recommendation from the SLS tutors. In general, one of the SLS tutors would know someone in the community whom they felt would be able to run a suitable skills course. The person would be approached and, if they agreed to tutor the course, a course approval would be sought; then the specific tutor would be appointed to plan and teach the work skills section of the course.

At this stage, the programmes were run on a course by course basis with regard to approval and funding and, as a result, the employment of all eight tutors was casual and/or insecure. While it was possible for courses to be planned in advance, and for the tutoring to be pre-arranged, it was also very difficult to get firm approval to run a course until just prior to the anticipated commencement date. On one occasion, a course did commence without final approval from the Department of Education because the starting date had been advertised, students were present and tutors had been, unofficially, appointed - this meant that these tutors were working with no guarantee that they would be paid. Such approval delays tended to increase the tutors' feelings of insecurity in their employment.

Although all of the tutors considered that their wages were very good

(approximately \$20 per hour in 1982), they also stated that they put far more hours into the job than they were being paid for, even taking into account the one hour's preparation time that was built into their hourly rate:

I sweated the last one because I found I was doing at least three hours prep per hour of teaching, plus trying to organise visits and work release.

(Tutor)

The general feeling was that the tutors had to put this time into preparation for class teaching both because they felt a need to prove themselves as tutors to the technical institute and because their commitment to the students was such that they wanted to offer them the best teaching possible - several tutors stated that they would do this work even if they were not paid for it.

These tutors, who did not receive any professional training or preparation before they walked into a YPTP classroom, had to negotiate the minefield of 'privacy, immediacy, and autonomy of the teacher's working life' (Delamont, 1983: 53). Delamont claims that teachers in general use colleagues as a reference or support group for these negotiations (p.58 ff). The social and life skills tutors on the courses certainly used each other for both professional reference and support - they spent many breaks, lunch hours and much time after work and on the weekend discussing their teaching practice, the students and difficulties that they might be experiencing in implementing the courses. However, they were isolated personally, geographically and professionally within the institute and were unable to draw support from or discuss professional difficulties with their trades tutor colleagues. This isolation was exemplified by the informal staffroom organisation - the YPTP tutors almost always sat together on a row of seats just inside the door of the staffroom with their backs to the rest of the room. In some ways, this isolation was self-imposed - it is usual in New Zealand technical institutes for tutors to sit in groups in the staffroom that reflect their particular trades orientations (e.g. engineering or carpentry or secretarial). In

this particular staffroom, however, the trades tutors and the technical institute administrators tended to sit in a large, ill-defined group where the placement of tutors changed with each sitting. At the start of observation, I sat in different parts of the room deliberately in order to establish myself with all of the tutors. Within a very short period, it became difficult to sit anywhere other than with the YPTP staff – the trades tutors (who were almost all male) made it clear that I was perceived as one of ‘them’ (i.e. the YPTP staff who were almost all female) and it became uncomfortable to spend institutional breaks with the trades group. This discomfort and rejection was similarly felt by the YPTP tutors themselves. The division between the trades tutors and the YPTP staff was made especially clear by the placement of the caretaker – he usually sat, by himself, at a point between the two groups. (Library and secretarial staff, however, who were all female, did sit with the trades tutors and the male administrators). The YPTP work skills tutors were even more isolated professionally. They worked completely separately from each other in the different courses so that they rarely met as work skills tutors; they were closer ideologically and professionally to the trades tutors in the institute than to the social and life skills tutors, so that it was difficult for them to draw support from the YPTP social and life skills tutors; and, at the same time, they were rebuffed professionally by the trades tutors because they were ‘unemployment’ tutors – the work skills tutors rarely came to the staffroom and had little professional or personal support within the institute (see Pollard, 1982: 25, for the importance of staffroom colleagues as a reference group).

Erik Olin Wright (1979: 94ff; and see also White, 1981) describes the class position of state-employed teachers as contradictory (as opposed to bourgeois or proletarian). Despite their participation in the production of ideology, and because of their contradictory class location, these tutors inhabited a primary site of class struggle (i.e. the preparation of young people specifically for the labour market) and were themselves a locus of many of the contradictions of education within the social relations of capitalism. The ways in which they articulated and coped with this position are examined in Chapter Eight: Tutors.

(ii) Students

The total number of students on the courses was 83. There were 55 female and 28 male students which supports Field's (undated: 8) claim that women are more likely to receive this type of training in New Zealand than men. The two Foodhandling Skills courses enrolled equal numbers of men and women overall. The enrolments in the other courses reflected a general division of labour between men and women in the labour market (Shiple, 1982) - Warehousing Skills enrolled 13 males and 1 female; General Office Skills enrolled 10 females and 3 males; Receptionist and Typing Skills enrolled 14 females; and Retailing Skills enrolled 14 females. Statistically it could have been expected that there would be a large proportion of Maori students (particularly Maori young women) enrolled in the courses - Maori young people are four times more likely than pakeha young people to be unemployed (Spoonley and Shiple, 1982; Maori Economic Development Commission, 1985: 9; Shuker, 1987: 69; Sultana, 1987). Certainly a visit to the local Department of Labour would reveal many young Maori waiting to be interviewed or examining the Job Seeker Noticeboard. However, the courses averaged two Maori per course of fourteen students. Attendance at a selection process for students showed that the two Maori and one Raratongan who were interviewed (out of twenty-three young people interviewed) were selected onto the course. The relative lack of Maori students on the courses was not a result of the institute itself excluding them in some way. Either young Maori were not responding to invitations to apply for enrolment (perhaps because of a perception that the courses were institutional in nature) or they were not being invited to apply for enrolment by the local Department of Labour officers. Enquiries as to why there were not more young Maori on the courses were met with the answer 'I don't know' on every front - research is necessary in this area. Rhiannon Herrick (1987) has pointed out that there is a common belief that training programmes for unemployed young people are filled with young Maori students learning skills which will make them more employable, a belief that is not grounded in reality (as is demonstrated in her research at Carrington Technical Institute).

Interview data was collected from 66 students. Seventeen students either left the courses before they were interviewed (n=12), were unavailable for interview

because they were ill, absent or on work experience (n=4), or refused to be interviewed (n=1). Analysis of observational data and informal discussions presented in the thesis is based on the total number of students in each course that were present at the time of data collection. The general demographic information presented below is based on interview data collected from the 66 students. It is important to emphasise that, in the main, these students were relatively inarticulate, shy and inexperienced in expressing their views publicly. It was therefore impossible to extract even basic demographic data (such as mother's occupation) from some of the students. To pressure them was to risk a mute or mumbled response, an angry rejection of the entire interview or a sophisticated evasion of the question in some cases. They had experiences, deeds and histories that they wanted to keep hidden and felt threatened by even an apparently straightforward question such as 'When did you leave school?'. They were afraid and sometimes ashamed to reveal quite ordinary things about themselves in a formal interview, even after discussing very personal aspects of their lives in informal discussions. In the main, they regarded themselves as social and educational failures. Being on a YPTP course enabled them to see themselves as 'students' and they were reluctant to part with information about their previous lives that might undermine their newfound status. An example of this is the case of the student who, in her formal interview, gave a convincing impression that she had been unemployed and actively looking for work since she left school six months previously. Informal conversations with this student revealed that she had, in fact, spent much of this job-search period in borstal. Her 'lies' were not an attempt to convince me that she genuinely wanted a job (that much was already very obvious), they were rather an attempt to hide, at an official or formal level, a past that might interfere with gaining employment.

The students interviewed comprised 43 female and 23 male students. Their age range was 15-28 years with a median and a mean age of 18.5 years. Their ages clustered overall at 15-22 years, with only two students being over 25 (26 and 28 years). Eleven students had left school in the third and fourth forms of secondary school; twenty-five in the fifth form; eleven in the second-year fifth form; twelve in the sixth form; and one in the seventh form (three had either not

yet left school or their leaving status was unknown). 18% (n=12) of the students had left school at age 14. 57.5% (n=38) of the students had left school with no qualifications; 19.5% (n=13) with some School Certificate subjects; 22.5% (n=15) with School Certificate in four or more subjects; 15% (n=10) with Sixth Form Certificate; 3% (n=2) with some University Entrance subjects; 4.5% (n=3) with University Entrance; and 3% (n=2) with some other qualification such as TCB Typing examinations. (There is overlap in these figures because some students had more than one qualification, for example University Entrance and TCB.) Fifty of these students had had periods of continuous unemployment, prior to enrolling in the course, of up to two years – for most of these students (n=42) the period of continuous unemployment was one year or less. Fourteen of the students had had discontinuous periods of unemployment of up to five years prior to enrolment in a course; the actual time-span of such unemployment is unknown for ten of these students. Two students' unemployment histories were unavailable.

Three-quarters of the students (n=43) on whom family data was available (n=56) came from a family where the father was employed in unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled manual labour. Only two students out of 56 came from a professional background (their fathers were a university lecturer and an architect). The remainder came from families where the father was engaged in an occupation that was difficult to classify in terms of either class or socio-economic status: i.e. they were described as self-employed (which could mean anything from being unemployed or retired to owning a large business), retired, a farmer, having their own business, or, for example, as manager of a mill. In general, where the information was available, mothers were described as housewives, social welfare beneficiaries or part-time workers.

A more detailed breakdown of the information provided above (in terms of individual courses and gender differences) is provided in Appendix Six.

Except for those students who were coerced by the Department of Labour (n=11) into attending a course, the students' reasons for course enrolment varied: mainly they felt that enrolment in a course would give them something to do, give them a better chance at a job, and enable them to get some form of certification

and work experience in a field of interest. Thirty of the students were reported to have entered employment either before or directly after finishing a course (see Appendix Five: Course Reports), but this figure needs to be broken down. Seventeen students out of the thirty found work before the end of a course. In general, this meant that the student went into employment within the first few weeks of a course – the job was self-found and had usually been applied for before the student embarked on the course. In other words, attendance on a course had little effect on these students' employment opportunities. Of the thirteen students who found work after the end of a course, ten of these were in foodhandling jobs which were notorious for their high staff turnover. As far as could be ascertained, many of these students did not have the same job six months later. In addition, the Department of Labour made special efforts to get these YPTP students into work at the end of a course and jobs made available were usually Temporary Employment Project schemes which lasted for six months only. Many of the students, even those with University Entrance, had basic literacy and numeracy problems.

At least 30 out of the 66 students (i.e. 45%) were known to have had a major family trauma, e.g. the death of a parent, a divorce or separation of parents, or the severe disablement of a parent. This was not necessarily the cause of difficulties for the student, however, especially if the event occurred when the student was quite young. What was much more significant was the number of students who talked, in informal discussion with myself or the tutors, in class discussion with tutors and other students, in private sessions with the tutors, and through the physical evidence on their bodies, about the bashings they received at home, the lack of physical and financial support and care, the incest, the rapes, the emotional and physical assaults, the homelessness, drugs and alcohol, and the general insecurity in their lives. Their stories ranged from those of the sixteen year old who, when he revealed that he was homosexual, was raped by his father; to the fifteen year old who supported herself by prostitution because she had no home and was unable to get an unemployment benefit because she was under sixteen; to the nineteen year old who used every drug she could get, in any combination, since being raped at knife-point eighteen

months before the course. While these examples may seem extreme, they were in fact typical of incidents in many of these students very vulnerable lives. In 1984, the social and life skills tutors estimated, on the basis of their record cards on YPTP students, that at least 75% of these students had indicated that they had been seriously physically or psychologically abused. It was a testament to the 'life skills' that some of these students already possessed that they had survived to their present age.

These self-revelations must be set in context, however. Personal trauma is not a cause of unemployment. It is not enough to say that, because the students in many cases had disturbed individual lives, it was therefore obvious that they would be unable to seek out or keep employment. The Palmerston North Incest and Sexual Abuse Workers' Network, drawing on Miriam Saphira's work (1985), has pointed out that one in four girls and one in ten boys are victims of incest in New Zealand (1986: 1) - Swan (1985: 34) considers that these figures are conservative. Abbott (1984: 9) and Ritchie and Ritchie (1984: 4) have provided an indication of the domestic nature of much violence and abuse in New Zealand and the way in which violence and abuse is both condoned and made invisible in the rearing of children in New Zealand. In addition, at least one woman in four in New Zealand will be sexually assaulted by the time she reaches the age of eighteen (Sullivan, 1986: 11). The social and life skills tutors asserted with some justification therefore that these students were 'normal' young people within the New Zealand context; that the exacerbating factor in their lives was the lack of employment which would provide a means of independence from their families and a means of gaining some control over their lives. These students were 'abnormal' only in the sense that, within the courses, they were given an environment that enabled them to talk openly about those lives.

In common with students in the related studies on YPTP discussed in Chapter Three, the students in these courses, in the main, had few physical, psychological or emotional resources. They were often ill and many of them looked undernourished, tired and depressed. Again, it was claimed by the SLS tutors with some validity that gaining employment would provide them with the

necessary resources – this was evidenced in some cases by students who returned to visit the tutors after gaining employment.

Apart from a few students who had joined a YPTP course almost immediately after leaving school, all of the students expressed their strong dislike of being unemployed. They spent most of their unemployed time either 'doorknocking' (i.e. going from firm to firm asking for a job – some of the students developed a weekly routine for this) or, both male and female, at home watching television, lying in bed all day, doing housework or minding younger brothers and sisters. Very few of these young people roamed the streets during the day, met up with or even had friends, or made visible nuisances of themselves in public. They were isolated and bored in their unemployment and the courses provided the opportunities, typically found in employment, of meeting and mixing with a group. The courses also provided these young people with the label and status of 'student' rather than 'dole bludger' or 'unemployed' (these points are discussed more fully in Chapters Nine and Eleven).

Given that the great majority of these students chose to enrol in a YPTP course, actively wanted to improve their chances of getting a job, and were pleased by the prospect of being students rather than unemployed, how were they treated by the technical institute? The response of one administrator is typical:

They are different from normal students. They mark themselves out and they attract a lot of unsatisfactory – a lot of comment from other staff. (...) They tend to be giggly and noisy and what a lot of people would see as having some of the bad features of secondary school students and they attract quite a bit of attention to themselves. (...) I often used to get complaints about the language and the carrying ons and the noise and the blaring radio. We tried to make them feel that they were just on the same basis as any other institute students. They would walk in

and they were told 'You are technical institute students, you can go to the cafeteria' and they were treated in every respect as if they were ordinary students of the institute. But they tended to congregate together in a little group which has tended to be a noisy group and a conspicuous group.

These attitudes, plus the fact that they were excluded from membership of the technical institute's Students Association because they were not 'real' students, plus the physical and verbal abuse they received from some of the 'normal' students, plus the obvious low status of the courses in terms of resource and room allocations, created a situation in which the young people were intruders in the institute.

These were students who had, generally, rejected school. Only two out of the sixty-six students interviewed made positive comments about their schooling. Thirty-six commented spontaneously that they hated school and felt that they were wasting their time there when they could be out earning money and having an adult identity as a worker (a Department of Education survey of school leavers indicated that the primary reasons given for leaving school were to get a job, to earn money, to be independent and a dissatisfaction with school - 1979: 17). Even if they had left school at the end of the sixth form, they had no desire to return to the authoritarian social relations of the secondary school. They therefore reacted against anything which appeared to systematically diminish their status as adults (c.f. Willis' 1977 study of working class school leavers). Being told 'don't spit, don't smoke, don't litter, don't swear' simply spurred them to more creative attempts to be offensive to those in authority:

Caretaker to student: 'A little less of those 'f' words!'

Student to caretaker: 'uck off!'

These young people were not 'normal' technical institute students (in the sense of being apprentices or being enrolled in full-time courses such as secretarial or nursing studies), but they were real students. The technical institute administration had no induction processes in place in 1982 for these students that would have made them feel well-integrated within the institute, made them feel that they belonged in some way, that they had an important role to play as students on campus. As a result the students felt stigmatised - outside the institute they were unemployed, inside the institute they were devalued.

(iii) Others

The other participants in this study were those who were directly involved in the administration of the YPTP courses in the institute: the Head of Department, the Deputy Principal and the Principal in the technical institute; officers of the Department of Labour and Vocational Guidance; officers of the Department of Education; and members of the local Employment Advisory Committee. Seven official YPTP meetings were attended and these provided further, more peripheral, participants: tutors and administrators from various regional implementations of the Young Persons Training Programme.

The Courses

YPTP courses were approved and wholly funded by the Department of Education and implemented in educational institutions. Although 'training' can be distinguished from 'education' in important ways (Gleeson and Mardle, 1980), both training and education programmes that are funded by the state can be expected to have formally articulated curricular, pedagogical and evaluation objectives or guidelines. The most striking element of official discourse at this level was the lack of those objectives or even guidelines for the courses. Institutes were expected and encouraged to create their own programmes, not with the aim of

encouraging regional autonomy and diversity, but more, it appeared, from Departmental expediency and a lack of sufficient staffing and resources to develop the programmes centrally (Johnston, 1987). (A personal letter from a senior Department of Education officer to the Head of Department at the technical institute participating in this research, dated 5.12.80 - i.e. two years after YPTP was officially implemented - states that a meeting of Department of Labour and Department of Education officers to discuss the provision of YPTP for the next two years 'is the first opportunity that the regional and national co-ordinators of YPTP from Education have had to get alongside those from Labour to 'nut' out the YPTP's'.) The students were never discussed as 'real' students in terms of educational theory and practice. They were only ever discussed in terms of administration difficulties, discipline problems, course structures, course funding, and so on - in other words, they became a technical problem that the Department of Education had to cope with and resolve in some way. The Department of Labour consistently emphasised that their claim on the students was prior and, in fact, would have preferred to run the courses themselves - in 1982, however, they lacked the resources and political support to do so.

Officially, the YPTP courses in this institute were initiated and funded by the Departments of Labour and Education respectively: the local Department of Labour office examined the future labour force requirements for the region and then, after consulting with its Employment Advisory Committee, advised the Department of Education of the types of skills courses necessary to equip unemployed 15-25 year olds for the local labour market (trade union demands limited the skills training that could be offered in these courses to a sub-apprenticeship level). Funding for specific courses was then approved by the Department of Education Head Office. Unofficially, courses were initiated by YPTP tutors in the institute; a proposal would be put to the Head of Department who would then take this to the local Department of Labour and the Employment Advisory Committee for approval. Once this approval was obtained, Department of Education funding and staffing approval would be sought.

The difference between Department of Labour course initiation and tutor course initiation is significant. Officially, the programme was based on real regional labour market skill shortages that could be alleviated by providing young people with skills training, i.e. it was premised in young people having a real chance at a job at the end of a course. However, the local Department of Labour at this stage was short-staffed and under pressure coping with course approvals, registration of the unemployed and seeking out employment for those who were registered - there was no possibility of their carrying out research into the labour shortages in unskilled and semi-skilled fields of employment in their region.

Unofficially, the tutors wanted to get as many young people as possible into courses, partly to secure their own employment, but more importantly because they felt that young people needed to be on the courses. The aim of getting students into work was seen as a secondary aim. While the tutors obtained letters from local employers, stating that work might be available in their area, in order to support a case to run a new course, they did not take these letters seriously: obtaining them was a political manoeuvre that would enable them to get approval for a course.

In 1982, six YPTP courses were offered at the technical institute: Reception and Typing Skills and Foodhandling Skills (1) in term one; Retail Training Skills and Warehousing Skills in term two; and General Office Skills and Foodhandling Skills (2) in term three. Course length was ten weeks, Monday to Friday, 8.30am - 4pm or 9am - 4.30pm with one hour for lunch. Each course enrolled fourteen students (General Office Skills, thirteen students) (see Appendix Five: Course Reports). Students were paid a Training Allowance that was \$6 per week more than the unemployment benefit. If students came to the course from out of town, they were able to apply for transport and boarding allowances for the duration of the course. At the end of each course, there was a stand-down period of two weeks before the young people could reapply for the unemployment benefit. The programmes were organised so that work skills (e.g. foodhandling skills) were taught for twenty hours per week and social and life skills (e.g. interview skills) for the remainder of the week. Work experience, which entailed the students spending one or two days per week at various pre-arranged work sites (e.g. a

restaurant kitchen), was implemented from week four of each course. (See Appendix Five for official outlines of course content.)

Extensive advertising of courses in newspapers or community venues was not permitted in 1982 because Department of Labour officers believed that advertising would attract more young people to register as unemployed, registration being a prerequisite for enrolment on a skills course. This would have escalated the local official statistics for levels of youth unemployment. Usually the Department of Labour sent out letters, which invited the respondents to attend an interview, to those registered young people who had expressed an interest in the work area covered by the course. For example, a young person may have written 'waitress' or 'storeman' as their first job preference on their registration form. If there were insufficient numbers in this category, the Department then sent letters of invitation to any suitable registered young people. Finally, they advertised these courses on the Job Seeker noticeboard and drew particular courses to the attention of those young people registering for work. It became obvious, however, during 1982, that it was getting more and more difficult to attract sufficient applicants to the courses. In order to ensure sufficient students, the Department of Labour coerced beneficiaries onto one of the skills courses. They sent out letters to young people who were receiving the unemployment benefit stating that, if these young people did not present themselves for an interview for the course, their unemployment benefit payments would be reviewed. This action resulted in a course filled with reluctant students which exacerbated the teaching difficulties already present in the courses (see Chapter Eight: Tutors and Chapter Nine: Students). As a result, the YPTP courses in this institute were advertised widely in 1983 (see Appendix Seven: course advertisement) with a corresponding increase in the number of course applicants. However, a persistent problem for course organisers during 1982 was the selection of a 'workable' group of students from a small pool of applicants.

Selection criteria varied among tutors. In general, the group that interviewed and selected students for each course comprised a Department of Labour officer,

the work skills tutor for the course and one of the social and life skills tutors. By selecting students for interview, the Department of Labour had more or less completed their selection: their representative used the interview as an opportunity to tell prospective students about the training allowance, course length and hours, and the transport and boarding allowances available (see Department of Labour, 1985, for confirmation that this was a general practice). The work skills tutors looked for students that they felt they could work with, 'not too bright, not too dumb, and not disruptive'; presentable, polite, with the best academic qualifications they could get - students who had the potential to appeal to an employer while on work experience, for example, and, by becoming employed, validate the skills training that they were being offered. The social and life skills tutors looked for students who had the potential to work well as a group; while they might choose a young person who was not very presentable or articulate, they would not select a student with obvious anti-social tendencies. As one tutor commented, 'I'm not prepared to take someone who will lower the chances of the rest of the group achieving'.

Chapter Six has provided a broad description of the physical context of the study. In Chapter Seven the discursive context of the YPTP is examined analytically.

CHAPTER SEVEN: OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

The function of official statements is primarily to allay, suspend or close off popular doubt through an ideal and discursive appropriation of a material problem.

(Burton and Carlen, 1979: 13)

An analysis of the official discourse on the Young Persons Training Programme and transition education in general enables the examination of these programmes as a site of struggle where the state attempted to constitute students within official discourse and where this subjection was resisted. The analysis works to foreground the contradictions in official discourse and to theorise the conditions of existence of such discourse (Burton and Carlen, *ibid.*: 13; Belsey, 1980: 129; Macdonell, 1986: 47, 61-62).

This chapter argues that there were two different ways of constructing YPTP students in official discourse. The first was the construction that existed at the level of official policy, i.e. within the official printed documents of the state and the official verbal extensions of these documents that referred to transition education and YPTP in general (e.g. ministerial press releases, government reports, or seminars and guidelines for programme administration and implementation). While the division between policy and practice is an artificial one, it is adopted here for ease of analysis and this first type of official discourse is referred to as 'Policy'. The second was the construction that existed at the personal administrative level, where specific departmental and institutional administrators attempted to put policy into YPTP practice - this official discourse is referred to as 'Practice'. The chapter draws out the realities of structure and agency that ensured that official discourse as policy was resisted in its implementation to the extent that an intermediary discourse (official discourse as practice) was produced.

Constructing the subject: Policy

Theories about 'youth in transition' have abounded in the social psychological literature since the turn of the century. That is, the ideas that youth is a time of experimentation, anti-authoritarian rebelliousness, restlessness and a search for a stable adult identity were firmly established well before the unemployment of young people became a serious contemporary problem. The transition from child to adult was seen as an extended and normal stage in the development of youth in Western-type societies (Hall, 1904; Freud, 1960; Freidenberg, 1965; Erikson, 1968). Popular ideas about youth (and the education of working-class youth in particular) are being reconstituted, however, as part of the more general state restructuring of the labour market on behalf of dominant sectors of capital (Allum and Quigley, 1983; Goldstein, 1984). These trends were visible in the provision of transition education and in changing labour market policies in New Zealand in 1982, the period of this study. At a time of financial cutbacks, where both the education system and the state services were struggling at various levels to maintain employment, resources, conditions of service and clientele, transition education was (and remains) a growth area in New Zealand (Khan, 1984: 31). It provided employment and a guaranteed clientele for state servants, secondary school teachers, trades tutors, part-time technical institute tutors and community workers. (Trades tutors, for example, who were facing redundancy because of the downturn in the building industry were able to be relocated in transition education programmes in technical institutes and community colleges.) An extract from an Education Department report makes this point:

...it should be noted that YTP, now that it is an on-going programme, is a big part of the "growth industry" that transition from school has become and in some institutes forms a significant part of the total student hours generated.

(Department of Continuing Education, 1983)

In line with these changes in the labour market and education, the term 'in transition' has also been reconstituted. Where the term was used to describe a 'normal' transitory stage of development of young people in our society, it now

has its reference in the 'abnormal' state of youth unemployment: it refers to those youth who are unable to find employment on leaving school and who do not proceed to a formal tertiary education. However, 'transition education', which has appeared only since the collapse of the youth labour market, is normalised within official discourse. It is not opened up to critical investigation but adopted as a concept in use and extended to cover the whole of the school leaver population:

[Transition education] is seen as a continuous process involving students still at school, school leavers seeking employment or further education and training, school leavers who have obtained jobs where there is little or no further education or training on the job and from which they may be getting little satisfaction and the movement from further education and training [that is, tertiary education] into various forms of work.

(Government Transition Education Committee, 1985: 3-4)

A double reconstruction has taken place here from 'normal' developmental transition to unemployed transition and back to 'normal' transition. However, this last is a 'normal' transition transformed by the material existence of large-scale youth unemployment - it is a transition that has been created in official discourse in the attempt to exclude from discourse (and thus from meaningful public discussion) the inequalities among groups of young people that youth unemployment reveals. The official discourse constructs young people as a homogeneous group and the class relations that underpin the labour market in advanced capitalism are not so much denied as completely unacknowledged (Presdee, 1985; Presdee and White, 1987; White, 1987). Codd, drawing on Dale's work, claims that 'Policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which discourse plays an important tactical and political role, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of a universal public interest' (1985: 23). Real differences of status, access and potential (in terms of the labour market) among groups of young people are not acknowledged and this lacuna is often rationalised

in terms of the benefits that will accrue for the 'disadvantaged' young people in society (i.e. the unemployed). The implication is that, if they are equal in discourse, they will be equal in fact:

Young people who leave school and do not proceed to conventional forms of employment or training have a right to the same status as young people who proceed to traditional forms of employment or training. Equality of status is denied by the requirement that they register as unemployed in order to receive assistance.

(Government Transition Education Committee, ibid.: 18)

The reality, however, is that whether they are registered as unemployed or not, students in transition education programmes are not equal to apprentices or students at university or technical institutes. They do not receive the material benefits that these other types of students receive in terms of income and security of employment for the time that they spend 'knuckling under' or being 'well-motivated' in further education. And there is simply no comparison between the value of the certification that apprentices or university students receive at the end of their training and that of students in transition courses such as the Young Persons Training Programme. The hierarchy of student status is inherent in the hierarchy of value of their certification in the labour market; making students 'equal' by fiat does not change this (just as substituting the term 'in transition' for 'unemployed' does not change the reality of youth unemployment). Given that the status differences among groups of young people are real, and are based in real differentiations in the labour market, official discourse excludes any analysis of why particular sectors of a class society are more likely to be unemployed than others when, for example, it attempts to reduce these differences by arguing that all post-secondary students should be on the Tertiary Assistance Grant (TAG) rather than some students on TAG, some on a Training Allowance, and some on an unemployment benefit:

... the case for differing payments will need to be assessed against the desirability, on the basis of equity, of negotiating a standard training allowance.

(Task Force on Youth Training, ibid.: 12)

Official discourse does make reference to the difficulties of access to the labour market experienced by Maori, Polynesian and female young people, but this is always expressed in terms of special, unique disadvantage that can be remedied by targetted programmes rather than in terms of the structural inequalities experienced by these groups in the labour market. Deconstruction of official texts serves to highlight this contradiction in transition education provision, that is that structural inequalities among groups of young people exist at the level of the labour market and a greater provision of training and education does not create more paid employment (Nash, 1983).

Official discourse at the level of policy fundamentally constructs transition education in terms of common sense beliefs. Thus, those who require transition education courses are:

(1) Those people who are basically job ready but lack job-seeking and job-retention techniques. These people may also need their confidence boosting.

(2) Those people who seem to lack social skills necessary for getting and retaining a job. They may need quite a lot of help to enable them to get and retain a job.

(3) The long-term unemployed who need considerable help on all kinds of levels to get them into the workforce.

(Report of a meeting of Department of Labour, Vocational Guidance and Technical Institute officers to discuss pre-employment courses 5/6/81)

The 'reader' of official discourse can see that a transition education that qualifies, skills and adjusts young people to the norms of the workplace is both necessary and good for young people and for the nation. Future prosperity and growth

will not be achieved with an under-qualified, under-trained or immobile workforce which cannot cope with change.

(Task Force on Youth Training, *ibid.*: 5)

While it is acknowledged that jobs may, in fact, be unavailable for many young people (this was made particularly obvious in technical institutes where YPTP was implemented by the decline in apprenticeships), unemployment is still seen to be a result of young people's own deficiencies, i.e. they do not have the skills or the motivation to gain the employment that is there:

Pre-Employment courses aim to upgrade the job-finding and basic educational/social skills of participants. They will be used mainly for young people with lower educational qualifications, but may also be necessary as job-orientation or job-finding skills programmes for young people with a range of educational qualifications. Such courses will normally include a guidance component and remedial components may also be necessary. It may often be necessary and preferable to place a person at first on a pre-employment course, then follow this with a skills training course, i.e. develop their work skills in a 'staircase' fashion.

(Department of Labour, 1979)

In the secondary sector of the labour market, however, the sector at which YPTP students were aimed, employers do not require specific work skills but rather a particular set of attitudes (Green, 1983: 65-66). They do not want to employ young people on an adult award wage in a recession, no matter what level of 'skills' or 'training' they have attained. The only way that young people will become attractive to industry in a recession is if the cost of their labour is lowered (a move that would not, of course, 'solve' unemployment, but simply displace it onto other sectors of the labour force such as women or late middle-age workers). The then Minister of Labour, Jim Bolger, acknowledged this structural constraint on state solutions to the problem of youth unemployment when he stated that there should be a separate award rate for young people in all awards:

'It is better for young people to have a job at a lesser rate of pay and enjoy the dignity of work than have them denied job opportunities and remain unemployed.'

(Evening Standard, 1/8/81)

The basic demand of capital production for the cheapest and/or most productive labour possible (and young labour is expensive when there are few youth rates in negotiated awards) is concealed within state discourse by the acknowledgement of a set of more diffuse, secondary employer demands that place the blame for their unemployment directly on the unemployed themselves (Finn, 1984: 59). This acknowledgement can be seen clearly in the selection of excerpts from Department of Labour communications to the technical institute that follows:

It is important [that] skills courses adjust trainees to the disciplines and standards that can be expected in a normal employment situation.

To attain the level of job readiness desired, a standard of dress and discipline appropriate to the type of employment sought should be maintained.

Employers are noticeably cautious of persons not displaying qualities of tidiness and keenness.

These demands are readily translated into an ideology of individual deficit on the part of the unemployed, a deficit that can be remedied through education and training (Rees and Atkinson, 1982: 10). The focus of such discourse (which reinforces common sense popular ideas about why young people are unemployed) is on youth itself, on youth as a process that must be managed, guided and controlled more effectively than in the past. While it is acknowledged that the development of transition education alone is not enough - for example,

Many suggest that, if the total number of available jobs is inadequate, successful placements of better trained school leavers could only be at the expense of other job applicants (Task Force on Youth Training, *ibid.*: 13) -

this acknowledgement is always situated in discourse that implies in a contradictory way that, if young people were better qualified, better prepared, better trained and more socially competent, they would all get jobs. As Larrain, 1979, makes clear, one of the main effects of ideology is to construct a consensus and mask the sources of social conflict.

According to Dale (1981: 35) a crisis in capital production involves an ideological shift in the rationale for education from the development of the individual to the contribution of education to national survival - 'this is to be achieved through the preparation of an appropriately skilled and motivated workforce'. Once the problem is articulated in this way, the solution follows naturally - first, find out what employers want and provide training courses that match up students with necessary skills and, second, provide a more generalised social training for unemployed people. If there is an implicit assumption in the provision of transition education that jobs are available, then the unemployed must have attitudinal, motivational and skill deficiencies, otherwise they would be employed (Freeman-Moir, 1981):

Our fundamental problem is 'mismatch' - jobs are available, but the unemployed don't fit.

(Director of Employment, 1979)

The overriding impression of official discourse on transition education at all levels is that, if it is possible to discover what employers want, then it is possible to adapt and train young people to conform to this; it is possible to produce both official and hidden pre-employment programme curricula that can teach acceptable work attitudes, work skills and a work ethic to presently unemployable youth in order that they can gain employment. It also suggests through the provision of social and life skills programme components that have a specific socialisation function, that 'discipline, self-control and subservience are necessary in general to even have the hope of work' in the future (Willis, 1984: 32).

* Technical institute files - Notes on National Pre-employment Course Organisers' Meeting, 21/2/79.

The problem of youth unemployment is transferred (within official discourse) from the economic to the educational in such a way that solutions to the problem can only be reasonably proposed within the educational, i.e. within a transition education framework. The very provision of 'training' and 'education' transition programmes by the state implies that the problem of youth unemployment lies with schools and youth rather than with the workings of the economy: schools are seen to be the cause of an 'ill-trained' labour force and at the same time the means of upgrading the constitution of this labour force (Presdee, 1979):

The preventive role of schools needs to be reinforced. The early identification of students most likely to experience difficulties making the transition to working life, and the increased availability of resources to develop a range of programmes to meet their needs are required.

(Task Force on Youth Training, ibid.: 10)

Within this position, the problem of youth unemployment highlights the deficiencies of youth in terms of employer demands and job requirements. It underlines the notion that schools have not enabled youth to make a successful transition from school to work, and that youth are both inadequate and ill-prepared in their job-seeking and job-retention skills. If young people are seen as being uncompetitive in the labour market because they lack general and specific skills, attitudes, experience and qualifications, then it becomes 'obvious' that the provision of supply side education and training programmes will upgrade, qualify and skill them until they do become competitive (Johnston, 1983: 24; Loney, 1983; Federation of Labour/Combined State Unions, 1985; Jackson, 1985: 153-156). In addition the necessity for such special education is presented as a technical and organisational problem, one that can be solved by sufficient funding, good management and good will, rather than as a structural effect of the social relations of production.

Any critique of such education, therefore, must be within its own terms. Various official statements acknowledge that there are problems within transition education, but the premises of that education remain unquestioned (Task Force on

Youth Training, 1982; Government Transition Education Committee, 1985; Skills for Young People, 1985). A critique of transition education itself is placed beyond the pale of common sense: it would not be 'commonsense' to criticise the premises of the provision of transition education when that provision is 'obviously' necessary. Indeed, the foundations of these premises are explicitly bracketed out – while the Task Force on Youth Training (which provided the major government document on transition education and youth training in 1982), for example, provides a brief account of the structural reasons for youth unemployment in New Zealand, the committee makes it clear that this is not an area that comes under its scrutiny:

The paper is not proposing to tackle such other connected issues as industry restructuring, increasing competitiveness, regional imbalances, or the industrial issues of redundancy or remuneration for young fully employed workers. Nor is it intended to deal with training needs beyond sub-apprenticeship level.

(Task Force on Youth Training, *ibid.*: 2)

It is only when the text is deconstructed that the contradictions created by this bracketing out of the structural causes of youth unemployment become visible (Belsey, 1980: 103ff). For example, the text is able to discuss young people's lack of employment in terms of individual maladjustment and lack of skills: school leavers are in need of counselling, education, skills and social training. By bracketing out the structural causes of unemployment, the text as official discourse is able to normalise the provision of transition education as necessary for 'under-qualified, under-trained or immobile' young people. It is able to build in a number of taken-for-granted, common sense assumptions about the nature of unemployed youth and their needs. By providing for 'transition', 'work skills', 'employment preparation' and 'training' programmes for young people, both in and out of school, it is implied that work is or will be available; that, if young people are unemployed, then this is in some way their own fault. It becomes 'obvious' to young people, their parents and their teachers that they are deficient or inadequate in some way in terms of the labour market – they are not brainy

enough, they are lazy, they lack job interview skills, they did not stay at school long enough, and so on (Bloxham, 1983: 125). Common sense beliefs about the reasons for youth unemployment are therefore reclaimed and reinforced within the official discourse.

One direct ideological effect of transition education programmes is the normative control of unemployed young people to ensure that they do not make oppositional transitions while outside the social controls of the workplace (Moore, 1983). This effect is often concealed by the rhetoric of individualistic, liberal humanism – according to Law and Sissons (1984: 15), ‘adult development, then, is seen as a series of needs to change in an adaptive way’. That is, the discourse that surrounds the provision of these programmes by the state embodies assumptions about individual ‘drives’ and human ‘needs’ to be ‘whole’, and about the psychological deficits (such as lack of motivation, unrealistic aspirations, lack of initiative and anti-social behaviour) that result from some obstruction of these needs and drives. The emphasis, therefore, in official discourse, is generally on some form of compensatory education through social and life skills training. Khan (1984) claims that the development of all transition education in New Zealand has been based on the notion that young unemployed people need compensatory education in order to gain employment. Built into transition education policy is a notion that these students have special needs and individual pathologies that require extraordinary educational and training measures in order both to make them competitive in the labour market and to enable them to make ‘successful’ transitions to adult life (with or without employment). Guidelines for transition education tutors are explicit:

- . You are used to training apprentices and other students well motivated towards defined goals.
- . Most of your students have had reasonably adequate ability for the courses they have undertaken.
- . They have had an adequate attention span and a reasonable capacity to listen and to follow instructions.
- . You have established methods of instruction which have been effective.

. You are able to maintain high expectations of your students and acceptable standards of work and behaviour.

Some, or all, of the factors listed above may well be missing when you take over a group of STEPS or YPTP students.

(Department of Education, undated)

The implication is that, if they were 'normal' students, these young people would have picked up the necessary social and life skills on their voyage through the education system. Constant references in official discourse to 'upgrading', 'remedying', 'improving' and 'reinforcing' individual attributes and attitudes reveal the underlying theory of individual deficit and normative social control that informs these programmes; a theory which is 'dominated by an implicit model of a sort of cultural vacuum which can be filled by the provision of suitable remedial treatment' (Atkinson et al, 1982: 120-121). Cohen (1984: 119) has pointed out the 'savage presumptions' of individual inadequacy that lie behind the humanistic idioms of social and life skilling in transition education and Nash (1983: 186) argues that the deficit theory of personal integration (or 'wholeness') controls by individualising problems: 'In this way there are no social or institutional problems, only personal problems'. (Chapter Eleven of this thesis provides an extended analysis of the role of social and life skills in these programmes.)

Watts (1983a: 6) states that the relation of education to employment is that of selection, socialisation, orientation and preparation. By individualising, equalising, normalising and exclusively framing youth unemployment and transition education, official discourse functions to tighten those instrumental bonds between education and employment and to reduce the legitimacy of alternative perspectives on the education and the employment (or unemployment) of young people.

Reclaiming reality: Practice

Ideology works not at production but when the text is circulated and consumed (Whitty, 1981: 33ff). Of interest here is how this first construction of the subject

through official discourse was consumed and mirrored at one site of construction: the administration of the YPTP courses specific to this study. How did local Department of Education, Department of Labour and technical institute administrators respond to policy discourse and how did they construct YPTP students as subjects in their own discourse?

Official discourse at this level accepted the construction of transition education as common sense. This official discourse reflected and reproduced most of the underlying assumptions of the official policy documents; that is, that these young people were unemployed (and unemployable) because of their lack of skills, motivation, aspirations and proper attitudes. However, at this practical level official discourse confronted the reality of the material existence of these students which consisted not only of alienation, low self-esteem, poor health and minimal financial support and resources, but also of the unavailability of employment which underpinned these effects (Markall, 1982: 94). This practical discourse confronted the reality of the tutors' dilemma of trying to teach these students skills that could not guarantee them employment or even a recognised certification. It also confronted the reality that employers, within a free, fair and competitive labour market, cannot be forced to employ the young and their reasons for not recruiting school leavers have to be taken as given (Finn, 1982: 48). At this level, the official discourse of policy was transformed by reality into an official discourse of practice:

It's one of the very frustrating things in that, in a sense, I think we are being used as a means of sweeping the problem under the mat. And one of the dilemmas that we face really is, given that situation, how can we use the resources to try to really do something for the unemployed people. And, sure, we can bring somebody in, provided that person is willing to come, and we can provide that person with some training that boosts the person's self-image and helps the person with interviews and, perhaps, if we're lucky, helps that person to land a job. Which, of course, is taking the place of somebody else.

(Technical institute administrator)

Official policy documents were insistent that institutes must start from the assumption that

training programmes devised should be realistically linked where possible to employment prospects, or aimed to enhance the employability of those for whom they are offered.

(Department of Education circular to Institutes)

However, at the level of practice such discourse must be reconciled (ideologically) with real social conditions. For example, it was difficult for local officers to ascertain exactly what employers did want - the only consistent demand from employers in the secondary sector of the labour market was for cheap, readily available labour. The following statement typifies this view:

It is essential that courses are only offered for a limited range of occupations, and that courses are offered at the correct time of the year taking into account the seasonal nature of employment in the Industry in certain parts of the country. It should be remembered that the Industry provides a substantial amount of secondary employment and that certain job classifications are staffed predominantly by casual and part-time staff.

(Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board)

In addition, trade union demands kept the provision of work skills in the programmes at a sub-apprenticeship level. This ensured that young people completing the courses would not be in competition for work with skilled labour and would not be able to undermine award wages and conditions of skilled work:

It was stated that Unions were somewhat reluctant at skills which formed fundamental parts of apprenticeships being taught as employers are bound by the provisions of awards.

(Employment Advisory Committee minutes)

Departmental officials were left in a position where they were only able to

approve 'skills' courses that, in fact, rarely taught recognised skills: farm labour, Kitchen-hand work, general office work and warehousing typified these programmes. A technical institute administrator underlined this notion of 'skills' when he wrote in the margin of the Employment Advisory Committee minutes that

'Skills' here does not mean that a person becomes a 'skilled worker' - rather it is 'skills familiarisation'.

Official discourse at the level of practice reflected the common sense notion that young people were unemployed because they lacked vocational skills (for example, 'mechanical aptitude'):

There is a tightening of the job position and this is worsening. And there's lots and lots of jobs that just a few years ago young people would have been taken on, but now there is upskilling - local Council, for example, once upon a time would take any drongo, but now they need some mechanical aptitude.

(Regional Education Officer)

The employment of young people was seen in terms of a skills market:

One thing we can't do, of course, is promise anyone a job from the course for obvious reasons. So what we state the aims of the course as being is making the person more competitive in the job market. So we're looking at taking people who have got, shall we say, the potential to upgrade to a point where they're acceptable to an employer. Inevitably the starting point is where they may have the potential, but they haven't got the final polish, the actual skills in many cases to go to an employer and appeal sufficiently for him to engage them. So we're taking them from a rough stage, you might say, and polishing them up to a point where we can put them before an employer.

(Department of Labour officer)

But the skills that were provided in practice had to be those that employers did, in fact, demand – the social and life skills – rather than the specific vocational skills:

The reason for this increased duration [of courses] is that gaining employment is becoming increasingly difficult for young people (...) and consequently more time is needed to equip them with the skills they need. You will note from the enclosed course outline that the programme is designed to develop the students' job seeking skills, their confidence and sense of personal worth, their language and numeracy skills and their ability to cope with unemployment until they secure positions.

(Letter from the technical institute to the Department of Continuing Education)

Department of Labour officers attempted to resolve the contradictions of policy at the level of practice by ensuring that students from these courses did get jobs – for example, they would run YPTP courses at certain times of the year. Courses would be run just before Christmas so that students could take advantage of peak-time employment in foodhandling and sales. In addition, they made particular efforts to get these students work ahead of other unemployed young people. These ploys were only minimally successful, however, and the departmental administrators were always confronted with the reality of youth unemployment. While some administrators reflected official policy in their own discourse,

From our point of view, the end of the course is to get them a job and, if they do, then it's successful,

others were vocal about the difficulties (and immorality) of putting official policy into practice with these students:

The government is shifting responsibility for the economic situation onto the victims of it.

If, as we hear from various quarters, unemployment becomes built-in feature of our economy and if we do not wish to produce future generations of aimless, unmotivated, embittered young people then we must provide something more permanent than one-shot pre-employment courses or short-term hit-or-miss skills training.

Reconciling the gap between official discourse and social reality with these students produced a web of further contradictions. An extended example relating to student absences will demonstrate this. The question of student attendance at the courses was of real concern to departmental officers. Officially these courses were meant to be adapting students to the norms and social controls of the workplace - in return for a 'wage', trainees were expected to be punctual and in attendance at all times:

As it is important skills courses adjust trainees to the disciplines and standards that can be expected in a normal employment situation, it is important that the genuineness of the sickness be validated. I would appreciate it if you would ask your course tutors to pay special attention to the question of "genuineness" of periods of sickness and if so satisfied then attendance records can be noted accordingly to enable training allowance to be paid.

(Department of Labour to technical institute)

Because tutors had to deal face-to-face with the reality of the students' lives - the reality of ill-health, depression, alienation, boredom, lack of commitment to aspects of the courses, family problems, inability to sustain loss of income, and so on - they usually marked absent students in the register as 'absent with excuse', that is, ill. If they had marked the students as 'absent without excuse', those students would have had their training allowance docked proportionately for each day's absence. Apart from the hardship that this entailed for the students, tutors were aware that, under these conditions, YPTP students (who were only receiving \$6 per week more than the dole) would simply leave the

courses and re-apply for the unemployment benefit. This issue was brought to a head in these programmes on one occasion with the unexpected visit of a Department of Labour officer to the site. He arrived, two out of the fourteen students were present, and, when he queried the empty classroom, he was told that they were all 'absent with excuse'. He did not accept this and demanded proof of reasonable absence which was reluctantly (and, in some cases, mendaciously) provided by tutors. The tutors at this point put pressure on their own administrators to protect and support them and their students in the reality of this teaching situation. The technical institute administrators, through the Employment Advisory Committee, pressured the local Department of Labour into accepting that no student should have his or her wages docked below the level of the unemployment benefit whether absent with or without excuse. The Department of Labour officers, in other words, were obliged to accept that the 'disciplines of employment' were inappropriate in reality for these students and modified their practice accordingly.

These administrators were aware that YPTP students were quite unequal in their labour market potential and their certification with other groups of tertiary students. In general, they talked about this inequality in terms of individual deficit (and sometimes in terms of individual desert, i.e. these young people deserved to be in their present position) - however, they were aware of the realities of the students' financial situation:

My committee is opposed to the proposition that the Tertiary Assistance Grant should become a benchmark for income assistance to young persons engaged on employment and training programmes. The relation between income considerations for tertiary students and youth under training is a superficial administrative one. We regard the groups as quite separate, and thus consideration of the income for youth in training must be based on other benchmarks, such as industrial Awards, personal support factors, existing unemployment benefits and training allowances.

(Employment Advisory Committee response to Task Force on Youth Training document)

They were also aware that the young people who were candidates for enrolment on a YPTP course were often disillusioned with schooling and, increasingly, with pre-employment training:

While some might still be persuaded to attend a skills course, not many, according to the Education Officers at the Department of Labour, are willing to join pre-employment courses.

(Technical institute to Department of Continuing Education)

The official discourse of policy claimed that young people needed these courses in order to remedy their deficiencies in the labour market, but young people themselves did not necessarily agree. They either had to be attracted onto, or coerced into, the courses. Coercion proved counterproductive and enticements needed to be related to the realities of the labour market, to certification within that market:

... a Certificate of Attendance [should] be issued to participants completing a pre-determined percentage of the course. Such a certificate would give course members a feeling of achievement and thus help to maintain the positive attitudes and feeling of self-worth intended to be engendered by the course.

(Department of Labour to technical institute)

While reinforcing the 'subjectivist empiricism' of the official discourse of policy, where popular common sense ideas about youth unemployment were reclaimed (Burton and Carlen, *ibid*: 139), official discourse as practice had to confront the realities of the youth labour market and the experiences of young people within that market. Where this occurred, discourse as practice acknowledged that common sense explanations of youth unemployment and prescriptions for transition education were contradictory and at odds with reality. This did not prevent official discourse as practice from being both contradictory and disjunctive, but it did create real limits to the way in which discourse as policy

(i.e. the demands of state and capital) could be implemented in practice. If it were possible, for example, for statements such as

Each day will commence with time-clock and punctuality activity experiences which will be carried through the day with strict adherence to the promulgated time-table to instil the benefits to be derived from routines and self-organisation,

to be carried out in practice with adults in anything less than a penal or military institution, there would be little need in official discourse for the overwhelming emphasis on remedying the personal deficits of these young people and meeting the needs of employers: there would be a correspondence between the demands of capital and the practices of training programmes that would need little overt mediation by the state (Apple, 1980/81). Young people would gain the required amounts of human capital within the courses and they could then be put to work for the production of real capital. It was because the courses themselves were contradictory, in that youth unemployment does not arise from the lack of human capital of young people but from problems in the accumulation of real capital, that there was this disjunction between official discourse as policy, which reclaimed common sense, and official discourse as practice, which was forced to reclaim reality.

Official discourse provided the explicit parameters of the Young Persons Training Programme. The very nature of official discourse, however, means that those parameters were constantly under attack, that they were continually re-negotiated as official discourse attempted to include that which remained outside the parameters and as this inclusion was resisted (Burton and Carlen, *ibid*, 51). The impossibility of living the official regulations revealed their ideological character - official discourse was based in contradictions and was implemented by human agents who struggled with the effects of those contradictions. Chapter Eight examines the ways in which the tutors on the courses articulated and lived that reality.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TUTORS

Young people do not exist only as statistics; they are real individuals, constituted within a particular social formation, and the processes of that constitution need to be examined at a micro-level at the sites of constitution. In a period of increasing youth unemployment, the creation of individuals who will labour willingly within the social relations of capitalism (a process that has taken place in the past within a relatively smooth transition from school to work) is undermined. This chapter provides an account of how the tutors on the YPTP courses carried out their work within a contradictory and stressful context and how they talked about their daily practice. It presents an account of the discourse that framed their work of constituting subjects on behalf of the state.

The questions that frame this chapter are: How did the tutors perceive their role and how did they make sense of the contradictions inherent in offering skills training to unemployed youth in an oversubscribed labour market? And, as a result of these contradictions, what disjunctions or reconciliations can be found between what the tutors said and what they actually did; and between what they were told to do in the courses and their practice?

'Making the best of a bad job'

YPTP was premised on the notion that, even with a high rate of youth unemployment, it was possible for regional offices of the Department of Labour to discover or predict specific areas of labour shortages (for example, foodhandling or farm labour) – the YPTP courses would then provide the skills training that young people needed to take up positions in these areas. Trade union demands, however, limited the skills offered on the courses to

sub-apprenticeship level. The contradictions that arose for the tutors from these structural constraints on the courses are discussed in more detail below, but at this point it is obvious that the very basis of the provision of the courses was contradictory: if possible job opportunities were at an unskilled (sub-apprenticeship) level, then those positions that came onto the market would be filled readily by young people from a long queue of unskilled unemployed looking for work – there was no need for courses to teach specific work skills. And, if the work was either not available at the end of a course or could be learned easily with one week's on-the-job training, what was the point in offering specific skills training at all? While tutors did their best to provide comprehensive, ten-week skills training in the theory and practice of warehousing, for example, some found the process difficult to justify. The following extract from a tutor interview demonstrates this difficulty clearly:

Quite frankly, I can't understand why the Labour Department wants to run them – I really can't. (...) Travelling around warehouses, talking to managers, the story is the same each time – no vacancies. The warehousing industry is being restructured like the clothing industry. (...) They've got their backs against the wall, they're just not hiring staff. So why the Labour Department wanted to run a second course was beyond me really. I mean they might have a good reason, but I can't see it.

The tutors knew that any employment that the students might gain as a direct result of having attended a YPTP course would be within the secondary sector of the labour market, i.e. such employment was likely to be unskilled, marginal, poorly paid and insecure (Carnoy, 1977). For some of the tutors, there was no problem with this – a hierarchy in the labour market was presumed to be natural implying that the needs of such a labour market must be supplied:

Right now, the employment of people in this industry – well,

it's a pretty mundane type of job and you need a certain quality of person, depending on what you're really going into. If a person is going to work in a Kitchen, is going to make salads and wash pots, you don't need a bright, extremely extroverted type of person. You really need a quiet, shy person who, after about six months' training, becomes very good and they'll stop there for life. I have had people who are slightly mentally retarded who have been excellent workers in the area and also handicapped people, both with certain physical and mental handicaps. And they can fit into the system and it's very good.

