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GOVERNMENT YOUTH TRAINING POLICY
AND ITS IMPACT ON FURTHER EDUCATION

by

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Introductory Note

1. References in the text are when first introduced, given in full, but subsequently only the name is given. The bibliography at the end includes all the details, including the description of personal interviews.
2. I have referred to most organisations by their normally accepted initials after the first reference. Below is a list of the organisations most frequently mentioned and their initials.
In April 1978, the organisation of the MSC was changed and consequently the names of the constituent parts. Therefore I have dated the initials when necessary. (One problem throughout the dissertation has been when to refer to the name used prior and post April 78).

MSC	Manpower Services Commission
TSA, up to 4.78	Training Services Agency
TSD, after 4.78	Training Services Division
SPD, after 4.78	Special Programmes Division, director Holland, and responsible for implementing Holland Report proposals.
YOP, after 4.78	Youth Opportunities Programme, introduced by Holland, and largely run by the SPD. Sometimes referred to as a:
SP	Special Programme
FE	Further Education
FECDU or FECD	Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education

Introduction

During the 1970's, the system of education in Further Education (FE) has been profoundly reorganised. One particular change which has occurred has been the impact of an organisation, established under the Department of Employment, not Education, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). While initially concerned with manpower planning, it has grown into a body heavily involved in training both the employed and the unemployed, on courses run largely within FE. The Holland Report, which I shall be examining at length, plays a central role in this shift.

This paper will attempt to analyse what were the causes for the development of these courses, in particular in terms of the government's reaction to youth unemployment, and the argument is raised that in a period of high youth unemployment, education and training become increasingly strategic for youth as a form of control, given the lack of traditional allegiance to either work or family.

While FE is the sector of education traditionally catering for industrial needs and therefore the most relevant institution, I will argue that the introduction by the MSC of these courses represents a significant shift from previous educational thinking and also an outcome and partial resolution of the conflicts within education in the '60's, through the establishment of a new training structure. The MSC etc. represents an attempt by the State to increase its control of education, initially through the FE sector. The question has to be asked how far FE has collaborated in the introduction of these courses or how far the State is attempting to overcome resistance amongst FE teachers. I shall examine the introduction of the Social and Life Skills course in particular, the reasons underlying this and responses to it.

This raises the question as to why the State should attempt to exercise this form of control at this particular conjuncture. I shall argue that while this has to be seen as a response to various real and feared forms of resistance, the development of the Training Services Agency (subsection of MSC dealing with training) and the intended purpose of its courses needs to be understood as, in part, a consequence of the State's response to the needs of industry.

This does not mean that educational changes reflect or functionally fit some abstract concept of economic need. The question has to be asked as to what interests the Training Services Agency (TSA), after all a classic QUANGO, represents: does it represent Capital or a fraction of Capital? Are the decisions of the TSA synonymous with the State? Or could the TSA/MSO be seen as an equivalent to the welfare state, representing the interests of Capital but also of the working class, and in some way, leaving the possibility of attaining different interests within it? Moreover, to suggest that the MSC simply services Capital through its training schemes etc neglects the conflicts and contradictions arising. It would also assume a lack of conflict within the educational structure, purely as an extension of the State - even if as an ideological apparatus.

While it could be argued that the theory of Ideological State Apparatus's does allow for possibility of opposition within the apparatus, it is nevertheless based on the assumption that the ISA's - in this case education - does function to ideologically maintain the economic system. I shall therefore examine whether there is conflict and the extent to which it exists between the different sections, the Department of Education, of Employment, the TSA, the local authorities and decisively FE itself.

Within FE, I shall look at the differing interests and the different possibilities and forms of articulation of these interests by teachers and management - and how far and why there has been collaboration with or resistance to the introduction of the TSA structure and courses.

I shall start by very briefly describing the government's Holland proposals to deal with youth unemployment and then by examining the economic background to the establishment of the MSC/TSA, of which Holland is the newest part.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

For the first time since the Second World War, there were 1.58m. unemployed in July 1979 (seasonally adjusted 1,371,300, 5.6% of all employees). There were 139,181 unemployed school-leavers. The

number of notified job vacancies was 215,500. (Department of Employment Gazette, 7.78)* Unemployment has to a significant degree become structural.

On the 28th February 1978, the Manpower Service Commission (MSC) announced that the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) would provide 234,000 16, 17 and 18 year olds an opportunity of training and work experience at a cost of £160m. Within this, there was proposed growth from 8,952 to 19,000 places for unemployed school-leavers on courses by September 1978, plus other day release uses of Further Education colleges (FE).

Patterns of Unemployment

To begin with a quick resumption of the patterns of unemployment and youth employment. Unemployment amongst young people (16-19) more than doubled between January 1972 and January 1978 - from 129,400 to 275,900 - out of 964,500 and 1,484,700 respectively. During 1976, 800,000 people registered as unemployed, aged between 16 and 18.

* Figures on unemployment, Department of Empl Gaz 7.78 (in thousands)

	Male	Female	Total	% of employed	School-leavers
7.73	437.7	93.3	567.0	2.4	9.3
74	481.6	92.7	574.0	2.5	17.5
75	784.5	205.6	990.1	4.2	62.1
76	1,071.2	392.2	1,463.5	6.1	208.5
77	1,132.7	489.6	1,662.4	6.8	253.4
June 78	1,022.9	423.1	1,446.1	6.1	145.6

While in January 1972, there were 55,900 under 18 registered unemployed, by January 1978, there were 134,900. During 1976, altogether 800,00 16-18 year olds had spells of registered unemployment. Unemployment amongst young people (16 and 17 year olds) rose by 120% between January 1972 and 1978, compared with a rise of 37% amongst the working population as a whole (Dept. of Empl. G. 7.78). Unemployment for 16 and 17 year

olds has increased as a percentage of total unemployment from 4.3% in January 1972 to 6.3% in January 1977.*

* Unemployment - analysis by age; GB. (Dept of Empl. Gaz. 7.78)

Under 18's					
	M	% of total no. unemployed	F	% of total no. unemployed	
72 Jan	33.9	4.3	22.0	48.6	
July	35.0	5.2	21.9	121.8	
73 Jan	28.1	4.3	18.9	59.5	
July	16.5	3.5	10.5	146