This tutor was aware that a person does not need 'six months' training' to be able to make salads and wash pots, but could only acknowledge this when challenged - she needed to justify the ten-week skills training she was offering. When challenged, her reasons for providing this training emphasised the necessity of training the students in work discipline and attitudes rather than skills - discipline and attitudes that would enable the students to realise their limited abilities and the need for them to fit into the system willingly at a 'lower level'. Not surprisingly, given the widely held meritocratic view of education that is embedded in common sense, these tutors believed that there was a hierarchy of natural ability in society that corresponded to the needs of the labour market. However, for some reason, schools had encouraged the students who were in YPTP courses to aspire to jobs that were beyond their natural capacity and, tacitly, this was the basis of their unemployment:

The education system tries to aim people above their natural ability. You know, everyone has got to win. What I'm trying to say is that they shouldn't aim too far above their natural ability.

Ashton and Field (1976) claim that, while schools reproduce three basic categories of workers (professional/career, skilled trades and

careerless/unskilled or semi-skilled), they also raise young people's expectations so that they become less suitable as employees for unskilled occupations - certainly these tutors believed young people's aspirations exceeded their abilities, that this was 'unnatural' and that the fault lay with the schooling system.

For other tutors, there was a problem, but the solution to this was so far outside their control as they perceived it that they chose to ignore the implications of the creation of YPTP courses in favour of concentrating on the short-term goals of their own teaching practice:

There was a very high turnover because the jobs were such bloody awful jobs! The conditions were atrocious. (...)

WK: Did you feel any obligation to acquaint them with the fact that it was quite likely that they were going into a crummy job?

Oh, I didn't have to. They were well aware of it. 'Cos the kids kept coming back and saying, 'Oh, I've been working at such and such and it's a terrible place'. I mean the underground told them that foodhandling jobs were more or less the pits. They were kitchen-hand jobs, they went for all hours. Because we had some students working at night while still coming to the course and they would come back and talk about what their job was like. (...) A job's a job, and if you want a job, you take what job's going. That wasn't why I was there.

These tutors invariably rationalised this reproductive function of YPTP in three ways: 'If I don't do it someone else will'; 'I'm better at the job than anyone else would be'; and 'the kids are better off here than not'. While this was a moral rationalisation (i.e. the tutors knew that their work contributed to the reproduction of these students into the secondary sector of a segmented labour

market), it was also true in that it corresponded with a real state of affairs. It was true that if these tutors did not teach the courses, someone else would; it was true that it was better to have as a tutor someone who cared about the students than not; and it was also true, and the students themselves confirmed this, that they were better off in the courses (where they met other students in the same position, gained useful knowledge about themselves and the world, and increased their chances of getting to the head of the queue for jobs) than they were lying in bed at home staring at the ceiling all day or fruitlessly tramping the streets looking for a job. However, this set of beliefs, which enabled the tutors to focus on the needs of the students in their classroom for ten weeks, was a process that cut short any attempt to analyse the structures and social context of YPTP. Their commonsense aim had to be the short-term one of dealing with the here and now, with the needs of these students at this present moment, with making the best of a bad job.

YPTP tutors were aware that any work the students might take up at the end of the course was likely to be alienating and unskilled - only rarely did a student move out of the course into completely secure, long-term, skilled or semi-skilled employment. They were also aware that these students entered a pool of semi-skilled or unskilled (although not necessarily uncredentialed) labour; a pool from which they might be withdrawn into private employment, government work schemes or training programmes for short periods, and then returned for longer periods of unemployment. However, this awareness was never made explicit to the students. Making it explicit might have eased the traumatic last few days of each course, when the students realised that they were facing Monday morning still without a job - it would also have made tutor practice completely untenable. The students would have refused to attend a Skills Course that made it clear to them that they would be little better off in terms of gaining permanent employment at the end of the course than they were at the beginning. An extract from field notes made on the first day of observation makes this clear:

Student to tutor: 'I'm really pissed off. I went to the Labour Department and was offered a skills course in Reception and Typing which I accepted thinking I was going

to learn skills that would get me a job. I'm not unemployed, yet since yesterday morning when I started this course, all I've heard about is how unemployed I am, how bad I should be feeling, what I should do when I don't get a job and how I should feel about being unemployed. I've also played a whole lot of silly games getting to know others in the group, when all I want is receptionist/typing skills. And everyone else feels the same'. The other students all agree. Got onto what class should be about. Dissatisfaction with 'unemployment' aspects - 'we don't want them rammed down our throats' - they want a 'real' receptionist course. Tutor asks them what they expect out of the course while at the same time telling them that they will probably be unemployed in the future because of the middle classes. They do not want to know about this at all - why do this course if they are not going to get a job out of it?

The prospect of gaining skills that would give them a job in the immediate future was the carrot that drew the students onto the courses. The very structure of the courses was based on the premise that skills training would optimise the students' chances in the job market, a premise that the students accepted completely to the extent of believing that being on the course guaranteed them a job even though they had been told explicitly that this was not so. While the social and life skills tutors especially encouraged the students to consider the wider issues of unemployment and their role as unemployed individuals, they were only able to do this ultimately in an abstract sense - none of the students was prepared to recognise him or herself in this role. To succeed at this level, the tutors would have had to deny the very validity of the courses in the students' eyes (Raffe, 1983: 18; Dunn and Grimwood, 1984: 137).

Discipline

According to Delamont (1983: 74), the teacher is 'the occupant of a

diffuse role, facing a large number of pupils who have to be controlled and, ideally, taught'. All of the tutors were concerned about the discipline of the students in the classroom. For some, this question of discipline was closely connected with tutors' views of YPTP students and their 'employability'. Those tutors who sought to establish 'good work discipline' felt that the students were unemployed because they were deficient in some way. As Brewer (1980: 71) comments cynically: 'If only they wore less denim, or were better at sums, or looked harder for work the problem of unemployment would go away!'. According to these tutors, the trainees needed skills and attitude training to enable them to become productive and disciplined workers. The problem was how to make undisciplined, unmotivated kids adapt to society's expectations about employability:

If they knew that, with the attitude they've got, they're going to remain unemployed, it might help them to buckle down and do something about it. They have chosen to come here because they don't like being unemployed - I got the impression very early on that they don't like talking about being unemployed - and I agree, okay, don't let's rub it in, but I feel that if they got the impression that we are here to do something about being unemployed ...

Students were described as 'rabble', as 'dregs'. Although these tutors knew that there was a material shortage of employment at every level of the labour market (and this was evidenced by their concern for the lack of employment opportunities available for the 'real' students at the technical institute and for their own children), they still believed that these students did not have jobs through their own doing:

It's something. They must be giving something away when they go for an interview which is losing them these jobs and it must be something in their attitudes that is showing through in the interviews. I don't know what it is, but it must be something that's showing through, and if it's a

choice, they're going to take someone who shows this better attitude.

These tutors believed that, if the students themselves were choosing to be unemployed, then it was also the students who chose to become employable. And, to be employable, it was necessary that they accept a discipline in the classroom that corresponded to that of the workplace:

If you don't like it, then remain unemployed, but don't bother to come and waste our time. (...) If you don't want to remain unemployed, then you have got to accept the opportunity that you're being given and abide by the rules that apply.

They also believed that the student selection process for the courses was seriously deficient; that, if the system were working correctly, they would be standing in front of classes of 'normal', well-behaved students:

The other thing I feel fairly critical of is the selection of the people that come on the course. (...) I think the Labour Department or someone should do something about motivating them for employment before possibly they even come on a course like this. If they're motivatable. I have doubts about certain ones of them. This comes back again I think to the selection of them.

This discourse differed markedly from that of other tutors. For some, the concern with discipline was expressed in reasons for not disciplining the trainees:

My technique is never to coerce them into doing anything - I try and make it sound interesting, try and be a bit

enthusiastic about maths, which is very difficult, but usually you get through to the bulk of them eventually. (...) I don't want to coerce anyone. See they're on the threshold of adulthood and nobody out in the workplace is going to reprimand them - they'll just lose their jobs. And you must treat them as adults; if they don't respond, it's too bad - they're the losers. (...) They'll act differently when they're on the job, with money in their pockets to be lost.

In general, these tutors expressed the view that people are unemployed because there are insufficient jobs available. However, unemployment creates and reinforces stress, deprivation and inadequacy for the individual who needs to be given skills of various kinds (for example, assertiveness training, basic maths, communications skills, information about social services, and so on) in order to be able to cope with and take control over their present lives. Their views were similar to those of the staff in White and Brockington's (1978) experimental project, i.e. that they were dealing with the 'walking wounded', and they would have agreed with Scharff (1976) that schools should more adequately prepare young people emotionally to face the unknown waters of the world of work. These tutors perceived the students as people who had had an appallingly bad deal from society, as people who needed (whether they were aware of the need or not) the security of the course within which to gain some self-confidence, self-respect and companionship:

I saw them as basically emotionally deprived kids. Most of them physically battered, needing some caring, understanding, that that was very important to their lives if they were going to develop into human beings that could cope. Whether we did that or not, I don't know. But that was my aim.

For other tutors on YPTP the concern with discipline had a conceptually different foundation, one that was expressed very directly – ‘how do I discipline these students? How do I achieve order in this class?:

When I first started well, I thought, the discipline thing – what do you do? Do you do it the way I did it when I went to school where somebody sat over me the whole damn time or do you say, well, these people are past the school stage?

It was an immediate, practical concern to maintain order in their own classrooms in order to provide effective teaching, rather than a concern with discipline as an abstract concept:

Now, they’re going to be on their guard; they’re going to be waiting for me to sit them down and make them be respectable and all the rest of it. If I had done that they would have stomped out! (...) It was very important for them to, if not like you, at least have some empathy with you because otherwise they simply wouldn’t take on board anything that you said; they’d rubbish the lot of it. And it was important that they listened and absorbed some of it for it to be of any use later on.

These were tutors who felt very strongly that they had something of value to offer the students (in terms of both practical experience and knowledge of the world) and who knew that, unless a minimum of order was achieved with the class, teaching would be a waste of time. They knew from experience and hearsay that the sanctions that are used to control school children and ‘normal’ technical institute students would not be effective with YPTP students. If a YPTP student walked out of a class, a tutor could not threaten that student with loss of certification (as, for example, a trades tutor in the institute could do with an apprentice). These tutors developed a completely pragmatic approach to classroom discipline: if it works use it, otherwise forget it. In contrast to the

disciplinary style of the tutors who described the students as rabble, these tutors accepted swearing, smoking and talking in class as normal behaviour in young people and used both peer pressure and reasoned arguments to gain student attention for their teaching:

Unlike some of the classes, I didn't have any rules at all for a start. I explained to them that if they didn't turn up, they didn't get paid and that that was the guts of it. And, after that, things were good. If I were to shut up because I couldn't make myself heard, sooner or later one of them would say 'Hey, shut up' and pretty well they self-disciplined themselves, and it does work.

There were no specific questions in the tutor interviews relating to discipline and the way in which all the tutors gave a considerable amount of spontaneous attention to this subject points to the fact that discipline was of central concern to them as teachers. There were several reasons for this. The first relates to the demands discussed below that the tutors do a particular job and be seen to be doing it – that is, the curricular and pedagogical demands that were made of the tutors by the Department of Labour and the technical institute. Both Wolpe (1933: 114) and Denscombe (1980) discuss the way in which teachers are under pressure to be seen to maintain control in the classroom and how an admission of difficulty in keeping order is equated with overall failure as a teacher. The tutors' employment was casual, part-time and insecure and this, combined with the apparent autonomy of the tutor in the classroom, created a nervous concern about how their control was perceived by the hierarchy:

...you had to actually be seen to be delivering the goods by the Labour Department and by the heads at the Tech. There was just this feeling that you actually had to be producing those goods or you were down the line. I'm not a qualified

teacher and they would be looking very carefully at what I was doing whereas with you they'd know, you're a qualified teacher, you're at university, you would naturally be doing the right thing with those kids. Because I got comments like that in the staffroom. People always asked me what my qualifications were to be teaching these kids Communications. I don't think they realised how difficult it was to even keep those kids in a semblance of order, let alone teach them anything.

In addition, there were the demands on the tutors created by the nature of the students themselves - how do we teach these kids? No matter what the individual tutor might think about the provision of such courses for unemployed youth or about the types of students that should be selected onto the courses, she still had to deal on a daily basis with the students who were actually there, students who were likely to actively resist any attempt to apply the sort of discipline that the hierarchy expected (Chessum, 1980: 117). On top of these potentially conflicting demands, the tutors worried about their own inadequacies as tutors. Even those who had had some form of teacher or counsellor training still felt that they had not had sufficient preparation to enable them to teach these students; they lacked confidence in their solutions to the discipline 'problem' and, in 1982, were still in the process of gaining the experience that would provide them with that confidence. The balancing act that resulted in the tutors' strongly-expressed concern about discipline can be seen clearly in the following protocol:

I used to be quite panic-stricken because I wasn't doing what the Labour Department and the Education Department wanted us to do. They wanted us to teach them skills so that they could get a job. (...) And the dilemma was knowing that you had to go into a classroom and try and teach those things that the kids didn't want to know and they'd crucify you. Or the Labour Department would find out that you

weren't teaching those things and they'd crucify you. You were in the wrong whichever way you went.

Most of the tutors on the YPTP courses found it difficult to reconcile morally an institutional or personal need for firm discipline, monitored attendance and rules, with the material circumstances and psychological state of the students and with the fact that the courses obviously did not eventuate in permanent employment for the majority of students:

I don't think they wanted to be there. They wanted a job, they wanted to be out in the workforce, like their fathers and brothers. It made teaching very difficult. Especially when you were trying to keep up the pretence that they actually would get a job at the end of it.

In other words, in order for the tutors to have the moral right to expect the students to accept discipline on the courses, there had to be a guarantee of a job for those students. This guarantee was specifically not provided and, in practice, it became clear as the courses continued that, although some students got some jobs, the percentage rate for gaining even casual employment by the end of the course was falling. The following protocol expresses the dilemma tutors faced:

The thing that's bad about it is that for ten weeks they have something to do and then suddenly there's nothing, and I think that's really bad. So that's why we shouldn't, it's amoral or immoral to give them the idea from the beginning that what we're doing will get them a job.

Barry's (1985: 7) claim that YPTP exemplified the New Zealand 'do it yourself - give it a go' tradition - ' "Managers" and tutor/instructors literally were thrown in the deep end and learned, without training, either to accomplish the job or occasionally to sink ignominiously from sight!' - was borne out by the tutor experiences in this institute.

Disjunctive discourse

The alienation from and ambivalence towards their work in the classroom that the contradictory demands of the system created in the consciousness of the tutors was most evident in the teaching practice of those tutors who blamed the students themselves for their continued unemployment. For example, one of these tutors describes her teaching practice:

You see, one of the things I try to teach them is that this is a job and treat it like a job. If they can't get here by eight o'clock in the morning, how the hell are they going to get to a job at eight o'clock in the morning? If they can't do two and a half hours in one straight session, how are they going to do a job for two and a half hours? (...) You know, right from the start I made it clear that I was the tutor, I set the times, I say when they go for a break, I say what they do when they do it.

This description fits closely with the tutor's descriptions (below) of unemployed people and what should be done with them – there is consistency in her articulated consciousness between the way in which unemployed people in general should be treated and the way in which the students on the courses should be taught:

I think things have to be made harder to get the dole; things have to be made harder on Social Welfare. I think it's there, it's too easy to get so people take it. You know, people take the easy way out every time. (...) I think it's become too soft. You know, I think it's ridiculous that they ring up once a fortnight and they get a cheque in the mail once a fortnight – they don't do anything for it. Right, let's say they've all got to come into town every morning and report to a person at the showgrounds and sign

in before they get their dole. There's a lot of people always looking for a worker for a day. Why not have all the unemployed report to a certain place and, if you want your lawns cut, you can ring up someone and get it done. You know, there's plenty of work.

Given this hard-line, authoritarian attitude towards unemployed people and, specifically, towards the students on the courses, it would be a reasonable assumption that her teaching practice would be equally hard-line and authoritarian. However, while this tutor initially attempted to implement teaching practice in this way, she quickly discovered that she had to modify her practice or she lost control in the classroom. Any attempt to impose authoritarian teaching methods on these students was resisted in a variety of ways: some students withdrew mentally from the class, others talked over the teacher-talk in a disruptive way, some would challenge the methods openly and question the teacher's right to use such methods and, ultimately, some students would physically walk out of the classroom. Therefore, while this tutor continued to talk about the students and her teaching practice in these authoritarian terms throughout the year, observation in her classroom showed that she continually sought to discover and use teaching techniques that were not authoritarian, that encouraged student participation in the planning and implementation of the programme, and that gave the students the power to decide on class timetabling, rules and sanctions. Yet she felt that this was wrong, that it was not the way these students should be treated, and she was unable to reconcile her practice with her articulation of that practice. Her solution was simply to deny, at the level of discourse, her practice as it existed. It should not be, therefore it was not:

I think they are the ones that have got to do the adapting. They can't go on being mollycoddled. They've got to accept the fact that, when they get out into the world and they join a firm, they're not going to be given mouth-to-mouth resuscitation all along the line.

Most of the other tutors did not have such a clear-cut disjuncture between discourse and action. For example:

I tailor what I'm doing to the kids that I get. I play it by ear and I still go into every class with three things prepared. Three things that I can do and I can switch half-way through if necessary depending on the mood of the kids.

Observation in this tutor's classes throughout the year showed that this was indeed her practice. She was totally flexible in her preparation for teaching and was able to react to and use the mood of the class as the basis for her teaching practice. Within her classes, the alienation, lack of skills and qualifications and paid employment, low self-esteem, poor health and lack of adequate financial support and resources, commonly found among these students, were raised for question and analysis rather than accepted as the natural attributes of the students. For these tutors, however, there was a severe disjunction between what they said they were expected to do and what they did in practice. For them, it was impossible to deny the practice because it fitted with their consciousness of what these students needed, with their theories of teaching and learning. However, this practice did not fit with the requirements of the course that demanded that the students be taught that they must be the ones who adapted and fitted in with routines and discipline that were set down for them by others, that they accept others' evaluations of their deficiencies in terms of the needs of the labour market. These tutors were aware of the disjunction and were able to talk about it:

[We can teach the students to think] as long as they're not ideas where people actually begin to think for themselves. As long as they fit the system and continue to be small cogs in a big wheel and keep our industrial system clinking along.

This awareness provided a basis for resisting, in their day-to-day practice, the discursive structuration of the courses.

Resistance

While the overt basis for the provision of YPTP was that young people are unemployed because of individual deficiencies that can be remedied by attendance at a Skills Course, the unspoken, hidden premise that made the tutors' work a complex of contradictions related to the 'broken cultural apprenticeship' for unemployed youth which arises from their unemployment:

The wage (...) enables a whole cultural enfranchisement. It brings a sense of self and maturity which is achieved through insight and experience rather than through mere acquisition of years, or through someone else's say so, or through an institutional 'certificate'.

(Willis, 1983: 10)

The YPTP courses (along with the Training Allowance) provided a framework for a covert substitute cultural enfranchisement which created a problem for the tutors – the substitution was not recognised as valid by the students who wanted a job rather than a certificate. The successful resolution of this problem was not a straightforward, mechanical process for two reasons. First, the process itself was a contradictory one and this contradiction was replicated in the structures and practices of the courses. And, second, while students and tutors were constituted as individuals within ideologies that constrained their thought and action, they were also human beings who could act on the world to change it – the contradictions inherent in the processes of YPTP provided the means by which they questioned and challenged and, in fact, materially altered the effects of

those processes. In Giddens' terms (1979: 69, 91ff), the structuration of the courses was both enabling and constraining – structure implies both domination and the transformational capacity we associate with agency. The challenging and questioning was fragmented and individualised, but it did exist and thus contained the latent possibility of transformation.

The courses, while attempting to integrate inadequately prepared youth into the labour market and reinforcing the idea that they were unemployed through their own doing, also provided a possibility that both the students and the tutors could begin to question that position and struggle against it. As one tutor said:

I know that there is something wrong with pre-employment courses in the long term, that there just aren't the jobs available, but I have to work with these kids now.

A number of tutors working on YPTP expressed this concern. Because they worked on a day-to-day basis with young people whose only real problems stemmed from their lack of employment (rather than vice versa), they began to question the value of pre-employment or skills courses that told students that they were inadequate in some way. The tutors were usually aware that 'there are many dilemmas in the philosophy which asks supervisors to produce job-ready trainees where there are often no jobs available for them' (Christchurch Polytechnic, 1984: 7), although they found it difficult to articulate this awareness. One tutor, however, expressed the horns of the 'dilemma' graphically when she spoke out at a Departmental hui for YPTP tutors:

Because there are no jobs it appeared to us that every time we ran a course we were acting a lie. Every time we ended a course there was this sadness. We blubbed with the kids while we said 'hooray, go on you silly buggers, off you go'. We could not go on in all conscience to support something that was so destructive, damaging. To pay lip service to something which one does not believe in simply perpetuates

it. (...) If we do what the Department of Labour wants, the whole programme will fall flat on its face.

Apple (1982: 264ff) points out that teachers generate their own creative responses to dominant ideologies, their own 'readings' of texts - 'the formation of ideologies ... is not a simple act of imposition' (p.267). Certainly the contradictions of the YPTP courses, whether recognised overtly or not by the tutors, constrained the routine reproduction of a hidden curriculum of work disciplines and an inculcation of a set of social norms through social and life skills training. A good example of this was the issue of contraceptive education for students. The social and life skills tutors decided that the students needed contraceptive education as a 'really useful knowledge'. They perceived that the students, both male and female, needed knowledge that is basic to an important issue of control and choice in life: whether, and when, to have children. Their experiences with, and knowledge of, the students indicated that these young people needed contraceptive education as a real life skill. The local Department of Labour office, however, claimed that contraception was a pre-employment skill which should have been learned before a skills development course; that, in this particular course, the student 'needs' were for those social and life skills related directly to job-seeking and retention. Initially, the tutors argued against the departmental stance. When it became apparent that the local official would not shift his position, they went 'underground':

We are not allowed to do contraception, so we put it under "Seeking and Keeping Jobs" and "Avoiding Absenteeism" skills, with the premise that, if the students get pregnant, they can't keep a job.

The way in which these kinds of difficulties were resolved (or not) depended almost entirely on the local personnel involved, rather than on Head Office directives from either the Department of Education or the Department of Labour. Both tutors and local departmental officers, as individual agents, took the autonomy, created the spaces they needed, to define the exact nature of the

student 'needs'. This struggle, which was not always apparent at a surface level, tended to favour the tutors – unless the Department of Labour placed an officer in every YPTP classroom, there was no way that they could completely control what went on in those classrooms. The tutors in these programmes were not 'structural dopes' (Giddens, 1979: 52) who simply reproduced a given official curriculum. They were agents who were able to challenge the official discourse that defined the students as lacking the attributes and attitudes that would get them jobs, and were able to construct a curriculum in practice that enabled the students to gain some control over their own lives. Using what was already given in official discourse was part of the survival process for those tutors who wanted to give the students 'really useful knowledge'. This was used, along with 'appearance management' (that is, the strategy of acknowledging official curriculum demands and ignoring these demands in the curriculum as practice), as part of the process of coping on a day-to-day basis with the contradictions of the YPTP courses. Of course, not every tutor perceived the programmes in this way. However, as Field's (c.1981) study demonstrates, it is the tutors who control the curriculum in practice and this control was acknowledged by several of the tutors in these YPTP programmes:

There's only conflict if you tell the government what you're doing. You don't have to tell them. (...) I'm not entirely tied up with the government's objectives anyway and most of my 'programmes' as I've said are piffle because we don't stick to them. What ends up really happening is we programme it as we go, which is much better.

Basically, there were three levels at which the tutors could challenge and/or use the official curriculum in order to teach useful knowledge in their courses. (1), they could argue publicly for certain subjects (such as contraceptive education) to be included in the official outline of curriculum content. (2), tutors could acknowledge the demands of the official curriculum and ignore them in practice – that is, they could produce course outlines that showed that they planned to teach

to the official curriculum, but, in practice, teach a completely different course content. Or, (3), they could use what was given in the official curriculum for their own purposes – for example, use the official title of 'Job Seeking and Keeping Skills' to provide contraceptive education or 'Mending' to provide counselling sessions for students. These tutors chose to teach students necessary and useful skills instead of simply reproducing in their classrooms the common sense ideology of the students' individual deficit in relation to the labour market and society.

In addition to resisting in their classroom practice state definitions of unemployed young people as having inadequate skills and attitudes, some YPTP tutors also developed a wide network of tutor communication and support at a grassroots level. This, in itself, provided a base for overt resistance. By communicating regularly with their colleagues, these tutors came to realise that they were not alone in their rejection of the explicit aims of the courses; that it was possible to create a public forum for discussion of the purposes of YPTP and the functions of tutors. And this did put real pressure on the government to acknowledge officially some of the specific dissatisfactions that were expressed about the courses. Changes were made in state policy and practice as a result of this pressure (Task Force on Youth Training, 1982; Government Transition Education Committee, 1985; Skills for Young People, 1985), even if these changes did not question the premises of the initial provision of the courses.

Berg and Ostegren (1977), in a discussion of Kurt Lewin's field theory, suggest that, no matter what the state of the equilibrium of any institution, there are always a number of 'cracks' which indicate that the equilibrium is at risk – it is these 'cracks' that innovation is able to exploit. The theory which informs this thesis would suggest that these 'spaces' result from the inherent contradictions of the social relations of production which are reflected in institutions such as education systems and that they are, indeed, spaces that can be exploited by teachers in the struggle to provide young people with education rather than schooling. Given the existence of these spaces, there were several possibilities within the YPTP courses for the tutors to provide a curriculum for their students

that challenged both the normative control functions of transition education and the definitions of knowledge that such programmes generally reinforced. However, Apple (1982: 269) points out that 'the real question is not whether such resistances exist ... but whether they are contradictory themselves, whether they lead anywhere beyond the reproduction of the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in our society, whether they can be employed for political education and intervention'. These points are taken up again in Chapters Ten and Eleven in the discussion of the work skills and social and life skills components of the courses.

Chapter Nine examines the responses of the students to the courses and to their position in the labour market.

CHAPTER NINE: STUDENTS

A wide range of discourses (the ideological wrapping paper of the social relations of production) surrounded the provision of YPTP. However, the central ground of YPTP, the ground where the dislocations and contradictions of common sense perceptions were lived (Brook and Finn, 1977: 128), was the discourse of the students. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the responses of the students to their position in the labour market and to discover to what extent the student discourse corresponded with these other discourses. The basic questions are: How did these students cope with the contradiction between the discourse of 'work hard, get educational qualifications and you'll get a job' and the perceived mismatch of the labour force and jobs? What strategies did these students use to reconcile this contradiction in their consciousness and action? And how far, if at all, were the students able to penetrate the common sense belief that young people are unemployed because they are individually inadequate? To this end, the chapter examines the common sense discourse that the students brought to the courses; the ways in which they articulated the reality of their lives.

Student discourse and the idea of 'fair exchange'

The majority of the students on the courses believed in the system, believed in the authority relations of the classroom, believed in discipline and, particularly, in 'fair go's'. They did not necessarily practise these beliefs in the classroom, but they believed that these social relations should be enforced by the tutors. Nash (1976: 68; and see also Rosser and Harré, 1976: 174ff), in his discussion on pupil expectations of teachers, states that, not only do pupils who are well-behaved consider that the teacher should keep the noisy ones quiet so that they can get on with their work, but that the noisy children also believe that teachers should keep them in order and commonly blame the teacher for being

'soft' and failing to keep them disciplined. The students on the YPTP courses felt similarly that the tutors were failing in their contractual duties if they did not make the trainees follow the rules, behave themselves and be attentive:

I've enjoyed (the course), but I also reckon there's not enough discipline. Like I've been told that you can't chuck a person off the course, no matter how bad they are (...)
 But there's been a lot of ... there's no discipline. That's what I don't like. (...) People are rude and arrogant and all you can do is stand up and say, the teachers can stand up and say, 'I don't like that, stop it' and they stop it for five minutes and they'll be back at it. (...) Oh, it's good to have a joke and that, but not to be stupid. I think we're just ... uhm ... no manners.

Mary, 16

The ideas of fairness and justice and equity that underpinned the students' demands for discipline in the classroom (and, more importantly, for an equal chance at a job) are popular concepts that pre-date capitalism and cannot, therefore, be thought of as 'a capitalist ideology' (i.e. not all common sense is ideological). However, these popular moral expectations of equity and justice are central to the ideological reproduction of labour in a capitalist economy - they underpin the notion of the exchange of equivalents in the market that is basic in orthodox economic theory. The students came willingly to the courses, seeking that fair exchange: the acquisition of knowledge and skills and employability which would then be exchanged for a qualification (certificate) and a job:

Sometimes I wonder if it's because of my having no ... uhm ... ah ... no qualifications. (...) And so, I thought,

'Right. If I can get to this course and get a certificate out of it, I've got something behind me'.

Paula, 16

I felt that it should get me a job hopefully. (...) 'Cos you've been on the course, it shows you've got some initiative and you're keen to get a job.

Toby, 17

In return for their attendance on the course, they expected the teachers to 'teach properly', i.e. to impart knowledge, make rules, to discipline, to make them work. The YPTP students expressed this expectation unequivocally. The following protocols are typical:

I know they're just trying to get us used to the working hours 'cos we start 8.30 to 4.30, but half the time I just end up going off home because it's so boring. We sit half the time and talk about nothing. (...) And, also, we're getting paid for this course, 'cos we should actually have to work for it and we just sit around doing nothing half the time.

Joanne, 16

Well, some of the people really piss me off. Because, you know, those girls taking the afternoon off yesterday? They were there in the morning and suddenly they didn't appear in the afternoon and that really annoyed me. (...) It really annoys me in they expect to be paid. Because [the tutor] is the person she is, she'll let them off. (...) If they want to be paid they should stay there and they should realise

this, and I think it should be made a bit tougher that, if they're not there, then they shouldn't be paid.

Katie, 17

The desire for externally-imposed discipline and clearly-defined, consistently administered penalties for those students who broke the rules, was closely connected with the students' notions of 'fair go's', i.e. a 'fair day's work for a fair day's pay' (Connell, 1972: 57). Although the students knew that the courses and work experience were not work in a real sense, they still treated them as such and expected the same discipline:

Oh gee ...oh, it's as if it's a way to get money for doing nothing. (...) I'd feel obligated. I want to work, so I'm very - I'm a person who doesn't like to have debts, to have something on my conscience to do with money.

Katie, 17

It is essential to emphasise that the expression of a desire for discipline was one fraught with contradictions for both the students and the tutors. The tutors who did attempt to apply 'work' discipline in the courses were very unpopular and provoked near-mutinies by the students. The teacher-student paradigm became virtually untenable with students becoming abusive and walking out of classes. While the students believed in 'a fair day's work for a fair day's pay' and demanded more discipline and work on the courses, they were aware that they were not being paid a 'fair wage' for this work and that awareness provided the rationale for taking time off, mucking about in class and being inattentive when they felt like it:

Instead of listening to rubbish, with things that have nothing to do with it really, you should go out on jobs instead. Look at the people on the dole. You only get \$6 more than them and yet we come here every day. Not to listen to a whole lot of rubbish. It's not fair. We're only getting \$6 more. That means that people on the dole can stay at home and look for a job whenever they want during the week, and that means that we have to come here first. You have to ring up and if you don't you get docked. Stupid! If you are half-an-hour late you get docked a whole day more or less. (...) I think that \$6 extra a week is not enough for that. Definitely not for me and family.

Harry, 21

The extract from Harry's interview reveals the doubled-edged nature of the 'fair exchange' contract. The more the students adhered to the beliefs and practices of 'fair exchange', which are central to the labour market, the more firmly they were integrated into the ideological reproduction of their position in that market. At the same time, however, once that exchange faltered, once they felt it was no longer 'fair', it became difficult for the tutors to retain the students' enthusiasm in and attendance at the course. While the students never penetrated this exchange to the extent that those in Stafford's study of Youth Opportunities Programme students in Britain did (Stafford, 1981) - to the extent of rejecting the courses and the aims of the courses completely - they constantly expressed dissatisfaction with the form of the exchange. It was because they believed so very strongly that the system was fair and would do right by them, that they were unwilling to convert dissatisfaction into action. They complained about the day-to-day operation of the courses, but, because they saw the system that provided the courses as a self-evidently right one (i.e. they obviously did need qualifications, skills and work experience because this was what employers demanded in newspaper advertisements and at job interviews), then they were prepared to sit tight and hope that things would improve; that the lack of discipline and 'work' on the courses was merely an aberration in an essentially correct process.

Although, as an ultimate form of discipline, tutors could dock students' training allowance, this sanction was rarely invoked because the tutors knew that loss of pay resulted in the students literally not eating for several days – the ramifications of this type of discipline were much more serious than a simple loss of pocket money (Gunn, Moir and White, 1982: 88, describe the difficulties some Project Based Work Experience Scheme students had with basic survival on a training allowance and the consequent constraints that this provided for their supervisors). The students were aware that it was very unlikely that they would be financially penalised for lateness or absence. One of their major complaints was that this discipline was rarely enforced. The lack of sanctions that could be applied to students on the courses offended these trainees. It appeared to them that, although there were rules and contracts for the courses, there was no way of enforcing the rules if students simply ignored them:

Oh, [the course] is really good. Oh, you get the odd person occasionally who grumbles and mumbles and interrupts. But, as the tutors say, 'What are you going to do about it?' And you tell them [the noisy students] to shut up, and, if they don't shut up, well, there's nothing you can do. It's different 'cos when they want us to shut up, well, it's backfiring you know. They know how we feel. But half the time, they just carry on and scream and yahooin'.

Patrick, 18

Patrick's protocol underlines the contradictory nature of the students' complaints about the lack of discipline and sanctions. He makes it clear that there were not two discrete groups of students in the class – the 'noisy' students and the 'quiet' students – that, in fact, most of the students were both disruptive and quiet at different times. Observation revealed that, while some students were noisier than others and disrupted the class more frequently, almost all of the students were disruptive on occasion. Equally, while a few students were frequently absent or late, almost all the students 'disappeared' or failed to arrive on occasion. When questioned by tutors, the students gave various reasons for absence ranging from 'I got lost', 'I was ill', 'I was raped last night' to 'I got

bored and couldn't see any point in staying here' and 'I had to catch my bus'. When I questioned them, however, (apart from those students, discussed in Chapter Six, who were genuinely ill or distressed) all of the students gave variations of 'I got bored' as their reason for absence. An extract from field notes exemplifies this point:

[A class visit to the local Art Gallery which is located in the central city area approximately half a mile from the technical institute.]

Sarah and Joanne are missing. We all wait outside the Gallery for them for fifteen minutes and then the tutor decides to carry on without them. She cannot understand why they haven't arrived as they left the institute with the rest of the group. She is worried that something might have happened to them. Twenty minutes into our tour of the Art Gallery, the two sixteen year-olds arrive, saying that they got lost because they didn't know where the Gallery was. The tutor accepts this statement. However, I am standing next to Sarah when she tells the Director that she had a part-time job at the Gallery a year ago. When I question her, she says 'Oh, we knew it would be boring and we just wanted to have some fun on the way'.

The extract also exemplifies the point that students had an expectation that some reasons for absence and lateness would be acceptable to tutors while others would be unacceptable – the students perceived that the course 'rules' were 'school-type rules' and were explicit about their boredom and lack of interest only rarely.

Being on the dole

The idea of 'fair exchange' also coloured the students' reactions to going onto the

dole - they saw this as receiving money for doing nothing:

I don't really mind staying at home, but I hate being on the dole, can't stand the thought of being a 'dole bludger' - yuck! (...) I don't like it! I just don't. I feel ... I don't know how I feel. I just don't like it.

Louise, 16

Well, for a start, now Dad said to me you can't go on being on, without any money, you need the money. So he said, 'Don't think of it that you're bludging others, just go down and damn well apply for it!' (...) I didn't want to! I just thought No, you know, other people will be having me on and saying ugh, you're on the dole, and you know ...

Paula, 16

I didn't want to go onto the dole, but was forced by the Labour Department. I had too much pride in myself at the time, you know, and they said I would need it for clothes, etc., to pay board and all that. Like, you walk around and your friends don't like the dole - you walk around and they call you a dole bludger. (...) They were working.

Peter, 20

And obviously this fair and central exchange involved not only that of a wage for work, but also an exchange of social value for work. As studies of the unemployed have demonstrated (Hannington, 1940; Hill et al, 1973; Padfield and Williams, 1973; Marsden and Duff, 1975; Cohen, 1978; and Brewer, 1980, for example), there is no entitlement to either respect or income, at a common sense level, if one is unemployed. While Cleaver (1979: 93) rightly points out that the notion that the working class gets a use-value out of work itself is a 'politically dangerous romantic notion ... perhaps appropriate to a bygone era of craftsmen',

the experience of the social value of work within the working class itself remains relatively unexplored. Marsden and Duff (1975: 43, 269) claim that there is a social and mental curtain between workers and workless that makes the unemployed less accessible to the employed and suggest that, in a society that values individuals for their earnings from work, workers need cash-from-work rather than cash-to-pursue-another-interest and that a personal devaluation results from taking money from a source other than paid employment (e.g. an unemployment benefit). Davies (and, similarly, Kelvin, 1981 and Fiddy, 1985), claims that paid work has become 'a fundamental ideological construct in the creation and maintenance of social identity' (1981: 62ff), while Hargreaves (1981: 198) identifies the feelings of stigma and parasitism that people feel when unemployed. Dwyer *et al* (1984: 8), in their study of school to work transition in Australia, state that 'paid employment is still crucial, not only in defining the material living conditions of most Australians, but also in establishing a person's or family's social identity and the right to be involved in other aspects of the life of the society'. And Sennett and Cobb (1972: 267), in their discussion of the meaning of work for the working class, assert that 'the source of social legitimacy in capitalist society comes primarily from what a person produces, and it is from this that inferences are drawn about who he essentially is'.

If contemporary working class culture (the beliefs, practices and traditions of a class) arises out of the relationship of that class to the means of production, which is centrally that of exchanging labour power for a wage, how does that culture accommodate the unemployment of its members? These students were, in the main, working class and their discourse indicated that, for most, while being out of work was socially shameful, being on the dole was socially parasitical - being on the dole left them open to accusations from parents and friends that they were 'bludging' and living off the labour power that others expended in a 'fair day's work for a fair day's pay'. Many went to desperate lengths to disguise the fact that they were unemployed - male and female students spent most of their time at home when unemployed and the major reason offered for this self-imposed isolation was the attempt to avoid being identified as being unemployed by relatives, peers and the general public and called a 'dole bludger'. They only registered with the Department of Labour as unemployed when they realised that the process of finding a job would be lengthy and that they would

need some financial support for the period of job-search, or as a prerequisite for enrolling in a YPTP course. These students saw employment as a symbol of real status, as an end in itself, as something to strive for (in this they can be compared with the school leavers surveyed in Gray's (1981) study). Once they had attained the magical status of being employed (and were no longer 'dole bludgers' filled with doubts about their own worth in society), then it became important to strive to better their position; to get a better job or a more responsible position within the present job:

Oh, I looked in the paper - if there's, if I see one in the paper for a receptionist or any other job, then I'll just go for any job that I like. You know, I won't go for one that I don't really like. I did do that for one interview that I went for and you could tell the way I was acting that I didn't really want it. You know, I just want any - I want a job, but I was really desperate then, and I just went along even though I didn't really want the job. (...) If I can't get a job for a long time, then I'll just have to take anything. And then, when I'm in a job, I can look around in the papers, you know, and get something better, to move up.

Deanne, 16

As Dwyer et al (1984: 8) have pointed out, however, these young people are increasingly likely to experience 'the burden of leisure' with a concomitant sense of failure, shame and a foreclosure of options.

The labour market

There was a small number of students (male and female) on the courses who did not accept the system as fair and, consequently, rejected discipline and fair exchange within that system as being 'for the bunnies of this world'. They had a

cynical awareness of the realities of the labour market, the essentially exploitative nature of the 'fair exchange', but being able to see their true position in that market did not necessarily mean that they could either explain it or alter it. Jack epitomised this approach to employment. He saw labour as labour – it's something that gives you money in your pocket, keeps your mum and dad off your back and makes you feel good (knackered) as long as the boss isn't too bad (and, if he is, you simply throw the job in) (compare with Carter's analysis of 'rough' school leavers, 1966: 116). Employment is not an end in itself, nor is it indicative of real status. He did realise that others, such as the interviewer, might see degrees of status in different types of employment, (for example, his comment below about 'dumb labourers'). He was also very aware that some people, such as his parents, found unemployment shameful and unacceptable, but he did not apply these negative judgements in his self-evaluation as Deanne (above) did when she assumed responsibility for her own unemployment:

I prefer to do something with my hands – just want to get out and work. Makes me feel knackered afterwards. I would just ... I don't really care what I do as long as it is ... labourer – of all the dumb people – a labourer would do me. It's the only thing that I've had a look at ... I mean, OK, I'm not exactly a muscle man.

WK: When you talk about labouring, do you mean something like painting, paperhanging?

Yeah, just something manual.

WK: I think painting is a semi-skilled job.

It's not really. Yeah, it took me about two weeks and I ... you're meant to do an apprenticeship thing, but it has been cut down to four years now. It was six years, but I'm sort of classified as a brush hand because I've more or less done two years of it, so that means that anybody that employs me, I'm on the same award as a qualified painter. I mean most of those guys have done four years. I was offered an

apprenticeship doing it, but I looked at it and thought what was the point? I can still get a job just as easy. (...) Just labour, working. (...) My stepfather still seems to think it's 19-bloody-54, you know, you can walk out of one job and into another!

Jack, 20

While their consciousness of the essential unfairness of the exchange of labour power for a wage – that is, that all wage labour is exploitative at base, therefore you take what you can get (a position that is, of course, still based within a popular moral concept of 'fairness', what is fair and just) – gave them some advantage over the other students in getting a job, it certainly did not provide these students with any more security of employment in an insecure labour market. The males in this category claimed (credibly) that they could get a job any time they liked by going onto a site and asking for work. Inevitably, this was marginalised, casual or part-time, labour that required no literacy, numeracy, secondary schooling or formal skill qualifications, but did require the informal qualifications of being forward, self-confident, cynical and quick-tongued, and the ability to josh the boss without getting fired. As Jack discovered, not only did this segment of the labour market require no qualifications in a passive sense, it also actively rejected them:

I got a job through the Labour Department with this guy over in F-----. And the day I was meant to start, I turned up there and he said that he'd found out that he had to pay me full wages so I was fired.

Jack, 20

(The full wages had to be paid both because Jack was 20 and because he was classified as a brush hand.)

Students on YPTP were being prepared to enter the secondary sector of a

segmented labour market (Edwards *et al*, 1975) in that the courses were only permitted to teach sub-apprenticeship skills to young people. However, this particular set of students on the courses had already entered what could be described as a tertiary sector of a segmented labour market; that is, a sector where illegal or semi-legal work is characteristic. This notion is supported by Bowie (1983: 70) who describes the difficulty of estimating the size and composition of the peripheral labour force in New Zealand, especially at the margins of the margins where there are some males who live off small, irregular earnings. Obviously this group can include those who engage in semi-legal or illegal activities, even though that interpretation may not have been intended by Bowie. These activities are part of the 'black' or informal labour market and, as they generally involve cash-in-the-hand payment, they are not recorded in any objectively measurable form, e.g. in the filing of income tax returns (Gershuny and Pahl, 1981). This 'black', unrecorded, labour market does not, of course, only extend to illegal or semi-legal activities such as prostitution, drug-dealing and 'poozling' goods off the back of a truck (Henry, 1978; Calkin, 1985); it also includes all labour such as waitressing, childcare, domestic service, general and farm labour that is paid for under the table to avoid the tax collector (Henry, 1981; Watts, 1981a). The existence of this market may be little recognised in economic journals and national accounting procedures (De Grazia, 1980: 549), but these particular students were quite aware of it and took advantage of the opportunities that such a labour market offered for employment.

These were the students who were able to penetrate the discourse surrounding the provision of the courses. For example:

There's no point in me learning how to fill in these [job application] forms. The work I get, you don't need them - you just go on site and ask for a job. If you get it, you start straight off; no forms.

Brian, 16

And a 17 year-old student who, on being told that it was extremely difficult to get a job if you answer 'yes' to the employer question 'Have you got any

convictions?', said with a sneer:

That's not true! I went down a wrecker's for a job a while ago and he asked me if I had any convictions. I said 'yes' and he asked me what for? So I told him I'd converted a car and he pissed himself and said, 'You're just the sort we want around here' and gave me a job.

Bob, 17

Their experiences in this labour market showed them that, although some employers might want qualifications, they did not need them; that the demand for qualifications by employers was an arbitrary one that did not have any real bearing on a person's ability to do a job. (Maguire and Ashton, 1981, support this analysis in their study of employers' perceptions and use of educational qualifications). They did see their lack of qualification as a bar to entering types of employment that they might desire, for example, an automotive mechanic apprenticeship (unofficial certification for entry into this field has reached the level of University Entrance with passes in maths, science and physics). However, they did not see the gaining of a qualification, the hard work and knuckling under that this involved, as being necessary to being able to be, say, an automotive apprentice - they had already spent several hundred hours of labour pulling apart both their own and their friends' cars, putting them back together again, hotting them up and so on. An extended example will clarify this point. One of these students, with no educational qualifications, exposed the arbitrary nature of employer demands for credentials on a visit to a large databank. The Assistant Manager spent two hours explaining to the students in a pleasant and efficient way why he would not employ any of them: they wore the wrong clothes, they had poor employment records, they had the wrong body language, they were insufficiently credentialed, had bad speech habits and lacked a deference that was essential for successful job interviews. At the end of the session, Jim went up to the employer, grasped him firmly by the shoulder while shaking his hand and looking him directly in the eye, and said with a straight face: 'Congratulations! You've got the job as interviewer. When can you start?' The employer was unable

to react for several seconds and finally chose (uneasily) to treat it as the joke it was. He was both impressed by the student's arrogance and independence and taken aback by its inappropriate display. The student for his part was informing everyone in the room that, if he wanted a job in a place such as this he would get it without using the 'techniques', by sheer strength of his personality, and everyone, students, tutor and employer, understood what he was saying. The employer spent several minutes after that inquiring about Jim, assuring him of a genuine interview if he wished to come back to talk about employment in the firm, and making it clear that there was room in his company for 'go-getters' with or without credentials. Jim was experienced in gaining skilled jobs without credentials. He had walked onto a building site at some stage before the course and asked for a job. The foreman asked him if he was a plasterer. He said yes, and spent a day carefully watching and copying the man next to him on the job - after that he was a plasterer. He 'fiddled' employment as a plasterer on weekends while he was on the YPTP course getting the Training Allowance (Ditton and Brown, 1981: 524-525; Ferman and Berndt, 1981). As Watts (1981b: 2 and 1983a: 8) points out, employers use qualifications as a convenient pre-selection device when deciding which applicants to consider more closely, but thereafter pay little attention to them.

The educational exchange was not a fair one as these students perceived it because it did not offer them anything they did not have already, except a piece of paper that had too high a price. By contrast, the other students (the majority) believed that employers needed certification for the jobs they were offering and that, to become certificated, was to be able to prove that you had acquired certain skills that you did not possess before:

[I wanted to come on the course] just to get qualifications, you know, to be a storeman - I'd like to be a storeman really. And I have to have a certificate to show I've worked at that sort of thing.

Jeff, 18

Sex difference

The major differentiation of students in the courses was not, as might have been expected, between males and females, but rather between the small number of students who had some insight into the structures of the labour market, and their position in that market, and those who did not. In the main, the majority of the students (male and female) were non-assertive, isolated, frightened and depressed within their unemployment. Males and females wanted the New Zealand dream: a job, a trip overseas, a house, marriage and children, even though they feared that these things were beyond their reach given the realities of their lives.

However, in the small group of students who could penetrate the discourse of the courses there was a difference between the males and females in the ways that they were treated in the labour market. The males were encouraged by employers to be articulate and assertive because these were acceptable qualifications for the sorts of work they applied for. The work was rough and ready, 'men's work'. The females, on the other hand, were expected to be verbally passive and non-assertive no matter what work they applied for. 'They don't want some assertive little madam' (Maryanne, 15), but 'they' don't mind 'a lad with a bit of go, a bit of nouse ... they're cheeky little sods, though' (trades tutor). One of the social and life skills tutors on the courses expressed the difference between the girls and the boys in this category of students clearly:

The girls are much, much brighter. And the boys, while they put on an act of being bright and intelligent and smart (smart being the operative word!), they aren't. They're basically kids that literally can't even read. An employer looking at them would think that they've got enough cheek, enough nouse, to get on - 'he's a cocky lad'. They'll get away with anything ... never guess that they couldn't read, write and do arithmetic, never guess it. With the girls, you'd never guess that they could because they just act the fool all the time.

Although the price of being able to see through the 'fair exchange' discourse for both males and females in this group was that, in offering their labour power in the market, they expected to have to accept low wages, poor working conditions and non- or inactive unionisation, this price was much higher for the females: the boys were acceptable just as they were and, indeed, there was a 'celebration' of their personal attributes in employment – they were 'real men'. (For example, driving through town one evening I pulled up at the lights behind a hotted-up car belonging to one of the male students. Before the lights changed, the boss from his part-time job pulled up in the lane next to him. The student wound down the window and, as the lights changed, raised his fist and screamed 'Drag!'. His boss yelled back and they both took off up the main road at high speed on burning rubber.) The girls, however, were always unacceptable to employers – they were not 'real women':

Well, I figured this out in the last couple of weeks. What employers want is someone who says 'Yes sir, no sir, okay' – with a lot of brains but as dopey as anything. That's who they employ, so they don't get the union called in if they give the wrong pay. So all these girls who go \$10 or \$20 short on their pay don't do anything. And they'd rather employ those girls than someone like me 'cos I always ask them 'Have you got a union delegate?' and they don't like that.

Maryanne, 15

Wallace (1986: 108) asserts that there is, in fact, a dual shadow labour market; that work is both more available for young men than young women within this shadow labour market and that young men gain access to higher status, more lucrative work in a reflection of the hierarchical differences of status and income within the more obvious dual labour market (Piore, 1975; Livock, 1980).

Coming to terms with marginality

Because the discourse produced by the state reinforced discourses that were produced within the public arena of common sense, the student discourse had little room to do other than 'fit': the public and state discourses ultimately set the limits to their ability to penetrate the 'reality' of daily life. In the terms of these discourses all could 'see', for example, that they were unable to get the jobs that they wanted because of their lack of acceptable qualifications, experience and maturity:

People are unemployed because employers are fussy. If you've got School C. they want U.E., and if you've got U.E. they want Bursary or something. They're very fussy - you've got to have all those qualifications. It's no use having only two subjects - you've got to have six subjects (...) I applied for a job at a supermarket, straight out supermarket type counter work, you know, and I said, 'Yeah, I got School C' and the guy asked me if I got U.E.! He said, 'Oh, we're looking for someone with experience and University Entrance' and I said, 'For this kind of job?'. It was bloody disgusting!

Sue, 17

However, simply because this credentialism was a real and self-evident fact in their lives, they were completely at a loss to understand or attempt to explain why a 20 year-old student on one of the courses, who had University Entrance in physics, maths, English, economics and biology, and who had already been employed, had to accept a job as a process worker punching out ear tags for cows. It did not make sense to them within their own experience of being rejected for employment because of their youth, inexperience and non-qualification - also, it was not fair:

She had to take a job like that? With her qualifications?
That's not right! She deserved a better job than that.

Barry, 20

Having accepted the idea that they did not have jobs because there was something wrong with them in terms of what employers wanted, they were unable to cope with the obvious contradictions of this position; that is, that if they all had University Entrance and maturity and work experience there would still be insufficient jobs available (Gallacher and Bowie, 1983).

At a certain level the students were aware that there simply were not enough jobs to go around; that, if there were enough jobs, they would all be employed no matter what their qualifications, age or experience. The students did not normally articulate structural explanations for their unemployment, but there was a number of incipient explanations embedded in their discourse. And the structural explanation was invariably within a common sense, 'real' framework; within the experiences of their own lives:

I've rung up the FDC, but they've tacked me on the waiting list as usual. But I got very wild, 'cos when you walk in the FDC you look and see how many married women there are in there, that are old, that we could have a job from. (...) I just feel that I could have that job, you know, or somebody else.

Paula, 16

Their structural explanations of unemployment included 'too many old people and married women in jobs that we could have'; computerisation of jobs; 'foreigners taking our jobs'; and 'the government - Muldoon':

It's the government! Because he, he's not thinking about us young people, he's thinking about himself. [WK: Muldoon?]

Yeah, yeah. He's got enough money to start building more factories and stuff like that and really get the work about and stop bringing people from overseas, that have got the experience to do all these jobs. I mean, how do you get experience? I mean, all these young kids are capable of doing these jobs. (...) These employers are not willing to take people who haven't had the qualifications or the experience. So I think it is the older folk, the older generation, who don't understand us young ones. Some of us young kids are bloody good workers and have got the skills, but they just haven't got the qualifications, that's all.

Carla, 20

Oh, it's 'cos employers don't give kids like me the chance. I don't know really. And they're getting so many computers and everything out now ... they don't really need us 'cos we haven't got any qualifications. It's partly our own fault 'cos we don't stay at school.

Joanne, 16

Their day-to-day experiences of the labour market meshed closely with the state and tutor discourses about the reasons for unemployment: the individual inadequacy reasons - lack of skills, experience and maturity; and the structural explanations - recession, too many married women in the workforce, new technology and too many immigrants. And their responses to this discourse, in terms of their foreseeable futures, were invariably bleak:

I don't know. I don't think I have a future. I don't have one as in reality, as something I can actually focus on.

Phil, 17

I never see my future. I don't think about it. I take one day at a time.

Harry, 21

Dim, very dim. I don't think I'm going to get a job as soon as I get off this course.

Brenda, 17

None of the respondents wished to think about their probable futures after the course. When pressed to, they could only see unemployment, depression and sometimes death in the immediate future. Although their answers to questions about the future were remarkably similar, they were individualised responses that held out no promise of collective struggle to change their situation. Their reactions to being consigned to the periphery of the labour market, probably for the rest of their lives, were those of apathy and despair, resignation rather than anger:

Sometimes I used to feel really depressed. I used to think 'God, when am I ever going to get a job', but just lately it hasn't seemed to worry me that much. I'm going to wait until I can find a job that I like. I mean there's so many people unemployed now - I mean it's not just me.

Nancy, 17

I sort of went through like depressed and sick and tired - like I'd had friends who'd just left school at the end of the year and they were getting jobs so easily because they had U.E., because I used to get asked 'Why did you leave school when you were so close to getting U.E.?' and it's hard to explain, and I just felt 'Oh, that's it'.

Jean, 18

Their anger, when it occurred, was directed at concrete, individually-experienced sources of frustration (cf Jenkins, 1983: 132) – for example, the Department of Labour or employers:

I've cut out drinking, smoking, given it all up ... But the thing is I can't get a job. I'm a good worker. I mean, I go to the Labour Department and three weeks have gone and still no job. I had a bloody good chance and they wouldn't even give me the card. All I have to have is the card.

Harry, 21

A couple of days later he comes up and says 'Oh, June, today's your last day'. And I sort of looked at him, you know, and he said 'Oh, you can come and pick your pay up tomorrow'. He said he didn't need me anymore and then a week later he hired his niece. He said he didn't need any more employees – I thought that was disgusting!

June, 16

They knew that there were some jobs out there (some of their friends and the children of their parents' friends were getting jobs so there must be work available), but, for some reason, either through their own failings or through incompetence on the part of the job-matching agencies, they were not getting those jobs. The majority of the students were seeking permanent, secure employment not as an alternative to marginal employment, but as an alternative to unemployment: they had been unemployed for lengthy periods, some up to two years. They passively participated in the marginal labour force in that, occasionally, they would get a job that appeared to offer permanence and security (such as an apprenticeship) only to discover the ephemeral nature of their employment: they would be made redundant; the boss would fire them and hire his niece; they would be put on short hours; the conditions of employment would change and become unacceptable; the firm employing them would fold; and so on –

all of which was 'unfair', but ultimately explained in terms of their own deficiencies. (Their responses were remarkably similar to those of the young women in Presdee's Australian study (1981), but they were responses that were made by both sexes equally.)

The small minority of the students described in the previous sections of this chapter also knew that there were jobs out there. The difference for them was that, if they wanted to, they could in fact get those jobs: they used either a network of contacts and relatives who could give them work, or a direct approach to the boss on the site where their confidence and personality were sufficient generally to get them a job. In doing this, they had already become part of the marginal labour force, i.e. people who will move in and out of paid employment over a number of years. They knew that there was some permanent work available that they might want to engage in (such as automotive engineering), but that this work was not available to them; not because of any individual deficiency on their part, but because of the arbitrary demands of employers. In other words, they actively participated in the marginal labour force, not because they could not envisage any alternative, but because the price of trying to achieve the alternative was too high. As well, there was an obvious cultural choice involved. Those students who saw labour as labour and who perceived a job as a place where you get as much as you can off the boss (in the way of time off, perks, slacking, laughs) before he gets it off you, were able to actively choose marginal employment. If a job was seen simply as a means of getting more money than you could make on the dole (or, commonly, among these particular students, in addition to what you could make on the dole), there was no shame or loss of status involved in losing that job and becoming unemployed again. (See Henry, 1982, for an analysis of the working unemployed, but also Pemberton, 1980, for an analysis of 'dole bludging' as government scapegoating.) The movement between employment and unemployment became one of constrained choice. Those students who saw a job as a symbol of status, the beginning of a lifetime of permanent employment, a place where you gave a 'fair day's work for a fair day's pay' and where the boss would protect your rights, were unable to choose marginal employment - rather, it happened to them as something beyond their control.

These students would assume that, even if they wanted the type of employment other students took, there was no point in applying for such work if they did not know how to do it and did not have the right qualifications. There is a tension between agency and structure that is masked by various ideologies which are expressed as common sense. Students who were unable to penetrate the ideology of necessary certification, for example, were unable to act fully as agents within the structures of the labour market.

Resistance

All of the students resisted the definitions that were made of them in the provision of the courses, but this resistance was muted and individualised. However, it was sufficient to ensure that no course was implemented in a mechanical correspondence with the demands of capital and the state. While the students accepted the general proposition that they were unemployed because of their own inadequacies, they resisted applications of this proposition. They resented being labelled 'unemployed' by tutors and made YPTP teaching untenable if they felt disparaged by a tutor, either as individuals or as a group. Although students did demand skills training that would enable them to gain employment, they also resisted any training, particularly social skills training, which attacked their self-images. For example, one student presented a sophisticated and very effective resistance to the attempts of a tutor to impose work discipline, work attitudes, work dress and a work ethic on the class. While she was quite prepared to learn work skills (that was why she was attending the course), she was not prepared to be told that she was inadequate in a more general, social sense. (Werthman, 1977, describes similar responses in delinquents in high schools.) This student's method of counteracting the implicit and explicit tutor criticism was to use the traditional weapons of collective labour - she employed 'go slow' tactics; she sabotaged lessons by 'misunderstanding' instructions or asking for them to be repeated endlessly; she subtly undermined the tutor's authority in the eyes of the other students by asking questions she knew the tutor could not

answer. Most importantly, she worked to the clock. At 10am, for example, she would simply 'down tools' and walk out of the classroom onto an official break. Immediately the other students would follow suit, leaving the tutor in mid-sentence, frustrated by her inability to stop them and unable to see that her own lessons about the discipline of the workplace were being used against her. This student knew precisely what tactics she was using in the classroom – tactics that can be compared with worker resistance at the site of production (Taylor and Walton, 1971; Beynon, 1973) – and was able to articulate the reasons for their use. She was also selective: she used these tactics only with those tutors who worked without question within the basic premises of the courses, i.e. those who accepted that the students were unemployed because they were socially and educationally deficient.

The majority of the students, however, reacted spontaneously to specific incidents with 'knee-jerk' responses which limited and individualised their resistance. These resistances were both active and passive (Connell *et.al.*, 1982: 87; see also Rosser and Harré, 1976: 177, for an account of forms of resistance by secondary school pupils similar those of the students on these courses). Some students passively withdrew from the class – that is, they remained in the class physically, but they curled up on the floor and went to sleep, for example, or wore mirrored sunglasses, or they simply 'shut off'. One student in a typing class, for example, typed over and over again, 'Today is a horrible day and I hate it and I want to go home', while ostensibly continuing to be involved in the class activity. (This passive withdrawal can be compared with the 'tuning out' of the women workers in Pollert's study, 1981: 131ff, where the women, while weighing tobacco with robotic dexterity, were able to daydream or secretly read magazines). Other students became very disruptive; they would turn the radio on at full volume, for example, or, as an extreme indication of their alienation and frustration, smash the classroom furniture and physically threaten the tutor. Yet other students questioned, and kept on questioning, why they had to learn those things, why and how were those subjects relevant to getting a job, and they did not accept answers that implied that they were deficient in some way in their social and life skills. While one of the premises of such training programmes is the normative

control of unemployed young people, this is not necessarily the outcome – the students constantly challenged the tutors' right to their authority in the classroom. One student, for example, stated bitterly 'You're just a bunch of housewives brought in to babysit us, keep us quiet and off the street'.

The social relations of YPTP were not accepted passively at the level of daily practice and yet the realities of the students' lives were such that they had little space to carry through their individual challenges to create collective change:

Quite frankly, I'd rather be employed than be classified as an outcast or an untouchable. I don't care if I'm 'reproducing the class structure' by wanting to do any job at all at any rate of pay. I'd rather be a member of the lowest lower class than unemployed.

Bill, 19

Mungham (1982: 38) points out that 'in so far as youth raises its voice at all, the cry is for jobs, for incorporation; their concern is not to subvert a social order, but to join it', and this was clearly demonstrated in the discourse of the young people in these courses. It was in order to join the social order in a recognised way, i.e. to become active members of the labour force, that the students had enrolled for specific skills training.

Conclusion

The discourse of the students demonstrates, to some degree, how ideology is mediated through common sense in ways which support the structures of a capitalist mode of production. These students lived lives that were based in a common sense perception of reality, of the real world. This perception 'fitted' with the discursive practices of the state in the provision of the Young Persons

Training Programme (even though the students were aware, at a confused level, of the contradictions inherent in the provision of the programme). Johnson (1979: 74) advances a classical Gramscian view of ideological hegemony, that it is

a hard and constantly-resisted labour, a political and ideological work for capital and for the dominant classes, on very obstinate materials indeed.

And Codd (1982: 11) points out that

Hegemonic structures constrain action but they also allow transformations to occur because the limits of structure are always capable of penetration by the spontaneous actions of individual agents. Thus, the contradictions between agency and structure become a powerful source of counter-hegemonic struggle.

However, while individual students were, indeed, capable of penetrating the discursive structures of the programme, it would be overly-optimistic to see this individual resistance as 'a powerful source of counter-hegemonic struggle'. The reality of the students' lived experience as YPTP students was that of boredom and powerlessness which was expressed, in the main, in petty individual resistances. The students who penetrated the discourse to some degree were the same students who 'celebrated' their marginality in the workforce; those students whose participation in non-unionised, insecure forms of employment prevented them from involvement in a collective counter-hegemonic struggle which might 'allow transformations to occur' and enable a transition from an individualised, ideologised common sense to Gramsci's collectively and historically based good sense.

Chapters Ten and Eleven continue the analysis of student responses to the YPTP courses, with specific reference to the work skills and the social and life skills components of the courses.

CHAPTER TEN: THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN
PRACTICE – WORK SKILLS

One of the basic contradictions of the provision of the Young Persons Training Programme, which affected the way in which that programme was implemented in the institute, was that 'training' implies the acquisition of certificated skills that will be followed by the gaining of a job where those skills can be put into practice (i.e. one is trained for something). The courses provided neither certification nor a guarantee of employment in a contracting labour market. While the students were told that being on the course did not guarantee a job, this point could not be laboured by tutors and the Department of Labour or the students would have rejected the courses. For them, the premises of the training programme (which were inherent in the words 'skills courses' and 'training programme') were that they would have a real chance at a job by the end of a course. This contradiction is explored in Chapter Ten with specific reference to the work skills component of the courses. The notion of 'skills' in official discourse (as it reflected the discourse of capital) and the way in which this discourse was in turn reflected in the responses of the work skills tutors in the courses are explored. The last section of the chapter examines the student responses to the work skills component of the courses.

Work skills as discourse

While employers can be encouraged or persuaded by subsidies to take on young people, by definition capitalists cannot be forced to employ the young within a free enterprise labour market, governed by cycles of demand and supply, within which individuals enter into fairly and freely negotiated wage contracts (Finn, 1982: 48). This concept of the labour market is expressed very clearly by the New Zealand Employers Federation (1981: 21, 27) in their discussion paper on 'Secondary Education and the Path to Work':

For the youth of today the immediate problem is one of more competitive entry into employment, rather than of unemployment. (...) the stress by employers on academic qualifications has produced entrants to the labour force possessing few marketable skills at a time when, because of increased unemployment, there is a strong buyer's market for labour.

As Weaver (1982: 138) from the Employers Federation indicates, employers do not feel that the employment of more people is their responsibility - 'they are in business to survive and make a profit'. In general, employers' reasons for not recruiting school-leavers and their accounts of the needs of industry have to be taken as given. These givens set the parameters within which the state can develop its options for dealing with youth unemployment, parameters that are problematic for the state (Frith, 1980). Cohen and Nixon (1981: 343), referring to Britain and the U.S.A., claim that many employers prefer to have schools concentrate on training in basic skills, such as reading and writing, rather than job-related skills and Lavercombe and Fleming (1981: 42), along with King (1980-81: 50), indicate that employers have little confidence that school credentials represent what they are looking for (among 'low-ability' pupils at least). Barry (undated: 8) and Reid (1983) discovered that the main demands that New Zealand employers make of potential employees are dependability, willingness to 'fit in', predictability and willingness to stay on the job; that these social skills were the 'marketable skills' that employers refer to; that employers prefer to teach the required job skills themselves. (Barry's desire to replicate some American transition programmes in New Zealand secondary schools with the aim of developing 'marketable employees and productive citizens' reflects these concerns and echoes official discourse regarding skills training in the YPTP courses.) The New Zealand Manufacturers Federation (1985: Appendix III) makes employer demands for the inculcation of a work ethic and work attitudes in school leavers (rather than work skills) explicit:

There is a need for teachers to be conversant with economics, including profit-awareness and the realities of the market place. They should be communicating this to their students, in order to instil a work dictum.

Three factors in official discourse about skills training for young unemployed appear to substantiate conclusions that these YPTP skills training courses were, in fact, attitude training courses: 1) the work skills that were to be developed through the courses were never specified – it was left to individual institutes, in consultation with the local Department of Labour, to work out the details of this training; 2) while some institutes implemented the courses within their trades training departments, e.g. Secretarial or Engineering or Building, this was a local decision and most institutes, including the one in this study, developed the transition training programmes independently of the skilled trades areas and within a Community or General education programme of some sort; 3) apart from stating what was not to be taught on such courses (e.g. apprenticeable skills), the focus of such skills training in official discourse was on improving motivation, enhancing employability and competitiveness, upgrading 'skills' such as punctuality and dependability, and enabling students to be adaptable, flexible and transferable in their responses to the labour market (see Appendix Two). Green (1983: 65–66), discussing the concern with the notion of 'transferable' skills (which was first developed in experiments with rats) in training programmes for unemployed young people, asserts that 'skills' do not here refer to

specific competences acquired through lengthy periods of training, certified by nationally recognized qualification, and allowing greater control over the work process than unskilled labour. On the contrary, it represents a process of deskilling. What is truly transferable in this context are not skills but good attitudes.

Gleeson (1986: 55) supports this notion and claims that there is no clear evidence as to what transferable skills are, how they are transmitted and how they are transferred (see also Pankhurst, 1982: 18). There was no reference to any manpower forecasting or training needs analyses in the official discourse on YPTP that would justify the provision of specific skills training programmes. While local Departments of Labour were expected to match training programmes with expected shortfalls of skills required by the local labour market, they were required to do this within the unskilled sectors of the labour market – e.g. farm labour, general labour, waitressing, machining, process work, horticultural labour, retailing, etc.

There were (and still are) severe skill shortages in some industries in New Zealand (New Zealand Planning Council, 1980: 5). However, the failure of the government's SEATS (Special Engineering Apprenticeship Training Scheme) during 1982 underlines the structural difficulties for the state in offering specific skills training, even certificated training that is recognised as such for specific large-scale projects – the programme was postponed in September 1982 as a result of the poor response of employers in offering apprenticeships to the trainees:

The postponement indicates that employment policies for skilled labour are difficult to create and sustain when big projects are instituted in a small economy on a 'sudden growth' basis. At the moment, engineering employers in general do not have the demand for their products which would substantiate absorbing extra apprentices; soon they may have more orders than they have skilled workers available to work on them.

(Gidlow, 1982: 127)

As the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981: 152) points out, such shortages are, in an important sense, self-imposed, they are part of capital's own responses to temporary crisis (see also More, 1982): 'In times of recession employers attempt to minimize costs by cutting back on their training of apprentices and by laying off sections of their workforce'. The tension between specific, certificated skills training for genuine, high-level skills shortages and the unskilled (or at most semi-skilled) nature of the job market that YPTP trainees were aimed at was evident in the silences in official discourse as to the specific skills to be offered on the courses and in the separation of the courses in most institutes from trades training facilities.

Gleeson (1983: 2) claims that there is developing in England a dual system of training for young people,

one that generates a form of educational apartheid between those who receive 'real training for real jobs' and those who receive 'social and life skills' for the dole.

He suggests (1984: 98) that the emergence of youth training has little to do with technical changes in production or with providing the necessary skills for improved efficiency – rather, it is concerned with ‘regulating youth labour markets and with establishing training as a substitute for employment’. In New Zealand this ‘educational apartheid’ is particularly obvious in technical institutes where training programmes for young unemployed people have been implemented – real courses with real certification for real jobs are offered to apprentices, secretarial and nursing students; ersatz skills training courses, with no certification beyond a certificate of attendance, and with little promise of future employment, are offered to unemployed youth. The argument raised against such programmes is that the connotation of work skills training is ‘one less concerned with training for particular technical skills and one more concerned with “educating” young people for the social order’ (Gleeson, 1983: 2; also Poulantzas, 1978: 266). Moore (1983: 26) puts the problem of providing young unemployed people with ‘skills training’ succinctly: young people ‘are not least preferred [in the labour market] because of anything they lack but because of what they are’. The only way in which they could become more attractive to employers is if they could be employed on youth rates, i.e. become cheaper to employ (Anderson, 1981: 12; Wakelin, 1985). However, there has always been strong opposition by organised labour in New Zealand to differential rates of pay according to age and, in 1982, there were few awards that contained youth rates. The issues, then, in the provision of work skills in training programmes for unemployed youth, are not simply about the transition from school to work, but also about ‘the nature and quality of work, about deskilling, low pay and the recomposition of labour’ (Markall and Gregory, 1982: 63; Carter, 1976: 60ff; Castles and Wustenberg, 1979: 201; Pincus, 1980; Rees and Gregory, 1981: 19–20; Lee and Wrench, 1981: 1ff).

The work skills tutors in the YPTP courses in this study wanted to provide young people with genuine skills that would enable them to gain employment – the structural constraints and inherent contradictions of the courses, however, ensured that they did in fact prepare the young people ‘for the social order’ (the constraints confronting these tutors and the ways in which they dealt with them can be compared with those of the careers guidance personnel in Kirton’s, 1983, study). The work skills component of the courses provided the clearest examples of the difficulties faced by tutors who worked to do a job within social relations that mystified their ability to do it.

Tutor practice

The four work skills tutors liked the good wages and the part-time nature of their work in the technical institute. One of these tutors, for example, was a chef – the YPTP course hours fitted in with her regular working hours and she was able to earn close to \$400 for a 19-hour week at the institute. While, at this point, none of these tutors wanted full-time employment at the institute, they did regard this initial employment in the courses as the beginning of a potential full-time career as a technical institute tutor.

These tutors were as well-qualified to teach work skills in their specific areas as the technical institute trades tutors and they wanted their own trade qualifications and skills to be recognised by their 'colleagues' and the institute. (The term colleagues is questioned because, at this stage, part-time tutors were not recognised by the institute, the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes, nor the full-time tutoring staff, as 'real' tutors with real rights such as paid sick leave, tutor training, membership of the social club, job security or full union membership.) The work skills tutors, however, realised that the marginal existence of YPTP within the institute and the low status of the students on the courses reflected back onto their own status. Their 'colleagues' associated them with the teaching of courses with a low status that arose from (a) YPTP's comparatively late introduction into the technical institute system (but this must be compared with the generally high status of, for example, computer skills courses which are also a recent innovation in technical institutes); (b) the unemployed status of the students in the courses; and (c) the low status of women staff within the institute: these courses were taught predominantly by women and were implemented on a site that was staffed predominantly by male trades tutors and male administrators. This low status was transferred to the work skills tutors whether male or female. In other words, if the work skills tutors (and, particularly, male YPTP tutors) had been employed to pass on their knowledge and skills in the more usual technical institute courses, they would have had considerably higher status as tutors.

In order to prove that they were real tutors with real skills, the work skills tutors felt it necessary to try to upgrade the status of YPTP courses. They could do this in two ways: either they could upgrade the selection of students onto the courses, i.e. they could obtain 'ideal' students who were academically well-qualified, well-presented, well-spoken, amenable to work/school discipline,

with a large proportion of male students on each course (and preferably not unemployed!), or they could upgrade the status of the courses by teaching skills that led to a nationally-recognised trades certificate (thereby attracting 'ideal' students and male tutors onto the courses). However, it was specified in state policy that the courses must be implemented at a sub-apprenticeship (i.e. uncertificated) level and that they must be offered to registered unemployed young people. In addition, the maximum course length (which was rarely implemented) was twenty weeks. The institute and the local Employment Advisory Committee were insistent that trade union demands for courses that did not lead to a recognised certification be adhered to and the Department of Labour, at that stage, was equally insistent that the courses must be offered to those young people already registered for work, i.e. they were not to be advertised generally in a way that would attract young people onto the unemployment register. Twenty weeks, let alone the ten weeks skills training offered in this institute, was scarcely long enough to mount a nationally-recognised certificated course that would meet the various Industry Training Boards' requirements. In addition, the students enrolled in the courses to gain skills that would get them a job. The jobs that were on offer either did not require 'skills' in this sense (e.g. they were waitressing, shop assistant or warehousing work) or they required skills far above those that could be offered on these courses (e.g. they were jobs for a secretary, mechanic or chef). Even where it would have been possible to offer certificated skills training for a job that might be available, e.g. to provide the students with the skills training necessary to obtain a Heavy Traffic Licence which would enable them to apply for any jobs that required this certification (such as truck driving and delivery work), the courses in this institute had insufficient resources to provide this training – for example, there was no access to a truck for the students to train on and no finance available to purchase or hire a training vehicle.

The work skills tutors, therefore, confronted a complex set of constraints and implemented their work within a range of psychological, institutional and structural restrictions that did not merely limit but paralysed any attempts to resolve the contradictions inherent in offering skills courses at an unskilled level of the labour market in a period of contracting employment opportunities. These tutors were constantly frustrated in their attempts to upgrade either the students or the courses and found teaching in the courses difficult. Their response to this frustration was to offer their work skills in the courses as best

they could, given the less-than-ideal conditions, and to focus on the students' lack of social and life skills as the real goal for remediation in the course:

We are trying to make the kids employable; to make them worthwhile citizens. We have got to try to turn out somebody who will change their whole outlook. We are trying to make them worthwhile employees.

(Work skills tutor 1)

The right course would be equipping people mentally to work, not to buck the system. (...) You know, whether the educationists like it or not, it's a big, cold, cruel world outside.

(Work skills tutor 2)

'Right. From here on you're going to work. No more swearing, no more smoking, be polite when you walk in the door'. That training has got to start right from the beginning. 'We won't accept being late' right from the start because when they start work, they're not going to be allowed to turn up five minutes late.

(Work skills tutor 3)

I think basically what employers are probably looking for is a pleasant personality, the ability to get on with other people. In other words, not a stirrer. And a young person who will accept orders being given and who will be loyal to the firm.

(Work skills tutor 4)

Work skills tutors rarely talked about course content in terms of specific work skills. Even when questioned directly about curriculum and pedagogy, they would quickly slip into talking about student attitudes, work habits, discipline and employability. They considered that the YPTP students were unemployable at present because they lacked the elements of a traditional 'work ethic'. The students, however, were not necessarily perceived as lazy or workshy – rather

they were seen as deficient in the personal or social attributes that would get them into work. Yet these same tutors expressed cautious, polite reservations about the social and life skills course components, the course components that, in theory, would give the students the very qualities that the work skills tutors felt they needed to become employable:

[The students] express a lot of doubts. They come to me and say, 'Why do we do this with so-and-so? It's a load of crap. Who wants to do that?'. And I say, 'Well, look, you know, I'm just looking at the skills side of it and I don't really know why you do these things in the afternoon [the social and life skills], but hopefully you'll find out eventually, you know. I really can't comment; I don't know what's happening'.

(Work skills tutor)

The tutors claimed, with a ritualistic nod in the direction of the common sense discourse that structured the courses, that the social and life skills components were the most important parts of the courses for the students:

Terribly important, Wanda. Oh, they've got to have [the social and life skills]. They could do without mine, they could do without the [work] skills. To make them into better people than they are as individuals, they could do without the [work] skills section, but they certainly couldn't do without all the rest of it.

(Work skills tutor)

At the same time, however, they made it clear that they considered the social and life skills course components a waste of time, time that could better be spent on 'real' training for the students:

I can't see the value of them going to a museum or an art gallery. I can see the value of them going as an individual - I can't see the value as a course of people who are going to work in the food industry going to a museum or going to a morgue. Right, they're good general interest stuff, I'm not knocking it, but I don't think it should be done on a

foodhandling course. I can't see the value of them going to Skateworld - it doesn't do a thing for me, you know. Or going to, I think last year they went and had a look at the gardens in Wanganui, a barbeque or something - this doesn't happen in private industry, it doesn't happen in the commercial world. (...) I think some of the [social and life skills tutors] are too theory-orientated where they actually can't see what's going on in the world and won't accept what's going on.

(Work skills tutor)

While it may appear that the tutors simply contradicted themselves in both seeing the social and life skills as important and in saying that they were a waste of student time, in fact the tutors were talking about two different forms of social and life skills. The first was, in effect, socialisation into a work ethic for the students, i.e. it was seen to be very important to have a course component that would teach the students how to conform to employer expectations in their dress, speech, behaviour and general demeanour (and, equally important, that the students have gained these skills before coming onto a work skills course). The second was the actual practice of social and life skills that the work skills tutors were confronted with in this institute which, while the students resisted it (see Chapter Eleven), attempted to provide social education rather than socialisation into a normative work ethic.

Social and life skills training in these courses was implemented and expanded both as a response to YPTP tutor pressure and as a response to state definitions of youth as lacking those skills which would make them employable. Work skills and social and life skills tutors saw the students as deficient in these skills, but from differing perspectives. Gleeson and Mardle's (1980) and Howard Williamson's (1982) studies both describe the differing perspectives of liberal studies/social and life skills tutors and traditional trades/work skills tutors. The former tend to have a liberal, 'professional', humanistic approach to students based on a Maslowian analysis of student needs. The latter tend to have a pragmatic, authoritarian, conservative approach to students based on tutor understanding of employer needs and the processes of the workplace. This analysis was borne out in these courses. The work skills tutors saw the social

and life skills tutors as removed from the real world of industry and removed from an understanding of the students' real needs in that world:

[The social and life skills tutors] are highly-qualified academic psycho-analytic groups that do all these things. (...) I'm a practical, logical, down-to-earth sort of person. I don't live in the clouds; my feet are firmly placed on the ground. I don't think [the students] need soft-soaping. (...) I know one takes them for Word Power - they don't call it English because that's a school subject and they're not allowed to be in school. I'm not allowed to call it a classroom because it reminds them of school. Stupid things like that. Maths - but they don't call it Maths because that reminds them of school - it's something else. You know, you might beat round the bush, but these are subjects and words that they're going to come up against right throughout life.

(Work skills tutor)

They felt that the social and life skills course components should discipline students to employer needs in practical, job-oriented ways and did not feel that these were provided in the courses. In fact, they blamed the social and life skills tutors for creating indiscipline, rebelliousness, absenteeism, unpunctuality and a diminishing work ethic in the students:

I know initially in the morning they have a session with [the social and life skills tutor], Communications virtually, and they talk about what they've done the night before and she gives them word games and things like this. In my humble opinion, she often sets the wrong tone for the day by that half hour. I have come in at nine o'clock and they're supposed to be there for half an hour beforehand and I've been there at quarter to nine and seen only half a dozen. They come in at any time. The discipline is not there very first thing in the morning and when I arrived the other morning to tell them that I wanted them to come over to the telephone room, they walked out of her class to meet

me. Two of them came out of the classroom while she was talking because they saw me coming! Now they shouldn't want to do that. If she has got the respect or whatever it is she should have as their main tutor, they shouldn't want to walk out of her classroom at any stage of that first half hour. She comes in in the morning and tells them that she feels grotty. By the time I get them at nine, they're all feeling grotty!

WK: So you feel it doesn't actually motivate them and set them up for the work?

No way! But then, you see, she's a feminist, one of these libber people, who is allowed to have 'moods', allowed to do all these things, which just cross my grain, that's all.

(Work skills tutor)

The work skills tutors attempted to get across to the students a particular view of employers and the reasons for their demands for qualifications and good attitudes. For example,

When it comes to typing, for instance, [the students] take the attitude 'Oh, stuck again, I'll scrub it out and start again' and it's company paper that they're using, employer's time that they're using, which to the company is money and, if they go in with that sort of attitude, they're going to quickly lose their job or they're going to upset the boss, make working relations bad.

(Work skills tutor)

The implication was that, until the students came up to employer expectations, they would not get work. However, while this is obvious at a common sense level, it was not necessarily borne out in practice. The results of the incident described in the extensive extract from field notes in the Appendix to this chapter (below) demonstrates that, typically, these tutors had higher expectations of the students than did employers: this employer not only took on Hermione (who was the work skills tutor's choice as an employee), he also gave

Andrew (who had been rejected as a potential employee by the tutor) an apprenticeship in his restaurant. At the very least, the work skills tutors perceived the students in a different light from employers (see Jamieson and Lightfoot, 1982: 149, for similar disjunctions in employer/teacher perceptions of secondary pupils on work experience).

There are several reasons for this disjunction between tutor expectations and actual employing practices. The work skills tutors saw the students daily for lengthy periods, and were, therefore, very familiar with their possible shortcomings as employees. They had to deal with the students en masse and face-to-face within a 'school' rather than 'work' setting. Employers, however, would meet the students as individuals who worked at a real job where they were removed from continual mutual contact. The tutors also saw some students 'through a glass darkly', i.e. they disliked individuals personally, either because of their attributes or because of their behaviour in class, and were therefore biased regarding these students' chances in the labour market (often these were the students who queried the tutor's grasp of her subject area or skills and who refused to stop asking questions in class). In order to justify ten-week skills training for unskilled (or, at most, semi-skilled) work, they held up high standards for students. The tutors needed to convince themselves and the students that these standards were necessary and, to do this, they referred the students to employer expectations and standards. They applied quite deliberate role-modelling theory and techniques in that they believed that, if the students were treated as workers and if they were expected to have high standards in their approach to work, then they would respond with high standards and be workers in the sense of having disciplined, work-oriented attitudes. These techniques failed consistently with the students and this failure led to further frustration for the work skills tutors as the courses proceeded.

In addition, work skills tutors worried that the students would reflect badly on their course and their teaching. These students were going out from the courses as potential workers in a particular industry (e.g. foodhandling or office work) and, if they failed to impress in a job, it was feared that employers might blame individual tutors for student inadequacies. This fear was also applied to the students' work experience. Because employers were inundated with requests for work experience from secondary schools and full-time courses (e.g. secretarial courses) at the technical institute, placements were difficult to organise – tutors

were concerned that students make a good impression on employers in order to ensure further placements in the employing organisation. A good impression might also lead to an offer of work in the firm which would validate both the provision of such skills courses and the way that the work skills were being taught. In one case, a tutor worried about students reflecting badly onto the 'real' students in the technical institute:

I am concerned about the reputation of the institute because it is well-known around town that the standard is very good. (...) If it's not quite clearly made known that these are not our full-time students, and if these girls are allowed to go out with a certificate to say that they've been here on a typist/receptionist course, then very quickly the town is going to get confused.

(Work skills tutor)

The work skills tutors had a definite idea of what 'skills training' meant and, essentially, this was in terms of a certification as represented by the other courses in the technical institute and by the 'real' students in the institute. This created a contradiction for tutors in their classroom practice that they resolved in one of two ways. Either they perceived the students on YPTP as 'defective' or 'low level' (when compared with other technical institute students) and therefore unable to receive the skills training at this 'real' level that the tutors were attempting to offer - this resulted in a lack of respect for and denigration of the students that is discussed in the section on students below:

Some don't have a very high ceiling, academic ceiling;
others don't have a very high aim or goal - they don't care.

(Work skills tutor)

Or they made an attempt to upgrade the courses (for example, to prepare the students for a national certificate of warehousing or the nationally graded typing examinations) which, in turn created its own contradiction - these courses were not supposed to provide students with any nationally-recognised certification in the labour market. This led to frustration for the work skills tutors that was never resolved:

I would like personally to see something more worthwhile at the end of the courses and whether they could sit towards the national certificate of warehousing - that might be a good idea. That's a real motivation. (...) They don't get any qualifications from [the course]. They get a piece of paper saying that they've successfully attended a course; there's no grading; the piece of paper would be unheard of, nobody's ever heard of it before; it doesn't have much value. Something to take away, I suppose, or to show employers.

(Work skills tutor)

The work skills tutors had 'pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps' and 'made it' in the 60's and 70's, when a bouyant economy underpinned full employment, and they expected the students to be able to do the same. On top of the frustrations of teaching work skills within a complex of structural constraints, therefore, they had the additional frustrations of teaching these students, students whose analyses of their situation led them to reject discipline that was imposed upon them and whose depressed physical and mental states made self-motivation difficult.

Wright asserts that all forms of state transfers 'break the linkage between subsistence and the market, i.e. they undermine the commodity status of labour power' (1979: 235); and that this decommodification of labour power weakens the effectiveness of the use of a reserve army of labour to discipline the working class in a capitalist mode of production. One form of state transfer is the provision of training allowances and unemployment benefits for unemployed people. The work skills tutors were aware that, at a purely financial level, unemployment held no real fears for the students and saw this as the basis of the students' indiscipline. Three of these tutors claimed that it should be made very difficult to get the dole, that young people should have to work for the unemployment benefit and that, if they were absent from or not working in class, their training allowance should be reduced accordingly. These tutors were not interested in the students' lives outside of the time they spent in class and therefore had little understanding of why the students behaved as they did, why they were absent from or disruptive in class, and why they were not well-motivated or committed (in practice) to being 'proper' students. They felt

that the students were being given opportunities and 'second-chances' at education that they should be grateful for and work hard at, rather than seeing them as young people who wanted jobs not education or training and who made rational decisions about the realities of those educational opportunities:

I think, by comparison with other students or with other unemployed people, they should appreciate the opportunity the Labour Department and the institute are giving them. And I don't want them to feel browbeaten or anything like that, but it should be pointed out to them in the early stages that they should appreciate that they are being given an opportunity; that they should grasp this opportunity.

(Work skills tutor)

This lack of understanding created 'gaps' in teaching practice that the tutors found hard to bridge. Work skills tutors came onto the courses wanting to teach the students work skills rather than work attitudes. The constraints of their working conditions and of the circumstances of the students' lives meant that they were unable to do the job they wanted to do in the way they would have liked. The frustrations that resulted for these tutors led to their blaming the students for having inadequate work attitudes that prevented the proper teaching of work skills, attitudes that were, in their eyes, exacerbated by the social and life skills tutors. As Cohen (1984: 109) makes clear 'it is both fallacious and self-defeating to try to read off conscious intentions from structural effects' - much of the work skills tutors' response to YPTP was structured by forces beyond their control and even their conscious awareness (Dale, 1977: 48-49). Their teaching practice and attitudes towards the students were not a result of conscious intent - rather they were a response to the realities of their working conditions that was mediated by common sense discourse about unemployed youth.

Student practice

Gaskell and Lazerson (1980-81: 91) discovered in their study of the transition of working class young people from school to work that the experience of work, no matter how routine, boring or supervised, was quite different from the experience of school for these young people: 'Accomplishing an externally defined if routine task and getting rewarded for it is a public definition of competence. It provides

a public identity that compares favorably to the identity of the non-worker, whether student, housewife, or welfare recipient'. Work is perceived to be the source of an independent, adult identity and it is this that the structures of schooling (whether secondary schooling, tertiary education or transition training programmes) cannot reproduce. Male and female students on the YPTP courses valued work skills training equally - getting a job (and work skills training was seen as a preliminary to this) was the central focus of both sexes' lives. An alternative domestic role, for example, was either an unconsidered or an unappealing choice for most of the female students.

While the great majority of students of both sexes wanted a 'normal' future (in terms of marriage and a family), they saw the gaining of employment as an essential prerequisite for this future. In other words, both male and female students gained their social identity from paid work. (Sex-role stereotyping typical of that present in the structures of the labour market, Deem (1980), was evident in the selection of students onto courses - for example, thirteen of the fourteen Warehousing Skills students were male, and all of the students on the Receptionist and Typing Skills and Retail Skills courses were female - but there was little difference between male and female students in their responses to their position in the labour market.) These YPTP students knew that the training programme was not 'real work' no matter how insistent the work skills tutors and the Department of Labour officers were that it be treated as a real job. The division of the day itself in these courses into 'morning = work skills' and 'afternoon = social and life skills' - a division that the students recognised explicitly as a separation of the real world of work from the impractical world of theory - reinforced a message that there is a rigid boundary between work and non-work, between the employed and the dole-bludger. Work skills tutors supported these beliefs with their implicit and explicit attitudes that having a steady job was the only conceivable way of living (Hilgendorf and Welchman, 1982: 28). This student knowledge (combined with denigration by work skills tutors) triggered many of their absences, their unpunctuality and their refusal to produce work attitudes and discipline in the classroom (or even, for example, at the work experience restaurant when they were with the tutor - when they were doing paid

work in the restaurant at night, they produced very appropriate attitudes and were good workers). Contrary to Hearn's thesis that disillusionment with work may apply most frequently and most directly to the unskilled and the unqualified (1981: 14), these students were not disillusioned with work. Cameron and Livingstone (1979), in their longitudinal study of early school leavers in New Zealand, support the notion that these young people looked forward to waged employment and were willing workers.

Horne (1986: 18-19) refers to the demands of young people in the 'dole schools' in Britain in the 1930's that they be treated with respect and their resistance to returning to the authoritarian structures of school - their resistance took the form of a marked absenteeism (see also Rees and Rees, 1982: 19). Many of these students on YPTP were adult in every sense of the word and resented feeling as if they were back at school, being treated like 'kids' by the work skills tutors - i.e. they felt that they were not trusted, that they were patronised and that they had to 'shut up and put up'. Cohen (1980: 86) points out that delinquency can be seen as a response to a situation of contradiction where the delinquent feels trapped, and Padfield and Williams (1973: 42) make it clear that tutor empathy and respect for trainees is vital in programmes such as these - where this is not present, the trainees withdraw or rebel. In the Tutor Practice section of this chapter, it was indicated that the work skills tutors blamed the students for the structural difficulties inherent in teaching in these courses. The students responded to the denigrating remarks and the authoritarian discipline of the work skills tutors (which arose from the contradictions of their teaching situation) with both absenteeism and delinquency (in the sense that they often refused to produce work attitudes and work discipline in class and in that they were disruptive and committed petty acts of vandalism such as writing on the bottoms of their chairs). They also responded with anger and contempt for the tutors:

[The work skills tutor] sends the students into town to gather material for an itinerary they are working on, but, before they leave, she tells them that they are not to 'fluff around town or pull the wool over her eyes'; that they have to do the work. The students object angrily to her saying this, but she feels quite strongly about it. After they leave, she tells me that she 'does all this work for them and they don't appreciate it and, if they don't

want to be employed, that is their decision but really not her concern. Obviously, they just come to the classes to get the extra money'. She says that she does a lot of work outside of paid hours and feels that this effort is wasted on these students. All of this is said in front of two of the students (Penny and Judy) who are working hard on the project and are obviously upset by her comments.

(Field notes)

[The social and life skills tutor] is all right! She's good. I mean she's not like a teacher, she can relax and sit and talk to us, friendly and that, but [the work skills tutor] can't. You know, it's like they don't really want to be there, they're only there to get paid.

Claire, 16

See, they're too much like teachers. We've left school, we'd like to get away from it - they're a lot like a teacher.

Jane, 17

These students were quite capable of tugging their forelocks while raising two fingers behind their backs (Newby, 1977), i.e. producing deferential behaviour as part of a more complicated game of manipulation. (An example of this is the student who was 'expelled' for calling the work skills tutor 'a fucking bitch' - she wanted to remain on the course and subsequently produced an appropriately deferential demeanour, apologising profusely for using those particular words but not for the fact that she had used them.) In general, however, students were very straightforward in their responses within the courses and they genuinely respected and deferred to the superior knowledge of work processes and the work place that they assumed was possessed by the work skills tutors - they were very sensitive to the fact, therefore, that, for much of the time that they spent with the work skills tutors, this respect was not reciprocated.

The students, in the main, were prepared to work hard in the work skills course components. They liked doing anything that they perceived as 'real' work, e.g. copytyping, preparing a lunch for tutors and students, speedtyping, office

routines skills (e.g. filing, banking, memos, etc.), visits to restaurant kitchens or warehouses – work that was seen to be directly related to a ‘real’ job. While the students’ lack of literacy skills sometimes frustrated their note-taking, they approved of taking down lengthy notes or lists from the blackboard. (Gleeson (1984: 103) claims that the assumptions that the majority of schoolleavers leave school without even the most rudimentary skills are incorrect – however, many of these students did lack ‘basic’ skills: they ranged from those who could not read or write or number at all to those who had only very rudimentary skills of addition, subtraction, division and multiplication, who spelt phonetically and who could not read with confidence.) They saw note-taking as ‘real’ work, work that they ‘should’ be doing in the course, work that was seen to be directly related to a ‘real’ job, work that would get them a job (in this they were similar to the ‘4M’ girls in Alison Jones’ 1987 study of Pacific Island girls’ knowledge of school). The students would complain and groan about note-taking, but at the same time they made it clear that this was the sort of activity that proper students and proper tutors would engage in. Note-taking provided some of the few occasions when the students were quietly engrossed in their work with very little disruption in the class – in fact, these were the times when they most often refused to become involved in any disruptive activity that might be initiated. During these periods, the students accepted the authoritarian social relations that the work skills tutors attempted to impose within the classroom because they perceived the tutors as having something that they wanted – specific knowledge that would enable them to get a job. While the students had rejected the authoritarian relations and attitude training of the secondary school, they were prepared to accept these, to a degree, within any situation that they perceived as ‘real work’ (Dent, 1978). As a result, the work skills tutors tended to give them more and more note-taking to do as the course wore on. The students would then complain about the lack of practical work on the course:

I think we should do more things actually about Receptionists. Like, we’re supposed to be doing telephones and we still haven’t got on to them. All we’ve been doing is talking about them and they’re there.

Jane, 18

Maybe a bit more practical. I can cook two three-course meals for fifty-two people, but that’s about it. And I

don't find that very helpful because I never have fifty-two people to cook for.

Raewyn, 17

More practical work. More, I dunno, going and meeting people from different warehouses, not big warehouses, but small companies - just more practical, I suppose.

Melanie, 20

(Melanie was, in fact, quite frustrated at a different level from the other students with regard to the practical aspects of the course, particularly the work experience:

Where I'm working at the moment, you know, I don't do any lifting or anything like that. They don't want me to because I'm a female. That's what I think warehousing is involved - lifting and things like that.

She found that it was impossible for her to get a warehousing job because managers were unwilling to risk hiring a female for a traditionally male occupation - they said that she would upset the men simply by being a female 'doing a man's job', that the men would be unable to swear if she were a workmate, that she would cause difficulties with the union, and that she would not be able to do the heavy work that was required (see Wilson, 1981: 11, for an outline of similar negative employer perceptions of women in traditional male occupations). What was interesting was that, at a real rather than an ideological level, the managers of the warehouses where she did her work experience all recognised that she was the best student worker that they had ever had and told the work skills tutor that they wished that they felt able to employ her. She was larger and looked stronger than many of the other students and was the only female on an otherwise all-male course because she really wanted a job in warehousing - she gave up those ambitions after the course because she saw that they were unlikely to be realised given the realities of the warehousing labour market.)

Students complained that the work skills parts of the courses were too theory oriented and did not have enough work experience or work practice built into them; that there was too much talk and not enough cooking or warehousing or office

work. The ideal structuring of the course in their terms would be one where work skills theory (i.e. extensive note-taking) took up the whole of the morning period and work skills practice (in a real kitchen or office or warehouse or shop) took up the whole of the afternoon period:

We should have something set practical to do in the afternoon. Have your food theory in the morning and your practical in the afternoon.

Paula, 16

(This ideal structuring paralleled the work skills tutors' visions of an ideal course structure.) Apart from the Foodhandling students, who had a very limited access to a restaurant kitchen for some practical work, students did not do their work skills training in either a real or an artificial work situation. There were obvious practical difficulties in providing such a situation, in providing a 'training' warehouse, for example, or a 'training' shop. (This would not have been impossible: Frith (1980: 31) refers to a factory process workshop on a training programme for young unemployed people in Coventry, where students worked all day on a production line making electrical goods that were, on completion, dismantled into their separate components and sent back to the beginning of the line and Logan, 1983, describes similar practices in a Youth Opportunities Programme training workshop. However, these YPTP courses had limited funding which was premised on the fact that they were not supposed to need the more expensive resources that would be required in the training of a chef or a secretary or a retail manager.) In order to provide students with some experience of the realities of the workplace, visits to work sites were carried out at least once a week and the students went out of the course onto work experience on an employers premises for one to two days per week for the last half of the course.

Bennett (1983: 145) has a wonderful description of a school class visit to a work site (see Appendix Ten in this thesis). This description typifies, in every detail, all of the 'visits to work places' where I accompanied these students: the visits were more or less instructive, the guides more or less helpful, the YPTP students more or less co-operative than those described in Appendix Ten, depending on the time of day, the nature of the work place and the attitudes of the work site staff to the students. (For example, it was inevitable that, if the visit took place after lunch, two or three of the students would arrive drunk - the visit then became

either funny or outrageous depending on one's point of view.) The work experience on employers' premises was variable and based on expediency. Both work skills and social and life skills tutors attempted to match students with suitable work placements, i.e. they attempted to get the students work experience in a specific area (for example, one student wanted to do his work experience in the morgue and this was arranged for him) or in an area that they hoped would be interesting for the student. Good matching was important: if the students disliked their work experience they were liable to simply walk out or to create such a bad impression with the employer that no further work placements would be possible in that firm; if employers disliked the students they were sent, this reflected badly on the course itself and it jeopardised future work placements and the job opportunities of other students. Finding good work placements (and following up on these, resolving any problems that arose, etc.) took considerable skill and energy on the part of all the tutors. However, it was difficult in the main to find any work placements at all and, often, it was a matter of sending students out to whatever job was available (i.e. to whichever employer had been persuaded that having a student on work experience would be in their interest), crossing fingers and hoping for the best. The work experience in the courses often had a delayed starting date because of the difficulty of finding suitable placements.

Student responses to their work experience split roughly into three even groups:

- (1) Those who thoroughly enjoyed the experience and felt that it had assisted them to make positive decisions about their future working lives (Ward, 1981; Smith and Sugarman, 1981), including decisions not to take up a particular line of work -

I like the work experience best. I've been to the restaurant and the hospital - I was worked off me feet! (...). Mainly kitchen hand now. Since I've been on this course I've changed my mind about going on the land - decided to go into the cooking area. It's mainly this course that's started me off on the food part.

Denny, 15

- (2) Those who felt it was okay, but could have been better - either they felt that they had been sent to the wrong place or that the work experience was

not very well-organised or interesting. While it is a normal experience for apprentices to be on the end of a broom or the handle of a teapot for some time before being allowed to do real work, apprentices have some future in the firm, i.e. they have an identity as a worker (Watts, 1983c: 3); these students did not have such an identity -

Uhm; the place I'd been doesn't really help. I walked out because I've been there, I'd had five days so far. I went to [the firm] twice, and it was just hopeless. They weren't - they said they were really keen to take people from the course, but they didn't bother organising anything. They organised the pallet stacking and that was meant to last me all day. I had it finished by smoko. So I just stood around for the rest of the day. It just bored the hell out of me. They couldn't think of anything else for me to do and they got me to sweep all the floors and clean out the smoko room, which basically didn't appeal to me because I'm not a cleaning lady.

Jack, 20

- (3) Those who felt exploited, who felt that they were given 'shit work', 'trash jobs' to do (Roberts et.al., 1982), that they were used as cheap labour, degraded and denigrated within the work experience -

When we go for work experience, I feel we're being used. Like we get to do all the bum jobs, peel all the spuds and do all the stuff they don't want to do while they go off and drink or something. They say they're going off to a warehouse, but they go out to drink.

Peter, 20

Jamieson and Lightfoot (1981) claim that work experience placements are often dominated by administrative rather than curricular considerations (for example, finding enough placements) and this was the dominant constraint on the provision of work experience in these courses. However, even if the tutors had been able to

be more selective as to work placements, it is unlikely that the students' experience of these would have been different. (Williamson, 1983: 87, demonstrates that, even where work experience placements are made carefully and are viewed as appropriate by trainees, their reactions to the experience are varied.) The nature of their work experiences in the unskilled sector of the labour market in itself conditioned the YPTP student responses.

The students echoed the work skills tutors' ambivalence about social and life skills training, but less politely:

I think in the afternoons when we're not doing the actual course stuff, like when we have [the social and life skills tutors] - I don't think that was any use at all. (...) I thought sometimes it was humiliating to be given just basic maths when I've got UE maths.

Mary, 19

They were quite straightforward in their verbal rejection of the social and life skills course components (see Chapter Eleven) and regarded social and life skills training as a waste of their time in that, in the main, they came onto the courses to learn work skills that would give them a job. Corrigan (1979: 50) in his study of the education of some working class youth, provides support for the notion that this instrumental attitude towards education is common. He claims that

there is no evidence at all of these boys seeing education as useful for its own sake; as seeing learning and knowledge as important. (...) Instead, those that found the experience rewarding, found it rewarding in a specific way; they saw that through education they could get better jobs.

While the work skills tutors perceived a need for social and life skills training in terms of employer expectations, the students had their own views of employers. No matter how good the students' interview skills were, they felt that they were often treated cavalierly in interviews with employers (if they had managed to make it to an interview through the up-to-300 job applicants). As they learned more about good interview techniques, they became more critical and resentful of employers whom they felt were inept at interviewing - their experiences, whether

in or out of work, were that employers were offhand, arbitrary in their demands, had poor interview skills, were rude and basically did not care about them as people:

Ruth (19) is upset because, as has happened with several students on this course, an employer has sent back her testimonials, certificates and letter of application for a job without telling her whether she has the job or not. "It's the same old story, you know - 'I'll take your name, address and phone number and we'll get back to you' - but they never do."

(Field notes)

Their experiences in the real world were that employers did not want them and were not prepared to give them a chance to prove their loyalty, work skills, punctuality, dress sense, etc; that they were not even in the competition to begin with. To get into the competition, they felt that they needed work skills not life skills and they were critical of the work skills component of the courses for not providing more extensive practical training.

The field notes in the Appendix to this chapter (below) underline many of the points made above in regard to the work skills tutors. They also indicate what Stafford (1981: 72), in her observations of students on a Youth Opportunities Programme in Britain, describes as ridiculous levels of competition and longing that were promoted for intrinsically alienating and unskilled work. While one of the positive outcomes of enrolling in these YOTP courses for the students was the fact of belonging to a group of people in similar circumstances to their own (which provided them with feelings of solidarity and support similar to those generated by White's RoSLA students, 1980), this solidarity was raised upon a structural base of competition with each other for available work which underlay the premise of each course. Generally, they were able to minimise this competition - they tended not to apply for jobs that they knew another individual on the course was applying for, they supported each other in a variety of ways in their attempts to find and gain employment and to cope with the Department of Labour, and (while they might privately agree with the tutors) they publicly rejected overt attempts by the work skills tutors to stratify the groups in terms of employability. However, when they were confronted with a situation such as

that described in the Appendix to this chapter, that pitted them against each other directly for a job, they became very individualised in their responses – they became anxious, depressed, angry, insecure, unconfident and very nervous and began to ‘measure’ themselves against each other in terms of the labour market.

Structure and agency

Those who teach vocational skills in programmes for unemployed youth face three major structural constraints: (i) a contracting and segmented labour market, (ii) deskilling and (iii) credentialling. The first impinges on such programmes in that there is a contradiction in offering specific skills training for unskilled or semi-skilled work when insufficient jobs are available at the conclusion of that training (Loney, 1979; Goldstein, 1984; Buswell, 1986). The second presents the problem of what skills should be offered in the programmes when the jobs that are available are being restructured and deskilled – work is both atomised and homogenised to such an extent that little training is needed for employment in the sector of the labour market at which these courses are aimed (Braverman, 1974; Gorz, 1978b; Federation of Labour, 1979; Barker and Downing, 1981; Cockburn, 1983). The third confronts those who work in the programmes with the fact that, in a contracting labour market, employers use ‘real’ credentials (usually academic credentials) to select and sort young people into work (Sinfield, 1981). They use such credentials not only as an indication of other general behavioural and attitudinal qualities in young people (Pearce, 1980; Reid, 1980; Maguire and Ashton, 1981: 34–35), but also as a device to cut down on the sheer numbers of job applicants (Berg, 1970). As Freeman-Moir (1980: 29) has pointed out, drawing on Larson’s work, the ‘growing supply of educated labour determines the upgrading of requirements in industry as much as the changing content of jobs’. Vocational skills training courses for unemployed young people cannot compete with this demand for credentialled labour (Grubb and Lazerson, 1981: 99).

Concomitant with the restructuring of the labour market, therefore, is an attempted restructuring of youth itself and, particularly, unemployed youth. Instead of being offered credentialled skills training, young people are to become ‘adaptable’, ‘flexible’ and ‘redeployable’ in their approaches to the labour market, their possession of skills and their ability to maintain themselves physically and psychologically through periods of unemployment (Avis, 1981; Hayes, 1983; Stronach, 1984):

The ideological significance of skills training is that it projects the learner as a flexible entity, capable of being employed or re-employed in a variety of different jobs within the same occupational training family.

(Gleeson, 1986: 55)

Watts (1983a: 74) refers to this process as 'training for stock': if training does not create jobs, presumably it attempts to create appropriately skilled workers who will be available if and when the economy picks up sufficiently to need them (Finn and Frith, 1981; Nash, 1983; Shaker, 1987). This form of training, however, is not in specific technical skills, but in normative attitudes, motivation and social competence within a framework which suggests that routine tasks are more difficult than they really are (Dickinson and Erben, 1982).

If, however, the basic intentions of the YPTP courses and the work skills tutors were to instil an observable work ethic in these students, they failed to a remarkable degree. The students, in general, did subscribe to a traditional work ethic (see Chapter Nine), but it was one that they saw as being realised in work, not in training. They simply did not see why they should produce work attitudes in a non-work environment and expected that they would be given an explicit course of instruction in work skills not a generalised attitudinal training (in this they can be compared with young people on the Youth Opportunities Programme in Britain, Raffe, 1981: 216). The difficulties for the work skills tutors in providing a real skills training meant that they focused on the production of work attitudes in class. Tutors became more and more frustrated during each course as the students resisted this pressure to conform to what they saw as the social relations of a schooling that they had escaped.

Just as it was difficult to teach the social relations of the workplace in a context divorced from the realities of paid employment (Jamieson and Lightfoot, 1982: 109), it was equally difficult to replicate 'real life' in the classroom in order to teach social and life skills. The tensions that were experienced by both tutors and students in the provision of the social and life skills components of the courses are examined in Chapter Eleven.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TEN:

In order to give a picture of the relationship between the work skills tutors and the students on the courses, and the way they lived some of the social relations of the contradictions and constraints of the courses, the field notes following are quoted at length. (This specific incident is commented on and extended in the work skills tutor's interview set out in Appendix Four of the thesis.)

The owner of an upmarket BYO restaurant which has just opened comes in to tell the Foodhandling students about a kitchen hand job he needs filled. It has not been advertised. The tutor has asked him to try one of the students out, to start work on Wednesday. He tells the students that he is trying to build up a team, that he's not interested in anyone who won't work hard or on their own. They must be prepared to work long hours at any time. He will pay award rates - no more, no less - and they may not get time for a meal. However, while he paints this bleak picture of boss/worker relations and working conditions, he is also very straightforward and the students respond well to this. He says to them that it is their responsibility to go to the Union, get a copy of the award and make sure they are getting their rights - that if he can get away with anything, he will, but if they can show him it's in the award then that's OK. However, he is definitely interested in a particular type of worker - one who is totally committed to the job to the exclusion of self and prepared to work hard, long hours. Both the employer and the tutor emphasise the competitiveness of the work world and the reality versus the ideals of life outside the course. Peggy [a student who has had a lot of restaurant work experience before the course] is very interested and keen. She asks a lot of questions and he seems quite interested in her. However, after he has gone, the tutor asks who is really interested in having this job - eight students put up their hands - she weeds these down to six by talking about the

anti-social hours and hard work entailed in foodhandling jobs. The students in some ways self-select - they are not stupid and know when they wouldn't suit the job and the job wouldn't suit them. Mary [a student] selects the ones that she would employ in order of preference - she does not include Peggy and puts Hermione at the top of the list. I ask her why she has chosen these students (i.e. Hermione, Pat, William, Melissa and Tony) and she says 'Because they would work hard and do the job well'. The tutor keeps emphasising that whoever is chosen has a responsibility to keep the job and do well because of the course and the other members in it who could have had that job. They must reflect well on the course. She selects down to Peggy, Tony, Andrew, William and Hermione. Tells Peggy and Andrew that she does not think they would be any good at it. Peggy is angry because she really wants the job - both students ask why they would not be any good. She says that Peggy talks too much - Peggy accepts this and gives up. The tutor then carries on talking about the job to Tony, William and Hermione. Andrew finally says, 'What is wrong with me?'. The tutor is embarrassed, cannot really give an answer, and says that Andrew can apply if he wants to. Asks those four to stay behind - sends the others off to lunch early. She tells me privately that there is only one student who is suitable for the job and that is Hermione. She has worked with them all at the [work experience] restaurant and thinks that Hermione is the only suitable one for the type of work. During the half hour talk she has with them, she says that she will probably be able to find jobs for all of them so not to rely too much just on this job. Asks them: Why do you want the job? Why should you get the job instead of the other three? Why should you not get the job? What kind of questions will you ask the interviewer? Hermione and William make the best responses, particularly Hermione. The tutor criticises them all severely (except Hermione) so that they have no illusions about why they won't get the job. At

the same time, she gives them hints for handling themselves well in the interview. I think she is hoping the other three will withdraw before the interview stage, but none of them seem prepared to do this. She will arrange the interview times at lunchtime. The employer was not interested in references; he said he would take the tutor's reference and it is obvious whom she will recommend (obvious to me, but not to the four students). I think it was clear to Peggy, which is why she gave up so quickly. Hermione is very nervous and believes she has not got much chance against three boys - she believes the employer would choose a boy over a girl. (...) The tutor arrives back from seeing the employer off and the four students leave for their interviews. She tells me that it has been arranged with the employer that each of the students will have a two-day trial and then he will choose one to work permanently. I point out that Peggy appears to be depressed about not being able to go for the job and that, if she had been allowed to go for an interview, she too would have been given a two-day trial period - the tutor says, 'When she learns to conform she will get the jobs'.

(Field notes)

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMME IN PRACTICE – SOCIAL AND LIFE SKILLS

This chapter focuses on the course component that complemented the teaching of work skills, that is, the teaching of social and life skills (SLS). In 1982, SLS teaching in this institute was often referred to as 'pre-employment training' – I have used the term 'social and life skills' throughout to provide consistency. The chapter begins with an outline of the theoretical critique of SLS provisions in training programmes for unemployed young people and relates this critique to the official discourse of the YPTP courses. Classroom practice is then brought to the fore in two separate sections: the first describes and analyses the tutors' involvement in the teaching of SLS, and the second the students' reception of that teaching. The effects of these practices on the structure of the courses are then discussed.

Social and life skills as discourse

Social and life skills training components in transition education programmes are generally contrasted with specific vocational or work skills training components. Social skills are said to be those which are primarily involved in the conduct of interpersonal relations, while life skills are those which are more involved in the planning and management of daily activities (Atkinson *et al.*, 1982: 119). However, in practice, it is difficult to distinguish social skills and life skills training and they both tend to cover an extensive range of interpersonal, communication, networking, coping and job-seeking/retention skills training.

Green (1983: 65–66), in his discussion of the Manpower Services Commission's Youth Training Services programmes in Britain, outlines succinctly the basis of the critique of SLS training. He claims that what are required as outcomes of the

programmes are 'good attitudes' in the students:

'Acceptance of authority' and 'ballroom dancing' are included in the suggested curriculum, along with an injunction to instructors to 'instil in the trainee the intrinsic rewards that a job can offer'. Students who fail to perceive the intrinsic rewards of packing, shelf-filling or cleaning evidently lack life skills.

The argument underlying this assertion turns on the notion that the central function of SLS training is a normative control of the increasing numbers of young people who are not subject to the social controls of the workplace. This argument is one that is commonly assumed in critical analyses of the role of SLS training in transition education (Finn and Frith, 1981: 68; Atkinson *et al*, 1982: 120). It is claimed that, by promoting the acquisition by students of personal attributes such as discipline, reliability and adaptability, tutors in SLS programmes are reinforcing the ideology that young people have individual deficits in the labour market and ensuring that youth accept uncritically the definitions of how they should live and what they should value that are produced in a hegemonic fashion by others (Gleeson, 1986: 56). Young people in such programmes are not taught skills that will enable them to understand the structures and material realities of society and their lives, and thus enable them to make choices about and take some control over those lives. Rather, according to this argument, they are taught skills that adapt and adjust them to a particular view of society and the labour market, that enable them to 'cope' with the day-to-day realities of their lives within a system

which will never produce 'educated' workers (and certainly not full employment) but rather 'spare parts' for industry and the reproduction of a labour force accustomed to deskilled, intermittent employment in a labour market whose oppressive requirements go formally unquestioned.

(Markall and Gregory, 1982: 63)

Such programmes prevent, in other words, the formation of a coherent political consciousness in young workers (Moore, 1983: 30) that might lead to a collective challenging of the structures of the labour market and the institutions that reproduce these structures. Moore contrasts the critical possibilities of 'social education' with the normative functions of 'social and life skilling' programmes and claims that SLS training is not an educational form at all because its aim is precisely to block the development of elaborated knowledge (ibid.). While this assertion is quite correct at the level of policy, he fails to relate these claims to actual classroom practice and does not acknowledge the potential for really useful knowledge that is inherent in many social and life skills course components such as basic literacy for students unable to read and write effectively. The intention of the programmes cannot be simply taken as fact and it is the practice of the programmes that determines whether, in fact, the original intention is carried out. Official discourse about SLS training does resemble a 'painting by numbers' approach to life, but the programmes are implemented and received by agents who resist such pre-packaging of their lives.

The gloss of liberal humanism, for example, referred to in Chapter Seven, had implications for the SLS curriculum content and practice in the YTP courses. Statements that reveal quite clearly the real function of normative social control through social and life skills training were present in official guidelines for transition education tutors:

When you first meet your class:

- . Discuss with them the importance of punctuality and attendance as essential in any job. (...)
- . Spell out clearly what the consequences of absenteeism would be in the workplace viz loss of pay in first instance and loss of job as a final consequence. (...)

ONGOING VIGILANCE!

- . Never let an absence pass without comment. Do not accuse

but ask for an immediate explanation. Arrange some monitoring process which does not resemble the school register routine too closely. Perhaps cards to be punched at each session, with a weekly summary might be suitable. 'Credits' could be given weekly for good attendance and it could be emphasised that this particular 'credit record' would be very important in assessing a trainee's suitability for work.

(Department of Education, undated)

At the same time, however, there was sufficient emphasis on the 'special needs' of these students that a contradictory or ambivalent set of official demands was produced. This dichotomy of intention and discourse was able to be exploited by social and life skills tutors in ways that provided really useful knowledge for students.

In the Tutor Starter Kit, quoted from above, there was a major emphasis on the low self-esteem of the students in transition education and the importance of changing this before students could begin to take advantage of specific skills training that would 'fit' them for the workplace. It was emphasised that 'the students must have achieved a level of self esteem where they are strong enough to risk changes' and that 'students must believe they can change'. The notion of individual autonomy 'to become' in the learning process, which is implicit in demands for positive changes in students self-esteem, contradicts the premises of normative control of students that underpinned the programmes. If tutors took these humanistic demands at face value, then they were able to provide curriculum content and practice that offered students the means for gaining their own knowledges and skills with all the potential for anti-normative control that this implies. While it is quite possible for such programmes to embody professional counselling techniques (with their own hidden curriculum of normative and social control - Gleeson, 1986: 59), it is also possible for them to provide students with genuine tools for analysing why they are in 'transition education' (instead of in certificated apprenticeships, for example), why they are unemployed, their structural position in the labour market, their cultural

responses to their unemployment, and the individual and collective possibilities for change in their situation. It is possible to provide an authentic educational launching pad for these students, an education that provides Green's political education, and conceptual and expressive skills that allow the confident development and articulation of concepts and ideas about society (1983: 70).

The SLS components of the courses examined in this study were premised on the notion that there was a need to remedy attitudinal and psychological deficits in individual students, deficits that interfered with their 'job-readiness' and their abilities to seek out and retain employment. However, the young people in these YPTP courses were not, in practice, simply provided with 'skills' that, with a greater or lesser degree of success, fitted them into the existing social structures and values; they were also provided with knowledge in the SLS programme that could provide a basis for analysing and challenging a system that used them as a reserve army of labour. The course components included, for example, basic literacy and numeracy, assertiveness, community awareness, developing a positive self-image, knowledge of outdoor and indoor recreational facilities, health and safety education, job application and interview skills, and discussion about unemployment - its causes and effects (see Appendix Five: Course Content and Course Reports). It is possible to take each of these course components and point out exactly how it could be used to reinforce a commitment to normative social values in unemployed young people and, equally, how this was done in practice in the courses. For example, an SLS component called 'awareness of the role of trade unions' could focus exclusively on the mediating/conciliatory nature of trade unions in contemporary society, on the way in which trade unions work with employers in arbitration to get better wages and working conditions for employees. Such a course component could, by ignoring completely the revolutionary/conflictual basis of the trade union movement in a capitalist economy, in effect work to reproduce potentially passive workers.

However, all of the above SLS training components, and others like them, were capable of being used by tutors and students to produce knowledge that could enable students to understand and challenge their unemployment rather than just cope with it (a 'dual use' of skills in Hopkins' terms - 1983). The implementation

of this SLS training was much more complex than a straightforward provision of social control or an induction into a normative value system for unemployed young people. In the following sections of this chapter, the contradictions that are inherent in SLS training can be seen to engender 'spaces' that were used by tutors and students in ways that opposed or resisted the socialising intentions of the programmes.

Tutor practice

There were four tutors, employed for the duration of all six courses, who taught the SLS components. One tutor was employed to teach Basic Maths for one hour per day during each course – she was a trained teacher of maths who had left secondary school teaching because she preferred to teach older students. On occasion, she would take the class for one of the Word Power components (see below). A second SLS tutor was the Student Health Nurse and Counsellor (who also worked at the Family Planning Clinic), who provided an average of one session per week for the students on health, nutrition, safety, contraception or sexually transmitted diseases. She also gave the students a hearing test during each course. Many of the students visited her office regularly to discuss a variety of problems ranging from physical abuse to prevention of pregnancy, and to get medical assistance. Another tutor was employed to teach Word Power – this title covered basic literacy, form-filling, job-seeking and retention, interview skills, role-play, class discussion, visits to places of interest in the community, providing visiting speakers for the students, grooming and appearance, telephone skills, letter-writing and the creation of a curriculum vitae for each student. This tutor had already worked for a year on pre-employment (i.e. social and life skills) courses offered by the technical institute – she had teaching experience, but no teaching qualifications having left school herself at fourteen. The fourth tutor also worked in the area of Word Power, tending more towards the class discussions, role-play and interview skills components of the course rather than the form-filling, grooming and appearance components. This tutor was also the Course Co-ordinator, a position that was, in essence, an

unpaid Course Supervisor's position. It entailed organising all of the paperwork involved with each course, liaising with the Department of Labour, preparing a course content for each course, co-ordinating the hours that the tutors worked in the institute, and arranging for work experience placements for the students (much of this work was shared with tutor 3 above). She had a background in voluntary counselling and had been organising the pre-employment courses at the technical institute for several years.

All of these tutors, but particularly the Course Co-ordinator, spent many unpaid hours with the students counselling them; chatting with them; arranging housing and money for them (for example, negotiating with the Department of Social Welfare to ensure that student training allowances could be cashed at a bank before a long weekend); providing medical and social welfare advice and assistance; mediating between the students and the hierarchy of the technical institute, the Department of Labour, the Department of Social Welfare -

our students come to us with a helluva cynical attitude towards the Department of Social Welfare, and the Department of Labour are just referred to as "the fuckwits down the road" -

their families and, in some cases, the police; and being available for the students literally twenty-four hours a day. They often had students phone them in the early hours of the morning with problems that needed immediate attention and spent their weekends either organising for the future needs of the students or accommodating their immediate needs (in terms of counselling, advice, financial assistance, housing and general refuge). In addition, they provided these same services for a number of ex-students who returned to the institute frequently for advice and assistance and simply to talk. (Grace, 1978: 182 identifies the processes of immersion in their work and exhaustion that characterised the lives of these tutors.)

These tutors identified themselves as middle-class (relative to the students) and recognised that they had a different view of the world and of the students from the work skills tutors. This different perspective arose in part from the fact

that they had simply spent much more time with these sorts of students and had a greater knowledge of the students' life circumstances and partly because their own backgrounds enabled them to see the students as relatively deprived. Because of their experience in teaching YPTP, they perceived the students' basic needs differently from the work skills tutors:

The aim of the course is officially to get these kids into work. We know that there are practically no jobs available for them anyway. Some of them will get jobs; some of them are so messed up emotionally that they haven't got a show of coping with a job yet. (...) [I want] to give them more confidence in themselves, to be able to cope with living unemployed as they probably will, possibly for another two or three years.

(SLS tutor)

Number one: building self-esteem again because it's quite often lost; they don't have a very good self-image at all, practically to an individual. Number two: probably giving them the interview skills so that they don't put themselves down at that vital time. Number three: bringing up their maths and English to a reasonable level, if they've lost that level or if they've never had it. I think they're the vital things.

(SLS tutor)

They emphasised personal development and the building of self-esteem in the students as a basis from which the students could gain control over their own lives (in this they can be compared with the social remediation teachers in Dwyer *et.al.*'s, 1981, Australian study). Numeracy and literacy skills were also considered important both for gaining a chance at employment and for coping with unemployment effectively.

(The exception to the above was the Student Health Nurse. While she identified herself as middle-class, perceived the students as relatively deprived and did teach in a way that accommodated their needs, her discourse about the students and unemployment was identical to that of the work skills tutors. There was a disjunction between her discourse and her practice.)

The SLS classes were, in general, held in the afternoons with basic maths (again in general) being taken from 1-2pm. (Timetabling was never rigid - it varied slightly from course to course and from week to week to accommodate flexibly tutor, work experience and guest speaker needs.) The tensions discussed in Chapter Ten between the work skills and the social and life skills components of the courses, and the general physical and psychological lack of well-being of the students, were exacerbated by this timetabling. As any teacher would recognise, the students were relatively tired and difficult to motivate between 2pm and 4 or 4.30pm, the social and life skills teaching period.

Social and life skills training was the part of the course that received the most attention from the Department of Labour and this concerned the SLS tutors. Field has indicated that such Departmental attention is widespread and not specific to the courses at this institute:

Of most concern to Department of Labour staff was whether pre-employment courses had appropriate subject matter. Some indicated that tutors 'delve too deeply' into trainees' lives in an attempt to instil a middle class value system; others felt trainees completed the courses with a heightened anger towards the system, which was thought unproductive.

(Undated - c.1981: 3)

The tutors had difficulty convincing the officers of the Department of Labour that the students needed health and contraceptive education, a tolerance for absences, counselling and even basic literacy and numeracy. The Department wanted the

SLS components to comprise: grooming, appearance, interview skills, job-seeking and retention skills, practice in form-filling, and those subjects which related directly to the students gaining 'employability'. Other SLS components were considered to be irrelevant to this task:

I'd like to see us a little bit more involved in the content of the courses. (...) we would be able to either agree or disagree as to whether we felt it was appropriate. We feel we have a pretty clear idea of what employers want and we obviously want to try and move the trainees to the point where they're going to meet acceptance by the employer. (...) It's social training that's required because they aren't able to sell themselves to an employer - that's what it boils down to.

(Department of Labour officer)

[The Department of Labour] wanted us to teach them skills so that they could get a job; that we should bring their reading and writing and arithmetic up to standard, teach them how to talk properly at an interview and how to get on with the boss and all the rest of it. They used to keep checking on what we were teaching them in the classes and they objected very strongly to some of the things we were doing, those things that they didn't consider were teaching basic skills.

(SLS tutor)

The Department of Labour would have liked to have had complete control over the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation of the courses. (During 1982 there were on-going rumours that the Department was making formal moves in that direction, but nothing came of these at that time. In 1987, however, the ACCESS scheme for the training and education of young people 'in transition' will be actioned in such

a way that the Department of Labour will take over control of the content, teaching and evaluation of programmes from the Department of Education and many of the programmes will be implemented in the private sector, i.e. not in the technical institute system.) Because of cuts in government spending, the local Department of Labour was overworked and understaffed during the period of this study. This meant that, while the SLS tutors were wary of the Department and felt harrassed by local Departmental officers, they were able to action SLS training in, more or less, their own terms.

What were these terms? They were that these students had needs, recognised or unrecognised, for food, shelter, respect, love, security, companionship, self-confidence and counselling:

There's a total unreality from the people with the decision-making power about what the needs of the people that they're making the decisions for are. They don't even ask those people! The kids may have an alcoholic father beating them up, who has had incestuous relationships with them since they were four. I'd bloody well leave home, too, if that was happening to me, but they don't want to face up to that. They don't want to think about that. (...) If we're going to do anything, and my guess is that we're probably not, then we have to deal with the kids' reality, where they're at.

(SLS tutor)

One of the things we found when we did the 'Cooking at Home' course - we had a phenomenal attendance on that course because we cooked a meal every day and that was the main meal they got. They lived on the course and they ate huge quantities of food!

(SLS tutor)

They perceived that these needs were not met, for most of the students, in their lives outside of the institute – there were no special provisions for the students outside of the courses themselves – and the SLS tutors attempted to bridge this gap in the students' lives. They provided classes that enabled the students to focus on the central elements of their own lives through discussion, anecdote, example and, particularly, self-revelation – through opening up their own lives to the students (Armstrong et.al., 1981):

You see, I went straight out into a job and there was always a job and I usually talk about that. I say, you know, that my life is different because there always was work and I haven't been in that situation of being without work. Once they see that you are being honest and upfront with them, it lowers a lot of barriers. They actually are honest with you, too.

(SLS tutor)

These tutors would have concurred with Wilcox and Lavercombe's assertion (1984: 19) that 'a teaching method which draws on pupils' actual experiences and encourages discussion of them is more likely to lead to a consideration of possibilities and alternatives' and their activities paralleled Harris' revolutionary strategies for teachers (1982: 151ff). Students were encouraged to consider their unemployment as a structural rather than a personal effect and then go on to tease out the political implications of this understanding for their own lives:

We talk about politics and that's not usual in social and life skills. In a cynical way, I guess, we talk about the democratic process. We talk about unemployment. We talk about the 'work ethic' and how it has developed and what effect it has on us and how it is possible to overcome it.

(SLS tutor)

However, the SLS tutors had difficulties presenting this material in a way that was acceptable to the students:

Basically I didn't [try to politicise the kids], except from probably a more feminist point of view with the girls. Mainly because another tutor was doing that and I found that there was resistance to it. So, when it came to my turn with the kids, I had to be fairly careful what I did, so I played it down quite deliberately. It was a matter of I nearly always came after her and it just didn't balance if I went in and had those sort of discussions, too. (...) It's like an act - you've got to come in with something different after the other person or you lose them.

(SLS tutor)

Apart from the fact that the students detested being reminded of their unemployment, they actively resisted having their collective consciousness raised (see Student Practice below). However, tutors persisted with these sorts of discussions within the SLS programme and, by the end of ten weeks, there was a general change in student attitudes towards political education (i.e. education about power, social structures, sex-role and racial stereotyping, the government, the labour market, unemployment, and so on). While students still argued against many of the ideas that the tutors presented, they did come to enjoy the discussions and to feel that, perhaps, these were the most valuable parts of the course.

Students were also introduced to the notion that job-seeking is a game that can be played (or a system that can be worked) if you know the rules - i.e. Cohen's 'really cool knowledge'. This term comes from his discussion of a 'hip version' of impression management in SLS training:

'The full formula for its 'therapeutic' double bind should be written: 'privatise what you publicly are - publicise what you privately are not', and enjoy the duplicity for

sense of power it gives you over the means of self-representation.'

(1984: 136)

Tutors in social and life skills training programmes in New Zealand do not have a general term for teaching 'really cool knowledge'. Some call this 'acting' – teaching young people to 'act out' the skills required to get a job interview or to retain employment, while not internalising the values that lie behind those skills. An example of this 'acting' is the teaching of dress codes. Social and life skills programmes usually include curriculum content that deals with appearance or grooming or dress. In most instances, this is taught in a straightforward, uncritical way that, implicitly or explicitly, tells students that there are 'normal', 'acceptable' ways to dress in society and that, until they learn to dress in these ways, they are not acceptable members of society – this unacceptability is evidenced by their unemployability. The SLS tutors held these views:

I wouldn't hire Sally either, unless she does something with her hair. Her hair is the biggest drawback with her – it's lank and greasy and it makes her look unkempt and dirty. The one that's got glasses has got to have a haircut to balance those glasses, she needs to lose some weight, she needs to take the hem of her skirt up, and she needs to wear shoes instead of jandals. Because she is better spoken – but none of them are really well-spoken. They're competing with kids that really are. The competition's quite phenomenal.

But they held them in terms of the realities of the job market and not in terms of normative student deficits:

We talk about what society expects us to do and how they expect us to do it and why they want us to do it that way. And then we talk about the results if you do it your way. It's when you get to the stage of talking about what society expects that the political comes in because, I guess, that's

what politics are all about - what society wants you to do. I guess it's telling both sides of the story and letting the kids make their own choices. Because they are not stupid; given the pros and cons they are quite capable of making their own informed decisions.

(SLS tutor)

We talk about job interviews. What people are really looking for. How school qualifications are used as a selective device. I look at these and think 'should I be teaching them telephone skills instead?', but most of the young people I know have any amount of ability on the telephone. It's not the telephone skills but the self-confidence and self-assertion you need to talk to people whether it's on the telephone or not.

(SLS tutor)

Students were taught how to present themselves correctly at interviews and at work. For example, the pitfalls of wearing jeans and jandals or smoking at an interview were pointed out; the value of a good haircut, clean fingernails and the use of a deodorant revealed. But 'correct' dress and appearance codes were taught as just that - as codes that could be adopted or manipulated at the individual student's inclination. The codes did not embody 'natural' or inherent values in any way and could be accepted or rejected by the students at will; they were not expected to internalise the codes.

Berg (1968: 57-58) makes the point that children need teachers who believe in them 'in the sense, quite simply, that they like them' and Ryrle (1981: 73) that personal relationships of trust between students and tutors are basic to the development of personal autonomy and a critical attitude in students. The tutors adopted this point of view as the only viable one for teaching social and life skills. They all commented on the fact that they liked and respected the students and that this was the only way in which social and life skills could be taught

effectively; that it was when the work skills tutors disliked and did not respect the students that they had difficulties with them:

I actually got on with the kids at a personal level really very well and got very attached to them; built up a good personal relationship; caught as much flack as I could between them and the Polytech; protected them as much as I could; personally went out on a limb for them quite often. How much we taught them, I'm damned if I know.

(SLS tutor)

Because they liked the students, the SLS tutors were able to develop personal relationships with them that overrode the students' ambivalent attitudes towards social and life skills course components. These relationships then provided the basis for teaching that the students recognised, ultimately, as valuable.

Student practice

Gleeson and Mardle claim, when discussing the SLS training of apprentices, that students find any form of instruction, which is not immediately relevant to their work, not only a waste of time, but an unnecessary intrusion into what they need to know (1980: 116; see also Spradberry, 1976). The YPTP students knew what they wanted from training programmes and that was they wanted what the programmes appeared to offer: the chance of a regular, secure job and the skills to gain and retain such employment. They were critical of any course content that did not appear to be aimed at these ends:

I think that the second half of the day after lunch is pretty waste of time 'cos we never really do much. It should be they should work it so we've got something to do which will help us get a job. Oh, the maths will help us and that's a good thing. But some days we don't do anything -

we sit here from after lunch until we go home and talk when we could be making use of it, doing more about foodhandling.

Rebecca, 16

[The course is] interesting, you're doing typing and you're doing receptionist skills which is what I've come here for - I haven't come to discuss the fact that I'm unemployed. (...) I'd improve it in the way that you really didn't have to talk about whether you're unemployed or not. I'd cut that out - there'd be no silly games or anything like that.

Sally, 17

I think in some cases the course is pretty good - I've learned something about warehousing. But I think in some other cases, it's been completely irrelevant. For instance, one day we went out in town and we had to ask people for their signatures.

WK: Why was that?

I dunno, but [the SLS tutor] told us it was to encourage us to go out and not be afraid and do something. Build up your confidence sort of. And when we're with [the SLS tutor] we're always talking. I think some of the things we talk about are completely irrelevant.

Peter, 19

However, as both Barry (undated - c.1984) and Reid (1984) have pointed out in the New Zealand context, employers are not looking for specific job skills in potential employees, but rather they are seeking someone who will 'fit in':

Employers said selection depended on a 'package deal' of pleasing personality, good appearance, evidence of general competence and trainability and the ability of the young person to 'sell themselves' at an interview.

(Reid, ibid.)

The paradox of these training courses for the students, then, was that the real skills they needed for employment were those that they devalued and, in many cases, rejected - the social and life skills - rather than the specific work skills which employers prefer to teach on the job. This contradiction provided a 'space' into which students inserted their own analyses of the functions of the YPTP courses, for example 'they're just a ploit to keep us quiet and off the streets', 'they provide jobs for unemployed tutors', 'they're good 'cos they give us a chance to talk about why we're unemployed - the real reasons, not just what the government tells us'. Like tutors, the students were not structural dopes and they had their own purposes for attendance at a training programme and their own desired outcomes (which could be at variance with the intended outcomes of the courses).

In common with the unemployed youth in Roberts et al's study (1982: 5), students, in the main, refused to be politicised in the SLS classes: they either ignored, or argued furiously against, statements that were overtly political. Ironically, in view of the Department of Labour's concerns in this area (see Field's study, ibid.), the students tended to be consciously apolitical - not only were they relatively ignorant of the politics of unemployment (and politics in general), they preferred to be this way:

Discussion with class on Task Force on Youth Training document. The students say that people who get paid the Unemployment Benefit are bludgers and the tutor is unable to convince them otherwise with any of her arguments. They don't like the suggestion that people who get the dole, whether they are prepared to accept a job or not, are

actually reducing the competition for employment for others. They claim that this is just bludging.

(Field notes)

'I'm seen as pretty radical and I don't think I'm radical at all - I just want to change the world' [SLS tutor]. Students don't respond to this sort of statement from her - it seems like a non-event, almost as if it embarrasses them.

(Field notes)

Giroux (1984: 319) claims that students' own lives, experiences and needs must be made problematic in order 'to provide the basis for exploring the interface between their own lives and the constraints and possibilities of the wider society'. The SLS tutors in these courses tried to do this but, because their lives were already very 'problematic', students resisted such forms of consciousness-raising. They had a good reason for such rejection: if they did 'explore the interface between their own lives and the constraints and possibilities of the wider society' (ibid.), what was there that would change in the outside world? All that would happen would be that they would feel even more insecure and frightened in an insecure and frightening world. A typical response to any attempt to engage the students in consciousness-raising was expressed in a response to a role-reversal story where a young man is raised in a manner normally reserved for females in this society (see Appendix Eight). The tutor was attempting to get the students to think about sex-role stereotyping in society and the labour market and she asked the students to write down their ideas about the story. One student, having initially written 'I think it is about' and crossed that out, wrote her response on the back of the handout:

I think this story is ridiculous and it doesn't make sense and has no meaning and you can get fruited.

Only a very small group of students, the two or three students in each course

discussed in Chapter Nine that could penetrate to some degree the discourse of the courses, was willing to engage in discussion about, for example, 'the oppressive structures of the labour market' or 'what the trade union movement does for you'. At this stage in their lives, however, these students were isolated and peripheral to the labour market (and almost to life itself – several of these students had attempted suicide). They were unlikely to engage in any form of direct political activity.

YPTP students did not like to be called 'kids'. All of the tutors, work skills and SLS, justified this practice by saying that (a) relatively the students were kids and (b) 'they're just like my own kids'. The paradox was that these students were adults. Even if they were University, Teachers College or 'normal' Technical Institute students they would have had more adult status than they had on YPTP courses. To call a 23-year-old father of a child, who has been employed since he was 15 and has recently been made redundant, a 'kid' reinforces the ideology of personal non-productivity, dependence, deficiency (in relation to 'real' adults), and non-contribution to a society that supports him financially. It also reinforces the material practice that other people (adults) will be able to tell him what to do, what to wear, what to say; that other people will decide his best interests for him. Just as individual administrators did not 'cause' or bring into effect the physical constraints of the classrooms used for these YPTP courses, so individual tutors were not responsible for the social relations and material practices that underpinned calling a student a 'kid'. Even when one was aware of the insult taken by the students when this term was used, it was difficult to refrain from using it. And completely impossible when discussing the courses or students with the tutors. This verbal straightjacket was a direct response to the social relations of these courses where the tutors had adult responsibilities (and were paid an adult wage for these) and it was assumed that the trainees did not; that they had to be 'looked after' as if they were indeed children. (Ball and Ball, 1979: 102ff, suggest that a similar pattern of paternalism and dependence can be seen in the practice of British youth training programmes.) Students also did not like to be called 'unemployed'. Watts (1983a: 63 and 107) discusses the loss of identity and status for the unemployed and describes the way in which teachers' 'well-meant efforts to introduce pupils to less-desirable options and possibilities could be personalized by pupils and felt to be a judgement upon

them'. This was a highly-charged and sensitive issue and yet some tutors were completely unaware of the alienation they caused when they pointed out to the students, intentionally or not, that they were unemployed. The students held very high expectations of the courses (one of which was that they would be employed by the end of the course) and saw their status as being raised above the ignominy of unemployment simply by being on a course:

Since I've had the label of 'student' rather than 'unemployed person', I've felt a lot better and a lot of people's attitudes towards me have changed as well and that's a great start to becoming someone. You see people you haven't seen for a while and they say, 'What are you doing now?' and it's a lot easier to say, 'Oh, I'm at the Tech; I'm a student' rather than hesitate and say, 'Oh, I'm a bum'.

Mary, 19

A problem for the students in the SLS classes, then, was that they were constantly reminded that they were unemployed and dependent on others by the content of the discussions: what is unemployment? what is work? how do you cope with unemployment? what community resources are available for unemployed people? how do you budget on a limited income (i.e. the dole)? how can you be assertive and self-confident while unemployed? what are the recreational and leisure activities that are available in your community? how do you dress yourself for interviews while on the dole? what voluntary work is available in your community? what sorts of paid work can unemployed people create for themselves? and so on. The SLS course components were where the students had to confront the fact of their unemployment and were encouraged to consider how they were going to live as unemployed people. While the work skills tutors might privately consider that few of these students were employable, in class they treated them as potential workers – they worked from a theoretical position that, if the students were regarded as workers while on a course, then they were more likely to become workers once they left the shelter of the course. The SLS tutors, however, knew that the chances of the students getting and keeping jobs after a

course were slight and that the majority of the students would return to a very vulnerable and fragile state of being unemployed (Fleming and Lavercombe, 1982) – they saw the students as needing knowledge and skills that would enable them to cope with that unemployment in as positive a way as possible.

The students resisted, at a deep and not necessarily verbalised level, aspects of the course that included discussions about unemployment, visits to community facilities and guest speakers who talked about those facilities. While they might at some points, and for some individuals, become seriously involved in such discussions or enjoy the visits, they felt that these were not ‘real’ skills, i.e. ‘work’ skills:

There’s not enough practical cooking in the course and there’s not enough on cooking. Like we only spend half a day on that topic and the rest of the day we spend on things that are really totally irrelevant. (...) There’s too much time spent mucking around and we yak a lot – which is good and I enjoy it – but in terms of what we’re supposed to be learning it’s a waste of time.

Melissa, 17

We muck around a lot. We do a lot of irrelevant things. Like, sometimes we just talk a lot and, you know, we talk about nothing some of the time. (...) [I don’t want it] as formal as school, but still, you know, more of that sort of stuff.

Emma, 17

They would complain to me and to the work skills tutors and, occasionally, to the Department of Labour (which created real difficulties for the SLS tutors) about the ‘afternoon’ classes being irrelevant to what they perceived as their needs, to their desired outcomes for the course (in this they can be compared with the

Youth Opportunities Programme trainees in Howard Williamson's study, 1982: 112). They saw SLS as a waste of their time:

Student: What's this we're doing?

Tutor: General Knowledge.

Student: Do we have to do it? (Yes) Why? Why do we have to do that? It's got nothing to do with getting a job.

Tutor: One of the things that makes people attracted to you is a wide, a good, general knowledge.

(Field notes)

The group of students that expressed most strongly the feeling that SLS classes were a waste of time were the Warehousing Skills students. This was the course where grooming, appearance, interview skills, social graces and an ability to express yourself well were least important in terms of future employment opportunities.

In discussions that related directly to their own experiences, however, students tended to be disarmed by the SLS tutors' revelations about their own lives and the tutors' ways of coping with the exigencies of life, by the way in which they were expected to participate in these discussions as adults, and by the feeling that their needs would be met as far as possible by the SLS tutors - they trusted these tutors to do well by them. The students liked the more relaxed atmosphere of social and life skills - they did not feel that they were being judged constantly on their speech, appearance, body language and other cultural presentations - although they disliked what they perceived as a lack of planning and organisation and commitment to adhere to a pre-arranged schedule of work. Basically they responded to the individual personalities and obvious commitment of these tutors (i.e. not just any SLS tutor) to meeting immediate student needs in a non-judgemental fashion. That this trust was specific to these tutors was

demonstrated by their outright rudeness to a 'strange' SLS tutor (the Head of Department) who took them for a session one afternoon:

Receptionist and Typing students sullen and uncommunicative. He asks them about the Post Office trip - Katie says it was boring. Asks them if the visit helped them in any way to understand office routines - silence. Class is unco-operative in the extreme, bored and bloody-minded. They either attack him verbally or sit in dead silence or yawn loudly. They have to write a letter in reply to one sent to the technical institute - they spend twenty minutes arguing whether this should be a secretary's job rather than a receptionist's.

(Field notes)

The students were rarely this rude to the usual SLS tutors, although they did occasionally lock the Basic Maths tutor out of the classroom! In general, they either participated actively in the afternoon work (while not necessarily agreeing that this should be part of a work skills course) or politely and passively switched off (e.g. a group would play cards quietly while the rest participated in the course work).

The rapport that they felt with the SLS tutors was one that developed through the course. In this sense, the SLS tutors were correct when they claimed that ten week courses were too short for them to make any difference to the students - they just seemed to be 'getting through' to the students when the course ended. Whether it was in response to the growth in rapport with these tutors or whether it was a reaction to fear of the immediate (jobless) future outside the structures of the course, the students appeared to become more receptive to SLS teaching in the last few weeks of a course. They were explicit at this point about how much they had benefited from and enjoyed this part of the course:

When I first started I felt low of myself, I was so negative towards everything, but [the SLS tutor] is a brilliant

person. I really like her. She's made me open my brain up and look at a few things which I'd never looked at before and myself in a different perspective.

Delyse, 21

[The SLS tutors'] teaching is really brilliant. You know, I love their way of teaching. It's not really teaching. They're just putting it to you - you teach yourself. And I've found out a lot about myself since I've been on the course through them. (...) It's very open. You can say what you want, you can think what you want, you can do what you want. (...) They make you feel important, you know, even if it's just to yourself.

Robyn, 17

The 'useful' knowledge of the SLS components (which was, in the end, recognised as such by most of the students) was a gain in self-awareness and self-confidence; an increased ability in the students to think well of themselves; an introduction to the knowledge that employment opportunities are part of a larger, structured labour market, that did not necessarily work in these students' favour, rather than a result of their personal attributes and qualifications; and, most importantly, a knowledge that they were not alone: that there were other unemployed young people in a position similar to theirs, and that there were adults who liked them, did not judge them, understood the realities of their lives, and were willing to help them negotiate those lives.

Structure and agency

There are critical possibilities that are inherent in the provision of social and life skills in the Young Persons Training Programme, possibilities that were actioned by the tutors and, to a lesser, more ambivalent extent, the students.

Green, for example, emphasises an absolute priority for numeracy and literacy for young people and recognises the fundamental liberating value of these skills (*ibid.*: 69). The social control of young unemployed people was not a necessary function of the social and life skills course content: social control was implicit in the premises and structures of the SLS training, but it was not a necessary outcome in practice.

From within the social and life skills component of the course, for example, students were given the power and control of making real decisions about some aspects of their lives: 'if I want to play the employment game, I know the proper persona to assume; if I don't want to play the employment game, I can enjoy the power of choosing not to do so on my own terms'. However,

The central paradox of this whole manoeuvre is that it preserves the integrity of an oppositional identity only by practising a calculated duplicity: you pretend to be playing according to the official rules, whilst secretly bending them to the advantage of your own, rather different, game - that of 'loser wins'.

(Cohen, 1984: 137-138)

For Cohen, this is a double-edged weapon: 'In some contexts it may be a rational survival tactic; in others it may be profoundly self-destructive'. Obviously, for young people to be provided with a means of retaining and valuing their own cultural identity, in a situation that requires them to eliminate all traces of that identity, is a really useful knowledge. 'Acting out' is certainly a more useful skill to have than blind, unquestioning conformity. It is also a skill that provides an insight into social structures as structures that are imposed upon people and this insight is capable of extension into areas other than dress and manners. The teaching of 'really cool knowledge', therefore, could provide a space within which a really useful knowledge could be learned. Wilkinson (1981: 35), for example, claims that there is a need to boost in these students a sense of personal assertiveness in an otherwise completely powerless situation - this is what 'really cool knowledge' does when it presents the students with a range of

confidence tricks that they may or may not wish to use. But this is not sufficient. The premises of 'acting out', of creating a well-adjusted public image, lead to

a conception of the student as making individual decisions and transitions in relative isolation from the ambience of the school and society in which the work is set. It is, in short, a psychology-bound rationale for a marginal position.

(Law, 1981: 61)

While 'acting out' provided students with the means of individually competing in the labour market, it did not provide these young people with the critical educational tools to cut through, for example, the legal fiction of equality in the labour market. The unequal social relations of production that underpin employer demands for appropriate social and personal skills remained invisible and unanalysed and, therefore, not subject to collective challenge or change by the students.

At one level, then, Moore (ibid.) is correct in his analysis of SLS training: it does 'cool out' young people and reproduces them in ways that are acceptable and adaptable to a constricting labour market. However, in practice in these courses, this was not accomplished in a direct correspondence of the tutor practice with labour market requirements. The tutors did try to produce Moore's 'coherent political consciousness in young workers' which could lead to a collective challenging of the structures of the labour market. They created 'spaces' in the SLS course components, against the desires of the local Department of Labour officers, into which they inserted their own versions of student needs and within which they attempted to meet those needs. They also tried to renovate and make critical the students' daily realities (Gramsci, 1971: 331) in an attempt to provide the students with education rather than socialisation. However, the premises of the programmes themselves (which were internalised by the students – see Chapter Nine) created ideological and practical constraints on the outcomes of tutor practice: the students actively resisted SLS training that was perceived as peripheral to getting a job; the courses ran for only ten weeks which the tutors

claimed was too short a period 'to get through to the the students'; and the students actively resisted any form of direct politicisation.

Bisseret (1979: 64ff) claims that there cannot be a cohesion for the dominated except on the side of power, that the dominated have no other option 'but to identify individually with the hidden referent of the social discourse' that is part of the structures that reject their cultural status as individual members of a dominated class. The central contradiction for these tutors in the provision of social and life skills training was that, while the students did not accept personal, face-to-face criticism of their cultural expressions (i.e. criticism of their dress, their speech, their body language, their self-images, and so on), they did accept that there were 'correct' images that were necessary for getting a job; they did accept that there were 'right' (i.e. dominant) ways of living and being and their aim was to participate in that dominant culture by means of getting a job (Sennett and Cobb, 1973: 171; Dwyer, 1981: 34). As Markall (1982: 96) points out, 'the unemployed are not simply so many of Pavlov's dogs metaphorically salivating' in response to the stimulus of training programmes. Not only were the students a heterogeneous group, they also reacted in complex and contradictory ways to the training to which they were subjected. While the students did not passively accept others' definitions of their social and life skills and often actively resisted any training that was seen as implicit or explicit personal criticism, they tended to value the work skills training and to devalue social and life skills training - at least until the last few weeks of a course. They wanted specific skills that would enable them to get a specific job, not generalisable and transferable social skills (in the form of the skills that arise from analysing and discussing) that were considered irrelevant to the urgent task of gaining employment.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

How do you portray the experience of daily sameness, killing boredom, in writing? Faces can express the results - drawn muscles, skin that has seen no sun, tired eyes. But there is nothing to replace the slow jerks of the minute-hand around the clock, waiting for the buzzer to go home. In writing, a long boring day can be compressed into four words.

(Pollert, 1981: 204)

The study reported in this thesis set out to both describe and analyse a specific site of struggle as an instance of the relations between capital and labour. It was claimed that the site chosen, the Young Persons Training Programme as it was implemented in one technical institute, exemplifies the way in which the structural relations between capital and labour are lived as social relations and that the lived experience of a skills training programme that attempts to bridge the gap between school and work for young people is quite different from the official discourse that surrounds that experience.

The thesis asserts that, in its attempts to work within orthodox economic analyses of the labour market, the state focuses on young people's lack of skills, credentials and possession of a work ethic as the explanation for their unemployment. This focus produces an official discourse which reconstructs young people as dependent, in transition and lacking traits that would give them an adult status. Common sense then dictates that the provision by the state of work skills training and social and life skill programmes will compensate young people for their individual deficits in the marketplace and give them a better chance of employment (and an adult identity). This common sense discourse is accepted at a

popular, taken-for-granted level by both young people and their parents but, because it is based in an incorrect analysis of the economy and the labour market, it is liable to be penetrated at the level of practice.

This study demonstrates clearly that official discourse (and the structures that that discourse represents) was a site of struggle at the level of practice: neither the young people who were students on the YPTP courses nor their tutors were able to live the reality of that official discourse. Work skills training was, even in the work skills tutors' estimation, a sham because it represented neither the acquisition of real, saleable skills nor the acquisition of credentials that were valuable in the marketplace. Social and life skills training, if it were carried out in accordance with official policy, was dishonest because it implied that these young people were incapable of work until they were 'polished up'. While the students accepted at a general level many of the common sense notions put forward in official discourse as to why they were unemployed and unemployable, they did not accept the individual application of these notions and they ensured that any direct correspondence between official discourse on YPTP and lived practice was unworkable. On the other hand, the structural and discursive constraints on the programme were such that neither tutors nor students were able to react at a more co-ordinated level of challenge than that of individual sabotage or withdrawal within the classroom.

The students' and tutors' lived experience of the courses must be seen in parallel: both suffered from alienation, lack of status and resources, insecurity and their desire for 'real' jobs; both were constrained in their responses to the structures of the youth labour market by the structures of the YPTP courses. Both struggled to make their lives bearable, able to be carried out with dignity and self-respect within those structures. This study gives no grounds for holding to the romanticism of a notion of 'struggle' leading to 'emancipation' - the tutors and students were caught in a particular structural location that was not of their making and their responses were to negotiate the structures as best they could, to create their own social processes of teaching and learning as far as they were able within those structures. While they made the best of their situation and did make creative responses within these structures, their struggle took the form of 'How do I get through this day, this week?'

Even if all of the tutors had espoused a radical view of the labour market and the students' place in that market, the structured expectations of the students were

such that only a specific and narrow range of tutor work was possible; student expectations and what they would tolerate in the classroom were a dominant constraint on tutor practice which, as a consequence, was limited and compromised (McNeil, 1981). This was true for all tutors whether 'radical' or 'conservative'. The work skills tutors, for example, had no choice but to allow the students to have a smoke break every hour even though they believed strongly that this did not contribute to the development of an appropriate work discipline in the students – if they denied students a smoke break, the class simply walked out, had a smoke, then returned. On the other hand, the students rejected or refused to comprehend the 'radical' views of the only tutor on the course who openly espoused notions of 'liberation', 'emancipation' or 'revolution'.

The students were similarly constrained. Apart from one extremely polite, middle class lad, who wore Doctor Martins and braces, there were no 'in' or fashionable people on the courses. These were lonely, 'ordinary' New Zealand Kids who listened to romantic pop on the radio rather than Oi and Anarchy on a ghetto-blaster. They had neither the individualistic bourgeois style of punk nor the collective aggro of the black power and boot gangs. They may have been 'the people our parents warned us about', but only by default – they were jobless, sometimes homeless and alienated, but not by choice. Inasmuch as they were able to, given their lack of resources, most of these young people chose to live very similar lives to those of their parents. They made their lives bearable by getting themselves a new perm, collecting stamps, helping with a cub pack, playing rugby, watching television, drinking or popping pills. While sex was central in their lives – their informal discussions constantly referred to it in one way or another – the practice of it was so caught up with tension that it was not necessarily an enjoyable experience which made their lives any more bearable. The young men worried about their macho image (or, mostly, their lack of one); the young women struggled with the corollaries of sex – physical abuse, pregnancy, prostitution and put-downs. These young people, however, acted on the world by enrolling in a YPTP skills training course and by making demands of those courses.

These students were not disillusioned with work. Work was a central goal in their lives that would provide them with status, social identity, money and an acceptable structure to the day – in other words, work would affirm them as 'normal' human beings in a way that unemployment or training programmes or further education could not (Jahoda, 1979). The endpoint of enrolling in any

training programme for these students was the acquisition of a job. As Dwyer (1981: 38) puts it, 'the effects of not finding a job, and of being continually rejected for jobs are, without any exaggeration, devastating'. He suggests that there are three responses made by working class youth to the devastation of unemployment – (i) unco-ordinated disruption, (ii) counter-work lifestyles and (iii) organised challenge. The students who participated in these YPTP courses either responded to their situation disruptively or they became passively acquiescent in their responses. They did make partial penetrations of the reasons for their unemployment but their reactions remained 'at a generally diffused level in which opposition is expressed in a relatively chaotic (and even co-opted) manner' (*ibid.*).

Both students and SLS tutors used sabotage to undermine authority and the official definition of their teaching/learning situation. The students, individually and collectively, overtly and covertly, disrupted classes and work visits where they saw these embodying authoritarian social relations or imposing upon their time in a way that would not result in a job. The SLS tutors quite deliberately sabotaged and undermined the official definition of their task – that their role was to socialise the students into a work ethic – by mis-reading that task, by re-defining it or by simply refusing to comply at the level of classroom practice. However, while it is true that reproduction is a hard and constantly-resisted labour on very obstinate materials (Johnson, 1979: 74), student and tutor resistances were expressed in the here-and-now, day-to-day realities of an individualised and constrained teaching/learning process. They were not expressed at a level of collective analysis and challenge that might have brought about some structural change in either the youth labour market or the provision of the courses. (The latter did begin to occur, but after the period of this study: there was a brief flowering in 1985–86 of positive state responses to collective tutor (and other) concerns about the premises and provisions of such courses. These responses are now contracting as government expenditure on education comes under the scrutiny of Treasury and as the provision of training programmes for young unemployed people has been shifted completely from the Department of Education to the Department of Labour.)

Using a method of theoretical realism which treats social relations and structures as real entities, it has been possible to examine the links between a description of the lived practice of YPTP and an analysis of the structures of the labour market that underpin and constrain that practice. The study has

demonstrated some of the specific ways in which people reject and struggle with particular social relations and structures and some of the ways in which they take such relations and structures for granted. Realism informs this thesis, the realism of living and working within structures that constrain both theory and practice. Because these structures are contradictory, description and analysis of lived experience is not a straightforward process – it is characterised by gaps and conundrums, strengths and weaknesses. To carry out realist research is to work with the knowledge that all we can hold onto in description are, as Sharpe (1976: 9) claims, stills from a film suspended in time while real life moves on relentlessly, changing and re-defining as it proceeds. To register a social and historical moment as a whole, to bring together the different levels of discourse and practice, and relate these coherently within a theory of the social relations that exist in the real world, is a difficult task. One cannot simply measure the effects of particular sets of social relations nor can one offer a neatly-rounded theorisation of the research problem – reality intrudes at every point and demands attention: as Owen Marshall puts it, ‘every place is a stranger to its book description, and no lists of facts, however well compiled, approach a feeling of life there’ (1987).

If it is impossible to capture the moment accurately in description and theory at the particular instant it is lived and, if it is equally impossible to hold that moment with its specific structures and social relations for all time, in amber as it were, then what is the point of realist research? The point is that, while the specific instance may have passed into history, the structures and relations that underpinned and proceeded from that instance remain – the essential relations between education and the labour market that structured the YPTP courses in one technical institute continue. The demand for labour power is still exercised primarily through the capitalist labour market and a reserve army of labour, while the regulation and control over labour power are still achieved through state intervention and particularly through state education (Bland et al., 1979: 82). By describing and analysing an instance of the way in which these structures are lived, it is possible to illuminate our approaches to transition education and training programmes, such as the current ACCESS programmes, that are provided for unemployed youth today. By describing and analysing as vividly as possible the realities of lived practice, it is possible to gain a more factual understanding of specific structures and social relations of these programmes and thus to be able to formulate policy and practice within a realist framework. In other words,

the study has currency and implications for further research in the area of training programmes for unemployed youth. For example, it indicates the value of questioning the concept of transition education and training, of questioning the given that young people do, in fact, need such training (at least on the terms on which it is offered). It encourages an examination of the links between the discourse and practice of a training programme and labour market structures. And it insists on the necessity for research to be carried out on-site, on the necessity to live the programme if a real knowledge of discourse, structures and practice is to be gained.

In Chapter Four it was claimed that credence would be given to the thesis if demonstrable links are made between the theory of contradictory social relations and lived practice; if the researcher is able to demonstrate that she did in fact enter the lives of the participants to the extent that a real description of those lives is produced; if the descriptions and analyses are checked with those involved in the study; and if these descriptions and analyses are reinforced by studies completed in similar areas and by those working in the same field in other institutes.

The links between a particular theory of labour market structures (and the contradictory social relations that arise out of those structures) and the ways in which these structures are lived at a specific site are clearly made in the thesis. Obviously there is always the potential for disagreement as to whether these links are accurate and whether or not the study has reduced the plausibility of alternative analyses of the data. To address this possibility, the writing-up of the study has consistently been opened up to public critique and, as far as possible, to the criticism of those who participated in the research. Over a period of three years completed chapters of the thesis have been fed back to the two (now) permanent tutors on the courses. The tutors have repeatedly affirmed that (i) the description and analysis is real; (ii) it makes sense to them in terms of their experience of YPTP; (iii) it illuminates their practice in ways that they cannot; and (iv) it has enabled them to press for changes both in their daily practice and in government policy on transition education. Publication of much of the material in this study illustrating the social relations of YPTP and their links with labour market practice has brought responses from transition tutors and administrators in other areas in New Zealand. While these responses have often disputed the analysis, they have all agreed that the description is depressingly

accurate. Most of the responses have been that the analysis is illuminating, that it enables them to think through their practice and the official discourse on transition education more clearly, but that they do not 'like' it (i.e. they do not provide plausible analytic alternatives) – for these administrators and tutors, the analysis leaves little room for utopian or even pragmatic action; it leaves tutors and administrators where they are now, coping as best they can, meeting the challenge of each individual Monday morning (Willis, 1977) and they find that disheartening.

Many of the references that have been made in this thesis are to work which supports the findings of this study at the descriptive and, to some extent, the analytic levels. One of the major supports is the marked similarity to those found in the present study of (i) the young people's discourse in transition studies carried out in other institutes and in studies of young unemployed people in New Zealand, (ii) the basic structures and contradictions of other transition programmes that followed YPTP (such as the School-leavers Training and Employment Preparation Scheme (STEPS), the Training Assistance Programme (TAPS) and ACCESS) and (iii) the similarity of the frustrations expressed by those who attempt to train or educate these young people (Christchurch Employment Advisory Committee, 1979; Christchurch Polytechnic, 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984; Matthews, 1981; Department of Education, 1982; Signal, 1982; Fenwick, 1983; Barry, c.1984; Gray and Neale, 1984; Norman and Kerlake, 1985; Department of Labour, 1985a and 1985b; Herrick, 1987; for example). Many of the themes of this thesis (e.g. that paid employment is a central factor in the formation of a positive social identity, that there is a necessity for jobs not training for young people, that structures of the labour market underpin personal responses to unemployment) and the descriptions of the practice of transition training programmes were expressed by the contributors to the Employment Promotion Conference, 1985. Four British studies have been drawn on extensively to support the study at the analytic level: Stafford, 1981; Williamson, 1982; Fiddy, 1983 and Cohen, 1984. These studies, carried out with young people on either the Youth Opportunities Programme or the Work Introduction Course, demonstrate the rational (if limited) nature of young people's penetrations of the links between education and the labour market and the realities of the practices of transition training programmes. Their descriptions and conclusions are similar to those made in this study of the Young Persons Training Programme.

Conclusion

Varlaam (1984: 5) points out that it is questionable whether a scheme introduced in haste, largely to keep significant numbers of young people off the streets can, at the same time, provide long-term answers to the long-term problem of vocational training needs. An obvious conclusion of this thesis is that the emphasis in state provisions to alleviate youth unemployment should be on job-creation (demand-side) measures rather than training (supply-side) measures. However, this is not to suggest that there should be no formal further education provisions for young people once they leave compulsory schooling – a mix of employment with training/education off the job (similar to that currently provided for apprentices) would be ideal, provided that young people can be persuaded that such further education is in their best interests. Given the responses of the YPTP students in this study to one form of further education provision, it would appear that the attractions of further education are linked with a certification and skills provision that has value in the labour market – any training that is linked to job-creation programmes for these young people, therefore, would need to demonstrate that rewards such as promotion or salary increments or a chance at a better job would follow on from the successful completion of each module of the training. The payoff for participation in further education at this point in their lives needs to be extrinsic rather than intrinsic.

The reality of the YPTP programmes was that, as Green (1983: 66) makes explicit with regard to transition education programmes, at the end of a course, no matter what their motivation or level of commitment, their skills, their adjustment to the world of work or their ability to cope with its competition, the students faced the problem of having no nationally recognised qualifications of any value, no guarantee of further training, and for many still, no work. In light of this reality, the last words of this thesis must remain with the students:

In one way, I wish it was not over and I feel really funny 'cos I haven't got a job still. I wish it was still going 'cos I liked it and it gave me something to do during the day.

Lucille, 17

APPENDIX ONE: THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMME

A. Background

The introduction of the Young Persons' Training Programme was announced by the Hon. J.B. Bolger, Minister of Labour, on 19 December 1978. This specific training programme for young job seekers enrolled with the Department of Labour arose out of the Special Training Programmes run by the Department. These programmes had provided training for 1900 unemployed young persons on 67 pre-employment and 58 skill training courses throughout the country up to December 1978. Earlier recommendations had been made that the pre-employment and skills training courses offered under the Special Training Programmes be expanded to meet the demand created by the expected employment situation and the high volume of school leavers forecast for 1979. The initial emphasis was to be on short-term training courses which would assist young job seekers who clearly needed some form of vocational training (in social and/or occupational skills) before they could be referred to an employer for job placement. Courses would be initiated by the Department of Labour through the local Employment Advisory Committees (consisting of employer, educational and departmental representatives) and run by the local community colleges and technical institutes. Courses would only be offered where there was a realistic prospect of job opportunities in the field in which training was offered.

The Young Persons Training Programme commenced on 24 April 1979 and was to run to 31 December 1980. An extension to March 1983 was announced by the Acting Minister of Labour Hon. David Thomson on 26 November 1980. A number of modifications to the initial requirements of the Young Persons Training Programme were also announced at this time. These modifications were:-

- Greater emphasis on remedial training in literacy and numeracy skills in pre-employment training courses.
- Emphasis to be placed in occupational skills courses on training in general skills common to a range of jobs rather than to one particular job.
- Increase in training allowance paid to trainees in institute-based occupational training, job exploration and work-based operator training to a rate of \$5 above the rounded-up after tax level of the corresponding rates of the unemployment benefit.
- Some assistance with travel and accommodation to be given to trainees who live at some distance from a technical institute or community college.
- Introduction of a pilot scheme to employ freelance tutors to co-ordinate pre-employment activities for young unemployed people in the smaller centres who do not have technical institutes or community colleges.

A further increase in the level of funding for the Young Persons Training Programme was jointly announced by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Education on 21 October 1981 to take account of the increased numbers entering training course during the first 6 months of that year. The additional funds were to provide for a total of up to 4200 institute-based training places and 1500 work-based training places for the 1981-1982 year.

B. Objectives

- i. To improve the employment prospects of young unemployed job seekers whose limited social or vocational skills inhibit their ready placement by the Employment and Vocational Guidance Service of the Department of Labour by

- (i) providing training opportunities aimed at teaching these young people work and social skills that will make them "job ready", and
- (ii) giving them information and work experience of a number of occupations through the work-based training options of the Young Persons Training Programme.

C. Administrative and Organisational Set-Up

1. Types of training courses offered

Four levels of training are provided:

- (a) Pre-employment courses, not exceeding 6 weeks in length, to develop social skills and build job seekers' confidence;
- (b) Technical institute-based occupational skills courses not exceeding 20 weeks in length, to develop general or specific job skills at the sub-apprenticeship level;
- (c) Work-based training of three kinds, all at the sub-apprenticeship level:
 - (i) job exploration of up to 3 weeks to allow a job seeker to explore a particular job with an employer;
 - (ii) operator training, for a maximum of 20 weeks, to provide detailed supervised training for an individual or a group of job seekers, with the emphasis on operating work-based machinery and equipment;
 - (iii) training-in-employment, which is similar to operator training except that the trainee is treated as an employee of the firm for the period of training.

- (d) Other skills courses can be organised and run on a one-off basis by other organisations, such as industry training boards, to meet the identified needs of job seekers in areas where there is a realistic prospect of employment.

2. Approval Procedures

Pre-employment courses are run solely at the initiative of the Department of Labour.

Institute-based courses may not proceed before financial approval is granted by the Department of Education.

All institute-based training activities under YPTP other than pre-employment training must be endorsed by the local Employment Advisory Committee (EAC) and, where relevant, the Industry Training Board concerned. Approval to provide skills training will be given only if the EAC is satisfied that there are reasonable job prospects for the trainees at the conclusion of the training.

Technical institute tutors must be involved in the selection of trainees for institute-based courses, while the final selection of trainees for all work-based training rests with the individual employers concerned.

Although time limits are fixed for all levels of training, experience has shown that shorter periods are often more effective.

D. Clients

1. Eligibility

Those young unemployed job seekers enrolled with the Employment and Vocational Guidance Service of the Department of Labour, who are

assessed by District Employment Officers as not being "job ready" and who require a period of training in social and/or occupational skills before they can be referred for employment.

2. Current Numbers

Statistics of the numbers enrolled in the Young Persons Training Programme are kept by the Department of Labour and published in the Report of Department of Labour presented to Parliament each year. Numbers of trainees enrolled in Young Persons Training Programmes from 1979 to 1982 are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Young Persons Training Programme Intake
for Years Ended 31 March 1979-82

	<u>YEARS' TRAINEE INTAKES</u>		
	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>
Pre-employment	1423	1628	1875
Institute-based skill training courses	1225	1322	2506
Job exploration	88	158	407
Work-based operator training	172	145	347
Training in employment	-	143	1072
Other skills courses	-	-	25
TOTALS	2908	3396	6232

3. Characteristics

An evaluation of the Young Persons Training Programme was undertaken by the Department of Labour (Training Division) in 1981, and gave the following statistics for the period 31 March 1980 to 1 April 1981 (see Table 2a & b). These statistics suggest that the typical Young Persons Training Programme trainee is likely to be female, under eighteen, and a recent school leaver without formal educational qualifications.

TABLE 2a: Age and Gender of Trainees Enrolled in Young Persons Training Programme Courses 31/3/80 to 1/4/81

COURSE TYPE	AGE			GENDER		TOTALS
	18 yrs	18-19	20+ yrs	Male	Female	
Pre-employment	727	186	40	387	566	953
Skills - Institute based	624	227	156	437	570	1007
Job exploration	75	29	20	41	83	124
Supervised operator training	56	18	12	13	73	86
Training in employment	53	20	12	34	51	85
TOTALS	1535	480	240	912	1343	2255

TABLE 2b: Educational levels, work experience and enrolment
durations of Young Persons Training Programme trainees
31/3/80 to 1/4/81

COURSE TYPE	EDUCL. LEVELS		WORK EXPERIENCE			ENROLMENT DURATION		TOTALS
	None	SC*	School Leaver	Up to 6 mths	6 mths +	<8wks	>8wks	
Pre-employment	795	158	483	287	183	450	503	953
Skills - institute based	693	314	457	250	300	522	485	1007
Job exploration	90	34	52	35	37	47	77	124
Supervised operator training	66	20	44	28	14	45	41	86
Training in employment	50	35	46	16	23	49	36	85
TOTALS	1694	561	1082	616	557	1113	1142	2255

* One or more passes in School Certificate

E. Operational Details

1. Content of Young Persons Training Programme Course

The institute-based occupational skills courses and pre-employment courses are approved by the Department of Labour at District level following the appropriate consultations outlined in Section C (2) above and devised and run by the Technical Institute or Community College in that district. Training courses which come under the work-based options of the Young Persons Training Programme are also approved at district level and devised and run by the individual employers involved. Advice is sought from the relevant Industry Training Boards where applicable. Pre-employment courses are devised by the Technical Institute pre-employment course tutors and cover general social and job seeking skills, such as:-

- Job interview techniques
- Job search skills
- Telephone manners
- Visits to employers and Government Departments

Institute-based occupational skill courses cover a wide range of occupational activities, based on the particular labour market needs of the district. Some of the activities that have been covered in these courses are:-

- Child Care, Home Management, Retailing Assistants, Office and Related Skills, Industrial Sewing, Horticulture, Agricultural and Rural Skills, Light Engineering Skills, Heavy Traffic Driving.

2. Payments to Trainees

While attending pre-employment courses, participants continue to receive unemployment benefit. An additional grant of \$5 per week may

be paid by Social Welfare to help meet incidental expenses.

Trainees attending institute-based skills course, job exploration programmes and work-based operator training receive a non-taxed training allowance from the Department of Labour. The current weekly rates are:-

Under 20	\$60
20 or over	\$76

Trainees who must live away from home to attend an institute-based course may also be assisted with travel and accommodation expenses.

Participants in training-in-employment are paid the appropriate award wage by the employer.

3. Payments to Employers

No payments are made to firms for job exploration training. For supervised operator training employers are reimbursed by the Department of Labour at varying rates depending on the equipment used and the number of trainees. Employers providing training-in-employment are paid a wage subsidy of \$75 per week by the Department of Labour. Employers who take on trainees who have completed Young Persons Training Programme courses may also be eligible for job creation subsidies under the Additional Jobs Programme for the employment of genuinely additional employees. They can opt to receive a wage subsidy of \$50 per week for 26 weeks or an interest free suspensory loan from the Development Finance Corporation of \$3,000 per qualifying job.

The following conditions apply:

Half loan written off if additional job continues to exist after one year. Other half of loan written off if additional job still exists after two years. If additional job not still in existence at the end of either the first or second year commercial rates of interest will be applicable and the loan will have to be repaid.

4. Future Trends and Developments

The Young Persons Training Programme is being monitored by the Department of Labour to make sure it conforms to the needs of young job seekers. However, the form and scope of the Young Persons Training Programme may be affected as a result of the current deliberations of the Task Force on Youth Training convened by the Government in April 1982, which is expected to report back to the Cabinet in October 1982 on various options for a comprehensive youth training policy.

*** This background material on YPTP was undated and unsourced - it was in the files of the technical institute. However, it was obviously written between April and October 1982 and appeared to have originated in the Department of Labour. This is a detailed description of the mechanics of YPTP as it affected the institute's courses and students and fits with all of the information that I gathered myself pertaining to the Young Persons Training Programme - WJK.

APPENDIX TWO: DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR HEAD OFFICE CIRCULAR
TO LOCAL OFFICES RE THE YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING
PROGRAMME

Vol. 3, Circular No.170, HO 30/6/11 24 April 1979

Head Office (Employment Division)

TO: District Superintendents
Supervising/Senior Employment Officers
District Vocational Counsellors

EMPLOYMENT: YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMME

Background

1. The pre-employment and skills training courses offered under the Special Training Programme have succeeded in assisting young unemployed persons to obtain employment. The average rate of placement into jobs from these courses has approximated 60%, the most successful being skills courses designed to meet known job opportunities in local areas. In many cases, the Special Training Programme has provided young persons with their first certificate of vocational achievement.
2. In view of the expected employment situation and the continued high volume of school leavers forecast in 1979, the Government has decided that the Special Training Programme should be expanded and retitled 'The Young Persons Training Programme', and continued until 31 December 1980.

Aims

3. The aim of YPTP is to provide training for young job-seekers who clearly need some form of vocational training (whether in social or occupational skills) before they can be referred to an employer for placement.
4. The specific needs of job seekers should be identified by Employment Officers and Vocational Counsellors and courses structured to meet those needs. Courses which do not directly meet the needs of job seekers are not to be considered.
5. Courses in vocational skills should be conducted only where there is a realistic prospect of job opportunities in the field in which the training is being offered.
6. Courses are available at the following levels:
 - (a) Pre-employment or social skills
 - (b) Institute-based vocational skills
 - (c) Work-based vocational skills, and job exploration

If necessary, a trainee could progress through the three levels of training in a 'staircase' manner, e.g. English as a second language followed by a Technical Institute workshop skills course; followed by workbased training as a process worker.

Note: Where a trainee is likely to participate in more than one course, each course should be seen and possibly planned as a progression from the one before.

Roles of Associated Organisations in Relation to YPTP

7.

- (i) The initiative in setting up courses lies with the Department of Labour, the Employment Advisory Committees, and the Industry Training Boards operating through Employment Advisory Committees or Special Local Committees.
- (ii) The role of the Technical Institutes, Community Colleges and Senior Technical Divisions of some secondary schools is as a provider of training to meet needs which have been identified by the initiators of the courses. Institutes are not to initiate course proposals although they will be involved in planning details of the course.
- (iii) The roles of Employment Officers and Vocational Counsellors are to:
 - (a) identify those jobseekers requiring training under YPTP.
 - (b) identify the types of training needed.
 - (c) provide counselling where necessary both prior to and during the course.
 - (d) assist where appropriate in planning of detail of course content.
 - (e) select compatible groups for each course in consultation with a representative of the Institute, industry or firm providing the training.
 - (f) participate where appropriate in the training course.
 - (g) liaise with the representative of the training provider during the course.
 - (h) assist in placing course members into employment.

Main Changes

- 8. The main changes to the Special Training Programme are as follows:
 - A. The programme will now be known as the Young Persons Training Programme (YPTP)

B. Pre-Employment Courses

(Details are set out in Appendix 1)

Pre-employment courses will not now require prior approval by the local Employment Advisory Committee or Special Local Committee, but will be run only at the initiative of the Department of Labour which will make the necessary arrangements with the appropriate Technical Institute, Community College, or Senior Technical Division.

Pre-employment courses are only for those who are registered as unemployed.

Note: The Department of Labour has no responsibility for pre-employment programmes for secondary school students. However where staff resources permit advice and help can be provided to these programmes by Vocational Counsellors and Employment Officers if requested by the school authority. All such requests should be dealt with through District Vocational Counsellors.

C. Vocational Skills Training Courses

(Details are set out in Appendix 2)

(i) Work based operator training

A greater emphasis is to be given to workbased machinery and equipment operator training under the YPTP. Such training for both unskilled and semi-skilled operators will use instructors and facilities outside the tertiary education system, making use of the facilities and expertise available in the private sector.

(ii) Involvement of Industry Training Boards

Vocational Skill Training Courses are to be initiated through the

Employment Advisory Committee or Special Local Committee. However, Industry Training Boards may now be involved in SLC initiating courses through an EAC or SLC. Any course proposed by an EAC or SLC must be cleared with the Industry Training Board in those industries which have one. This is to ensure that all vocational skills courses are relevant to local needs and conditions.

- (iii) A Training Allowance will be payable by the Department of Labour to Vocational Skills Training Course participants. Persons in receipt of the Training Allowance will not be considered as being available to take up employment during the training period.

9. Human Rights Commission Act

- (i) In any case where selection for courses will be based on gender, a submission will need to be made to the Human Rights Commission.

Districts are to prepare such submissions justifying the need for a single-sex course. These submissions should be sent to Head Office who will liaise with the Commission. Districts should refer to Vol.3 Circular 159 when writing submissions. No single-sex courses are to commence until approval in terms of the Human Rights Commission Act has been granted by the Commission.

- (ii) When considering the employment capabilities and training needs of young people, every encouragement should be given to females to train for jobs traditionally reserved for males.

10. Monitoring

Districts are to monitor the results of the programmes and report to Head Office as follows:

- (i) End of month returns
- (ii) Monthly narrative reports

- (iii) Final reports of courses
- (iv) Minutes of Committees

11. End of Month Returns

When courses are being run, Districts are to complete the attached end of month return. Appendix 5.

Note:

- (a) Persons on pre-employment courses (including those who are on TEP before the course and students who have enrolled but are still students) are to be counted and analysed as unemployed persons for end of month returns.
- (b) Those people receiving the Training Allowance are to be excluded from returns of registered unemployed persons.

- (i) Monthly Narrative Reports

Districts are to comment in their narrative reports on proposals, progress and problems if any, of the YPTP.

- (ii) Final Reports

A brief final report is to be prepared four weeks after each course has been completed. (See Appendix 7).

- (iii) Minutes of Committees

Districts should continue to forward to Head Office brief minutes of Employment Advisory or Special Local Committees, which set out details of proposed courses.

(iv) Final Evaluation of Programme

To enable the Research and Planning Division to undertake a final evaluation of the programme at a later date, Districts are requested to retain lists of names of those who attended these courses.

12. The following appendices are attached:

[Appendices 1 - 11 Titles = WJK]

13. An explanatory leaflet for industry on Vocational Skills courses is being prepared and will be forwarded to districts.
14. With the introduction of the YPTP the instructions relating to the Special Training Programme set out in Vol.3 Circulars 144 and 157 are now cancelled with the exception of those relating to the setting up of Special Local Committees.

J. Jamieson
for Permanent Head

[There follows a selection of the appendices attached to the circular that seem to be relevant to this thesis - WJK]

APPENDIX 1

DISTRICT OFFICE ACTION

PRE-EMPLOYMENT COURSES

1. Aims

- (i) Pre-employment courses aim to upgrade the job-finding and basic educational/social skills of participants.
- (ii) They will be used mainly for young people with lower educational qualifications, but may also be necessary as job-orientation or job-finding skill programmes for young people with a range of educational qualifications. Such courses will normally include a guidance component and remedial components may also be necessary.
- (iii) It may often be necessary and preferable to place a person at first on a pre-employment course, then follow this with a skills training course, i.e. develop their work skills in a 'staircase' fashion.

2. Duration

- (a) Pre-employment courses may not exceed six weeks of 35 hours per week. Shorter courses should be considered in relation to the needs of proposed participants.
- (b) This limit on course duration is because of the limited finance available for this kind of training. In order to make the best use of resources, courses should be restricted to job-seeking skill training and social development to enable as many people as possible to undertake these courses.

Generally course periods of two - three weeks should be sufficient to provide the necessary support.

3. Establish need for Courses

- (a) Districts are to identify the need for courses by undertaking a review of the employment potential of registered unemployed young persons and those on TEP. Generally this review will result in identification of persons who are having difficulty in retaining or obtaining employment, who are not succeeding in obtaining employment when they apply for vacancies or those who lack confidence or motivation. If possible Vocational Counsellors are to be involved in this review. In most cases the review will require re-interviewing long term enrollees and others with identified problems and may include some counselling work.
- (b) Although courses are now to be initiated and approved by District Superintendents of the Department of Labour, it may be appropriate to obtain the views of the Employment Advisory Committee or Special Local Committee. Industry Training Boards should also be consulted if appropriate.

4. Content of Courses

- (a) Appendix 3 attached indicates a framework for pre-employment courses. This is not however necessarily to be followed rigidly as it is essential that courses meet the particular needs of the participants.
- (b) Planning of courses has to be carried out by the Department of Labour and local continuing education institutions (etc.) over the needs of the identified people. The course is to be planned after the group need has been identified.

5. Approval of Courses

- (a) Pre-employment Courses will be run solely at the initiative of the Department of Labour.
- (b) Approvals of courses (including content) are to be given by the District Superintendent of the Department of Labour.
- (c) The Institute, Community College or Secondary School Technical Division will then establish costing requirements and obtain financial approval from Head Office of the Department of Education. No course may start before this financial approval has been given.

6. Selection of Participants

- (i) Young people who could be successfully placed in normal employment should not be referred to pre-employment courses. Only if normal placement is not possible should training under this programme be considered.
- (ii) Trainees are to be selected by Employment Officers and if possible Vocational Counsellors and a representative from the institute.

Note: It is very important when selecting people for pre-employment courses that they should be fully informed and if necessary counselled by Employment Officers and Vocational Counsellors, e.g. potential participants could meet as a group to discuss the course with an officer who could explain the course content, obligations, etc. Following this they could be given the option to attend. Experience has shown that inadequate preparation of participants is the major reason for course failure.

7. Location

Every consideration should be given to taking the training to the trainees rather than having the trainees travel unreasonable distances.

Note: There is no financial provision which will allow the Department of Labour to meet any expenditure in connection with pre-employment courses (e.g. hire of halls, fare costs, transport, materials, etc.)

8. Payment of Trainees

- (a) Persons attending pre-employment courses will continue to be considered as available to take up employment during training and will be paid or continue to be paid Unemployment Benefit by the Department of Social Welfare if they qualify.
- (b) TEP workers will be granted UB (if they qualify) from the day following the cessation of TEP employment or the day up to which holiday payments have been made.
- (c) For those who qualify for UB but do not qualify for payments at the maximum rate, the Department of Social Welfare will, on representation, review the rate of benefit.
- (d) A Rehabilitation Allowance will be granted by the Department of Social Welfare to those trainees under 16 years of age.
- (e) The Department of Social Welfare is to be advised of all pre-employment course participants to ensure the continuity of UB payments. In addition any cases of misconduct, absences or termination should be passed on to the Department of Social Welfare.

9. Attendance

- (i) Acceptance of a place in a pre-employment course is voluntary.

However, once on a course, trainees are obliged to comply with the standards of behaviour and attendance required by the tutor or institute. The institute can terminate course participation for misconduct or unreasonable absence.

- (ii) Up to five days absence for reasons of sickness or accident are to be allowed. In cases of bereavement the normal Public Service Manual provisions can be applied. For absences involving sickness or accident extending longer than five days, a sickness benefit will be granted (where the person qualifies) by the Department of Social Welfare in substitution for the UB. The Department of Labour is to ensure that the Department of Social Welfare is kept informed on all cases where benefit arrangements made require alteration. Certificates may be requested to support absences.

10. Placement

Employment at the end of a course is not to be guaranteed, but successful placement should be aimed at wherever possible. Employment Officers should actively assist trainees in placement. Where normal employment is not possible, Employment Officers should take advantage of job creation programmes.

Note: Normal placement priorities apply.

11. Status of Trainees

Those attending pre-employment courses will continue to be registered as unemployed and therefore will be considered as available to take up employment during training. They will be included in statistics of registered unemployed.

12. Advice to EAC'S/Local Committees

Districts are to regularly advise EAC's/Local Committees of details of pre-employment courses.

APPENDIX 2A

DISTRICT OFFICE ACTION

VOCATIONAL SKILLS COURSES – GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. Aims

Vocational Skills Training Courses aim to provide registered unemployed persons with training in specific and general skills. 'Staircase' training may be an effective way to develop work skills, i.e. one Skills Training Course may lead to further courses where appropriate.

2. General Provisions

- (i) Courses must be at a sub-apprenticeship level (i.e. course content must not involve trade training covered by the Apprentices Act.)
- (ii) No vocational skills course may be longer than twenty weeks. Even courses of this length should only be used when justified. A trainee may move from one course on to others if skills are being progressively developed. Back to back courses of unrelated skills should not be considered.

3. Types of Courses

There are two main types of courses offered under Skills Training:

- A. Institute-based training, and
- B. Industry or work-based training. Details are given in Appendix 2(b) and (c) respectively.

4. Establishing need for courses

- (a) Districts are to identify the need for courses by undertaking a review of the employment prospects of registered unemployed young persons and those on TEP. Priority attention should be given to those registered for the greatest length of time. This review is to be a continuous exercise throughout the year.
- (b) EAC's/Special Local Committees will continue to advise, approve or recommend on Vocational Skills Training Courses but must consult with the relevant Industry Training Boards where there is one to establish the necessity and the local employment opportunities for training in a particular skill. ITB's may initiate courses through the EAC's.
- (c) Courses are to be based around the needs of those registered, and courses are not to be set up before these needs have been identified.
- (d) Courses should only be conducted where there is a realistic prospect of job opportunities being available in the field in which training is being offered.

5. Selection of Trainees

- (a) Districts are to refer young people who clearly need some form of vocational training before they can be referred to an employer for placement.
- (b) Young people who can be placed successfully in normal full-time employment should not be referred to training courses. If normal employment is not possible then training under the YPTP should be considered only if this will enhance placement prospects.
- (c) In some cases it may be appropriate to refer persons who have

completed a pre-employment course to a skills training course, to increase their work skills in step-wise fashion.

- (d) Eligibility has been broadened to include any person nominated by an employing authority entitled to engage workers under the TEP who will subsequently be engaged in supervising the activities of work groups.
- (e) Trainees are to be selected by Employment Officers and Vocational Counsellors (if available) in consultation with course organisers. Vocational Counsellors are to be invited to participate in any counselling of trainees which may be required during courses.

6. Trainee Payment

(Details will be given in a Vol.2 Circular to be issued shortly.)

- (a) Trainees will now be paid a Training Allowance by the Department of Labour instead of the UB or Rehabilitation Allowance by the Department of Social Welfare.
- (b) They are not to be regarded as being available for work while training and are therefore not eligible for UB, nor to be included in the statistics of registered unemployed.

The allowance which is as follows is not subject to PAYE taxation

Junior rate (under 20 years)	\$38 p.w
Adult rate (20 years and over)	\$49 p.w.

7. Trainees to be regarded as 'in suspense'

- (a) Persons in receipt of the Training Allowance will be considered not to be available to take up employment during a course of training. This

will ensure that trainees are given every opportunity to complete courses.

- (b) Trainees are, however, free to leave a course to take up employment obtained by their own efforts. Trainees who voluntarily leave or are terminated for irregular attendance, etc., from the course are to be lapsed and must re-enrol if they require further employment assistance from the Department of Labour.

8. Attendance

- (a) No person who is eligible to attend a training course is obliged to accept a place offered on a course.
- (b) However, once a person has accepted a place, he is obliged to attend unless he takes up employment. Failure to attend may result in a pro-rata reduction of the Training Allowance.
- (c) Daily attendance record requirements are detailed in the notes on the two course types.
- (d) Up to five days absence for reasons for sickness or accident are to be allowed. In cases of bereavement the normal Public Service Manual provisions can be applied. For absences involving sickness or accident extending longer than five days a sickness benefit will be granted (where the person qualifies) by the Department of Social Welfare in substitution for the Training Allowance.

9. Placement

Employment at the end of the course is not to be guaranteed, but successful placement should be aimed at wherever possible. Employment Officers are to actively assist people into employment. If normal employment is not possible full use should be made of job creation programmes. (Normal

placement priorities should apply.)

10. Transition from Special Training Programme to the YPT Programme

Payment of Training Allowance:

To ease transition between the two programmes, all trainees on skills training courses at 1 June 1979 should be transferred to YPTP and paid the Training Allowance after that date.

APPENDIX 2b

VOCATIONAL SKILLS COURSES

Institute-based Training

1. Background

These are courses run through a continuing education institute (i.e. Technical Institute, a Community College or a Senior Technical Division of a secondary school). They use the staffing and facilities of the institution but need not be run on the premises (e.g. agricultural courses).

Note: Vocational Skills Courses run by institutes (etc.) should be limited to training which cannot be provided under the Work-based Operator Training (e.g. typing courses, group leaders for work co-operatives, workshop skills, etc.) and to those cases where the special skills of tutors and existing facilities or equipment justify the use of the institution.

2. Content

Courses may provide training in specific skills or general skills:

- Specific Skills Courses may train for a particular occupation or range of occupations, and may be very short (a few days).
- General Skills Courses are more directed to training in basic skills over a range of tasks and are likely to be of greater duration. Appendix 4 lists examples of these types of skills training courses.

3. Approvals

- (i) The EAC or Special Local Committee approve a course only after:
 - it is established that there is a clearly identified need for a course (see appendix 2 (a), para 4), and
 - the course has been cleared with the Industry Training Board for those industries which have one.
- (ii) Before the Institute can make an application to Head Office (Education), the content of courses must be approved by the Employment Advisory Committee.
- (iii) The Institute (etc.) will submit an application to the Head Office of the Department of Education for financial approval. A course may not start until this approval has been given.

4. Attendance Records

The attendance sheet or record must be kept by tutors running institute-based courses. This record must be submitted to the local office of the Department of Labour each week in order that training allowances can be calculated. (It may be simpler if the tutor provided a record of absences.)

It is important that reasons for absences be included with this record. Detailed procedures will be set out in the Vol.2 Accounts Circular on this programme.

5. Method of Trainee Payment

The Accounts Section of the Department of Labour will calculate the amount of Training Allowance to be paid to each trainee. Payment will be made by cheque. An Employment Officer will call at the Institute weekly and deliver cheques to participants. Detailed procedures will be set out in the Vol.2 Accounts Circular on this programme.

6. Final Report

Districts are to prepare a final report on each course on the form provided. (Appendix 7). This is to be returned to Head Office. Please ensure that details of course costs are provided.

APPENDIX 2c

VOCATIONAL SKILLS COURSES

WORK-BASED OPERATOR TRAINING

1. Background

- (i) Emphasis is to be given under the YPTP to work-based machinery and equipment operator training in industry, commerce and agriculture.

Work-based training involves the training of young people (say under

25 years of age) in the work-place (as opposed to a continuing education institution). The training may be directly on the job or using the training facilities already existing within industry.

- (ii) Such training is expected to utilize instructors and facilities outside the tertiary education system, thereby making better use of the facilities and expertise available in the private sector.

2. Procedure

(A) Setting Up a Course

- (i) Proposals for courses can originate from EAC's, Special Local Committees, or from firms, with the involvement and advice from the appropriate Industry Training Board where one exists.
- (ii) A signed application form from the firm or organisation offering training facilities is required (Appendix 8).
- (iii) Consideration of each proposal will be given by the EAC or SLC based on:
 - (a) Whether the course will meet the identified needs of registered job seekers who are not equipped with work skills which could make them employable, and whose employability would benefit from the training proposed.
 - (b) Whether there is a realistic prospect of related employment being available at the end of the training.

(B) Approvals

- (i) Apart from short duration 'job exploration training' (see below)

which is approved by the Department of Labour District Superintendent, course proposals with Committee recommendation and an estimate of costs are to be sent to the Head Office of the Department of Labour which will then issue financial approval for the course.

Note: This differs from Institute Based Vocational Skills Courses.

- (ii) No courses are to begin until financial approval has been obtained.

3. Selection of Trainees

Trainees will be selected from those young people:

- (i) who are registered for unemployment
- (ii) who cannot be placed into employment
- (iii) who are not equipped with any work skills which make them readily employable, and
- (iv) who would clearly benefit from the type of training proposed.

Selection will be made by Employment Officers and Vocational Counsellors (if possible) and a representative of the organisation or firm providing the training. In some circumstances ITB staff may also be involved in the selection process.

4. Claims

Firms are to be asked to lodge claims for reimbursement of training costs on a regular basis (e.g. monthly claims) with the District Offices of the Department of Labour which will, after checking and certification, arrange for payment through Treasury. Details will be set out in the Vol.2 Circular yet to be issued.

5. Eligible Firms

- (i) All industries and firms are eligible to take part in the programme provided that training can be provided in one of the ways detailed in para. 7 below.
- (ii) Courses can be arranged in the farming industry, providing that the conditions of the scheme can be met. Potential farm cadets waiting to take up a cadetship who are registered as unemployed may be referred to these courses so long as their employment prospects will be enhanced.
- (iii) Government Departments may also participate where workshop or other facilities are not being fully utilised.

6. Obligations on Firm or Organisation Providing Training

- (i) All training places created under this programme must be additional to normal establishment. The programme is not intended to subsidise or substitute for the normal training needs of an enterprise. Training places must not have been created by the direct or indirect discharge of staff or non-replacement of staff so as to make facilities available under this programme.
- (ii) The trainee is to be involved in training (job exploration courses included) only for the standard hours of work in the industry concerned.
- (iii) Variations to the types of courses (in 7 below) are not permitted once a commitment has been made to provide training unless this is cleared through the Committee and Head Office.

7. Types of Courses

- (a) Two types of courses within work-based training are to be utilised:

- (i) Job exploration training (see para 8)
- (ii) Instructor-supervised training with or without equipment (see para 9 below).

(b) Payments to Course Participants

In each case the Department of Labour will pay course participants a training allowance (see Appendix 2a para 6). Details of procedure for attendance records, deductions and payment will be outlined in a Vol.2 Circular yet to be issued.

(c) Attendance Records

The attendance sheet or records must be kept by Instructors/Supervisors responsible for work-based operator training courses. This record must be submitted to the local office of the Department of Labour each week in order that training allowances can be calculated.

(d) Absences

Refer to Appendix 2(a) para 8(d).

(e) Liaison between firm or organisation instructor and Department of Labour

Close liaison is to be maintained. In particular the Instructor or Supervisor should be encouraged to report problem situations including cases of absence or unsuitability to the Department of Labour. Each such case is to be followed up and appropriate action (termination, transfer, pro-rata deduction of allowance, counselling, etc.) taken by the Department.

(f) Additional Costs

No additional claims for expenses (boots, overalls, tools, etc.) will be

met under any circumstances.

8. Job Exploration Training

(a) It is considered that some of the young persons registered for employment may well have little or no idea of opportunities available in various enterprises and this type of training will enable these persons to avail themselves of the opportunity to experience the work environment under a formal programme.

(b) Duration

This training will be for a maximum period of three weeks after which time the firm or organisation must decide whether or not to employ the trainee. The AJP and FES programmes can be used in appropriate situations to support placement.

(c) Approval

Approval is restricted to the District Superintendent of the Department of Labour. As a matter of protocol the union representative at each place of work is to be informed of the proposal and his/her views taken into account when the District Superintendent considers each case.

(d) While trainees will be paid training allowances (appendix 2(a) para 6) the firm will receive no payments for materials, overheads, supervision, etc. whatsoever.

(e) There is no obligation on the part of either the firm to offer employment at the completion of training or for the trainee to accept any offer which might be forthcoming.

9. Instructor/Supervisor provided with or without equipment

- (a) Firms or organisations who participate in this programme can be re-imbursed for costs on one of the following bases:
- (i) Instructor/Supervisor provided fulltime - \$24 per trainee week
 - (ii) Instructor/Supervisor provided fulltime, together with use of light equipment - \$28 per trainee week
 - (iii) Instructor/Supervisor provided fulltime, together with use of heavy or expensive equipment - \$32 per trainee week.

Instructions on payments of these training costs will be set out in detail in the Vol.2 Circular yet to be issued.

(b) Duration See appendix 2(a) para 2(ii).

(c) Approvals See above para 2 (B).

(d) Certificates

It would be helpful if each participating firm or organisation were to provide each trainee who completes this type of course with a written record outlining the training given. Approaches to this end should be made to participating firms/organisations.

(e) Course Programmes

This type of course requires a detailed training programme based on the employment needs of the participating trainees. Once agreed the training programme should not be changed unless there are exceptional circumstances. If a major change in the training programme is contemplated Committee and Head Office approval is to be obtained.

10. Safety Health and Welfare Provisions

- (i) Trainees are entitled to same conditions affecting safety, health and welfare as employees in the particular industry enjoy in terms of statutory minima.
- (ii) Having regard to these terms particular attention should be paid to the following aspects:
 - (a) **Facilities:** Sanitary convenience, washing facilities, mealrooms, clothing, accommodation, etc. must be sufficient and suitable to accommodate trainees and normal staff without exceeding normal standards in terms of size and members using them.
 - (b) **Environmental conditions:** Heating, lighting, ventilation, personal protective equipment, noise control, air space, access/egress and all other statutory provisions applicable to employees should be equally complied with in relation to trainees.
 - (c) **Machinery Safety:** Trainees must be told about the dangers of machinery they may be required to work at or with and instructed in the precautions to be taken. They must also be properly trained in operation of the machinery by a person thoroughly familiar with its correct use. In addition the usual requirements of the Machinery Act relating to safe use and guarding of prime movers transmission machinery and dangerous parts of machinery must be met by the owner.
 - (d) In summary then the conditions of employment applicable to employees should also be applied to trainees except for payment of wages.

(iii) Age limitations

No trainee should be placed in an industry or commercial situation where he or she would not be permitted by law if an employee. An outline of age restrictions is as follows:

(a) Factories Act

- (i) No person under 15 years to work in a factory.
 - (ii) No person under 16 years to work in a factory unless a Certificate of Fitness is obtained from the inspector.
 - (iii) See also S.38 of F.A.46 (Factories Act 1946) restricting employment of young persons in certain health risk processes.
 - (iv) See also S.19 of F.A.46 prohibiting nightwork.
- (b) For the purposes of YPTP districts are to ensure that no person under the age of 16 years is included in work-based operator training in a factory situation.

Head Office will investigate the possibility of payment of medical expense in relation to Certificates of Fitness to enable young persons between ages of 15 and 16 years to be included in factory based courses sometime in the future.

(iv) Shops and Office Act 1955

- (i) If under 16 years, may not be employed before 7am and no assistant under 18 years may be employed after 10.30pm.
- (ii) No assistant under 18 years is to be employed in a restaurant

before 5am or after 10.30pm.

(v) Agricultural Workers Act 1977

No trainee under 15 years is permitted to work when they should be at school.

(vi) Machinery Act 1950

Section 12 prohibits employment of persons under 15 to use machinery, and cleaning of machinery by those under 18. There are also certain classes of machinery which may not be used by persons under 18.

(vii) In simple terms trainees, apart from remuneration, should be subject to the same statutory standards as persons who are employees and the Department has an obligation in approving such schemes to satisfy itself that these criteria are met.

(viii) Consultation with the Factory Inspectorate is necessary to ensure compliance with the statutory provisions mentioned above.

APPENDIX 3

PRE-EMPLOYMENT COURSES - SUGGESTED CONTENT

TOPIC

Self Presentation

- health, grooming, deportment, speech, interview and telephone technique.

Self-Knowledge

- Counselling, assessment, confidence building, values clarification, realistic goal setting.

Self-Preservation

- Nutrition and food preparation, budgetting, sensible purchasing, home safety, minor household repairs, childcare.

Citizenship

- Human relations, liberal studies, social responsibility, e.g. defensive driving, first aid, environment protection, community work.

Self-Improvement

- Remedial reading, communications, English, remedial maths and calculators, problem solving, information sources, useful hobbies/skills (e.g. mending, driving, typing, first aid, telephone usage), other recreational activities including sport.

Employment

- Job finding techniques and practice, understanding of basic clerical, retail, workshop, stores or construction operation and working conditions, local and distant job opportunities, trade union membership, keeping a job.
-

APPENDIX 4EXAMPLES OF VOCATIONAL SKILLS TRAINING COURSES

These are suggestions only:

CLERICAL

Office Procedure

Clerk/Typist

Typists

SALES

Electrical Warehouse Storemen

Clerical/Retail

Shop Assistants

SERVICE

Waiting

Reception

Childcare and Home Management

Community Servicing Techniques

AGRICULTURE

Farm Orientation

Farm Skills

Forest and Bush Skills

Fencing

Shearing

Shed Hands

Pruning

LABOURERS

General Labouring Skills
Introduction to the Building Trades
Basic Carpentry
Scaffolding
Painting
Minor Household Repairs

TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT OPERATORS

Driving (HT)

PRODUCTION

Basic Engineering
Welding
Butchery
Knife hands
Craft Production
Carving
Apparel

SUPERVISORSOTHERS

English as a Second Language
Computer related courses e.g. magnetic tape preparers, key punch operators,
computer operators.

APPENDIX THREE: A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF YFTP

The following are one week's verbatim field notes which provide both a sample of the way in which field notes were taken and a picture of the day-to-day lives of the students on the courses. The only reconstruction that has taken place is that student names are pseudonyms and the tutors are not identified by name. A week beginning Friday and ending Thursday has been used because the last Friday of this week was the last day of the course for the Receptionist and Typing Skills Course. This last day was always atypical in that the students did little formal work and basically spent the morning waiting to receive their certificates of attendance at the course and saying their goodbyes. They usually went out to a pub with tutors for a farewell lunch which lasted most of the afternoon. It is evident from these field notes that the last few days of a course were tense, anxious and sad for the students - inevitably both students and tutors would be in tears on the last day of the course - the students because they were leaving the security and status of having a structured day that approximated 'work' and were also leaving a close-knit group of companions; the tutors because this was the day when they really had to confront the realities of the students' lives, their probable continued unemployment, their vulnerability and the fact that the courses had not done much to change their original circumstances.

FRIDAY:

8.30am - Room 17. Tutor B, Receptionist skills (role play). Jenny and Harriet are absent. Katie complains about having this tutor all morning - says she hates it because she cannot talk all morning. However, there is no time for me to question her further at this stage. She seems to be unable to say exactly why she does not like this tutor. Maryjane says 'You don't have to take any notice of the tutor because it's not school', but Katie says she does not want to end up in a difficult situation. The students role play the difficulties that a receptionist might face.

Katie plays the role of receptionist and is judged for her performance by the class. The tutor says 'Did you notice that she said one word which could have been changed?'. Blank looks from the students. Katie whispers behind her hand so that the class can see - 'Okay!'. One of the other students says out loud 'Okay' - everyone giggles, but the tutor thinks it's because of the word not because of Katie telling them. This makes them all giggle more. Apart from Penny, Harriet and Judy, all of the students are always well dressed (those three are neat and tidy, but not expensively or smartly dressed as the others tend to be). Jane has inexpensive but 'turned on' clothes - same with Katie. Mary leaves feeling ill after half an hour. Maryjane manages to muddle things up quite deliberately during the role play which creates confusion. However, she asks to be the receptionist next time which is unusual. She does not like participating actively in the class. She puts her chewing gum under the receptionist desk 'for later on'. The tutor suggests not using words such as 'okay' or 'hi' - Katie objects to this as she says you don't have to be too formal nowadays. The tutor, however, steamrollers over this objection. She stops the students from talking constantly - this is a much more formal classroom atmosphere than the other classes, but she is pleasant and unruffled. Maryjane pointedly asks what the time is, is told that it is ten, and the class disintegrates into chatter. The tutor is obviously disappointed that they are unwilling to give up their morning tea to continue with receptionist skills. I think that this is the problem - she expects a particular set of office attitudes from them and, in the main, they are not willing to conform. The role play situations that they were given were sexist and hierarchical - i.e. they represented the real world and the differentiations between male boss and female worker were very much reinforced. Katie found a flea and was horrified!

10.30am - Harriet and Jill went to the Labour Department during the break and saw a job advertised for a machinist in High Street. They went to look at this, but didn't take it as they had to guarantee to stay there for three years - were not sure if they would have had to sign a contract or not.

11am - Tutor B walks into Room 17 very upset - she has had a run-in with Katie. The gist of the matter is that she has sent the students into town to gather

material for the itinerary they are working out, but, before they left she told them that they were not to 'fluff around town or pull the wool over her eyes'; that they have to do the work. The students objected angrily to her saying this, but she feels quite strongly about it. She tells me that she 'does all this work for them and they don't appreciate it' and, if they don't want to be employed, that is their decision but really not her concern. Obviously they just come to the classes to get the extra money. She says that she does a lot of work outside of paid hours and feels that this effort is wasted on these students. She says this in front of two of the students (Penny and Judy) who are actually working hard on the project and are obviously upset by her comments. Katie came in shortly after and whispered to me that she had had a set-to with the tutor and gave me the other side of the story. She was upset that the tutor had treated them as 'unemployed, as kids' and felt that she had no right to do this. The students spent the next hour working in groups of two or three on the itinerary. The tutor thinks they should do most of this work in their own time because 'they have plenty of spare time' - the students really object to this attitude. I tell this tutor about Tutor A's theory that Government includes voluntary input in its budgetting for tutoring, and knows that these people won't give up the work, but she is not too keen on this theory. However, when I asked her would she consider only doing the paid part of her job, she instantly said no, that there was no way she could operate effectively if she didn't put in the extra preparation and marking time. Also she has to prepare resources totally from scratch - these are not provided. Felt that some of the tutors only did the work they were paid to do and criticised this. She puts in a lot of individual attention with students where possible. Harriet and Jill both applied for a Dental Receptionist job last night - there were so many applicants that the employer just took notes and will let people know about interviews later. Judy has a second interview for a bank job on Monday, which is very hopeful and she has also applied for a job at the Council. Penny and Judy finished their itinerary and were excited about this. They want to leave at 11.45 because they have finished, but the tutor will not let them. She says it is too early. In the end she sends them off to the AA to get a book they need (but the AA will not lend it to them). She spends a lot of time with Linda and Tina trying to help them. Tina says that the tutor is giving them too much help and that they must be 'really thick' - the tutor says no, it is just help to get

started so that they would know what to do. They are very confused.

1pm - The Student Health Nurse talks on contraception and family planning. Difficult to know what the students think about this as there is really no time for questions. However, they were extremely interested in what goes on in hospital when babies are born, what happens to the woman, rather than contraception.

2pm - Room 16, video viewing room. The tutor shows them two films from 'Mighty Micro' series. Most of the students are interested. Not much time for talk at the end, but several students are depressed about the future, don't want children, talked about having to retrain for jobs, but there was very little response to the film. Katie and Gay particularly upset about the idea of total computer identification - Katie because then the cops would know all about you and that's unfair; Gay because everyone will be the same, loss of individual identity. None of them, including the social and life skills tutor, questions the basis of new technology. All accept it as a given, on a taken-for-granted level. No-one brings up the question of what social processes cause technological revolution nor what follows from it. The television narrator's world-view is accepted totally. The only real drawbacks he pointed out were possible loss of jobs and easy identification and these were the only points that the class considered. Further films from the series will be shown later.

3.40pm - Payday. We are really just waiting for the pay - the students can go home after they have been paid. The pay is late and the students get very restless. (The pay is late almost every week which means that some students either miss out on their pay for the weekend or miss their bus home at 4pm.) Finally at 4pm, two women arrive from the Department of Labour. They look really put out at having to do this work and are rude to both the girls and the tutors. The younger of the two, who I don't think has been here before, whispers to the other one about each of the girls as they come up for their pay. The tensions for these students trying to retain some self-respect in this situation are obvious. Tina wants to collect Linda's pay and is upset when she cannot as 'Linda wants to go shopping later' - Linda is away supposedly ill!

Two ex-students (women) arrive at 4.10pm – they are very rough compared with the Receptionist and Typing women. One works as a leading hand at a Salvation Army Work Scheme. She has been there for six months and is 'going up north for a while', plans to come back to her present job. The other is a delicate small Maori girl who is working in a Kindergarten. She had been on a Childcare course at the institute last year and talked about several of the girls out of that course who have childcare jobs at present. They just talked with Tutor A about what they are doing.

Tutor A shows me her new course outline for a Community Services course which she hopes to get approved. She is excited about it – will run for eighteen weeks. I ask her if her aim is to run any course so as to get kids into something or if she actually sees jobs being available for kids from that course. She says that this is a serious conflict for her – they must be taught skills and she wants to teach them skills, but at the same time she knows there are not going to be any jobs for them. All she can do is just keep plugging on and give them what she thinks they need.

MONDAY:

Receptionist and Typing course – Room 17; class officially begins at 8.30am.

8.45 – Present Judy and Lucy. Tutor A (a social and life skills tutor) goes out to call in Tina, Linda and Mary. Penny turns up ten minutes later. Jill turns up twenty minutes later. There is a list of names on the blackboard of various famous people. Linda: 'Oh, I feel sick. I want to go home. I'm thick!' Tutor A: 'Don't be silly, Linda. When I think you're thick, I will tell you you're thick!' Linda: 'But I am!' Later, Linda says 'Oh, I've got such a headache!' Tutor A: 'Chop your head off'. There is a row of tiny children's feet, with bruises and blisters all over them and in jandals, lined up under the desks. Linda: 'What's this we're doing?' Tutor A: 'General Knowledge'. Linda: 'Do we have to do it?' Tutor A: 'Yes'. Linda: Why? Why do we have to do that?' Tutor A: 'One of the

things that make people attracted to you is a wide, a good, general knowledge.' Linda and Tina walk out after half an hour with a muttered excuse - it is obvious that Linda has been aiming at leaving through the whole of the class time. Judy asks about her money - she is going back on the dole next week when the course is finished. Tutor A says that she must fill out the form, and then there is a stand down period of eight days, after which she will get paid the dole. This means that they don't get any money for two weeks after the end of the course and then they only get one week's unemployment benefit. [In fact, during the whole of 1982, no matter what the official stand down period was, the students consistently missed out on two weeks' unemployment benefit after the end of the course. Sometimes the time period was even longer. This was a disincentive to students coming onto the courses.] Linda and Tina return. The students work steadily on the list until 9.45 when they are given a list of 'Where is ...' and 'What is ...' to do. Judy: 'I hope it's not going to be another ten weeks without a job - it will drive me mad!' Tutor A: 'I hope so too'. Harriet arrives about 9.45 having obviously arrived back on the bus from a weekend trip. Linda and Tina take off again.

10am - Morning tea with Tutor A in the staffroom. She says that the courses are immoral in that they are dishonest - they offer the students something (skills to get a job), but don't come up with the goods. She feels they should say that they are 'support' courses to show people how to cope with their situation, rather than be promoted as skills courses. I ask her again why she keeps on being a tutor on the courses if that is how she feels. She says that part of it is her commitment to those kids who she sees as being powerless. If she can give them some idea of how the system works, some skills for using to their advantage, some means of working together as a group, perhaps she will be accomplishing something. Sees this as better for her than leaving them to their own devices, but also sees this as a particularly middleclass solution which, in fact, supports the system by dampening revolution. Says that things will only change for these kids if things get so bad that they can no longer bear it without doing something and that will only really come when the economic situation gets so bad that half of the children of the middleclasses are also unemployed. So really she sees the turning point as being when the middleclass sees its allegiances as being tied to

the working class rather than to the bosses (c.f. Poulantzas). She says that my thesis is important in that other people (such as other technical institute YPTP tutors) will read it and perhaps do something as a group from it. Asked her about meeting between Tutor B (work skills tutor) and Maryjane (student) over the incident where Maryjane was 'expelled' from class for swearing - she says that everything went off well; Maryjane almost had Tutor B in tears by saying that she would not have liked her own mother to have heard such language and by apologising for the words she used (although not for having said them); all is well now. Tutor A says that Maryjane pulled out all her acting skills during the meeting.

10.30 - Typing class with work skills tutor - Green Street site. Jill, Judy, Tina, Linda, Harriet and Penny present. Squeezing and stretching for typed mistakes. Squeezing = go back to last letter; tap space bar; tap and hold space bar; type letter -do this till the end of the word. Can only be done with word that is one letter more than the mistaken word - e.g. 'four' into 'seven'. The tutor has them doing speed tests, stretching and squeezing and memos. Linda and Tina find the memos very difficult to understand and do, but a lot of the difficulty centres on the fact that they don't want to do it - they literally don't listen to the tutor when she explains very clearly and carefully what is required. She repeats this three times and finally, when they still don't get it right, she goes over and shows them how to do it (which is obviously what they wanted - someone to do it for them). The tutor has to work really hard with them on this. All of the students are looking tired and depressed this morning, but Linda and Tina not as much as the others. The tutor spends virtually the whole of the hour and a half until lunch with Linda and Tina on a one-to-one basis while the other students practice the exercises at various levels of competency.

12 noon - Lunch in the staffroom. Tutor A and Tutor C discuss the course because Tutor C (a work skills tutor) is angry with the students and has decided to tell them off in the afternoon. She is upset with their behaviour on a trip to the Army base. She claims that they just treated it like a picnic - yet she says herself that it was not very interesting. She is also upset with their behaviour in general - lack of punctuality, absences, rowdiness, apathy, etc. As well, she is

angry that one of the students has turned down a job that he was offered in a restaurant. The tutors argue in a way that outlines their very differing philosophies and differing aims for the course. Tutor C claims that the students are not really interested in work and will never get jobs, that they should be forced to attend and work on the course or get out. She is wasting her time with them. Tutor A asks why should they set themselves up only to be let down by employers (referring to the fact that the students did not want to try out for four days at a local restaurant as Kitchen hands). She says that Tutor C expects them to take major risks with their self-esteem and dignity both of which are fragile enough already. Tutor C says that that is part of life, of the system, and, if they cannot take it, then they should not be in her course.

1pm - Foodhandling course. Tutor C gives the group a pep-talk because she is angry at (a) their general slackness about punctuality and absences and (b) about the fact that one of the students turned down a job as a Kitchen-hand that he was offered. 'You don't want a job at all - I am wasting my time here trying to get you a job.' It is very like being in school - she talks for half an hour about loyalty, hard work, discipline; gives them a lecture on the responsibilities of the students towards employers, the course and herself and how she expects them to pull their socks up or get off the course. 'I don't know why you are here or whether you really want a job the way you carry on.' The students don't say much during this time. She demands to know why they are on the course and is upset that none of them say that they are there to get a job - they give answers that mostly include 'I don't know' or 'To learn'. She expresses her disappointment at these answers and emphasises that she expects them to treat the course like a job and that, if they cannot do that, they will never get a real job.

1.30pm - Tutor A comes into the class to talk with the students. She takes a completely different line from Tutor C. She tries to get them to work out what is wrong for themselves, why they are unhappy, to express their feelings about each other, the tutors and the course. Each student is given a reasonable amount of time without interruption to do this. She emphasises self-responsibility - each individual is responsible for his or her own choices - and group responsibility towards each other. The class talks quietly about their problems and confusions.

They are unhappy about the lack of extension – they feel that they are treated like babies; and they complain especially about one of the tutors and also about not being made to be punctual and present and quiet. Tutor A works very hard to try to get them to see that the solution to the problem is in their hands – only they can decide whether or not they are going to be punctual, etc., no-one else can do it for them. They don't really understand this point of view at all – they understand Tutor C's points much better even though she alienates them by telling them what she thinks about them. I talk with Kathy and Rick later in the Kitchen and they are really concerned that the ones who do turn up on time and are always there and do the work are being lumped in with those who don't – they feel that this is very unfair. Susie and Deidre go off to the restaurant (the one with the four-day trial period) to apply for the Kitchen-hand work.

2.30pm – The Student Health Nurse comes in to talk about Personal Health – this class should have started at 2pm, so she has sat in on much of Tutor A's discussion with the students. By this stage the students are not really ready to learn anything – they have a break, but don't settle down again. The Nurse asks them what they eat and how they sleep. Most of them don't sleep well or regularly, nor do they eat three square meals a day or reasonably healthy food – the lists of food included predominantly hamburgers, chippies, cream buns, twisties and bread.

3.30pm – Typing and Receptionist course. Tutor D (a social and life skills tutor) reads extracts to the class from Your Erroneous Zones by Dwyer. Initially only two students (Katie and Penny) are present, then ten minutes later Judy, Jill and Harriet arrive. Half an hour later, Linda and Tina arrive; they leave after three minutes. We all stay on until 4.30pm discussing the concept of 'choice' in children's lives and liberal concepts of childrearing. The students that are present are very interested in Dwyer's ideas and want Tutor D to continue reading from the book in a future class.

TUESDAY:

8.30 - 10.30 - other work.

10.30am - I arrive at the technical institute to be with the Receptionist and Typing class. The class does not appear to exist. I ask Tutor A where they are and she asks me to go down to Room 6 to distract Tutor C from talking, as Tutor E wants to show a film and Tutor C won't shut up. However, when I arrive there, Tutor C is not present - there are only a few, disgruntled-looking Foodhandling students. I see Tutor E (a social and life skills tutor) who says she's going to have a cup of tea so we go to the staffroom. She says that she and Tutor C were supposed to be showing a film at 10.15, but Tutor C has not shown up and neither have the two courses of students. At 10.45am, we go to Room 9 - there are still only four students (Susie, Lily, Margaret and Norena) who say that they are very pissed off with everything being so disorganised. They feel that the tutors should just carry on teaching whether there are students there or not. We go off to the cafeteria classroom [cafe] where most of the Foodhandling students, plus Harriet, Judy and Penny from Receptionist and Typing, are. The latter three students are reluctantly in the cafe with the Foodhandlers - they are very angry and ready to leave because none of the other Receptionist and Typing students have turned up. They feel this is unfair, especially as the others won't get their pay docked for it. They spend some time muttering about what to do and then take off to Tutor A's office. However, they do turn up after a short while for the film Getting What you Want in Room 2. A lot of mucking about in Room 2 trying to get the film going - takes another twenty-five minutes. Comments on the film: 'That was a stupid film. It was so short and so old'. It was a very old-fashioned film with some relevant ideas about going for a job. The students do not seem to identify with it at all and find the whole thing pretty boring. There are another two films - one on firefighting in Kitchens, one on serving food; both 1950's and the students waver between finding them amusing and boring. Maryjane arrives at 11am and Katie arrives at 11.45.

12 noon - lunch in the staffroom. A discussion with Tutor C and the Head of Department. The tutor asks the HOD what he sees as the aims of the course.

HOD: 'The official aims are to provide students with skills that will give them a better opportunity of gaining employment'. Tutor C looks pleased. I ask the HOD what the unofficial aims are - he says that they are to develop confidence in the students so that they can understand and cope with the system and be able to handle not having a job. Tutor C suggests that this might provide conflicts in the ways the courses are run and the HOD agrees. Tutor C then goes into details about her dissatisfactions with the way the course is being run in the afternoons [the social and life skills components], the confusions about discipline that this is causing for the students as she sees them. The HOD looks surprised. He says that he is glad that Tutor C has mentioned this as it fits in with what Tutor B (another work skills tutor) has said. Tutor looks vindicated that both she and Tutor B (that is, 'the ones who have experience in industry' as against Tutors A, D and E) are the ones who feel this failure in the course to provide enough discipline. I suggest that perhaps they should have more tutor meetings (or at least have one!) to discuss this and both Tutor C and the HOD agree and will try to organise this. Tutor C feels that the social and life skills tutors are out of touch with the realities of industry. I ask Tutor C how she sees the students' physical conditions, e.g. homelessness and bad diet, affecting the way they act in class. Her response is that most of them live at home, therefore they must be getting three square meals a day. The Student Health Nurse disagrees violently with this statement, but Tutor C ignores her.

1pm - Receptionist and Typing course. Jill, Judy, Harriet, Katie, Penny and Maryjane in the cafe with the Foodhandlers. However, none of these students, except Maryjane, wants to be with the Foodhandling students. They seem to resent being lumped together with Foodhandlers, but I am not sure why (lower status? general inter-group hostility? just being with different people?). Katie: 'Why do we have to be with those Foodhandling students?' Tutor A arrives and sends them off to an art exhibition at a shop in town as an alternative until 2pm. Tutor D takes the Foodhandling group for maths using calculators. All the students work hard at this. Ana has left the course, but is going to go onto a Foodhandling course in Auckland where she has gone to live. Denise isn't here - was not here yesterday. Pania is absent - rang to say that she did not feel like coming in today. Jenny absent. The students are very involved in using the

calculators. Tutor C comes in to observe to find out what the 'afternoon people' [i.e. the social and life skills tutors] do with the students. They are on their best behaviour. Tutor D comments on this - feels that it is because they are very interested in using the calculators. Tutor C suggests tape recording some of the class discussions - she is willing to set this up for me and I agree as long as the students are happy about it.

2pm - Both courses together again at the cafe. A woman who runs an animal refuge near the city talks about the animals she cares for. She has brought along some small animals for the students to see. The Receptionist and Typing students are politely bored; the Foodhandling students are very interested in her and the animals and ask lots of questions.

3.15pm - I go off for afternoon tea with Tutor E. Why do the Receptionist and Typing students not want to be associated with Foodhandlers? She says quite firmly that it is a matter of 'higher and lower', i.e. status. I ask her what she thinks about the R & T gripes about the others getting paid for not being there. She says that, as far as she is concerned, they won't get paid but, when she checks this with Tutor A, she finds that several of them will in fact get paid even though they have relatively 'weak' excuses for being absent. She is surprised and I point out that it is this that the students resent. We discuss whether they should be paid whether they are there or not (in order that they will learn self-discipline) or whether they should be docked for absences (as they would be in a real life job). Tutor E feels the latter as they have to cope with real life rather than unreality. They cannot be coddled all the time. Tutor A says she is really angry with Tutor C at present. She is also depressed because one of the students has been thrown out of her home and has nowhere to live tonight or any night.

3.45pm - Receptionist and Typing students have separated themselves from the Foodhandlers and gone up to Room 16 with Tutor A. She is discussing their situation with them. Maryjane has joined the group. Judy, Katie and Maryjane all say that they feel very 'scared' at the moment because they are facing the fact that they don't think they can or will get a job. They are frustrated and

depressed. So is Harriet. Penny is trying to be philosophical even though she has been out of work for six months. Katie is very upset because she got turned down for a job she felt she would definitely get on Friday. They see a future of nothing staring them in the face. They all say that their unemployment is the central event in their lives - it is their lives and everything revolves around it. It is not just one facet of their lives that they have to cope with. All of them (except Penny) are apprehensive about being able to cope in the near future, although they agree that it is better having done the course so that they at least feel there are others in the same boat that they can turn to; there are people they know that they can ring up. However, I think it has hit this particular group hard as, out of all of them, I would say that these are the five (and perhaps Belinda) that expected to get a job fairly easily if they persisted. They are really worried - about isolation, boredom, putdowns, financial hassles, vegetation, depression, cracking-up, losing friends. Maryjane says that her mother says she is a 'lazy so-and-so' and 'could get a job if she really tried' and she finds this an incredible pressure on her. The others say that they have the same thing (except Mandy). Tutor A, too, is very depressed - I feel she has only just lately considered that perhaps none of the students will get jobs and also that the courses themselves may be colluding with the government in keeping the students in this state. She says that one day 'social workers, educators and guidance counsellors will all be sent to hell' as a punishment for what they are doing to these kids. She makes what I consider to be a most uncharacteristic suggestion that the girls could get pregnant in order to get permanent support - she is not joking. She senses that I am shocked at this suggestion and says that it's not really a good idea, but I can see that she is so depressed that she is offering this idea as a genuine alternative to unemployment. She tries to explain to the students that she is deeply depressed about their situation, but it is getting late and she says she will take it up with the class tomorrow morning. She also talks about the students becoming 'undertakers to bury the education system which is dead'. (Belinda and Pauline had their alleged shoplifting case dismissed at court today - they had to wait from early morning until 4pm for it to be heard.)

There is a definite change in the students this week especially the Receptionist

and Typing group. Apart from the fact that they are not there (i.e. many are absent), the ones that are there are very depressed and look defeated. The Foodhandlers are simply subdued and unhappy - as they are in the middle of their course I think they may have reached the 'hump' that Tutor A talked about - this is a lull that comes in the middle of all the courses no matter what the tutors do. It may however be due to Tutor C taking a much more forthright and openly authoritarian line than she has in the past. They are supposed to be out on work experience all next week but Tutor A feels there is still too much work they have not done here, so they will not go out. I am finding it more and more difficult to simply keep up with events. I am only one person and I feel that I am sitting on a bomb at present. If every place where I am has some change or questioning going on, what is happening in the places that I am not? I just race around trying to keep up with it all.

WEDNESDAY:

8.45am - Receptionist and Typing course. Room 16 - Tutor A. Tina, Jill, Jenny and Katie absent. Discussion on course - Tutor A says that she has come to the decision that she has too much on her plate and has therefore not been able to give of her best to the course for the last ten weeks. She apologises for this and says that she wishes that she could have them for another ten weeks and do it all over again. The students seem surprised at her apology and Jane says that it is a two-way thing and that in fact they have benefitted greatly from the course. They then listen to the tape Being a Good Listener - Listening Skills. Katie arrives at 9.30; Tina at 9.50.

10am - Morning tea - Tutor A expands slightly on her comments this morning. Says that she has finally realised that she does not want to be here and now feels a lot happier and more clear in her mind; that it has been hanging her up in the past year. She has cut out a lot of things in her life that she feels unable to cope with (such as some voluntary work) and also some people she cannot cope with. She certainly looks a lot happier today.

10.20am - I take Tutor C and some Foodhandling students to the restaurant

where they have a session on smelling and tasting different spices and liquids - they have to guess what these are. Jenny is supposed to be in today, but is not. Everyone else seems to be present - Dee and Kathy to be at the restaurant for work experience in the afternoon.

12 noon - lunch.

1pm - Receptionist and Typing course - Banking with Tutor B in Room 10. Katie, Judy, Harriet, Jane, Myra and Penny present. Jill arrives at 1.15pm. Tutor B comments to me on the course - she is unhappy about the way the course has been run. Feels that as this is a new course it should be run from a different set of ground rules from the old [pre-employment] courses. She says that at present she is just accepting it as it is (that is, the girls wandering into the typing and receptionist skills part of the course when they feel like it, for example) and she does not think that tutor meetings will resolve anything 'because they don't want to hear what is wrong with the course'. The class covers discussion about taxes and the International Monetary Fund and government economic policy, as well as what happens in a cashier's office and an exercise in making out receipts. While it is obvious that the tutor disagrees with some government policy, she emphasises to the students that they must always obey authority even if they feel it is wrong because it is their duty to obey and because 'us ordinary people cannot begin to understand what is behind the policy - even if we could we could not change it'. Linda and Tina poke their heads through the window at 2pm then run away again. Katie says after the class that Tutor B told them this morning that all the certificates for the end of the course will be printed the same - some of the students feel this is most unfair as it puts them on a par with, say Linda and Tina, who they feel are totally ripping the course off.

2pm - Receptionist and Typing course - Room 17; Tutor E. A man has arrived from the Inland Revenue Department to talk to them about personal tax. Linda and Tina arrive at 2.15 and sit right at the back of the room. Linda leaves again and, shortly afterwards, so does Tina. The Inland Revenue bloke is good, knows his stuff, but he goes through everything too quickly and loses them. If you have

never filled out a tax return before, it is difficult and he ends up just confusing them.

3.15pm - Someone from Amnesty International to talk to the students in Room 17. The Foodhandling and the Receptionist and Typing students are together. This is really too late in the day - the students are just not interested and the tutors have to keep the discussion going. The students ask no questions at all even though the man is friendly and approachable and doesn't talk down to them. Linda and Tina leave before 4pm even though Tutor A asks them not to go.

THURSDAY:

8.40am - Receptionist and Typing course - Room 17. No-one here! Jane arrives ten minutes later - 'where is everyone?'. Penny and Myra arrive ten minutes later again. Two Department of Labour people arrive with forms to be filled in by the students. The Department has fouled up the unemployment benefit registrations and the students have to totally re-register in order to get paid next week - Tutor A cannot believe that the Department has managed to do this. The two people from the Department cannot believe that the girls are not present at 8.55am and want to know where they are. Tutor A deflects their questions. She sends the ones that are there, including me, off to typing with the forms to give to the others. Linda and Tina arrive just as we are leaving. On the way, Penny says that she will ask Tutor B if she can fill in the form during typing and if they can all go off for their interviews at the Department of Labour then - I don't say anything but I don't think she will be allowed to do this. Penny comments that the course has gone quickly and that she feels it was quite good.

9.10am - Tutor B - typing - Green Street site. Penny asks about the forms and Tutor B says that they have a half an hour break at 10am which is plenty of time to fill them out. She offers to help them if it is needed. Penny persists but gets nowhere - Tutor B says that they must do this during the break or not at all.

9.20am - Harriet arrives. Katie arrives at 9.55. The tutor has marked her absent

and tells her so. Jill arrives at 10am, but goes off again to make a phone call. Penny wants to go off and see Tutor A, but the tutor says she would be at morning tea at present. Both Linda and the tutor keep an eye on me constantly to judge my reactions to their interactions. I try not to respond except at a minimal level necessary to retain their goodwill. Linda keeps running out of paper – that is her 'thing' today, the thing she uses to set up the tutor so that she has constant tutor-attention when in class.

10.25am – Foodhandling course – cafe. Lesson on food science, calories, etc. A social work student is present in the class and Tutor C is unhappy about this – he feels that the young man does not participate and therefore is disruptive in the class. The student basically sits at the side of the room and observes and does not respond to student-initiated conversation openers – this is irritating them as they feel he is being superior. Sylvia and Elizabeth at the restaurant. Jenny and Sean absent. The discussion centres on nutrition, on the type of food that you need to eat. Pat is reading a Christian magazine in between the few times that the tutor is getting through the disruptions this morning.

11am – Room 12 – Receptionist and Typing course. Receptionist skills class. Mandy, Jane, Jill and Katie present. 11.25 – Maryjane arrives. Tutor B is invited to the farewell lunch for the course tomorrow. She says that she will not be doing another course, not if it is run the way it is at present. Feels there should be a pre-employment course to 'make them social' before the skills courses. As well, she would like to see a complete change in attendance and discipline of the students – much stricter and she cannot see this happening with Tutor A in charge of the course.

12 noon – Lunch. Tutor E says that Tutor A may be leaving and she (Tutor E) is worried about what will happen to the courses if this happens. Tutor A says that she should apply for the job of course co-ordinator – Tutor E says that she would like to but feels that she has not got the qualifications they would want. She also said that they are having a tutor meeting next week to try to thrash out some of the problems that are arising. I suggest that these are reaching volcanic proportions and she agrees.

1pm - Receptionist and Typing course - Room 17. Only Katie is present when [the work skills tutor] and I walk into class at 1pm. Sally appears about five minutes later. Penny arrives and says that Jane will not be in this afternoon because she is going to the optician. The tutor is not happy. [The social and life skills tutor] comes in and says 'Where is everyone?' and then reveals that two of the students, Jill and Mandy, are at a lawyer's and two are at the Department of Labour discussing what they are going to do at the end of the course. Linda, Tina and Jenny walk in - the [social and life skills] tutor tells them what time they are supposed to be at the Department of Labour. Gay arrives about twenty minutes later. Katie and Sally go to the Department of Labour at 1.30 - this leaves four students in the class. Tina disappears to the toilet to fix up her hair before she is due to go to the Department of Labour - she has a new perm and is very conscious of it. Linda and Jenny leave at 1.40. This leaves two students in the class. Tina leaves at 1.45 to go to the toilet (for the rest of the afternoon!). This leaves only Gay for the [work skills] tutor to teach until 3pm.

APPENDIX FOUR: SELECTED INTERVIEWS

The following selected interviews with tutors and students are intended to serve the purpose of providing a representative sample of formal raw data.

Interviews with a work skills tutor and a social and life skills tutor have been selected in order to demonstrate some of the themes discussed in Chapters Ten and Eleven. While the interviewing style used in these interviews may appear to be confrontational, I knew the tutors well enough to be able to challenge and question them about their discourse – by the time of the interview, we had had many informal interactions and I was able to base the more probing questions on previous knowledge. The formal interviews reinforced rather than damaged my relationships with the tutors.

The four student interviews have been selected in order to provide some representativeness – i.e. there are interviews with two female students and one male; one interview is with a comparatively articulate student, two with the more usual, relatively inarticulate, students; and one interview is with a group of students. They have also been selected as interviews that represent many of the themes that arose in all of the formal interviews and informal discussions with students that are discussed in the main body of the thesis – these student responses are little different from the bulk of the student interviews; they differ only in their length and presentation. The interviews selected provide, in addition, an outline of the questions that were asked of the students – while these were structured, they were used to trigger student responses in a relatively flexible manner.

WORK SKILLS TUTOR

WK: What do you think about this course [Foodhandling 2] so far? Compared with the other one and in itself?

Tut: I think I'm having to work harder with this course, because a lot of them have got a lot more intelligence ... intelligence, if you like to use that word. They're obviously brighter and I think most of their education standard is better, is higher.

WK: That's what I'm noticing - that their educational standards are going up ...

Tut: I mean, you take it, you've got one with UE and I think one with School C., most of them are fifth formers and most of them have passed at least one School C. subject. Their main problem is, I think, they're not mentally prepared to work.

WK: Mmmm. So they haven't got work attitudes?

Tut: Yeah, they haven't got work attitudes. While I'm giving them a lot of theory, I think a lot more practical work would be the best solution to the problem which we're attempting to do. I think they've got to actually get into the workplace, they've got to get the confidence to get into the workplace.

WK: That'll be happening soon, won't it? I mean, they must be starting work experience soon.

Tut: Yeah, and I think this theory that we give them helps give them the confidence to go into the workplace. The only thing that worries me a bit

is, when I go through Hygiene, and I take the Hygiene as an example, that it says in laws that you shouldn't do that and you shouldn't do that, but when they get into the practical experience in a restaurant or a hotel or any type of food outlet, they'll find that probably 80% of these food hygiene things are just ignored. I try to tell them this, but I don't think they can quite comprehend the difference between a theory and practice.

WK: So you see that there's actually a big gap between theory and practice?

Tut: Oh, there is. There is a big gap because they've got to get into, they're going into a profit-oriented business and profits come before anything else to the detriment of hygiene in lots of cases. Some places are better than others.

WK: That was very obvious when [the restaurant owner] came in yesterday - I thought that was very interesting when he said more or less 'We want to exploit you thoroughly' and then he said 'Go away and get a copy of your award from your union because it's up to you, whatever you can get out of the award, get it'.

Tut: Well, I would say he would be a typical employer - he'll be very hard to work for, he'll demand his pound of flesh, but anyone who works for him for a year will come out a well-trained worker and will not have trouble getting employment in the food industry anywhere. He said 'I will whip you along and the chef will throw the pots at you' and this does happen, you know, under a pressure situation which happens in a food shop. It's not like most office work or anything else. You know, if the boss gives you a letter to type out at 5 to 5, you can do it tomorrow, it's not going to make that much difference, but it's no use having breakfast ready at lunchtime. You work to deadlines.

WK: I think that scares the students - I wonder if that is part of this 'work attitudes' that you're talking about. I mean, that you could visibly see them getting more and more nervous and scared about it, about the

pressure ...

Tut: Yes, but it's a thing that's there and I think it's a thing they've got to realise. I think that, once they come to terms with the fact that the pressure is going to be there, I think that's half the problem.

WK: So you see giving them more practice as showing them that, as getting them to come to terms with it?

Tut: Yes, I think more actual work experience. But I think that the theory is very important. It gives them confidence to go into that, so that when they go into an employer or they go into a situation, they can recognise equipment, they can recognise food, they know terms - they know those kinds of things - and I think the theory gives them the confidence to go and do this kind of thing. This is why I don't like having work experience at the beginning of the course; I think it must be at the end of the course.

WK: How do you find it trying to get the theory across when obviously they're all in a group and it's possible to get cross-talk. Do you find that difficult or are you handling it all right?

Tut: This morning I ... I think for the first time I gave them a paper to read through and I had dead silence for 30 minutes. That was most unusual. I gave them that as an experiment, not as an experiment because I've got quite a lot of things written up. It was a typed sheet, about 12 pages and I said 'Now just sit down and read it' and they read it.

WK: And they could read it?

Tut: Well, they pretended to read it. Some of them were having trouble reading it - and I said 'Just go through it everyone' and it took them about 20 minutes. And we were just starting to go through it paragraph by paragraph after that again. I think they get bored with different learning methods. I don't think the blackboard is the right learning method. I think

it's a discussion thing.

WK: Well, that's what I was trying to get at before, that your theoretical part of the course is based on discussion - how do you cope with that? Because it brings in a whole lot of other factors of control ...

Tut: I ... uhm ... the control thing I don't think I've got it as tight as I would like ... that I'm probably too tight. The kids feel I'm too tight, so if they feel I'm too tight, I feel I must be tight enough - I'm getting it. The thing that actually concerns me is that I'm tight of a morning, but of an afternoon they seem to be able to get up and walk out when they're doing whatever they do of an afternoon.

WK: And you think that influences whatever happens in the morning?

Tut: Yes. I've got to settle them down every morning, for the first hour every morning I have them in the classroom, in fact. And I think now, if we don't come over to the cafeteria, they can't sit down, they can't have a smoke, they can't have a cup of coffee - and I've got to do that every morning. Every morning I've got to settle them down. So we have a little bit on the blackboard, they seem to get back into the learning process, you know, and it just goes on from that.

WK: How do you get them settled down into things initially?

Tut: You see, one of the things I try to teach them is that this is a job and treat it like a job - if they can't get here by 8 o'clock in the morning, how the hell are they going to get to a job at 8 o'clock in the morning? If they can't do two and a half hours in one straight session, how are they going to do a job for two and a half hours?

WK: But you don't feel perhaps that that is a false distinction in that they know they're not in a job here ... I mean it's a pretend thing?

- Tut: Yes, I know, but it's a habit-forming thing that I'm probably trying to teach them, more than a pretend type of thing.
- WK: What I'm saying is, how can you get them to accept that when they know that it's not a job? And they're not going to get fired?
- Tut: But I keep saying to them 'Treat it as a job'. It's another part of the theory; it's a self-discipline thing. This is the thing - 'you're not in school now, you're responsible for your own decisions and one of the decisions you've got to make is you've got to be here at 8 o'clock in the morning'.
- WK: Well, I see that as being one of the problems, that they're not in school and they don't want to be treated as being in school, and yet at the same time they do - it's a problem for them.
- Tut: It's a transition stage, I think. You know, if we're going on a trip or something, they'll all be here at 8 o'clock. So I just try to reinforce this as much as I can. There's not much I can do about them walking in at 8 o'clock or 8.30.
- WK: What sort of sanctions do you think you can apply? You know, what sort of discipline can you apply?
- Tut: Well, I think the discipline thing - I'd like to be a lot stronger on it, but unless there's consistency with all the tutors, you can't apply it. And, at present, I think there is a definite lack of consistency with the tutors.
- WK: Well, how is that going to be fixed? Do you see the need for more tutor meetings?
- Tut: Well, I think the whole thing has got to come together. I think it's going to blow up at some stage sooner or later. Different tutors have got different ideas about what the courses are trying to aim, or the aims of the course,

and I've got definite ideas and they clash with other tutors and I know they clash with other tutors.

WK: Do you see that as a basis for getting together and working something out, talking about it, or do you see it as being impossible?

Tut: I'd say it was nearly impossible, the way I see things at present.

WK: Well, how will it affect you? I know there's another course coming at the end of the year - how does it affect your attitudes towards doing another ...?

Tut: It doesn't, because I've decided that I'm going to run that course the way I want to run it, and the discipline I impose in the morning is the discipline they'll have.

WK: Well, again, that comes back to sanctions. How can you discipline them if they're not prepared to do that?

Tut: But they are with me!

WK: So you think that it's an attitude that you take that actually forms that discipline?

Tut: You know, right from the start I made it clear that I was the tutor, I set the times, I say when they go for a break, I say what they do when they do it.

WK: What if they say 'Get stuffed', which is what happens occasionally?

Tut: I've never had anyone ... I've never had it and I don't think the other kids would tolerate it themselves. I use a little bit of peer pressure.

WK: How do you organise that?

- Tut: I probably find it easy because I take them two at a time at [the restaurant]. I sit down and talk to them virtually on a two to one situation or a one to one situation, and I talk about the course and what we're achieving and then we talk about 'Oh, what do you think when you're trying to work and people annoy you?' and I say 'Why don't you tell them to shut up?'.
- WK: But does that happen?
- Tut: You know, you can't do it as subtly ... you know, they can't do it like that. But, you know, this morning, one little girl was annoying one of the male students - now he just got up and moved away from her. Now, at the beginning of the course, that would have never have happened. He was prepared to do something, she wasn't. She got the message and he got on with his work and it's not a matter of telling her to shut up, it's a matter of telling her 'Listen, I want to do my work' and I normally find that, if someone is talking to somebody else, the person that is being spoken to - I'll say 'Have you finished that yet?' and, of course, they immediately get the impression that 'Oh, he's picking on me, but you're annoying me' and, uhm, you're virtually saying, you know, to the other person ... and I think they've got their own law and that.
- WK: How would you improve the course? Do you think it needs improving?
- Tut: Yeah, I think - I see the biggest problem as consistency in discipline at present in my opinion. Because I don't think the Kids really know where they are - one person saying one thing, another person saying another thing, honestly, I don't know ...
- WK: When you say that there's two different lots of aims, what would you see as being those different aims?
- Tut: I see the afternoon as just a filling in time because they haven't got a tutor who can continue with the food thing. I think there should be a little

bit of English, a little bit of Mathematics, which I'm not an expert in, but that's ...

WK: You think it should continue, the whole food thing, right through the day?

Tut: Yeah, I think, you know, use mathematics, use food in mathematics, and I think they should be a lot more formal type of lesson.

WK: What do you see as the purpose of the afternoon work?

Tut: Oh, I get this impression at times ... you know, originally in the original course they were going to have a set syllabus, but, again, I can see that problem where you've got kids who have left school at Form 3 and you've got people with UE. How are you going to teach them all at once because ... the gap's too wide.

WK: You see your part as being the most important?

Tut: Well, yes - you've got to go right back to the aims of the course which is to get employment for people within the food industry. Now, whether they should do a pre-employment course before they do this lot, I think I've spoken on before.

WK: So you think maybe they should be on a staircase - do a pre-employment course, then a general skills course and then a specific skills course?

Tut: No, because I think ... yes, if it was the right pre-employment course.

WK: And what would you see that as being?

Tut: Equipping people mentally to work.

WK: Giving them work attitudes?

Tut: Yeah, not to buck the system, but to go with the system. You know,

no-one's ever beaten the system and I get the impression around here sometimes that it's easier to try and beat the system than to go with it.

WK: So what you see the afternoon things as doing is perhaps developing their individual confidence skills at the cost of the work attitude performing skills - is that what you're saying? I'm not sure ...

Tut: Yes and no. I'm not really saying that - that's nearly it. I think, you know, they're Skills courses and they should be designed as skills courses. They're not pre-employment courses and I think that the pre-employment skills should only supplement the skills part of it.

WK: Well, if you had the work skills part of the course running say right through the day, do you think that that would change those kids there? What I'm trying to say is that I notice a huge difference between them at the selection interviews and now. Do you think they might have become quite different people by now or not?

Tut: The interviews I don't think, one, are in the right atmosphere. I'd rather have the interviews probably here. You could, say, address them all to start with, where you could see how they - have them all for the morning, where you can see how they mix with one another, where the personalities will come out in that short time, then interview them individually after you do that. This is going to give you a far better idea ... the only other way you're going to be able to do it to start with is to look at references and then checking on references which is too long a process to do it.

WK: But sort of like you did yesterday when [the restaurant owner] came in. You said, 'Who wants it?' and talked with all of them first and got them all weeded out ...

Tut: Yes, and I think you could do that on a selection type basis. You could get them all, you could address them all for an hour or so, give them all a cup of coffee and just observe them for an hour talking amongst themselves

and go round generally and individually to them.

WK: So you see the skills courses as almost totally aimed at getting the Kids a job? If they're going to be doing something else they should be in a different sort of course, like a pre-employment course?

Tut: Yes, but I think the other things are necessary. But I can't see the value of them going to a museum or an art gallery. I can see the value of them going as an individual - I can't see the value as a course of people who are going to become ... work in the food industry going to a museum or going to a morgue. Right, they're good general interest stuff - I'm not knocking it, but I don't think it should be done on a Foodhandling course. I can't see the value of them going to Skateworld - it doesn't do a thing for me, you know. Or going to, I think last year they went and had a look at the gardens in Wanganui, a barbeque or something - this doesn't happen in private industry, it doesn't happen in the commercial world. And probably I'm a lot different because, I think I said this to you in my last interview, I'm not a teacher, I'm not a trained teacher ...

WK: But then I don't think any of the people running the courses are.

Tut: I think some of them are too theory orientated where they actually can't see what's going on in the world and won't accept what's going on.

WK: So it's unrealistic as far as you're concerned?

Tut: Well, yes - unrealistic, if you like to sum it up in one word.

WK: Well, I was thinking that you were pretty hard on the Kids yesterday when you were selecting them out in that weeding process - I think some of them were a bit surprised when you pointed out failings that they might have. What were your criteria for selecting those Kids to go off for the interview with [the restaurant owner]?

Tut: Well, I don't think I selected them - I think they selected themselves.

WK: Yes, they did that, I agree with you, but you had a very strong part to play in that self-selection, by pointing out things to them that they came to realise themselves ...

Tut: I think it's just a matter of telling them the truth in a subtle sort of way. But I didn't select them, they selected themselves. They weeded themselves out the way I organised them to weed themselves out. (Laughs)

WK: That's what I'm saying - what were your criteria? Why couldn't you have just said 'Right, you five would like to go - just go down for the interview'?

Tut: I don't want to put people down as an individual, so I let them figure it out themselves just by guidance.

WK: But it took quite a lot of guidance for them to figure it out.

Tut: Yeah, but they didn't know there was guidance - well, I hope they didn't know there was guidance. Well, it was just, as you said, I hope subtly done.

WK: But what I'm trying to get at is why? Why couldn't you have just let, say, five of them put up their hands and say 'Right, you five can go off and go for the interview'?

Tut: I don't think some of them were ready for the interview. I didn't want to waste the man's time who is obviously very busy and every minute he spends is money. I done a pre-selection of obvious ones who I just didn't think were suitable. I think there was one girl who was very down about it all, but she can't even get there at 8 o'clock in the morning! You know, she can't get here at half past ten in the morning. You tell her to go - she can't come back from her morning break, her 10 minute morning break, she

takes 20 minutes, she forgets what the time is ...

WK: But don't you think that that's the difference between a real job and being here?

Tut: But if you can't do it here, you'll never do it in a real job, that's what I'm trying to say! It's a self-discipline thing. Until these people - and this is one of the things I was really trying to come on strongly, it's self-discipline. It's with their own personal habits, their own hygiene, that is all self-discipline and they've got to carry that a step further. They all get up and have a wash in the morning - no-one tells them to - but now they've got to learn ... they've had this discipline thing thrown at them as if it's something bad. Well, they think it's bad because it's probably been given to them in the wrong way.

WK: So, when you made that remark about having to learn to conform about Peggy, was that what you were talking about? About having to learn that self-discipline?

Tut: Well, that was what I was getting at - yes.

WK: Another thing you mentioned, very strongly, was that they were going to reflect back onto the course and I presume that that was part of the reason why you wanted to do a pre-selection?

Tut: Yes, I think that, if this course is going to continue and people get into it and if it goes on for say another year and another year type of thing, employers are really going to say, 'Yes, the people that come off this course are good, we can employ them' or 'They're no good - I'll never have another one' and people think this way. And it also reflects back on me as the individual because I go out and I speak to these people in the industry ...

WK: Yes, you've got a personal contact ...

- Tut: Well, I've made it my business to go round and meet them and I've said to them 'Well, what do you want in a person who's going to work in the kitchen. What skills do you want them to have?' So I'm getting feedback from industry. Now I don't know if this is happening on other Skills courses, but I think it's a very important part of what I do. Probably the most important part of what I do. It's no use training people for something that there's no work available.
- WK: So you see it really in very pragmatic terms, that you've got to give them the skills that are needed out there?
- Tut: Yeah, you know, whether the educationists like it or not, it's a big cold cruel world outside.
- WK: That's what [the employer] was emphasising yesterday - reality. Well, you also mentioned when you got it down to four students for them not to worry because you had jobs lined up for people anyway - how true is that? Are you actually able to place most of the people at the end of the course?
- Tut: I'm not able to place anyone, but with my contacts I will give a strong recommendation that they are employed in certain places.
- WK: And you actually know that there's jobs available?
- Tut: There's always jobs available in this industry.
- WK: Perhaps in this industry - it's just that those kids out there are going for jobs where there's 300 applicants.
- Tut: You must remember that the food service industry is the only growing industry in the country today. The Hotel and Hospital and Related Workers Union is today the second largest union in the country. Four years ago it was the fifth largest. And right throughout the world the service industry as a whole is the only growing industry that's left. Other ones are being

reduced by computers. No-one will ever have a computer to cut your hair or drive a taxi or serve your meals. They might be able to cut down on staff here and there, but it's also growing. You've only got to look at the number of restaurants that have opened in [the city] in the last eighteen months and they're all employing staff. And this is why I think there's a definite need for this course to go on, 'cos I think it's one of the few ...

WK: I know that you are thinking of becoming a full-time tutor at the Tech - have you got any thoughts about actually starting up a Foodhandling Training Course in the Tech?

Tut: A lot of this comes back to Government policy, but I believe that all the training that is done today is done for the upper echelon. I'd like to start something that's just basic kitchen hands, bar attendants, fish and chips, hamburgers, that type of thing. In fact, I had a discussion with [the Head of Department] about this at one stage about if they ever move [to the new site], let's get the canteen there and run it as a canteen. And have full-time students there, with a six-month course that they can do, and they can go right through the whole spectrum of theory, on practice, right through from selling chips by the pottle, costing them, handling the cash, cleaning up, and do the whole lot. I think it would be a very useful course. And it could be self-sufficient as far as material went and as far as equipment went. I think they'd still have to pay tutors' wages - if there's money available.

WK: And what was his reaction to that?

Tut: Interest, but negative. But it wasn't one hundred percent negative.

WK: I wanted to ask you once more, in case you've altered your views since the last interview, why are people unemployed?

Tut: I still believe that they're unemployed because they've got no work skills basically.

WK: Why haven't they got any work skills?

Tut: Probably the environment they were brought up in, probably the education system they were brought through. Somebody is always good for something and I think, in lots of ways now, the education system tries to aim people above their natural ability. You know, everyone has got to win. Now you either win or you lose.

WK: But then, you're criticising that and yet yesterday you actually put those kids into a very competitive, against-each-other situation and you told them it was ...

Tut: But it was competitive! There again, it's competitive at that level, but what I'm trying to say is that they shouldn't aim too far above their natural ability. Right, you know, at times all these students I've had will get work in kitchens as they mature a bit. I think immaturity has got a lot to do with it. It comes with being fifteen and sixteen year olds. Age will cure it.

WK: But then, one of the problems of the course, is that if you leave the time for age to cure it, then they don't get the experience which is needed.

Tut: Yeah, it's round and round and round in circles type of thing.

WK: Well, what do you see as a solution to unemployment in New Zealand?

Tut: Oh, I could go on forever, you know. (Laughs) Probably a change in government policy, the ... I would like to see the re-introduction of National Service Training, both for men and women.

WK: Is this to mop up surplus unemployed kids or what?

Tut: Well, yes. ... one, not so much as a mop-up thing ... I think the discipline that they receive and the people I've spoken to that have done it and their

attitudes after their three or six months to what they were before they went in are entirely different. I think it's a forced growing up stage and I've seen it myself. I've seen people go in like the children we've got today - I'm sure this whole class if they're put into a very strong discipline situation like in a military establishment, in three months they'd come out entirely different people. But you must remember that the military is all teamwork. You know, if you're living in a hut with 14 guys and 1 guy doesn't make his bed, they're all punished, so everyone's got to conform together. They learn the discipline and they learn the teamwork and they would get on a lot better.

WK: Would you see that as being necessary for everyone, every kid at a certain age?

Tut: Yeah, because I think that, if you only picked out the wrong ones, you wouldn't get a mixture. I think that this is one of the beauties in National Service from what I can read about it, where we had rich boys from the city and we had poor boys from the country and they were all thrown in, all as equals, and I don't think you can have a group going in that are equal to start with.

WK: Why do you think you need that mixture?

Tut: It gives them different outlooks on different things and yet it teaches them that everyone is equal. That's one of my theories on unemployment. I think there's got to be a boost in the economy. I think things have to be made harder on Social Welfare - I think it's here, it's too easy to get so people take it. You know, people take the easy way out every time. You know, you've only got to read history in the Depression times when there wasn't very much of a dole and people had to grow their own vegetables, had to go out and catch rabbits or had to go fishing to live.

WK: You don't think that perhaps those people in those times had a background that would enable them to be able to do that, whereas these kids - I mean,

I know that I was brought up thinking that water came out of a tap and I never knew any different until I lived in a place where I had to rely on rain water and I got the shock of my life.

Tut: People will survive and they will learn in a hurry. You know, the human being is a survivor.

WK: Would they have the resources to survive? This is what I'm saying - if these kids live in a flat that's got nowhere to grow vegetables ...

Tut: Well, they either do one of two things - they get a flat where they can grow vegetables, or they don't. Maybe they've got to go and live in a tent down by the beach ...

WK: Well, wait a sec - we went to the Unemployed Drop-in Centre yesterday and they said that the kids that were living there (or they're not kids actually, some of them are adults with children of their own), they are sleeping at night at the moment in the Scout Hall, but you see, yesterday, the cops came in and hassled them just because they were sleeping there and these people haven't got any accommodation because of the accommodation problem here. What I'm trying to say is that, if the kids got a tent and went and slept down by the beach, they'd get hassled. 'Cos I've done that and I know - you get hassled by the cops. You can't just park somewhere and sleep.

Tut: Right, but you couldn't in those days, but - people got hassled by the police in the days of the Depression, you've only got to read the reports, but most of them survived on nothing. They learned survival. Today the State, I feel, gives it to them too easy.

WK: Well, what do you see as the functions of the State, then? Surely one of the reasons why the State does 'give it to them too easy', as you say, is to stop people perhaps saying 'Right, I'm not getting anything out of this system, I'm going to go and get a gun and rob a bank down the road or

whatever' - because that's one way of getting it, steal someone's TV and sell it.

Tut: I think it's become too soft. I'm not saying that it also gets too hard. You know, I think it's ridiculous that they ring up once a fortnight and they get a cheque in the mail once a fortnight - they don't do anything for it. Right, let's say they've all got to come into town every morning and report to a person at the Showgrounds and sign in before they get their dole. There's lots of people always looking for a worker for a day. Why not have all the unemployed report to a certain thing and, if you want your lawns cut, you can ring up someone and say 'Listen, I want my lawns cut. Can you send someone down for a day?'. You try and get your lawns cut round town if you're not feeling well or you're too busy to do it yourself! Or get a hedge cut, or little odd-jobs done, you know, there's plenty of work.

WK: Well, who would pay for that work? The person employing the unemployed person or the government?

Tut: Well, no, I believe that the person who's getting the service done ... but I think it actually should be paid to the government.

WK: And then the government still pays just the dole?

Tut: And the government still pays the dole, but within a limit. I would say 'Right, they'll get their dole plus 50% of what they earned up to such and such a value'.

WK: Because I can see that as being very exploitative.

Tut: Yes, I think somewhere there must be a level to work at with ... what I'm saying is that I disagree with the once a week telephone call, the once a fortnight telephone call and the cheque in the post. I'm not saying you cut the dole out.

WK: Well, I'll give you another problem – surely one of the reasons why that cheque is sent through the mail every two weeks, or direct-credited which is even better into the Post Office, is so you don't get bands of unemployed people getting together at 8.30 every morning and seeing that there's 2,000 unemployed in [the city]? Actually coming to a realisation of their true situation?

Tut: I think that would be a good thing because it would also make the government realise and also make the general public realise that there is a problem.

WK: But surely the government doesn't want that? That's why they're sending the cheques in the mail every two weeks.

Tut: Yeah, you know, I think the average white middle-class New Zealander just close their eyes to unemployment. It doesn't exist – they read about it in the paper, but they can't realise 4,000 people, you know, they've got no comprehension of 4,000 people who are unemployed. But maybe if they did do that then I think a little bit more pressure might be put on government to do something and I think, reading history again, in the Depression days, where some of the big government projects that were done using unemployed people – you know, a lot of roads were built in Queensland and in New Zealand. The particular one I always think of is the road round Lake Whakatipu – well, the main road from Queenstown to Invercargill now – that was all done by workers who were brought from Invercargill and were unemployed. They were brought down on Sunday nights and they went home on Saturdays and they got paid so much for the ... you know, this is what I believe.

[We had to end the interview at this point – WJK]

SOCIAL AND LIFE SKILLS TUTOR

WK: What are you actually doing in your courses?

Tut: Now? Or ...

WK: Have they changed then? Substantially?

Tut: They have done, yes.

WK: Well, perhaps you could talk about that process, about what they've done.

Tut: Well, the first course I ran, I wondered what the hell had hit me – and I panicked and thought, 'I've got to get some help!'. So I went out and got myself a resource group of people and used one of the psychologists from the Psych Services who was good value and that gave me some idea on teaching skills and working out objectives, so that the skills could be broken down into separate objectives. But it still needed a lot of time for individual counselling with the kids – a whole lot.

WK: How was the first course a disaster?

Tut: No, it wasn't a disaster because I'm still in touch with a lot of those kids and they gained a lot out of it, but I don't know, 'cos I learned much more than they did. I was kind of tossed a programme from Bruce's old programme (Bruce ran them for a year first) and said this is the kind of thing that Bruce's been doing and I thought 'Oh yeah', and he had this 'rap' session on it and I thought what the bloody hell's a 'rap' session and, you know, ... and it wasn't really until I'd done about three courses that I started to decide how they needed to be for the kids that were coming in, but also the kids that were coming in have changed – dramatically ...

WK: Were they different for each course?

Tut: Yes, very different. Initially the kids that came in were at school for two years, at most. Some of them were borderline IHC. They were pretty often in special classes, and a lot of them were pretty rough, a lot of them had tattoos, a lot of them drank heavily, were into drugs – and it really, I suppose, round about half way through last year, it started changing and the kids that came in had stayed longer at school. Even though they had the same lack of personal resources that the kids originally had had, they had more education, but it didn't really ... didn't really help them get a job.

WK: [A trades tutor at another institute] said to me that twenty years ago when he started working in Techs, Technical Institutes were for working class kids to get a tertiary education. Now he sees them as being the preserve of middle class kids. Do you see that same process perhaps in the YPTP courses?

Tut: The working class kids are now being hauled into the Work Skills Development Schemes, which I have reservations about.

WK: These are the ones where they actually go out and they're working and they're being paid while they're on the job?

Tut: Yes, the Baptist scheme and the Salvation Army scheme – I have reservations about those.

WK: Why? They're being touted as being highly successful.

Tut: I have reservations about the missionary aspects. But I also have reservations about the fact that, for example, the kids don't get the same kind of working conditions that people in full-time employment do, they don't get sick leave – but that's not all of it. I question what skills they are really teaching the kids. The kids are going into it 'cos it pays, it's money, and I really seriously question what skills they're giving the kids,

even though I think they care about the kids, I'm sure they do, I just question the appropriateness of the name and what they're actually doing. And it seems to me that a whole lot of the work that's in the Work Skills Development Scheme is work that has been in the community forever that friends and families of the people used to do. Now, okay, we're going to have to change our ideas about work, what work is; that's fine, I think people should be paid for doing things for other people, but let's be honest about it and say that's what it is - it's not work skills development at all.

WK: So you don't see them as getting any real training to go out into the labour force? They're simply performing community projects and getting paid as a job?

Tut: Yes.

WK: Well, you were talking about how those courses developed, how they've changed.

Tut: Yes, the level of education has changed and the kids are becoming by and large better-educated and, as I said, the Work Skills are sucking up the one's who aren't. But what worries me is - how far is that going to go? Are we going to end up ...

WK: Taking in university graduates?

Tut: Right. My feeling is that we probably are because university graduates are unemployed. And into the bargain I've also kind of changed the direction myself, into looking at alternative lifestyles ...

WK: This is within the courses?

Tut: Yes, and this year I got in a guy who's an astrologer because he's got an interesting lifestyle and it's different and he came from something very straight and has gone to something very unusual - and the kids need to

Know that that's okay, that they can do their own thing.

WK: That they can construct their own support systems?

Tut: Some of them have got the personal resources to do that and, if they did it as a group ...

WK: Are they already beginning to do this? Have you seen that happening?

Tut: They need the backing of our organisation to do it - although they want to do it a lot of them, they want to form their own co-ops, but they'll stumble over things like financing, like charges, like a base. To form a co-op you need someone who's really heavily committed to the kids and to the success of it to do it. But the kids want to do these things, and I think that's okay, and I think we should be getting into helping them to do that more.

WK: You'd see that as a function of the YPTP courses?

Tut: Yes, definitely.

WK: Rather than trying to give them skills to go into jobs that aren't necessarily there?

Tut: Yes, we've got to get into creating jobs because they just aren't there.

WK: Do you think there's really any room for, say, a large amount of that sort of thing in our society?

Tut: In a lot of areas I think there are - there are some things that have been tried here, but were a helluva flop. There was a co-op backed by the City Council Recreation Department that produced vegetables, but it kind of died because of the Labour Department's inability to send along the kind of people who had the personal resources to help it get going - they were

sending along sixteen and seventeen year old Kids which was just bloody stupid. And the same thing happened with another co-op that we were trying to get off the ground, City Council included, for wooden toys – that flopped sickly, and it flopped for not only the reasons that the Labour Department is incapable of selecting the people with the skills to be there. It also flopped from the lack of commitment from people around it and the lack of awareness of things that had to be done, like the Factories Act, for example. That was too big a project, you know, it's got to be more on a kind of small group basis with maybe only five people in a group doing things. One thing that they could sure as hell easily do is repair bikes – that's labour intensive, not capital intensive – it'd be a piece of cake to organise that. They could form a babysitting group very easily.

WK: Is this possible, given the way technical institutions work?

Tut: Yes, I think it's possible. Oh yeah, because most of what I do is self-directed stuff anyway.

WK: But not officially is it? What I'm saying is that if you get the Kids self-directed and out earning their own living somewhere and actually providing them with the means of doing that, then that's not really the same as the objectives of the YPTP courses at present.

Tut: No, certainly not! (Laughs)

WK: So, would there be conflict with government policy, would it be impossible?

Tut: No, that's not impossible – there's only conflict if you tell the government what you're doing. You don't have to tell them. I'm not entirely tied up with the government's objectives anyway and most of my 'programmes' as I've said are piffle because we don't stick to them. What ends up really happening is we programme it as we go, which is much better. And that created havoc with the Labour Department – they kept yelling out for programmes all the time. [The Head of Department] supported me in that

and that was beaut, but the Labour Department kept screaming out for programmes and they didn't get them.

WK: Well, what would the Labour Department, just for an example, think if you officially changed the programme so that the kids were actually learning skills that enabled them to set up on their own rather than going into say labouring jobs?

Tut: I don't think they'd like it - that's too liberal.

WK: So it would definitely have to be covert, as you do now?

Tut: Most of them ... oh, I guess that's a typical government official ... you know, I'm not putting down the Labour Department as such, but what I'm saying is that they see rules as rules, not guidelines, so that they tend not to be able to reinterpret the rules to fit the situation locally.

WK: It seems to me that the Department of Education does that as well, so do you see yourself as being caught between those two, or perhaps as having them up there and you just going along down here?

Tut: Sometimes sort of stuck between the devil and the deep blue sea. So the best thing to do with that, I've found, is to ignore both of them and give them what they think they're getting.

WK: I see, so the course reports might be absolute fakes?

Tut: No, not entirely fakes - but they are worded carefully. The course reports are worded very carefully. The major gain for the kids that come in is in self-awareness and self-confidence. And that's basically the gain. And I fail to understand official policy that doesn't take that into account. Because, if you've got a kid that is self-aware and self-confident, then they can do their own thing and that's great, I think that's fine - that's the whole focus of it, to encourage the kids to be able to develop their own abilities.

- WK: It seems to me, looking at the files, that your emphasis, or the tutors' emphasis, is on developing self-confidence as a major goal, whereas the major goal of policy seems to be to have a job at the end of the course.
- Tut: But they really do tie in with each other, although I know that certainly in Wellington Labour Department, the Chief Employment Officer, he doesn't see it like that, but you know you're not going to get a job if you're not confident because if you're not confident you're not going to be able to sell yourself.
- WK: Well, how do you feel then about this situation, that you produce confident kids, but then they're in competition with the less confident kids and end up taking what is really a limited number of jobs - I mean it's not actually creating more jobs ...
- Tut: It's a revolving door system.
- WK: How do you feel about that?
- Tut: I questioned the morality of it quite heavily last year and gave a whole lot of thought to whether I should continue being involved in this system that's really only sticking the kids up - patching them - and, here's a bit of egotism for you, I decided that I'm better at patching them up than a lot of people I know, so I'd better stick with it, 'cos at least they're going to be patched properly and they've got a commitment from me that I'm available for them after they've been out of the course - in fact, they have from [the other social and life skills tutors] as well, and they often call us at home. And I know that not many people are prepared to give the kids that kind of commitment, that they can come back. So, I decided that it was better me being able to give them that kind of commitment than someone who just saw them between half-past eight and half-past four and just forgot about them the rest of the time. You know, I really think we've got to get into developing group co-ops - not enough of that's been done in [this city]. It's being done in other places quite dramatically.

WK: I'm just thinking over this whole thing of alternative support structures - you don't think that ultimately the kids will develop that themselves?

Tut: The kids that have been through Social Welfare as State Wards have developed their own support structures beautifully - it's not entirely acceptable to society the support structure that they've developed, but it's a helluva good one and it's a really strong one, but the middle-class kids are being left out of that (and that's in quotation marks the 'Middle Class' bit) but they are being left out of that because they don't develop the same network of friendship and I've been seeing it happening more and more and more for the Maori kids, too. That they're losing the network of friendships that they had of family, which was very strong when I started in this job - the Maori kids coped much better with unemployment than the pakeha kids, but that's happening less and less as the Maori kids ... while they still have some network of support, it's getting less and less able to cope. They still do to some extent cope better, but a whole lot of them I'm finding now are finding that there's less family and extended family support available than there used to be. So that lots of the Maori kids are being kicked out of home, sleeping in the park or under the bridges, you know. So are lots of the pakeha kids, too.

WK: Well, what do you actually do in the courses as they are now? Because you said that they are different from the official programmes.

Tut: I'm using different kinds of exercises, different kinds of self-awareness stuff, and doing a whole lot more community building so that they function as a group. Initially, I did some community building, just because I knew it was there and I knew it was important to do it, but the kind of self-awareness exercises I'm doing now are completely different.

WK: What are they exactly, what sorts of things are you doing just as an example?

Tut: Well, I used to use one called The Alligator River story, which is a values

setting thing and I got bored with that, the kids get bored with it, too ...

WK: What did it do?

Tut: It talks about values, it's basically about this girl who wants to get across a shark-infested river to a guy and she wants to borrow a boat to get across to him and the little creep that owns the boat says 'Okay, you can have the boat, but you have to sleep with me', so she does and borrows the boat, and it's meant to end happily ever after and it doesn't 'cos her boyfriend packs a sad 'cos she tells him (dumb bird!). But it's quite a good story to use as a values awareness thing. It's also quite a good story to use as a self awareness thing, but I was finding that more and more it was irrelevant.

WK: You mean that the values themselves that it was talking about had become irrelevant in some way?

Tut: Well, the kids had less need to assess their own values. What I started doing, there's another thing I've got which is really good, it's a word-association game and from your answers to the word-association thing, you decide who your other personality is and give it a name and then you draw a picture of it and that's a tremendous self-learning thing and there's much more value in something like that because they learn so much more than there is in something like The Alligator River Story.

WK: How does that build into being a group exercise? Do they discuss their other personalities as well?

Tut: Yes, we all do it as a group and then we go round and talk about the other personalities in the picture and what's come out of the pictures, some fascinating stuff comes out of the pictures ... and that it's important to take care of that bit of your personality as well, and how you're going to do that, and also look at what kind of work will tie in with that kind of personality.

- WK: Do people just have one other bit of their personality, or sometimes do they come out with two or three?
- Tut: Lots of them come out with a contrast personality – two contrasts. One of the kids in the Child Care course fascinated me – she came out with a personality that wanted to live by itself, didn't want to get married, and a personality that just is for itself, you know, that just is. And that's pretty accurate of her 'cos she's not a bad writer and her dream is to go and write and live in a house by herself and that came out and she was quite fascinated by it, really was, that it was a really important part of her. The learning from that kind of exercise is far more, is far deeper, and it's far more valuable than something like The Alligator River Story. So that lots of the resources have changed, too – and also lots of group games that we do.
- WK: Yes, I've seen the games thing mentioned. What exactly do you mean by 'games'?
- Tut: They mostly come off the top of my head. One of them in particular which is a really good one, particularly if you've got some distracting people in the class, to teach the rest of them how those people feel. For somebody who keeps trying to break into a group – one really good exercise is to get the kids into a circle and have one person, or maybe say you have half the kids in a circle and the rest of them outside, they link arms with each other, you know like the protestors do, and they've got to get into the circle any way they can, break in, but without using violence ...
- WK: So you're showing a physical example of what's happening?
- Tut: Mmmm. And, when you de-role people and talk about what's happened, what they learn is that it's helluva hard for somebody to have the courage to break into a group and it's helluva hard to break into a group.
- WK: Yes, I can see how those things must work, breaking down those barriers.

Tut: The discussion from that is absolutely phenomenal.

WK: And so, is that now increasing in its proportion to, say, things like 'letter-writing' or 'calculations'? It would include communications, I presume ...

Tut: Yes, it does. Even with letter-writing skills, I've changed that. I used to have this lovely form for letter-writing skills which is helluva boring, DREADFUL, and I hated using it, so, it was at the beginning of this year, I really got sick of it, so I decided bugger it, I'm not using it any more. So I decided that the best thing to do was get the kids to put it on the board and have somebody writing it out and the rest of the kids saying what ought to be put in it - and you get a damned good letter of application out of it, much more fun because they've got wild imaginations about what they're going to put in and, you know, they do things like - oh, they've had things like 'Filly Pants Street' - you know? It's much more fun and it's more fun for them and they're more involved. And it's very loosely structured 'cos I say 'You can copy it down if you want to, you don't have to', but they'll remember it anyway because they've been involved in it.

WK: So, in actual fact, what you're doing is applying these things to as many parts of the course as possible, involving them?

Tut: It's really important to make them feel like they're doing the learning. So that a whole lot has really changed this year because I've got lazy and they've got more involved. (Laughs)

WK: But wouldn't you have to begin again with every new class?

Tut: But there's such a ... when I came here there was an absolute dearth of resources available, it was diabolical, so I wrote letters to a lot of people outside [the city] and pulled in resources from a lot of people here and now I've got enough resources to probably run a course all year, you know, different courses all year using different resources - we've now got

enough. One of the things that I didn't used to do that I've now started doing, is letting them know where the health agencies are and what they're for which is pretty important ...

WK: I assumed that that was an integral part of the courses?

Tut: Well, I used to do it to some extent, but not involve them so much. Now I send them out to the organisations, so that they see it for themselves and they all come back and report on it, so that they're all sharing their own pooled information.

WK: Do they go out from the classroom quite a lot?

Tut: What I've been aiming at this year is having about one-third discussion, about a third practical, and about third theory and that works out quite well. And some of the parents get uptight, particularly in the skills courses when they see the kids not coming home with sheafs and sheafs of notes, and they get quite bothered about that 'cos I guess they think we're just going to sit them down and kind of feed it in on an empty bucket system and it doesn't work. If you don't discuss what notes are being taken then you're wasting your time.

WK: Well, is that all the feedback that you get from parents or do you get positive feedback as well?

Tut: Occasionally you get a parent ringing up and saying 'Gee, thanks for what you did for my kid, I've got a really positive kid on my hands now'. Occasionally it happens - enough to keep reinforcing the belief that it's worth doing. And occasionally - well, with some of the families that I've worked with I get involved in doing family counselling quite a lot - so with some of the families that I've worked with, they have become more aware of their kids' needs, and some of them are happy to say 'I've learned something'.

WK: Do you think that the kids actually go home and begin to express these needs more?

Tut: Yeah, they do, they do.

WK: What would you like to do, say you could do anything, and why can't you do it now, assuming that you can't?

Tut: One of the things that I would really like to do, and it would take a huge amount of changing of attitudes, but one of the things that I think is really important is that the kids need support after they're in a job, and I'd like to see them released to here or somewhere where I could work with them for at least one day a week, for at least six months after they take up a job - I think that's really important. It would probably be work on relationships more than anything, problem-solving exercises and things like that, that's the kind of work that it would probably be because when they come back that's the sort of thing that they need and they know they need it because they come back here and talk about the problems with me. Or they ring me at home and say 'hey, I've got this problem at work and I don't know what to do about it'. So that they need to be released one day a week ... ha, ha. (Said bitterly)

WK: Well the impression that I have is that many of them go into temporary work programmes - is that true?

Tut: Yes.

WK: So maybe they'd need the help after that, and I also have the impression that quite a lot of them might get a job, and then not have a job, and then, perhaps, have to get another one ...

Tut: I see a real need for long-term support - at least a year after they've been in a course. That's really important. About the middle of this year, I had one youngster come in who was probably in the first course I ran -

she's now married and she was having quite traumatic marital problems and she wanted to talk about them and that was on a day that the kids were on work experience and we spent the morning in here talking the problems through and talking about how she could cope. Now obviously the kids have got to have some place where they can come and talk things through with somebody. And that's not available, especially at the moment. Well, I guess they can go to places like family health counselling.

WK: But how do they get to know about these places? I suppose you tell them in the courses?

Tut: Yeah, but what really happens is that I already know them; they don't want to have to explain where they're at ten times over – that's one of the reasons that I tend to do the family counselling myself because I get the problem and what happens if I sit here and listen to what the kids are saying and talk things through with them, I think that it's immoral of me to say 'Hey, I know this organisation that could help you' and pass them on – I think that's immoral. And, if there are some things I can't cope with (and there are 'cos I can't cope with rape – I find that very hard to relate to, partly because I feel very angry about rape and, you know, that happens to a lot of the kids) then I call in other resources.

WK: But you cope with the ones you can cope with?

Tut: Well, I can't haul in the other resources until the kids are ready for that. When you do that to people, when you say 'Okay, X organisation can help you', then what happens is that they tend to go round all the organisations and they tend to get over-social worked and you're wasting your time because they don't damned well get anywhere. And nobody kind of, in all this over-social working with all these different organisations, very few of the organisations tell them what the skill objectives are to achieve the aim that they want. You know, one of the kids was talking to me about how her family, for example, told her how ugly she was and how she'd never get married and she'd been suicidal about it. And, when I talked to her about

how it sounded to me like what her family was doing was telling her where they were at, not telling her where she was at – you know, we talked it through and I kind of suggested to her that that might be what it was, and she said to me ‘Well, how do you cope with it?’. So I said, ‘Well, you just have to kind of think to yourself inside I wonder why this person is telling me where they’re at’. And she went home and tried it and she came back ecstatic the next day because it worked. And nobody had told her before what the skill objective was in achieving the aim of stopping her family saying these things to her.

WK: What is stopping them getting this long-term support?

Tut: (Cynical laugh) Partly the fact that employers are unaware that kids need long-term support. Some would release them, but most wouldn't because after all they're only interested in the kid making a profit for them and, fair enough, they're in business to make a profit. Partly the fact that it's pretty revolutionary and the Education Department would never believe that the kids needed long-term support, neither would the Labour Department. We're probably going to have to say that for ten years before they're going to believe us and then it will be too late for a whole lot of kids. The government is cynical. The further you get away from reality the further you are away from reality.

WK: Well, is there anything else that you see as being something really important that you'd like to do that you can't?

Tut: Yes, the whole system inside Tech Institutes and Community Colleges and Senior Technical Divisions works on the register system and we need to drop the register system for YPTP. That's really important. We also need to have a system where, when I'm working one-to-one with a youngster, then that must be able to be marked as class contact because it is. It's fine for a group session – that's 'class contact', but we have to be able to ignore the class contact to be able to work one-to-one with the kids. I really feel sorry for any tutor who goes into YPTP without any counselling skills.

- WK: I was just going to say that's counselling not education!
- Tut: As I said, how much difference is there between an educator and a social worker? There isn't.
- WK: I think it does in fact depend on how you see the functions, and that the two functions can be seen in the same light.
- Tut: They're definitely very overlapping. You know, that's an important thing for the kids - they need to feel that they are able to trust and talk through their problems and, because tutors teach on a class contact system or at least the full-time tutors do, then that creates instant problems because it's not class contact and it must be. And also there's a helluva problem in co-ordination time.
- WK: Do you mean actually having an administrator who would do all the organisational things so that the tutor is left free?
- Tut: I would estimate that this year I have probably spent an average of three hours a night outside working time on co-ordination and planning and dreaming things up and talking with people and getting things going. That's probably a fairly conservative assessment of what I spent my time on.
- WK: I sensed from reading the files that there's a lot of tutor input into things other than tutoring.
- Tut: That's another reason that the class contact thing falls down and I know to some extent my own kids resent the amount of time I spend on working outside working hours and I don't blame them; I think that's fair enough. And that's an area that hasn't been looked at and it needs to be and I'll probably bring it up at the tutors' meeting.
- WK: Well, this is the thing. The impression I get about all the tutors is that

they put in a lot of personal time and, if that personal time commitment wasn't put in, then the courses would actually not get off the ground, they wouldn't work at all.

Tut: Yes, that's it, I know that. There's also not enough (and I'm thinking about the tutors here, but I'm also thinking about the kids in the long term) - there's also not enough tutor support.

WK: You mean in terms of training, back-up and counselling?

Tut: Yeah - there are not enough tutor get-togethers and when we do have them ... most of the tutor get-togethers I have been to have been structured programmes, structured by somebody else and ignoring our problems. And there is not half enough tutor support.

WK: Have the tutors actually tried to do anything about it, like getting together themselves?

Tut: Yes, Roger Steele at Waiariki organised the two days in September that I went to for which I had to take two days leave because the Education Department wouldn't go along with it and possibly the reason for that is that Roger is a bit of a revolutionary and tends to ignore other people's directions. But that was very loosely structured and we needed that. I was burnt out when I went there and I came back feeling totally refreshed. And, you know, to get to the stage where you're burnt out is bad news.

WK: Well, if you feel that the tutors need this and, as the tutors are obviously a very important part of keeping these courses going because without them they wouldn't - I mean, if you just had ordinary teachers in these courses, then they just wouldn't keep going in that way - do you feel that the tutors have any power, or could actually get any power if they worked together, or does the part-time structure make it difficult?

Tut: That's one of the problems because there might be only one or two tutors

working full-time on YPTP in each technical institute and the rest of them are part-timers. But the one thing that happens is that, by and large, we never all get together. We get together in our areas, we never all get together and say this is what we're doing and what we want. And that meeting that I told [the Head of Department] what I wanted was the first time we have had one here - the one that you came to. That's shattering - I've been here two and a half years! The programme has been running here for three and a half years and this is the first time that we have ever had a meeting like that! And all the meetings about YPTP (and this really bugs me) you get a whole lot of hierarchical people sitting up on their great thrones, making lovely statements, and frankly wasting our time, wasting the tutor's time.

WK: Well, I was wondering about the hierarchy in that I was just reading in files recently that it seemed to take quite a long time for even the hierarchy to get that co-ordination together. It wasn't just the tutors not getting together but also the Department of Labour and the Department of Education, so they must have been rather confused to begin with, mustn't they?

Tut: Yes.

WK: Totally piecemeal as far as I can work out.

Tut: What needs to happen really is that the regulations for YPTP have got to be flexible enough to allow each area to do what is needed in that area not in New Zealand as a whole.

WK: This is again something I was wondering about because the policy directives obviously go out the same to every technical institute, community college, etc., but equally obviously each place implements them in their own way, so I was wondering how effective this was - if they have real choices within different areas seeing that the policy is the same?

- Tut: The tutors take the choice - that's it. For instance in the initial directives that came out in 1977, I think one of the suggested components of pre-employment was mending (both laugh) ... so I stretched that rather and decided that mending could be helping somebody mend their emotional problems and be justifiably called 'mending' and I know that all the other tutors do that kind of thing or the majority of them do. Some of them don't. There are some tutors in some places who I cringe in horror when I hear what they're doing - a few, not very many. And I really think that they're just into getting results - they don't give a damn about the kids.
- WK: What sort of results, though - jobs?
- Tut: Jobs. And a lot of the time, once they see they've got jobs, that's it, they don't give a damn about them after that. That's the whole aim.
- WK: That's the aim, as far as I can see, of the courses - to get the jobs.
- Tut: Yes, it is. Well, most of us have more long-term aims than that. But we tend to interpret as we choose. YPTP tutors are a pretty liberal lot.
(laughs)
- WK: So you just use your nouse about how you interpret them. Well, here's a different sort of question - how do you see your students vis-a-vis the other 'normal' students? I mean, I've heard various stories about this. What is the relationship?
- Tut: It's non-existent.
- WK: I gathered that it was more than non-existent.
- Tut: Yes, well, perhaps more than non-existent. They don't mix with the other students. Mind you, the fact that we're on a lot of different sites here probably causes the students not to mix anyway, but they also don't mix much with the other students in other community colleges and technical

institutes either. The other students, and to some extent I believe this is reasonable, particularly for the full-time students who are on a bursary – you see, they see these Kids getting \$50-odd a week and they see themselves getting \$23 and maybe a bit extra if they're lucky, and they see that as being pretty damned unfair and I think that's justifiable. But, then, our students aren't unemployed by choice, by and large. We very rarely ever get Kids in here who have decided that they just don't want to work – very rarely – I think we've probably only had about three. Most of them want a job – those people are still students by choice. But then, once again, we're not a very liberal society, so I think that probably the other students' attitudes towards the YPTP Kids is pure reflection of what happens in society. The hierarchy here are pretty supportive – that's all I want to say about them.

WK: Okay. Well, why do you think the Kids are unemployed to begin with? The ones that come into your courses.

Tut: Well, partly it is their own fault, but only a very small part. If you haven't got the resources in yourself to go out and fight for what you want, and most of the Kids haven't, then you're not going to get what you want. And, if you haven't got the skills to do it, then you're not going to get what you want. It's kind of a vicious circle thing – you can almost say that they are unemployed because they are unemployed.

WK: Are you saying that, if they weren't unemployed, then somebody else in their place would be?

Tut: Ummmmm – yes, that's a definite truth because there aren't enough jobs to go around, but you can also say that some of it, well, I'm talking about the responsibility being the Kids', some of it is and the truth is that they are unemployed because they are unemployed.

WK: How would you see them becoming employed from within their own resources, having been through the school system?

Tut: The school system doesn't help!

WK: What I am trying to say is - how have they become so resourceless? I mean, I don't believe that people start out (and I don't think you do) with a total lack of human resources.

Tut: Well, it's partly the nature/nurture argument and some families have less resources than other families because - you could carry on ad infinitum back. But it's also partly the schooling system that spoonfeeds them and doesn't allow them to make their own choices or their own decisions. But it's also true that you can make your own choices and your own decisions in the schooling system if you're prepared to be able to do that, if you're prepared to go out and get it. Because it does happen for some kids. But then again they are the kids with the family resources.

WK: Don't you see this as an interlocking thing?

Tut: Oh yes, very much - and in the final analysis really it is up to the kids 'cos we can't make them develop the resources.

WK: You don't think that perhaps they'd always be fighting a losing battle though, trying to become equal with the kids who have got the resources?

Tut: Some of them will be - a lot of them will always be fighting the battle. The chances are a lot of them will never get to where they want to be because society isn't going to support them and help them get to where they want to be. We've got this kind of society where I've got to have somebody up there to look up to and somebody down there to look down on to make me feel good and so it's a society thing, isn't it.

WK: It's a society then that needs all those people down there to look down on - is that what you're saying? So, therefore, there will always be those people?

Tut: Yes, I think so - unless we change society attitudes.

WK: And how would you see us doing that?

Tut: Well, that's a tall order! How would see that? Do you really want to know? Okay, I'd change the money system, change the way of dishing out money. What I would do, instead of having separate firms paying separate wages to separate employees, I'd have the whole darn lot paid to the government, dished out to local bodies, all the wages and taxes, dished out to local bodies who would pay each person in that local body area, man, woman and child, a productivity amount - which would be exactly the same.

WK: Would it depend on how much is produced out of that area?

Tut: Yes, that's right, and it would be a productivity amount. And that would ensure for a start that the schooling system would have to change because the kids would have money, you see.

WK: So they would have control over their own money?

Tut: Right. So they would have to change and develop a real good learning experience for the people because the kids wouldn't have to go to school or earn money. It would ensure equality right the way through because if you haven't got economic equality you haven't got equality at all.

WK: But what about the people who own the means of production and, theoretically, are making a profit that isn't going to the government? Now they won't be equal.

Tut: Yes, they do have to be.

WK: Well, how?

Tut: They just have other resources. What we have to do is stop

rewarding people with X amount of money and start rewarding them with other things like six months study leave, paid study leave. If we stop seeing money as the thing that gives people superiority. It's really radical!

WK: You don't think then that those people can then afford to buy more of the other things like six months study leave or whatever becomes valuable?

Tut: Well, if you don't have to buy things like that, then that wipes out the ability to buy them - we have to do things like give everybody X amount of education credits to be used up during their lifetime - wow! And, if you want more, then you have to do something else to get them. You have to take on more responsibilities.

WK: So in some way then the means of paying for these sorts of things becomes service to the community in some way rather than profit making?

Tut: It's very radical! It's my ideal, and if you take away - it's really the difference between need and want. You know, we say 'I need a new washing machine', but really do you really need it? Or do you want it? And, if we make schools, 'cos I don't think the schooling system is going to change dramatically - I think they're still going to be filling up empty buckets and standing up in front of thirty-odd kids saying 'You will do this'. I don't think that's going to change, I can't see it - but if we make them change, then they haven't got any choice. This means that they'd probably have to have a massive support system to help them cope with being made to change - but that could be done. You know, that's a dream - that's probably not going to happen.

WK: How would you see the education system's relationship with employment then? How would that work within your system? Would it just continue the same?

Tut: I think no. There would be much more emphasis in education on coping

skills and problem-solving and that would be on an even basis with vocational skills and it's not at the moment and it probably won't ever be, but it would be on an even basis, and the two values would be equally acceptable.

WK: Well, one other question I wanted to ask you - why do you do what you're doing? How did you actually get into doing this?

Tut: I saw the ad in the paper and applied for it, which was basically how I got in but uhmmmmmm...

WK: What had you been doing before that?

Tut: Oh, I've done all sorts of things - oh, I've worked as a clerk and I've worked as a pattern maker, but basically I think it was counselling.

WK: You had done counselling before?

Tut: Yes, I did about two years voluntary counselling which was training on the job, which was pretty damn scarifying, but it's probably the best way of learning. And probably because of my own family background, there's always been a tie-up to people with disadvantage. There were always these kind of people who came home to Mum and Dad to get help, so it's always been there.

WK: So you were aware of those needs?

Tut: Yes. And there's also a commitment from me to help people to find the resources to find what they want.

WK: Is that because you feel that you've had to do that yourself? Has it come out of your own experience?

Tut: Yes, partly. Yes, but then I see me as being lucky to have an awareness of

the resources. Yes, it is luck – well, it happens to be the family I grew up with, lucky old me! But lots of people don't have that so that you have to help them find out where these resources are, and people don't know and lots of the community organisations sit in their wonderful edifices and expect people to come to them. And that's not how it's going to work any longer – we ought to be going to people and saying 'Hey, what can I do to help you and where are your needs?'. Mmmmmm – I want to change a whole lot of the system.

WK: Well, what do you think about the fact that these courses aren't allowed to be advertised?

Tut: That is changing a bit – they are going to be advertised. I see that as a step forward, but we've got to advertise in the right places. There's little point in us advertising in the local paper. Who the hell wants to pay 20 cents for a 16-page paper (okay, it's a bit more than that most of the time), but even so, people can't afford to pay 20 cents for a paper any longer. So what we've got to do is advertise where the kids are at – in the fun parlours. Lots of people don't read – it's as simple as that. We've got to be advertising in theatres, we've got to be advertising out in the Labour Department, advertising in the pool places ...

WK: Or on TV?

Tut: TV! I can just see them agreeing to that! It's costly!

WK: But surely TV does that sort of thing as a community service? This is the other thing that I saw in the files – the absolute lack of co-operation between government departments on very minor things – like, why can't the broadcasting system do something in co-operation with the Education Department?

Tut: They do do little things, but not very much. The government departments are fairly good at taking kids on work experience and that's a really

important part of each course. If they didn't have the work experience, I think we'd be doing a lot of time-wasting - I think that's a really important part.

WK: I was just looking at things like, for example, the driving instruction - there were about four different government departments and none of them actually seemed to be able to get together to get the driving instruction done.

Tut: Yes, and I'd have loved to have organised driving instruction. But then you see that's another society!

STUDENT 1 - MARY, 19

WK: Do you live at home?

Mary: No, I'm flatting. Been flatting since September.

WK: And where do you come in your family? Do you have brothers and sisters?

Mary: Oldest of three - I've got two younger brothers.

WK: People have different sorts of family relationships, but do both your parents live at home?

Mary: Yes, they do.

WK: And what do they do? What is their occupation?

Mary: Dad's a bank officer and Mum's a housewife - she has done some parttime work.

WK: So she works occasionally?

Mary: Yeah.

WK: Well, when did you leave school?

Mary: End of last year.

WK: And what form was that?

Mary: I got UE Accredited at Form 6 and I thought that was enough to leave school so I did, but ...

- WK: You sound like you're regretting it?
- Mary: Well, I regret leaving school without somewhere to go - that's the thing I regret doing. I reckon you should leave school if you know where you can go, like, if you know you're going to University or Teachers College or you've got a job lined up, but I had no idea.
- WK: At that stage, then, you sound like you wouldn't have minded if you had continued on at school? That it wouldn't have worried you. Is that so?
- Mary: Well, I was getting pretty sick of school.
- WK: Is that why you left?
- Mary: I thought I could leave because I thought I'd gone far enough. I didn't think I'd need seventh form or anything like that - I wasn't going to University, so I didn't need Bursary or anything.
- WK: Well, why had you stayed to get UE?
- Mary: Well, I thought UE was important and so did my parents and that's why. Actually I took two years to get it and I thought it was important, so I worked for it and I got it.
- WK: What subjects?
- Mary: English, Maths, Chemistry and Biology.
- WK: Well, they're quite heavy science subjects but you're not planning to go on at all? It's just that it's unusual for girls ...
- Mary: Not so much unusual because most of our classes were 75% girls and most of the girls got it. I was hoping, you see, to get into a Lab career, but it was more difficult than I thought.
- WK: Have you applied in some way to do that?

- Mary: At the beginning of this year I came to [the city] from the East Coast where I did my high school years and I went up to the hospital and spoke to the Head of Departments and went for five interviews, which I didn't get and I felt really down in the mouth after that, so I went home ...
- WK: That was five interviews for lab. work at the Hospital?
- Mary: I went home with no money and I didn't know what to do. So, school went back and I was unemployed. I kept looking around town for work, but there wasn't anything. The East Coast being really bad for unemployment and, of course, the grape-picking season had just finished and there was absolutely nothing. It was the end of summer.
- WK: So what did you do?
- Mary: Basically I had to try and keep interested and I just started my own studies, my own lab. studies. I got a folder and a refill and started keeping going with the studies so I wouldn't sort of get behind.
- WK: Well, given your qualifications and your interests obviously, why do you think you didn't get the jobs at the Hospital?
- Mary: I think it could have been age.
- WK: You think 18 was too young?
- Mary: Too young. And also that there were not too many vacancies. The staff turnover wasn't as good as it was before - well, not as good, but as often.
- WK: So, you got this folder that you started doing and how long did that go on for?

Mary: Well, I'm still doing it now. I've tried to get into Tech next year to do the third stage in NZCS - Certificate of Science. And, if I get it, I'll be really pleased. I should know in two weeks. And then all I've got to worry about is surviving on this pathetic little bursary.

WK: \$27 is it?

Mary: Yes, but I'm going to apply for Hardship. I'm living away from home and, I don't know, I'll see what happens.

WK: Even then it's only \$50! The other thing is that you have to show evidence of earnings during the holidays, don't you. How are you going to cope with that?

Mary: Well, I am going to try my damndest to get a job doing practically anything. I thought I might try and get into domestic help or cleaning seeing that it is the school holidays and parents are still working, so they need people to look after their kids or something like that. I have done a bit of that before. I might advertise in the paper. I have to go and find the jobs, they won't come to me. And, you know, the thing is though that it costs money to advertise as well and you've got to have the money to make money and that's just the way it is.

WK: So, during that time, until you came on this course, you didn't have a job at all?

Mary: I had a temporary job which was twelve weeks working in a takeaway bar. That was long hours. I was working over a 40-hour week and I wasn't getting all that much money - I was getting just over \$100 a week. It was pretty tiring and I found it quite boring after a while, but I kept at it because I knew I needed the money and it was because I earned that money that I was able to go flatting.

WK: Well, when did you register with the Labour Department?

Mary: When I came here?

WK: I mean, when did you first register?

Mary: About three months after New Year when I knew there was no chance of getting a job.

WK: So that was about March. And I presume you went on the Unemployment Benefit then?

Mary: Yeah.

WK: And then you got a temporary job?

Mary: Yeah.

WK: How did you feel about the time when you were unemployed? How did you ...

Mary: I hated it! I felt that I wasn't able to give my share to the family. I mean, everyone was doing their own thing. Dad was going off to work, Mum was doing her bit, the boys were going off to school and I had nothing to do! It was driving me up the wall!

WK: Well, what did you do apart from doing your folder?

Mary: Uhm, well, looking for jobs.

WK: And how did you look for jobs? Did you look in the paper?

Mary: I got all pushed up and went round to all the places. I went to newspaper places and told them that I'd worked on a paper at school and I started up a newspaper at school and was editor of that and was there any chance of me getting a job. And it's the same old story, you

know - 'no, I'll take your name and address and phone number and we'll get back to you'.

WK: So you went doorknocking essentially?

Mary: Yeah. It was also very depressing because even though they seemed to be quite friendly you also got the impression that they were trying to brush you off as well as if to say, 'oh, you know, not another one!'.

WK: And this was at the East Coast?

Mary: Yeah, Gisborne. And then in May all my family shifted to [a smaller town] ...

WK: And that would be worse? Because it's a smaller place ...

Mary: Yes, a smaller place. And, of course, I was totally - I had no bearings on the place, just thrown in there, and, of course, I didn't know what places there were, let alone where to go looking for the jobs. Then I started off with the big places - Dad sort of helped me a bit, by saying that he knows this fellow who works in a factory, go and see him, and I did all those things. But, of course, my age ... And in some cases I was over-qualified and I was too old because I spent that extra year at school - I was too old to be an office junior and too young to be a proper receptionist or something like that because you need to be about twenty. So I'm in that difficult age group. (laughs)

WK: A lot of people have said that - that they're either too young or too old ...

Mary: Or too qualified or not qualified enough.

WK: Well, how did you find out about this course?

Mary: I'd been registered at the Labour Department for about three or four

weeks and they sent me a letter and I went for an interview.

WK: What did the letter say?

Mary: It said that there'd be a course starting at Tech, such and such a date, are you interested? If so, come for an interview.

WK: I see, you didn't feel obliged to go for an interview?

Mary: Uhm, oh, I wanted to check it out so I rang up and they said come along and they gave me a time and I checked it out. To me it was something to keep me from going bonkers. I wanted to do something and I thought Oh, it'll be good because I'll be getting a little bit extra money which I think's really important and I was generally sort of interested in cooking anyway.

WK: If it had been another course, not Foodhandling, would you still have been interested in coming on it? If it had been Office Skills or Warehousing or something?

Mary: Well, the way I look at it, anything I can do to get experience or anything - so I've got this course under my belt but I've also got typing skills which I got at school, so maybe if it had been Office Skills I wouldn't have done it because I've already got my Trades Cert.

WK: So, basically, you wanted something to stop you going bonkers - that was your main aim?

Mary: Something to do.

WK: Well, you've been on the course for about eight weeks now - how do you feel about the course?

Mary: When I first started I thought it was going to be really good. I was looking forward to learning all these new things. Now that the course

is nearly finished, I've found it quite disappointing. It wasn't as good as I thought it would be.

WK: In what way?

Mary: It probably is more personal in that it's been very slow. I think what they should have done is Fast learners and Slow learners because I'm a reasonably fast learner, you know, I pick things up fairly quick and the rest of the class is fairly slow and I get a bit impatient with things.

WK: So, have you been essentially bored most of the time?

Mary: No, not all of the time. Sometimes [the work skills tutor] would start a topic and I'd be really interested, I'd be in whole hog and then she'd go onto something that I'd either already done at school or I'd find quite boring. And I'd switch off and then I'd start getting restless and I'd start talking to other people and, of course, that starts a bit of friction in the class and [the tutor] ends up throwing chalk at people.

WK: Well, how would you improve the course then, if you could improve it?

Mary: Uhm ... I think ten weeks is too long. Six would be good. I think that we should cram it into six weeks, keep everyone interested all the time, so that they're learning something all the time not just sitting there bored, and I think that, in the afternoons when we're not doing the actual course stuff, like when we have [the social and life skills tutors], I didn't think that was any use at all.

WK: Why didn't you like that bit of it?

- Mary: Well ... I thought sometimes it was humiliating to be given just basic maths when I've got UE Maths ...
- WK: You didn't help other people with it?
- Mary: I did, but then I didn't see why I should help other people when the tutors were there. I thought I could be doing something else. I haven't really learned anything in the afternoons. I thought the outings were good. We've been to the morgue and the cake factory and the museum and I thought those were really good - those will stick in my mind for a long time.
- WK: Well, what about the work experience?
- Mary: Work experience I thought was a bit of a dead loss.
- WK: Where did you go?
- Mary: I've been to the Hospital and to a catering service. I think two days - especially Tuesday and Wednesday when the days are fairly quiet - but then I can see the employer's point of view that they don't want anyone inexperienced working say on Friday ...
- WK: Was your problem that you weren't given enough to do?
- Mary: Yes. It would be better I think if they sent them out for one whole week, so that the first day you can get to know the place and the staff and how everything goes and, for the whole week, you can get into a sort of routine. But for two days, and Tuesday and Wednesday being quiet days, you're in and you're out and you haven't really got the gist of the whole works.
- WK: Before, as part of improving the course, you started to talk about the afternoon things ...

- Mary: Well, some of the afternoon things we've done are good. As I said, we go on trips, we have films about health and we've talked about social things like unemployment and budgetting ...
- WK: And you think those things are good?
- Mary: Very good. Things like social science and getting on with people, I think that's really important. And I think that they should go into more of that because it is everyday things and, if you can get on with people, then that's a great advantage when you're looking for a job, if you can go in there and project a sort of people's person - do you know what I mean?
- WK: I know what you mean. So you feel that you have actually gained something on those bits of the course. That they've helped you.
- Mary: Yes. I have gained on the course, but I think I could have gained a lot more.
- WK: If it had been shorter and more compacted. Well, how do you see your future and this is your real future, not what you'd like it to be?
- Mary: At the moment I don't feel very secure at all, especially financially. The money that I've got on the course I haven't been able to save much at all - I've saved \$24. I get \$60 and \$36 of that goes towards rent and food and then I've also got a washing machine on hire purchase which is \$10 a week so that's \$46, plus other expenses like clothing and personal requirements and I think I have a couple of dollars left over which I put in the savings bank. So it's not a lot of money at all.
- WK: So how do you see your future when this course finishes?
- Mary: Obviously I would have left with a lot more knowledge than when I started. I don't know whether the fact that I've done the course, to employers and that, I don't know how they see the course. I can say that I've done it but I don't know how that's gonna help me get a job.

With all the students out from University and that, it's going to be even harder.

WK: So you don't perhaps see yourself as getting a job and if you get accepted on the course – perhaps not until you come onto the course? Is that right?

Mary: Yeah. At the moment, I see myself looking forward to going to Tech next year to do the course, but if I don't get that, then I think I'm up the creek without a paddle. I'll be even more depressed than I was at the beginning of this year because I haven't really done anything this year apart from this course and my twelve weeks experience that's all I've got. And when I was at school I was hoping to – while I was working I was saying 'It's got to be worth it', but it hasn't paid off.

WK: Seeing that you're willing to live on a bursary and you'll find out about this course in a few weeks, have you considered enrolling for University and doing that to give you something to do?

Mary: Uhm, I don't really want to go to University. I find if I go into something that I don't want to do I won't enjoy it. It's not good for them and it's not good for me and there's a bit of aggro there. Anyway, I'd need to get set up – it costs hundreds for books and things. I think, too, another thing in these courses is they should get more people in. I mean, well, we haven't spoken to any other chefs.

WK: More people from the food industry, you mean?

Mary: Yes. Maybe get someone to come in and show us cake-decorating or something like that. Like, I mastered the art of cake-decorating at home, when I had nothing to do.

WK: Well, what would you like your future to be? If you had limitless choice, what would you like your future to be?

- Mary: I'd like to be able to get a job over these holidays, get some money, go to Tech next year, study med. laboratory and then eventually get a position in a hospital.
- WK: When you say get a position in the hospital, what sort of work specifically do you want?
- Mary: Working in a lab.
- WK: I don't know much about that. Is that sort of testing ...
- Mary: Yeah. Haematology's my favourite, blood, sounds morbid, eh.
- WK: There's clinics and things around town, have you tried those?
- Mary: You've got to be qualified.
- WK: Okay, so that's what you really want to do and you're actually working towards doing that. Any sort of personal things that you'd like for your future?
- Mary: What do you mean?
- WK: Well, have you got any plans for getting married ...
- Mary: I want to go on a trip to the UK, see my penpal, I haven't seen her yet. I'd like to buy a house or a flat or a unit, or something like that, a place that I could call my own. Get some independence. I'm not really into materialistic things, but I'd like to know where I'm at. Have a little bit of security - or a lot of it actually. And a bit of money in the bank, because that's security, too.
- WK: So you want a job that you like and security basically. Well, why do you think people are unemployed in New Zealand, particularly young people?

Mary: Because older people hold the jobs. A lot of mothers, married women who have got jobs as opposed to a few decades ago. Staff turnover isn't as it used to be. Although at some places employers can afford to keep putting people through if they're not pulling up to scratch because there's plenty of people that want the jobs. I think a lot more people are leaving school earlier. Also, because of the job situation, they're not working at school because of the 'Why bother? I'll probably end up on the dole anyway' - so it starts at school I think. Also parents have got a bit to do with it in guiding them into vocations. Some parents don't really care. My parents care! I'm glad of that! They've given me plenty of moral support but they won't give me any money. I don't want them to. I suppose if I was really desperate they would. But they want to see if I can make it on my own and so do I.

WK: Well, how would you solve unemployment?

Mary: Uhm, 90,000 people, that's a lot and it's not something that you can solve overnight. But I think there should be more of these courses. More courses would give people jobs as tutors. These courses are a good idea because you can get paid for doing something and you're also gaining experience and knowledge instead of just wandering the streets. Cut out the dole for single beneficiaries, that's the idea.

WK: And how do they live?

Mary: By going on a course.

WK: So you'd have more or less continual courses that people could just keep going to?

Mary: More courses, so they could do music, horticulture, anything they're interested in. Those who don't want to learn can teach because there's plenty of young people around who say 'I'm really good at playing electric guitar', they could teach other people. That might not

seem such a good idea, but you can make a living playing guitars. And, if you want to learn, well, that's half your battle. I think a lot of people on these courses are here just for something to do – they don't want to learn. They're ripping off the Labour Department, they're wasting the tutors' time and also getting on everyone else's nerves.

WK: But you're saying that you want to set up more of these courses and you would actually force people to come on them by cutting off the dole for single beneficiaries, so you'd get more people who didn't ever want to be on the courses in the first place. So you might have more of those problems.

Mary: Yeah, but you see if there's more courses then you draw their interests ...

WK: So they'd have much more choice?

Mary: Yeah and also there'd be a lot more tutors and it would be a more interesting thing – get really into it, like art or professional sport, anything.

WK: So they'd continue these courses for years and years?

Mary: Well, I reckon courses should range from six weeks to a year and they should get paid for doing it, but they've got to be interested in it. As soon as they lose interest well you're wasting the country's money, people's time, their time ...

WK: And what happens then?

Mary: Well, they'd have to do something else, another course or something. But they have got the choice as to what they do. The courses can be fun. You go out and you meet people and see places ...

WK: So you see them as being beneficial if they're run the right way?

- Mary: Yeah. They've got to be run the right way.
- WK: Well, where do you think all the tutors are going to come from?
- Mary: Well, as I say the people that can teach. Anybody can be a teacher if they're good at something, and they get paid for that. I think some of the tutors on this one, in the afternoon, they don't do anything. They come in and sit down and start talking, they might hand out a few Xerox sheets, but they're not doing anything and they're getting paid for it! They're getting paid a phenomenal amount for doing this – I think it's \$8 a hour or something! But you see, if you're not getting money by being on a course, you could get money by teaching.
- WK: What do you see as being the end product of all these courses? Is it to develop better people
- Mary: It's first of all to give someone a feeling of being someone. Since I've had the label of student rather than unemployed person, I've felt a lot better and a lot of people's attitudes towards me have changed as well and that's a great start to becoming someone. You see people you haven't seen for a while and they say 'what are you doing now?' and it's a lot easier to say 'Oh, I'm at the Tech, I'm a student' rather than hesitate and say 'Oh, I'm a bum'.
- WK: Do you think unemployed people are bums?
- Mary: Oh, in the sense that they just muck around and do nothing.
- WK: Do you think you're a bum?
- Mary: No, I'm a student.
- WK: I mean when you're not a student?
- Mary: I think that I feel useless.

- WK: Being forced to be useless isn't necessarily being a bum - I mean a bum is someone who wants to be useless I think ...
- Mary: I know. It's just that label that society puts on you.
- WK: Have you got anything else that you wanted to say?
- Mary: Only that I think that the courses are a good idea if they're run better and I think there should be more of them. And, after all, New Zealand's youth, there's a hell of a lot going for us and they're tomorrow's adults and they should have the chance. There's not much chance, there's not much opportunity and we're getting really down. Everyone's getting down. And all this money that's getting spent - I reckon they're just dishing it out to people that aren't getting anywhere. And another idea I thought of is all those young people that could take summer camps and teach even younger people outdoor pursuits, canoeing, tramping. I reckon they're going to have to get it to the stage where it's going to work, obviously, they have to have the money and have the interest and it's got to be on a scale where everyone can see what's happening.
- WK: You mean that people have got to be able to accept it as being what needs to happen?
- Mary: You see, if you're employed you don't think about being unemployed until you actually are and then you realise that you're just one of thousands. And being both sides of the fence, being employed and unemployed, I know what I'd rather be. Just for the sense of identity. And security, definitely. Especially financial security. Just having a reason to get up out of bed, got to work, that's good.

STUDENT 2 - JUNE, 16

WK: Where do you come in your family? Have you got brothers and sisters?

June: Oh, uhm, I've got one sister, she's Anna, she works at Freeman's ...

WK: And is she older than you or younger?

June: Yeah, she's eighteen, she's older ... oh, she's not eighteen yet, there's a year and ten months, I think, between us. And I live with my Mum ...

WK: You haven't got any brothers - there's just the two of you?

June: Yeah.

WK: And what about your Dad?

June: Oh, uhm ... well, he's living with someone else - what else would you like to know?

WK: Well, what does your Mum do? Does she work?

June: Oh, my Mum - no, she doesn't work, she's on a, uhm, benefit or something ...

WK: A Domestic Purposes Benefit or something like that?

June: Yeah. And my Dad's on the Council.

WK: What does he do?

June: Oh, ah, he ah, he goes out on the trucks with the men - fixing cables under the ground and all that. He used to be like a foreman or

something - I don't know if he still is or not.

WK: And how long have your parents been separated?

June: Oh, about a year.

WK: That must have been quite hard for you - 'cos that's a hard sort of time for it to happen.

June: Yeah, it is, 'cos I'm right in the middle of things, fights and all sorts.

WK: Does it still go on or is it better now?

June: Oh, it's better now.

WK: And do you get on quite well with your Dad?

June: Yeah! He's really good, I really get on with him.

WK: You don't have to be nervous you know, 'cos it's just talking, it's nothing else. Well, when did you leave school?

June: Last year some time. Nah, it was about a year and a half.

WK: So you left at the beginning of last year?

June: Yeah - Nooo! It was the middle of the fifth form - May - yeah May 198 - 1, yeah 1981.

WK: So that's about, almost a year ago. And you were in the fifth form? You hadn't done second fifth?

June: No.

WK: Did you have any qualifications?

- June: No. Oh, we did a work experience thing, where we had to go different places working one day a week and I worked in a, uhm, clothes shop? I was the Girl Friday there - quite good.
- WK: So, to get that job, what sort of course were you doing? Were you doing a commercial course? To be a Girl Friday?
- June: Nooo! Just a general.
- WK: I was just wondering if you'd done typing or shorthand before?
- June: Yeah! I've done typing and that! Not much though - about a year or two years. I did a year, you see I had to swap classes, from the third form, I was doing - what was that course you said? A, a ...
- WK: Commercial?
- June: Yeah, I was doing that course and then in the fourth form I got put down a class. I went in the General class.
- WK: I was just wondering because [the work skills tutor] said you hadn't done any typing before ...
- June: Yeah! I've done it before! I just don't let her know. (Both laugh)
- WK: Anyway, have you been employed?
- June: Employed? Yeah, by my sister's boss, that's in a factory, Freeman's - same place. I was out the back and all the machines and the printing and things and uhm ... see everything ended up in big books and pads and stuff and we had to collate things, you know, putting little pieces of paper in the middle of pages and all that sort of thing, staple them and glue them and all that sort of thing. It was all right. That was before Christmas.

- WK: And when did you leave? How long were you there?
- June: I can't remember actually - it wasn't that long though. The week before Christmas about ... oh, I don't really know.
- WK: Well, did you get that job straight after you left school?
- June: No. That was a long time after 'cos I did a course before that.
- WK: You did a pre-employment course did you?
- June: Yeah.
- WK: So that would have been about six weeks and then did you apply for that job?
- June: Yeah. Oh, I didn't apply for that job. My sister came home and asked me if I'd like a job with her and I was, I was shocked and said 'Yeah!'.
- WK: So you would have been there about six months? If you went in, say, about June, July?
- June: What? My sister's work? Nooo! No, it wasn't that long! It was only for about a month or so.
- WK: And what happened after that? Have you had any other jobs?
- June: Uhm, let me think ... Noooo. No, I haven't. I'm just doing this course at the moment.
- WK: And why did you leave that job? Why did you leave Freeman's?
- June: Oh ... stupid this, eh. See, he said ... see, the day before, he said (the day before I left) he said to all of us - we were up for coffee, having coffee and morning tea, you know, and he said to all of us, he said, 'Oh

well ...' what did he say? 'Oh, all of you', he said, 'I'm inviting you out for, you know, Christmas do, you know, in the last hour, whatever' and he looked at me when he was saying it and all that and then - and then after I heard that, I thought 'Oh gee, I'll have to go out and buy a dress'. And I went and bought a dress and then ... oh, a couple of days later, he comes up and says, he says, 'Oh, June, today's your last day'. And I, uhm, sort of looked at him, you know, and he said, 'Oh, you can come and pick up your pay tomorrow'. And I thought 'God', you know - he said he didn't need me anymore and then a week later he hired his niece. He said he didn't need any more employees - I thought that was disgusting!

WK: Did you go to somewhere like the Department of Labour about it?

June: No. I just left it - see, that was my first sort of job. I didn't know those sort of things.

WK: So what did you do then? Did you go on the dole, or what?

June: Oh, I couldn't - I was too young.

WK: Of course, you would have been. So did you register, being unemployed?

June: When I was sixteen. Oh, you mean unemployed register - yeah, I was already.

WK: And so have you been looking for a job since then?

June: Yeah. I've been for so many interviews! I thought that I got one job and I ended up not getting it.

WK: Well, what sort of jobs - receptionist jobs?

June: Yeah. Actually, at the start there, I was always looking for shop jobs

- I thought that's easy, I'll get one, but gee - you go round and there's so many applicants going for them ...

WK: How many are there?

June: Oh, untold, like the last job I went for was in a, uhm, delicatessen place and I said, 'How many exact applicants went for the job or whatever?' and he said (what was it?) about 300! And I thought, 'Ohhh, I haven't got a chance'.

WK: Yes, I've heard of that happening - about 300 people going for jobs. Well, what are employers asking for? You know, when you go for a job what do they want? Why aren't you getting the job?

June: I don't really know! I think - I just don't think they give people my age a chance. They think because they, because I'm out of school, straight out of school, I'm going to go there and then leave the job again.

WK: So you think it's your age?

June: Yeah. And not enough qualifications.

WK: Well, have you got any plans to actually get any more qualifications, apart from, say, being on this course?

June: No, I haven't really. I thought if they can't take me as I am, then ... I don't know.

WK: Well then, why are you on this course? Because obviously this course says something about improving yourself.

June: Oh, because, because I already knew [the social and life skills tutor] from the pre-employment course and I came to see her one day and I said I was down, you know, staying at home and all that and she said, 'Well', she said, 'There's lots of courses' and she told me about this course and I thought, 'Oh, I might as well try it - I've had no luck in

shop work'. So ... that's why I came on it.

WK: By coming on this course, was that just because you were down and you wanted to get out of being down or did you actually see it as perhaps improving your chances of getting a job?

June: Yeah, it would, if I actually am aiming for an office job.

WK: And do you think you will after this course?

June: Yeah! Now that I've been on work experience in the course, you know, working one day a week, now that I know what it's like in an office, I think it's good.

WK: Where have you been?

June: Uhm ... Accident Compensation. It's really good up there - it's so cosy, not like in a shop.

WK: And so you like office work?

June: Oh yeah! I think it's great!

WK: My own experience is that it's quite friendly, nice sort of people ...

June: Yeah, you get some real stuffy people in shops ...

WK: Well, you're not unemployed at the moment because you're on the course, but when you were unemployed, how did it make you feel?

June: I didn't like it! I didn't like it at all.

WK: What did you used to do?

June: Oh, bum around doing nothink! Go uptown - then, I used to be sort of ... bad. And we used to go up Franks [a local amusement parlour], and

we used to go all the places, you know, just out of school. Since then, I've been changed my ideas, you know, now I know what it's like to work and I've settled down a bit, got a boyfriend and all that - it's much better.

WK: So you feel much more settled?

June: Yeah, I suppose I will, but still ... you know, not having a job.

WK: Well, have you been trying to get jobs while you've been on the course or have you left it until you've finished?

June: Yeah, sort of ... oh, I haven't really, all I've done is look in the paper 'cos [the social and life skills tutor] said she might be able to help us all get a job.

WK: Did you know anything about the course before you arrived on the first day?

June: Oh, ah, well, we ... I went to the Labour Department - after I'd seen [the tutor], she told me to go to the Labour Department and get enrolled - no, I had to make an appointment to see the guy at the Labour Department for an interview to see if I was all right for office work thing, you know, so I had to go and have an interview with him and he said, oh, you know, they were asking me questions and all that to see if I'd be right in an office or whatever.

WK: But did they tell you anything about the course?

June: Oh, all they said was that we'd be covering the basic things I'd need to know, like using the telephones and filing and banking and typing and all those ...

WK: Oh, but you did know?

June: Yeah.

- WK: Well, now that you're on it what do you feel about it?
- June: Oh, it gets a bit boring, I must say. I like the typing, but it's going pretty slow ... I want to get onto, you know, harder things 'cos this course is going to be over before we know it and I'm not going to ... I just want to get onto, you know, the harder stuff because I can do it, I've done it on the work experience, but I'll just have to wait until all the rest are ready.
- WK: Well, what about the rest of it? I mean, you've talked about the typing ...
- June: Oh, uhm, receptionist skills - that's good. What else are we doing?
- WK: Oh well, there's Maths and there's dress and appearance ...
- June: Yeah Maths - yeah we do all that. Oh, I seem to be good at maths, except for the percentages, I can't seem to do that.
- WK: Have you found it's been any help though?
- June: Yeah!
- WK: Or is it stuff you already know?
- June: Oh, well, but the Maths part - we really did that in the pre-employment course.
- WK: Well, how do you think the course could be improved? Have you any suggestions at all?
- June: I reckon if we did more things to do, instead of sitting around talking. If we did more things. If she found something for us to do. I think we ... they should uhm ... either organise something that's got to do with

receptionists and typing, you know ... something we can use for when we go into work, something useful instead of wasting our time. If they had more things to do around the line of receptionist.

WK: So you think that the time should be filled up more?

June: Yeah! Well, I do get bored with some of the things they talk about. I don't really know what I mean, it's just if we had more to do instead of sitting around - I haven't really thought of what.

WK: Do you ever say anything about that?

June: I said it once, but - no, they don't seem to do much about it.

WK: Well, how do you see your future? This is your real future - not how you'd like it to be, but how you really see it.

June: I don't know. I can't really tell at this time. I don't see if I'll ever really be put in the right job and be satisfied 'cos, uhm - I don't really know, 'cos half the, half the, like at typing I'm not getting on very good 'cos, I don't know, she seems to, 'cos we aren't, 'cos some of us are just beginners and she doesn't seem to think we can do any better than what she's trying to make us do and I don't see how after this course we'll be actually able to work in an office, if you can't do the ...

WK: Well, have you thought about perhaps going to night classes in typing or anything like that?

June: Mmmmm. I don't know. I haven't really, no.

WK: So you're not really sure. Would you just feel that you have to wait until the right job comes or something?

June: Yeah. I don't really mind staying at home, but I hate being on the dole. I don't like being unemployed. It makes me just feel as though if I can't get a job now, I'll never get a job.

- WK: Well, what would you like your future to be? Given a limitless choice what would you like it to be?
- June: Well ... I'd like to know that I've got a nice safe job and I know I'm not going to get fired and I like the people that work there ... I don't know really.
- WK: Would it worry you what sort of job it was?
- June: Yeah, I'm like that. I'd like to know I'm going to be right at the job, I won't have to leave for some stupid reason ...
- WK: What I meant was, would it worry you if it were shop work, waitressing, office work ...
- June: Oh, yeah! 'Cos I ... I don't really know!
- WK: It just has to be the right job?
- June: Yeah.
- WK: Well, why are people unemployed? Why do you think people are unemployed?
- June: Because they've come out of school, some of them have got School Cert., some of them haven't and most jobs say experience. They might have School Cert., but no experience 'cos they've just come out of school - how can they? I don't think they give us a chance. There should be a lot more jobs saying maybe with School Cert. or without, but for somebody who wants to be trained or something like that.
- WK: But I heard about someone the other day who applied for a supermarket job and they wanted UE and experience. Well, is it worth staying at school to get UE to work in a supermarket?

- June: No, no. 'Cos what are you doing behind there, you know - you don't need that much brains and all that.
- WK: So you see employers wanting too many qualifications?
- June: I think it's a load of rubbish! I mean, these employers that expect so much like UE and all that, they don't even give the younger ones a chance that haven't got UE and that.
- WK: Well, why do you think they want qualifications that aren't really necessary?
- June: Uhmmm ...
- WK: I mean, what do you think they're looking for?
- June: Perfection, there you are.
- WK: But someone who's got UE might not be perfect in a supermarket job.
- June: Yeah. They want to make their firm look good ... they don't want some dropout of school kid serving behind the counter!
- WK: Well, what would you think would be a solution to unemployment in New Zealand?
- June: What? Explain that again.
- WK: What would finish unemployment in New Zealand; what would stop it? How could you solve it so that it was no longer there?
- June: Chuck away all the computers ... I don't know. It's really to do with the bosses and all that 'cos they ... I don't know what it is!
- WK: It's a fairly complex question and I don't expect you to be able to

answer it – I don't think I could. (Both laugh) I'm just curious to see what sort of ideas you've got about it.

June: I don't know. It's the bosses that need to change, need to change their altitudes (altitudes! Oh my god!) attitudes and ways and all that ...

[At this point in the interview, June's friend Kathy, who had come to the interview to support June because she was nervous, joined in the discussion.]

Kathy: I reckon that, if they, uhm ... I reckon the married women, if they didn't have them, I mean, younger people can't get jobs because of the older women that are working in shops, you know, around town. If they took the older women out that would give younger people a chance, wouldn't it?

June: But the older women have to support their kids.

Kathy: Yeah, I know, but if they've got a husband that works why should they work?

WK: Oh, you mean the ones that are married?

Kathy: Yeah, that are working. If they chucked them out of a job ...

WK: You don't think that some families actually need two incomes?

June: They do actually.

Kathy: I don't think they do! But if the husband works ... I mean if the lady works ... well, why do both of them work?

June: Oh, I think it's not fair if one works – the other one should work as well.

Kathy: Yeah, but if both of them work, then that means there's no jobs left for young people!

- WK: That then presumably only supplies jobs for younger women coming in - or would you see younger men taking over those jobs, like machinists, waitressing, office work ...?
- June: See that's sort of starting over again - it'll be the younger generation working everywhere, you know.
- Kathy: Yeah, but it's better that way I reckon.
- WK: Does it make you feel really resentful? You see them as taking your jobs?
- Kathy: Yeah. They're taking jobs.
- June: Yeah. That's it. They should be chucked out.

STUDENT 3 - JEFF, 16

WK: Where do you come in your family? Have you got brothers or sisters?

Jeff: Yeah, two brothers - one older and one younger.

WK: And people have different family relationships, but do both your parents live at home?

Jeff: Oh, I've got a stepfather and my mother and my father lives by himself.

WK: I presume you're saying that your parents were divorced at some stage? When did that happen?

Jeff: Oh, about eight to nine years ago.

WK: Do you still live at home?

Jeff: Yeah.

WK: What do your parents do? This is your stepfather and your mother?

Jeff: Oh, he's a cook, a cook in the Army, and Mum works at the Tolls.

WK: And when did you leave school?

Jeff: Oh, about two months ago.

WK: At the beginning of this term?

Jeff: At the end of last term.

WK: And why did you leave?

Jeff: Oh, at the end of the year I was getting kicked out - I was a little bugger at school; just can't stand it.

WK: So you just thought you might as well leave?

Jeff: Yeah. I made sure I got on this first. Before I got kicked out of school.

WK: Were you registered then with the Department of Labour while you were still at school?

Jeff: Yeah.

WK: You were, right. How long before you left school was that?

Jeff: Oh, I'd been and registered for about six months.

WK: Had they done anything?

Jeff: They had one interview that I went for and I didn't get.

WK: How was that interview? How did you find the employer?

Jeff: Oh, it was pretty good really. He seemed a pretty good fella, but I didn't get the job.

WK: What sort of job was it?

Jeff: Working in a shoe shop as a salesman.

WK: What form were you in when you left school?

- Jeff: Fifth.
- WK: That was first year fifth?
- Jeff: Yeah.
- WK: Did you have any school qualifications at all?
- Jeff: Not really - only in PE and woodwork.
- WK: So what sort of qualifications were those in PE and woodwork? Were they School Cert.?
- Jeff: No, we weren't allowed to do School Cert. woodwork and I couldn't take PE for a subject. I mean in PE I got A's, A+'s ...
- WK: So what you're saying is that you were actually doing really well in those two subjects?
- Jeff: Yeah. You see in woodwork I was getting A's - I enjoy it.
- WK: Well, how did you find out about this course?
- Jeff: Well I heard about it on the radio, plus Barry met [the work skills tutor].
- WK: I see - so you found out through personal contacts as well. What did you do? Did you go along to the Department of Labour?
- Jeff: Yes. Barry asked [the tutor] whether I could get an interview and she said she'd try and get me on the course.
- WK: Yes, so that's good. I just thought the Department of Labour might have let you know. Uhm ... so you left school and then came to this course about, was it September or something like that?

- Jeff: Yeah, September, I think so, or October.
- WK: Did you have any unemployment between school and coming on the course or was it just the holidays?
- Jeff: No. Oh, it was just the holidays really.
- WK: So you were just waiting for the course?
- Jeff: Yeah.
- WK: Why did you want to come on this course? I mean, would you have come on any course?
- Jeff: I'm not too sure. I like cooking. Though it wouldn't be my first choice of work, I suppose. Mainly because it was there and I wanted a job and I hoped to get one at the start.
- WK: Do you think the course will help you to get a job?
- Jeff: Oh, I'm not really too sure, not sure.
- WK: Well, when you talked about doing really well in woodwork and PE, are you interested in getting a job in that sort of line? Is that what you were saying?
- Jeff: Yeah, I'd like to do something in woodwork, but it's just about impossible. I've tried and it's too hard.
- WK: Do you mean sort of as a joiner or something like that?
- Jeff: As an apprentice. I went for one interview and heck it was hard - it wasn't easy.
- WK: Are you still trying to get that sort of job?

- Jeff: Not really. 'Cos I think it's just about impossible. The only qualification I've got is an A in woodwork and it's not enough.
- WK: Isn't it? Do you have to have School Cert. or something?
- Jeff: The fella when I went for one interview, he said, 'Oh, you'd need more qualifications' and I couldn't get any at the school so I just gave up.
- WK: Well, when you leave this course, what are you going to do? Are you still just going to stay registered with the Labour Department.
- Jeff: Yeah. I'll stay registered and at the same time I'll look for a job.
- WK: Have you been looking for a job while you've been on the course?
- Jeff: Yeah.
- WK: Yeah. Anything ...?
- Jeff: No, not anything that I like. Not that many have actually come up. I've only looked in the paper and not in the Labour Department that much. Some people said there were a few down there, but I just haven't been down there trying.
- WK: A problem is that they go up within 20 minutes of an employer ringing in and, if someone walks in, then they're gone.
- Jeff: Oh, I did get one ... oh, I don't know his name, that Italian fella [a restaurant owner], and he just wanted someone twice a month and I just felt, no good. I just said I don't want it. That's after ... at first I thought it would be good and said I'd take it and then I thought later on it's not that really good and just gave up.
- WK: Well, what have you actually got yourself down as? You know where

you put your first choice on the card [at the Labour Department], what have you got down there?

Jeff: First foodhandling, then wood. I'd like to work in a shop, 'cos I've given up on cabinetmaking - I've just given up. I don't know if it's any good.

WK: You've been on the course now for about seven weeks, how do you feel about it?

Jeff: Oh, I think it's pretty boring really. I think it's quite a waste of time, but if they help us find jobs it's done its job I suppose.

WK: Well, why do you think it's boring? What's boring about it?

Jeff: Oh, [the work skills tutor] I think! I just don't like her. Oh, she raves on and on and on and I find some of it pretty boring.

WK: So it's been too much theory, is that what you're saying?

Jeff: Yeah. I don't know. Maybe just her. I'm not too sure. But I find it pretty boring.

WK: What about the work experience - how's that been?

Jeff: I enjoy that.

WK: Where have you been?

Jeff: [A tertiary education institution] - I enjoy it out there.

WK: Oh, yeah. This is in the cafe?

Jeff: In the kitchen. I enjoy it out there. Actually, I thought I learned more out there in two days than I've learned in this course in the whole

time. And the fella out there's really good.

WK: Have you only been there once?

Jeff: The two days.

WK: Well that's good. And you're going there until the end of the course?

Jeff: I hope so. 'Cos I really enjoy it out there. He teaches you things whereas [the work skills tutor], when we go down to the [restaurant], she gets you to cut carrots up and that and, to me, it just seems like easy labour and it's hard on us - I don't think we really learn anything. When we're out at [the work experience] we cook things up, he let me make the hamburgers and things like that and I enjoyed it.

WK: Well, what about the personal skills development part of the course? How do you feel about that? The things that are done by [the social and life skills tutors]?

Jeff: I enjoy them - I think they're really good.

WK: In what way?

Jeff: They don't make you do work all the time - when you want to do it, you do it. And I think it's more relaxing. See with [the work skills tutor], she makes you do it and it's just like school. Oh ... I've done all the work here except for the maths 'cos I'm really good at maths and I find it pretty boring 'cos I can do it pretty easily and I think it's a waste of time for me.

WK: Do you help someone else, seeing you're good at it?

Jeff: Oh, there's a few fellas ahead of me, they're better. But, like, maths, you see, I can say, like, five fives are twenty-five, no problem. And,

see, like, [the social and life skills communications tutor], I can't do English, like, I'm the opposite and I can't do it and I find it hard and I get frustrated and I don't want to do it.

WK: But at the same time you think it's quite good - is that what you're saying?

Jeff: Yeah, see she doesn't force us to do it. We sit and talk about things, how we feel, and I find it's a lot better than [the work skills tutor] sitting down to work four hours of a morning and it's pretty hard - you get tired of it sooner or later.

WK: Well, how would you improve the course if you could improve it?

Jeff: I don't think you could. I don't know. There would be ways you could, but I just wouldn't know them.

WK: Well, why do you think that people are unemployed in New Zealand, particularly young people?

Jeff: 'Cos there's not enough jobs. A lot of them, you see, haven't got the skills. They're wanting more experienced people and young people haven't got a show. To be quite honest, I don't even want a job, but I know you have to work and you've gotta face it.

WK: So you feel that it's actually expected of you that you'll look for a job and get one?

Jeff: Yeah. I want one 'cos you can't do anything without money.

WK: I see. So you want it because of the money, but you don't really want to work? (Both laugh)

Jeff: I quite honestly think a lot of people think the same. If they was, say,

getting \$200 for doing nothing, I think they'd take it. I honestly do. [The work skills tutor] says she wouldn't, but I think she's lying to herself - she can't be honest. If you're getting, say, \$200-\$300 a week just for sitting down, like, laying in till 11 o'clock, maybe doing your back lawn, talking to your neighbours, talking to all your mates, you'd take it! I know I would. It's just not that easy.

WK: Well, how do you see your future - this is your real future, not what you'd like it to be?

Jeff: Actually, I'd like to be a chef or something. I enjoy working at [the restaurant], strangely enough, but I wouldn't want to be a Kitchen hand all my life.

WK: But what I'm trying to say to you is not what you'd like it to be, 'cos that'd be my next question, but what you see it as really being, what your future's going to be?

Jeff: Nothing that much really. I'm not terribly bright, I'm pretty thick really. I just kind of, when they tell me to do my work I do it. [The work skills tutor] sometimes says I don't work, but I think I do.

WK: And so what do you think will happen at the end of this course?

Jeff: I'd really just like to get a job. You just can't be too fussy.

WK: Do you think it'll take a while?

Jeff: Oh, I think it'll take a little while, but whether it takes a little while or whether it takes two days - I mean, for all I know, it might take six months.

WK: How would you feel if that's what it took?

Jeff: Oh, I'd feel kind of rejected by about six months. You need money to

live. If you ain't got no money, you can't live.

WK: How do your parents feel about it?

Jeff: Well, they want me to get a job. The sooner I get one, the better.

WK: So there's some pressure there to get a job?

Jeff: Yeah, they're always on at me about one.

WK: I think it's very hard for people of my age group to understand not being able to get a job because when I was your age I was able to get one so easily.

Jeff: Yes, well, I think about Mum - she was able to leave school at 16 and just walk into a job like that. And it may be easy for her, but it's not easy for us now. If they had the experience of not being able to get a job for a year, they'd see the point.

WK: Well, what would you like your future to be if it was limitless choice?

Jeff: Actually, I'd like to be a chef out at [the work experience institution], because I enjoyed working out there.

WK: So do you see this perhaps as a first step towards trying to do something like that?

Jeff: And then from a kitchen hand, you can always go up from being a proper kitchen hand to being a chef. Some people say you can't, but I think you can. And what I think and they think is different. My stepfather says you can't - he's a cook, but I think you can.

WK: Well, how would you solve unemployment in New Zealand?

Jeff: Kick all the scientists out. Stop them from inventing things that

people have to do the jobs for.

WK: So you see machinery as taking over jobs from people?

Jeff: Yeah. I think if you kicked all the scientists out, they couldn't invent things then. I mean, there'd be more employment. There may not be for scientists, but there would be for ... it'd solve a lot less, make a lot more jobs anyway.

WK: Well, have you got anything else you'd like to say about what we've been ...

Jeff: Not really.

WK: Oh well, thank you very much.

Jeff: I actually enjoyed the course, but I think it's pretty boring. It's given me something to do. If I didn't have to get up, I'd sleep in. Most Saturdays I get up anyway 'cos I like watching Turf Talk, getting up and going to town for a bet on the track.

WK: Oh, you put bets on the races?

Jeff: Yeah, I enjoy it. It's exciting. I've gone out to the races a few times and I really enjoy it. My family is quite arguing and, see, I haven't had much in my life and when I go out and put a few bets on and listen to it on the radio, I get excitement out of that. See, when I play rugby, I'm able to get out of the house.

WK: So it gets you out - it gets you out of your life, what you're doing.

Jeff: Yeah. Oh, I really like rugby though.

WK: Do you play a lot of rugby?

- Jeff: Yeah, I love it. I find practice really boring, too, at times - if you don't have the whole team turn up, it's quite a waste of time and being in L-----, we play for L----- under-19's - they just muck around. Good team, though. See I've always wanted to be an All Black - that's one ambition I've always wanted to be, get to talk with all the All Blacks, got their signatures in all my books.
- WK: Your father's a cook in the Army - do you ever have any interest in going into the Army at all?
- Jeff: No. Like you might want to - like some people say 'Oh, go and join the Army', but I've lived with it for about four years and I think I know what it's like and I don't particularly like it.
- WK: That's what quite a few people who have been on the courses who have had parents in the Army have said ...
- Jeff: Yeah, like [mentions names of three other students on other courses whose parents were Army people]. They're good friends - Ben's a good mate, he's got a brother in the All Blacks.
- WK: Has Sue got a job yet?
- Jeff: No, she tries, but she doesn't seem to try hard enough, quite honestly. She wants a job, but she's like me - she just doesn't like going in and asking for them. I don't like asking.

GROUP INTERVIEW - RETAILING COURSE STUDENTS

WK: Why do you think people are unemployed?

Student: Because they don't bother looking.

WK: So you think that there's jobs out there?

Student: Quite a lot.

Student: If you've got the right qualifications.

Student: It's hard, though.

WK: What makes you think that there's actually jobs out there?

Student: 'Cos you see them advertised in the newspaper.

WK: But don't you think that they're for very skilled people?

Student: Yes, they are.

Student: But if you've got contacts ...

WK: So you reckon if you actually know people who are in a job, you've got a pretty good chance?

Student: Well, I had a good chance to get a job at my sister's workplace for a typist/receptionist, but I just wasn't typing fast enough - I couldn't get the job.

- WK: Well, if there's jobs out there, why do you think that you haven't got any?
- Student: 'Cos they're too young.
- Student: Someone else gets it first - you know, you've got about five or six going for that job.
- WK: It seems to me that the number of people going for each job is actually increasing ...
- Student: Oh, we've heard of 300 people going for one job.
- WK: Have any of you tried going for a job?
- Students: Yes.
- WK: What was that like?
- Student: Ohhh, depressing, sort of. You apply for the job, and you just get turned down, and they've got a big, long waiting list, and you can't get in until someone moves out or ...
- WK: What about any of you others?
- Student: I applied for a job at a florists last year and 146 people went for it.
- Student: That's a lot, isn't it!
- Student: Yeah.
- WK: Well, you're on a Retailing Course - what sorts of jobs have you been applying for in the past? Anything to do with retailing or just any sort of work?

Students: No. Anything at all.

WK: Well, if you need qualifications and experience to get a job, how are you aiming to get that?

Student: Exactly! How do you get experience? You've got to get that into their heads, that somebody's got to employ us to get that experience. [Lots of students talking together - untranscribable]

Student: How can we get it if we can't get jobs?

WK: So what do you see as the future then, if that's the case?

Student: Not much. [long silence]

WK: What sort of plans do you have?

Student: To get a job.

Student: Going to Australia. Untold jobs in Australia.

Student: They've got youth unemployment in Australia, too.

Student: But what they reckon is that if an Australian goes for a job there and a New Zealander goes for the job, they'll take the New Zealander.

Student: Yeah.

Student: My brother's there and out of about 425 staff only about a quarter of them were Australians and the rest were New Zealanders - that's at a newspaper.

WK: Well, if you're planning to go to Australia, how do you plan to get the money to get over there? [Everyone laughs]

Student: It's very hard.

- WK: What would you think – the Government at the moment is considering lowering the money you get as a training allowance down to the Standard Tertiary Bursary which is \$27 per week ...
- Student: I don't see how people can survive on that! We can't even survive on what we're getting paid!
- Student: You'd have to be living at home with that sort of money.
- WK: Well, how many of you live at home? [About three-quarters] Well, the other thing they're also considering doing, is raising the school-leaving age to 16 ...
- Students: [All talk at once]
- Student: How can that work out? 'Cos some ...
- Student: Then you wouldn't be able to leave until the bloody sixth form!
- Student: Yeah, they're talking about taking School Certificate into sixth form year. You'd have three years to get ready for School C. – they were talking about it at school last year.
- Students: [Sighs and groans]
- WK: I don't know how many of you left school at 15 or 16 anyway, but how would you all have felt if the legal leaving age was sixteen?
- Students: [All talk at once]
- Student: Well, we'd all just get expelled.
- Student: If you force them, then you make them rebel. 'Cos I was forced and that was why I hated it. 'Cos why do so many kids hate school? I

reckon it's because they're made to sit down and they're made to learn so many hours a day, then you've got to do homework over again ...

WK: Do you think it's learning?

Students: No.

Student: Oh, some of it is. But if you're forced, you're just going to get all grouchy and everything like that, 'I'm not doing it', so you're not going to even try.

WK: Well, how do you think they could improve that in schools?

Student: Make it optional.

Student: Pay people to go. [Everyone laughs]

WK: What do you think about the idea of paying kids to go to school?
[Everyone laughs]

Student: [cynically] A dollar a week!

WK: Well, there's been a suggestion - it's not quite the same as money in your pocket - that every person that's born, you give them so many educational credits which are worth money and they can use these at any period during their lives, so it means that you're not compelled to go to school at certain times. Do you think that'd be better? Using it when you want to?

Student: I don't think I'd use it!

Student: Well, it depends if you want to go into a certain job - you need to go to school to get some qualifications.

WK: Possibly you'd need to use a certain amount of credits to cover things

like that.

Student: Some people might not want to, though.

Student: They'd still need to teach you to, to, to make something of yourself ...
oh

WK: Do you mean to teach you moral virtues and things as well?

Student: Yes.

WK: Do you think that perhaps people wouldn't learn those things?

Student: Not if they didn't go to school.

WK: Well, what do you think schools are for?

Student: To keep the kids out of trouble.

Student: To give us a chance at a job.

Student: Yeah, to build us up for a job.

Student: No, to give other people jobs.

WK: You mean to keep you out of the workforce so that other people can ...

Students: No!

Student: Giving teachers jobs!

Student: Yeah!

Student: Look at all the schools around the country, so imagine all the

teachers. You imagine if there was no schools and they were all out of work! And that's including university teachers as well - they're all teachers.

WK: Well, if you raised the school-leaving age and made it compulsory for them to stay until they were 16 ...

Student: Then they'd wag!

Student: You'd have lots of wagers!

WK: How would it affect the teachers do you think?

Student: They'd be sick and tired of it, they're sick and tired of us by the end of the fourth form.

Student: I think kids would just leave anyway.

Student: Just wag and go.

Students: Yeah.

Student: People do that now anyway.

Student: There's nothing you can do to stop them.

Student: Oh, it's against the law now - you get the cops down on you ...

Student: Oh, yeah, but they're just going to do it again ...

Student: You'd be in shit street ...

Students: [All talk at once]

WK: Well, if you don't get jobs after the end of this course, what do you think you'll do?

Students: Go back on the dole.

WK: And then what?

Students: [All talk at once]

WK: Labour wants to bring it in that you only get six weeks on the dole, then you must go into a training course of some kind ...

Student: Sure, they might go onto a course and everything, but is that going to get them a job?

Students: [All talk at once]

WK: Well, do you think that this course is going to do anything for you? What do you think it's going to do?

Student: It'll teach us more about retailing.

Student: If you do get an interview, it helps to say that you're on a course.

Student: And some people think if you're on a course, oh, she's right, you're not unemployed - at least you're something.

WK: A lot of you are living at home still - what do your parents think about your coming on the course?

Student: They think it's good.

Students: Yes.

Student: Gets you out of the house! [Everyone laughs]

WK: Well, what were you doing before that you needed to be got out of the house?

Student: Oh, just staying at home all the time.

Students: Yeah.

Student: About all we could do.

WK: Well, if they put the dole down to the level of the Standard Tertiary Bursary for people under 20, how are you going to live?

Student: I don't really think you'd be able to!

Student: Well, the street would keep plenty of women.

Students: Yeah, street corners.

Student: Like, I mean, people that are now on the dole and living in a flat they might be getting by now but cutting that in half is ridiculous!

Student: But some people give up their jobs just to go on the dole.

WK: Do you think that people do that?

Students: Yeah. Yes, I know some people that have done it. Yes.

Student: Yeah, but it's too hard to sort out the people who don't really want to work, who just want to go on the dole. 'Cos some of them don't deserve the dole.

WK: So you think there's 'dole bludgers'?

Students: Yeah, there is!

Student: Well, I'm a dole bludger. I've been on the dole for about four years.

Student: Yeah, but you've been trying. You didn't give up a job just to go on the dole.

Student: Oh, no.

Student: Well that's what I'm talking about. If you just quit, for no reason, a bloody good job just for nothing - just to go back on the dole and you'd be getting about one-fourth of your original wages. Yet you don't have to work for it, you just have to wait for it ...

Student: Yes, I know, but I prefer to work hard and get \$150 or something like that, but to do nothing and only get, what, just on \$50 ...

Student: Well some people are doing it and they don't deserve the dole, but they're going to take it from everyone. They going to do it generally and the one's that are trying but can't get jobs are going to suffer.

WK: Do you think that they're going to cut the dole back because of the dole bludgers, as you see them?

Student: Yeah ...

Student: No, it's because of the unemployed, the way it is the Government can't afford. I mean, he's spending too much money as it is travelling overseas.

Student: He [Muldoon] can't afford to pay for the unemployed ...

Student: That solo's benefit, even if you've only got one child, you get about \$200 and something a fortnight so it works out roughly at \$108 a week for doing nothing and a lot of solo mothers get their things cut for them anyway - rent, TV.

WK: Do you think that looking after a young child is doing nothing?

Student: Oh, no, fair enough, but I mean to say you're not working for somebody else, you're doing it in your own home and things like that, but you don't have to go out and work to get the money.

Student: And, once your kids are about five anyway, they're off to school most of the day, five days a week. That's just general house cleaning and you're getting paid \$108 for that.

Student: My sister's got three and she's a solo mum and she gets \$300 and something.

WK: Well, how does she cope? You're saying that it's not really work. How would you put it seeing that you know her?

Student: Well, she copes pretty good. All that money goes through the two weeks. You know, she doesn't go out and spend it all in one day like some do, you know, spending it all down at the pub every night.

Student: It all depends on what kind of person they are, too.

WK: Well, given that the Domestic Purposes Benefit is so much more than an Unemployment Benefit, that it might become tempting for a young woman to have a baby ...

Students: That's what they do now!

Student: You find that a lot of young ones, sixteen and seventeen, get pregnant just to get a Domestic Purposes Benefit.

Students: [All talk at once]

Student: It's a lot of money and it looks to others like it's so easy, but it isn't really. \$108 sounds a lot, but when you've got to provide for two it's hard.

Student: And a lot of people don't budget well ...

Student: Yeah, and their kids are left with nothing ...

Student: No clothes and not enough food.

WK: Do you think any of you would be tempted?

Students: No!

Student: I wouldn't go out and get myself deliberately pregnant just to go on that!

Student: If I did get pregnant I'd need something to help me - fair enough, if you're going to bring up a child, you're going to need some money. But not deliberately!

WK: Well, you say that and you're quite astounded at my making that suggestion, yet you say that other people do ...

Student: But some people do. But I don't think that I would.

Students: Yeah.

Student: It doesn't accomplish anything and it only ties you down.

Student: Oh, they think 'Oh, grouse, I've got a baby and I've got all this money coming in' and the baby starts yelling and you start yelling at the baby and you've got this poor little bashed up kid.

[Some of the discussion inaudible at this point - the students all talked together a lot and the tape could not pick up individual comments. Did not like youth rates - felt these are unfair.]

WK: What have you been learning in the retailing part of the course?

Student: Well, actually, you couldn't really turn around and say well I've learned that because you haven't - we've gone over it, but as for learning it, it's a different story. A lot of it we've just talked about it.

Student: We've gone out, we've gone round, we've done floor plans, we've done budgeting. We've gone out and walked around shops and looked at what shop assistants really know, sort of thing. That's what we've been doing. I can't see how that ...

Student: I can't see how that ties in. I mean you wear neat and tidy clothes - I won't go for a job wearing what I wear here ...

Student: It comes down to budgeting.

Student: But you don't have to go flatting to know how to budget - I've never been flatting and I know how to budget my money.

Student: I've budgetted my money for two or three years now, and I've never once been flatting. Mind you, I haven't had that much, but what I have had I've made it last.

[Students had to leave at this point to go into a class.]

APPENDIX FIVE: COURSE CONTENTS AND COURSE REPORTS

RECEPTIONIST AND TYPING SKILLS

Course Content

1. Typing Skills -

Beginners

Intermediate

Advanced

2. Reception Skills -

Public relations

Telephones

Appointments

Travel project

Filing, Mail (inwards and outwards)

Banking

3. Basic Maths -

Basic skills

Calculators

Percentages

Basic bookkeeping

Basic economics

4. Communications -

Written work skills

Perception

Verbal work skills

Discussion skills

5. General -

Interview techniques

Community Awareness

Budgetting skills

Group discussion skills

Clothing and appearance project

Literacy and continuing education

Job retention

Understanding employment/unemployment

Health and safety

Course Report

Course statistics:

No. of students: 14 (all female)

Average age: 16.2 years

Found work during course: 1 (self-found)

Found work at end of course: 1 (self-found)

Education levels: 3 with some School Certificate
2 with some University Entrance

Course length: 10 weeks

Tutors' comments:

1. We question the wisdom of initiating a course such as this when there appears to be few openings in this workforce area for people of the ages of these students. However, we found the course enjoyable to teach and the students quite definitely gained in skills and self-confidence.
2. The group visit to Parliament was a definite success and a valuable experience for all.
3. The course aim was to teach firstly the realities of the work situation, and secondly the taking of responsibility for self in coping in the work situation. One student in the evaluation commented that she "now knows that she must take responsibility for her own learning".

FOODHANDLING SKILLS (1 and 2)

Course Content

Aims

To teach basic operational skills as pertain to common food outlets: Fish & Chip shops, Hamburger Bars, Fast Food Service Bars, Cafes and Restaurants, industrial catering, hotels, etc.

Scope

1. To provide an understanding of the types of food used in the commercial food outlets in the community and make a study of basic food preparation.

2. Health and Hygiene.

To lead students to understand the need for optimum standards of hygiene in all commercial food outlets and to appreciate the dangers associated with the handling of food and food spoilage.

This unit should involve some study of the Health Act as it applies to the safe handling and storage of food. A certificate is available at the successful completion of this section of the course.

3. Communication.

To develop in the student the skills necessary for effective communications in the work situation and in general life, in particular those skills which allow the presentation of oral and written reports.

This unit will aim to improve the oral and listening skills of an individual in a job situation.

4. Social Interaction.

To develop understanding of the rights of the consumer - what one should be able to expect in the way of manners, service, assistance.

To teach the skills which will give the best impression to the consumer:-

Menu composition - how to read, understand and explain

Wine List - how to read, understand and give assistance if required.

Correct table setting and service.

To encourage the social graces of the students so that they feel at ease themselves in the dining out situation.

5. Maintenance Procedures.

To assist the student to acquire sufficient knowledge to ensure the correct

maintenance of plant and equipment and to minimise damage to same.

To provide a basic knowledge of safety precautions necessary in the use of plant and equipment.

To give basic understanding of the use and reticulation of water, fuels, sewerage, drainage.

Course Report - 1

This course ran for 10 weeks and was attended by fourteen students, eight of whom have since found work; all except one in the food industry. One student is attending a similar course in Auckland.

The aim of the course was to give the students a thorough grounding in food handling and an insight into the realities of the workforce as well as extending their social skills.

The visits to the [freezing works] and [cake factory] were particularly good as examples of medium and large food industries.

The tutors and students consider the course was well worthwhile and in general, the food industry would also like to see these courses continue.

There seems to be a certain amount of work available most of the time for students with some experience such as this course teaches.

The tutors and students were very disappointed that the certificates were not ready by the end of the course. I feel this was very sad as they mean such a lot to them. Also one student had a job interview on the Monday and may well have lessened her chances by not having her certificate.

Course Report - 2

Course length: 10 weeks

Course statistics: Female - 5

Male - 9

Total - 14

Educational qualifications: 4 with some School Certificate
3 with some University Entrance

Average age: 17.8 years

Found work during course: 1

Found work at end of course: Definite - 2

Probable - 3

Dropped out: Nil

Work experience days: 12

Tutors' comments:

1. This course was less successful than others in placing students in permanent work. We suspect the lack of work for university students has had an effect on the job market for our students.
2. The majority of the students were Keen and eager to learn and work. A small group of students had severe reading/writing difficulties and now have assistance through the Adult New Readers Scheme.
3. Employers were very supportive of work experience opportunities and happy to provide places. The work experience was very successful. Thanks to

[the restaurant], 2 students were placed there each afternoon except Mondays, for practical experience.

WAREHOUSING SKILLS

Course Content

1.	<u>Warehousing Skills</u>	<u>Hours</u>
	Goods classification	5
	Layout and floor usage	30
	Local delivery/city knowledge	15
	Assembly and packaging/sales dockets	20
	Despatch/inwards goods	10
	Stock checks/rotation/storage systems	30
	Ordering/charging	15
	General maintenance	10
	Sales presentation/cash handling	30
	Methods of delivery (out of town)	15
2.	Basic calculations (including metrics)	40
3.	Personal health/safety	10
4.	Communications (verbal/non-verbal)	25
5.	Self-awareness	20
6.	Job seeking and retention skills/unions	35

Work experience - 5 days	40

Total	350

Course Report

Course length: 10 weeks

Students: Male - 13
 Female - 1
 Total - 14

Average age: 19.2 years

Educational qualifications: 4 with School Certificate
 1 with University Entrance
 2 with Sixth Form Certificate

Found work: 8 (2 further jobs probable)

Dropped out: Nil

Tutors' comments

1. Co-operation from business houses with visits and work experience was supportive. A total of 11 days were spent on work experience.
 2. Of the students who did not find work (four), two had personal problems which are likely to prevent early placement.
 3. The standard of work was generally very good, with the students being eager to learn.
-

RETAILING SKILLS

Course Content

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. | Retailing in New Zealand | 10 hours |
| | 1.1 Production and Distribution: | |
| | The Consumer | |
| | The Producer | |
| | The Distributor | |
| 2. | Marketing | 15 hours |
| | 2.1 Small Scale Retailing | |
| | 2.2 Large Scale Retailing | |
| | 2.3 Styles of Store Operations | |
| | 2.4 Types of Ownership | |
| 3. | The Retail Shop | 15 hours |
| | 3.1 Location | |
| | 3.2 Building | |
| | 3.3 Equipment | |
| | 3.4 Layout | |
| | 3.5 Image | |
| 4. | Shop Policies | 15 hours |
| | 4.1 General & Merchandising Policies | |
| | 4.2 Service Policies | |
| | 4.3 Credit Policies | |
| | 4.4 Collection Policies | |
| | 4.5 Personnel Policies | |
| | 4.6 Theft Policies | |

- 5. Buying 25 hours
 - 5.1 The Customer
 - 5.2 Market Information
 - 5.3 Fashion
 - 5.4 Goods

- 6. Prices and Terms 20 hours
 - 6.1 Deciding on a Price
 - 6.2 Discounting and Percentages
 - 6.3 Special Services

- 7. Government Regulations and Retailing 10 hours
 - 7.1 Pricing & Selling Regulations
 - 7.2 Merchandise Regulations
 - 7.3 Labour Regulation
 - 7.4 Taxation

- 8. A Career in Retailing 30 hours
 - 8.1 Deciding on a Retailing Career
 - 8.2 Preparing a Personal Data Sheet
 - 8.3 Writing an Application
 - 8.4 Interviewing
 - 8.5 Grooming & Health
 - 8.6 Absenteeism
 - 8.7 Industrial Health & Safety

- 9. Communications 20 hours
 - 9.1 Oral skills
 - 9.2 Written skills
 - 9.3 Comprehension
 - 9.4 Assertiveness
 - 9.5 General Knowledge

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 10. Basic Maths Skills | 30 hours |
| 10.1 Basic Skills | |
| 10.2 Percentages | |
| 10.3 Metrics | |
| 10.4 Calculations | |
| 10.5 Cash Handling | |
| 11. Handling Incoming Merchandise | 25 hours |
| 11.1 Receiving Goods | |
| 11.2 Checking Goods | |
| 11.3 Marking Goods | |
| 11.4 Storage and Arranging | |
| 12. Selling | 15 hours |
| 12.1 Kinds of Selling | |
| 12.2 Duties of a Salesperson | |
| 12.3 Beginning, Middle, End of a Sale | |
| 12.4 Product Knowledge Project | |
| 13. Special Skills in Selling | 15 hours |
| 13.1 Recording Sales Information | |
| 13.2 Wrapping (Plain & Decorative) | |
| 13.3 Telephone Selling | |
| 13.4 Handling Complaints | |
| 14. Advertising | 10 hours |
| 14.1 Psychology of Advertising | |
| 14.2 Media | |
| 14.3 Goods Production | |
| 14.4 Advertising Standards | |

15. Display	10 hours
15.1 Psychology of Display	
15.2 Window & Interior Display	
15.3 Colour & Design	
16. Record Control	10 hours
16.1 Record Systems	
16.2 Computer Application in Retailing	
16.3 Stock Control	
SUBTOTAL	275 hours
17. Work Experience	5 days
TOTAL	315 hours

Course Report

Course members:	14 (all female)
Course length:	10 weeks
Educational qualifications:	1 with some School Certificate
Average age:	17.4 years

GENERAL OFFICE SKILLS

Course Content

1. COURSE OBJECTIVES

By the end of the course students will:

- 1.1 be able to carry out basic clerical duties in an office;
- 1.2 be able to adapt quickly to the requirements and idiosyncracies of a particular position;
- 1.3 be aware of, and have begun to develop, the skills required to deal with members of the public;
- 1.4 have consolidated and improved basic language and mathematical skills;
- 1.5 have a positive self image;
- 1.6 have developed job seeking and keeping skills
- 1.7 have begun to see education as a continuing process.

2. COURSE CONTENT

2.1 OFFICE SKILLS

Stamping, franking, dispatching mail

Opening, sorting, filing, distributing mail

Mailing lists
Checking typing copy
Receiving clients
Telephone skills
General filing
Invoices, including extending and costing
Order forms
Itemised accounts
Cash handling
Banking
Office equipment
Introduction to computers
Unions
Project (involving making arrangements)
Visits (Post Office, Bank, City Council)
Five work-experience days

TOTAL HOURS: 164

2.2 OFFICE CALCULATIONS

Basic skills
Calculators
Metrics
Discount

TOTAL HOURS: 43

2.3 LANGUAGE SKILLS

Vocabulary extension
Spelling
Interpretation (primary/secondary meanings; written and oral

instructions; forms; articles)

Effective speaking (confidence building; listening skills; non-verbal communications; participation in group discussion; speaking to a group)

Written communication (business letters; memoranda, telegrams, notices, etc.)

TOTAL HOURS: 50

2.4 GENERAL SKILLS

Job seeking and Keeping skills

Commercial law

Effective business communication

Health

Safety (lifting, noise, etc.)

Personal finance (budgeting, banking, financial services, insurance)

Current interest discussion

Recreation (attitudes, activities)

TOTAL HOURS: 93

TOTAL COURSE HOURS 350

Course Report

Course length: 10 weeks

Number of students: Male - 3
 Female - 10
 Total - 13

APPENDIX SIX: BREAKDOWN OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON STUDENTS BY COURSE

The following tables provide a breakdown of the basic demographic data that was gathered from interviews with students in each YPTP course.

Code

Stud.	Student
E/I	Ethnic identification
S/Place	Sibling place
L/School	Left school
Quals.	Qualifications
F/Occ.	Father's occupation
M/Occ.	Mother's occupation
PI	Pacific Island
Ma	Maori
P	Pakeha
M	Male
F	Female
5th/2	Second-year Fifth Form
SC	Full School Certificate with four subjects
2SC, etc.	Two School Certificate subjects, etc.
SFC	Sixth Form Certificate
UE	Full University Entrance with four or more subjects
2UE, etc.	Two University Entrance subjects, etc.
TCB	Trades Typing Examination
H/wife	Housewife (Note: student's description)
DFB	Domestic Purposes Benefit
PT	Part-time

FOODHANDLING SKILLS (1)

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	PI	M	18	10/17	5th	2SC,SFC	Machinist	Deceased
2	Ma	M	18	18/19	3rd	Nil	Farmer	H/Wife
3	P	M	17	2/4	5th/2	1SC	Airforce	H/wife
4	P	F	16	1/2	5th	Nil	Army	H/wife
5	P	F	28	3/3	6th	SC	Farmer	Farmer
6	P	F	17	1/3	5th/2	Nil	Truck driv.	DPB
7	P	F	19	1/4	5th/2	2SC	Joiner	PT Office
8	P	F	15	1/6	4th	Nil	Labourer	Waitress
9	P	F	16	4/4	5th	Nil	Retired	?
10	P	F	17	5/5	6th	SC,SFC, UE	Univ. Lect.	?
11	P	F	15	4/4	4th	Nil	Army cook	H/wife
12	P	F	16	1/3	4th	Nil	Self-empld.	H/wife

RECEPTIONIST AND TYPING SKILLS

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	P	F	21	1/3	5th	2SC	Farmer	H/wife
2	P	F	17	6/6	5th	2SC	Deceased	H/wife
3	P	F	17	5/5	6th/2	SC	?	?
4	P	F	16	2/3	5th	Nil	Cabinet Maker	H/wife
5	P	F	16	2/2	5th	Nil	Truck Driv.	DPB
6	P	F	16	3/4	5th	Nil	Freezing Worker	H/wife
7	P	F	15	2/3	5th	Nil	Self-empd.	PT Office
8	P	F	18	2/3	5th/2	2SC,TCB	Manager	Machinist
9	P	F	18	2/5	6th/2	2SC,SFC	Truck Driv.	H/wife
10	Ma	F	17	6/10	6th	2SC,SFC	Truck Driv.	?
11	P	F	26	1/3	5th/2	1SC	Farmer	Farmer
12	P	F	17	3/4	5th/2	3SC	?	H/wife

WAREHOUSING SKILLS

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	Ma	M	21	1/14	3rd	Nil	Retired	H/wife
2	Ma	M	16	1/2	5th	Nil	Flour Miller	PT Sales Assistant
3	P	M	20	1/3	5th/2	Nil	Process Wkr	H/wife
4	P	M	17	3/3	5th/2	ISC	Architect	Shop Asst
5	P	M	21	2/2	6th	SC, SFC, UE	Manager	Teacher
6	Ma	M	19	2/6	6th	SC, SFC	Freezing Worker	Cleaner
7	P	M	17	2/2	5th	Nil	?	H/wife
8	P	M	20	4/4	5th	Nil	Decorator & Painter	Store Detective
9	P	M	18	5/6	5th	Nil	Truck Driv.	Secretary
10	P	F	20	1/3	5th	ISC	Bar Manager	H/wife

RETAILING SKILLS

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	Ma	F	16	2/3	4th	Nil	Labourer	H/wife
2	P	F	18	3/4	5th	Nil	Unemployed	H/wife
3	P	F	17	6/6	5th	Nil	Sales Manager	H/wife
4	P	F	16	1/4	4th	Nil	?	H/wife
5	Ma	F	22	2/3	5th/2	Nil	Shearer	Wool Classer
6	P	F	15	3/3	4th	Nil	Welder	Machinist
7	P	F	17	2/5	4th	Nil	?	Kitchen- hand
8	P	F	16	1/5	5th	Nil	?	Adult Student
9	P	F	18	2/3	4th	Nil	Bar Manager	H/wife
10	P	F	17	5/5	5th/2	Nil	Office Manager	PT Cleaner

GENERAL OFFICE SKILLS

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	P	F	17	2/2	5th/2	Nil	Traffic Officer	Spec.Ed Teacher
2	P	F	18	2/2	5th	Nil	Salesman	H/wife
3	Ma	F	17	2/5	5th/2	Nil	Shearer	Barmaid
4	P	F	17	2/2	7th	SC,SFC, UE 2	Caterer	Caterer
5	P	F	19	1/3	6th	SC	?	H/wife
6	P	F	21	1/3	5th	SC	Farmer	Farmer
7	P	F	21	5/5	6th	SC,SFC	Motel Manager	Motel Manager
8	P	M	16	3/6	6th	6SC	Manager	PT Lab. Assistant
9	P	M	17	3/3	6th	5SC	Mechanic	PT Shop Assistant

FOODHANDLING SKILLS (2)

Stud.	E/I	Sex	Age	S/Place	L/Sch	Quals.	F/Occ.	M/Occ.
1	P	F	17	1/2	5th	Nil	Salesman	Office Wk
2	Ma	F	15	3/7	5th	Nil	Freezing Wk	H/wife
3	Ma	F	18	3/7	6th	TCB, SC, SFC, 1UE	Research Worker	PT Laund- ry Worker
4	P	F	19	1/3	6th	SC, SFC, UE	Bank Officer	H/wife
5	Ma	M	16	2/3	5th	Nil	Army Cook	Tolls Op.
6	P	M	15	1/1	5th	Nil	Hospital Orderly	PT Shop Assistant
7	P	M	15	4/5	5th	Nil	Labourer	H/wife
8	P	M	17	3/4	5th/2	SC	Seaman	Nurse
9	P	M	19	3/5	6th	SC	Man. Teacher	H/wife
10	P	M	18	2/4	6th/2	2SC, 2SFC	?	H/wife
11	P	M	19	2/2	4th	Nil	Painter & Decorator	H/wife
12	Ma	M	18	?	?	Nil	?	?
13	P	M	17	?	?	Nil	?	?

APPENDIX SEVEN: COURSE ADVERTISEMENT 1983

YOUNG PERSONS TRAINING PROGRAMMESKILLS CLASSES, 1983

WHO ARE THEY FOR?	Registered unemployed people who are between 15 and their mid-twenties
WHAT COURSES ARE THERE?	Food Handling Storekeeping/Warehousing Other courses will be available after term one
HOW LONG DO THEY LAST?	Usually ten weeks, from 8am to 4.30pm daily
WHAT DO I DO?	Learn some basic skills to help you get a job and keep the job Have some days on work experience Learn how to cope
IS IT LIKE SCHOOL?	Yes and no - mainly no There will be lots of discussion. There will be hard work too. Our tutors are used to working with adults

WILL I GET A JOB FROM
THE COURSE?

Some people do. You have more chance of a job because you will have some additional skills and the Labour Department will give you more help

WHO ARE THE TUTORS?

[...] is the co-ordinator. Other tutors will help too

HOW CAN I JOIN?

At the Labour Department or phone [...] and ask for [...]

WHAT ABOUT MY BENEFIT?

The Labour Department will pay you a Training Allowance which will be slightly more per week than the Unemployment Benefit. If you don't get a job after the course, you will go back on to the Unemployment Benefit.

APPENDIX EIGHT: A ROLE REVERSAL STORY

Once upon a time, in our very own time, there was a young man who stood upon the threshold of his life as an adult. His parents had loved and praised him, so that his heart lay open to love; his teachers had instructed him in the needs of society and the joys of achievement, so that he expected much of himself; and his beloved had chosen him above all others, till death did them part, so that his daily life was full of happiness and pride. Strong in his youth, trusting his strength, he chose to enter a demanding and useful profession, one of the great tasks of the world, a task which would call forth his utmost abilities and ambitions.

His guidance counsellor said it was an interesting choice, of course, but since his type of person was especially good with children, and primary teachers were so in demand, and nurses also, and by the way how fast could he type? And his beloved said, how about not making any plans for next year. I have to see about my job first; then if it looks like we need the money you can always line up a job in Wellington. And his parents said to him, sharing of goals and working together are the important things in life, and sacrifices you make now will deepen the love you already share. And his old teachers said to him, how is your beloved's work coming? You must be very proud of such a promising beloved. And you want to work also, how fast can you type? And his father said to him, in private, I know you had high hopes for yourself, but don't worry, soon there will be children, you have to think of the important things first, children change your entire life, you learn to live for their sakes, not just yourself.

And the young man was doubtful whether this advice was in his best interests, but their love and their experience caused him to doubt himself, and besides the employers he talked to were sure that his type of person tended to quit and wasn't worth training, but he did have a delightful smile and how fast could he type? And his minister who had studied psychology and sociology, with a minor in ethical systems, explained that there was nothing wrong in the young man's

dilemma, just the natural insecurity felt when choosing a career. However, boys have a special aptitude for loving and serving others and finding fulfilment in that fashion, because after all, it is their natural instinct.

So in the end, being good hearted and wishing to think that their advice was good, the young man accepted a job in typing and tried to develop himself in his spare time after his work and the cooking (for which a person of this type has a natural aptitude) and washing the dishes (with which his beloved occasionally helped, as a favour, after a long and demanding day on the job). When his beloved got a promotion and a transfer to a new city, they went shopping together for a new garment for him and celebrated all evening with friends, and everyone said how charming he was in his new garment, and how proud he must be of his beloved, and how lucky he was to have such an important and loving beloved, and afterwards in private, his beloved was indeed very loving.

In Wellington he found another job quite easily, for he was used to being delightful and he could type well enough. After dinner and dishes he developed an interest in cooking (he had a way with spaghetti) and wondered if children would make a difference, or would a night course in drama make a difference, or a subscription to Time, or would a sex manual deepen the relationship he already shared with his beloved, or would a more youthful cut to his garments give him a new image and a new outlook on life this fall

(Reprinted from Judith McCombs, The Little Magazine - Spring 1972)

APPENDIX NINE: EXTRACT FROM MANPOWER PLANNING REPORT TO LOCAL CITY COUNCIL, D. FERRETTI (EARLY 1983)

In comparison nationally, [the city] has a higher proportion of its labour force employed in professional and technical occupations, reflecting the importance of the community services sector (which includes education, research, and health institutions).

[The city] has a higher rate of female participation than the national average.

Growth sectors in [the city] include manufacturing, finance, insurance, real estate, and community and personal services. Occupational growth sectors include professional, technical, administration, managerial, and service workers.

Employment growth in [the city] has slowed considerably in recent years.

Both the level and rate of unemployment in [the city] has increased significantly in the last few months, although this remains lower than the national average. Moreover, young people and women share disproportionately in unemployment.

Job seekers out-number job vacancies by almost 10:1. In unskilled occupations, the imbalance is greater, while in a few skilled areas, a small number of vacancies persist.

Despite a large rise in subsidised job creation (1981-1982), total enrolments continue to considerably out-number placements.

Employment and training programmes in [the city] have been reasonably successful, BUT:

- (a) provide only a temporary reprieve from a significant rise in unemployment;
- (b) DO NOT offer an effective and long term solution to unemployment.

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS OF SURVEY ANALYSIS:

Only a very small percentage (less than 25%) of the units surveyed expect to increase employment in the near future, and each by a small number.

The skills identified as being in future demand, require lengthy training and often some experience, the latter a skill which cannot be trained for.

[The city's] industrial structure does not have a large export component. Of the units surveyed that do export, the additional employment generated was very small.

A rise in productivity was generally necessary to maintain employment. Significantly, both productivity and investment rises did not guarantee an increase in employment.

Most units (71%) cited Government as having a direct effect upon their present and future operation. In most instances, however, the effect was felt to be detrimental.

Generally, [the city's] business establishments predict little expansion and little employment growth in the next three to five years.

To summarise, for the unemployed and those young people about to enter [the city's] labour force, the need for preparation and training is urgent. On the basis of the survey results, however, one would be loath to suggest in which directions. The very small number of extra jobs expected, the very large pool of unemployed

seeking work at present, the likelihood of large numbers of school leavers soon entering the local work force, the lengthy periods of training required to attain skills which may no longer be in demand on completion of training, the lack of work experience amongst people seeking work, the slow-down in labour turnover as people continue in existing positions for reasons of job security; all these factors operate in relation to each other to make future employment prospects in [the city] look very bleak. Perhaps the problem to be addressed here, is one of job creation and not one of training people for jobs that may not exist in the future.

[...]

GOVERNMENT

The public sector is both a major employer and generator of wealth in [the city]. In comparison to employment levels in manufacturing and private sector service industries, Government clearly exerts a significant influence on [the city's] manpower situation. Below is a list of employment in some Government-related institutions:

Central Post Office:	1,092 in 9 locations.
District Engineer:	370 in 4 locations.
New Zealand Railways:	800 in 2 locations.
Ministry of Defence:	670 in 2 locations (military and civilian staff).
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries:	246 in 2 locations.
Ministry of Works & Development:	220 in 3 locations
New Zealand Electricity:	209 in 1 location.
Inland Revenue Department:	150 in 1 location.
Housing Corporation/Rural Bank:	114 in 1 location.
New Zealand Police:	103 in 1 location.
Department of Social Welfare:	100 in 2 locations.
Ministry of Transport:	96 in 2 locations.

Department of Internal Affairs:	96 Cleaning Staff throughout City
New Zealand Forest Service:	89 in 2 locations.
Department of Health:	89 in 2 locations.
State Insurance/Government Life:	88 in 2 locations.
Department of Labour:	58 in 2 locations.
Broadcasting Corporation:	36 in 1 location.
Valuation Department:	30 in 1 location.
Accident Compensation Corporation:	30 in 1 location.
Department of Lands and Survey:	29 in 2 locations.
Customs Department:	25 in 2 locations.
Department of Justice:	23 in 3 locations.
Government Printing Office:	19 in 1 location
Education Department (Psychological Service):	11 in 1 location.
Treasury:	7 in 2 locations.
Audit Department:	7 in 1 location.
Ministry of Civil Defence:	4 in 1 location.

This gives a total of 4,901 employees, or 17.2% of [the city's] labour force according to the 1981 Census. More significant perhaps, is the employment effect of other Government-related institutions in the City, and their respective fund allocations. These include (for the 1982 year):

[The Hospital]:	2,800 employees: \$61.0 million grant.*
[The University]:	1,263 employees: \$26.5 million grant.*
[The Teachers College]:	170 employees: \$ 7.3 million grant.*
[The Technical Institute]:	224 employees: \$ 3.0 million grant.*
[A Research Institute]:	178 employees: \$ 5.5 million grant.*
[A Research Institute]:	286 employees: \$ 7.8 million grant.*
[The City Corporation]:	680 employees

* All include wage and salary bill.

These institutions boost Government-related employment by 5,601 to 10,502, or 36.9% of [the city's] labour force. Moreover, if Le Heron's (1977) multiplier of 1.6 is used, Government employment generates an additional 6,301 jobs throughout [the city], giving a final total of 16,803, found primarily in service occupations.

The specification of numbers is not the point to be emphasised, however, especially in light of the potential for error and constraints associated with multiplier analysis. What does need to be stressed is:

- (1) Government's actual employment and income input into [the city's] economy (as listed above);
- (2) The additional employment and income generated by (1).

Quite clearly, both effects are substantial, which suggests that [the city's] economic base is not only dependent on, but also highly sensitive to Government policy changes.

APPENDIX TEN: WORK VISITS

(The following is an extract from Bennett, J. (1983) 'Work visits', in A.G. Watts (ed) Work Experience and Schools London: Heinemann Educational Books.)

The teacher's main responsibility is to get the party to the main gate of the factory at the appointed time. There teacher and pupils are met by an employee who is as confused as the teacher about the purpose of the visit, and has only been informed of his task that morning. The party then begins its tour of the factory, which consists mainly of machine-watching. The guide describes, in technological language far above the children's heads, each stage in a confusing process, usually finishing before the last pupils in the 'crocodile' have arrived. The noise of the machines makes it very difficult to hear. The pupils become bored and start touching components, much to the annoyance of the guide. Some girls become giggly when subjected to wolf-whistles, and start to take more interest in the lads who perpetrated the whistles than in the guide.

The teacher starts to worry about the deteriorating behaviour, and is quite relieved when the group adjourns to the canteen for a drink and biscuits. These are demolished by the children before the teacher, who is making polite conversation to the guide, can get near the plate of biscuits. The guide, glancing at his watch, asks for questions, secretly hoping that there will be none as he is aware that the time for his own tea-break is approaching. The teacher desperately tries to think of a question, his concentration distracted by the pupils starting to play the fruit-machine in the corner. He finds that his question, which he thought was good, is above both the guide and the children. Further watch-glancing by the guide indicates that the party should leave. Casual questioning of the party on the walk back to school reveals that what most impressed the pupils about the visit was the drink and biscuits. The party reach the school gates, and the visit is not mentioned again.

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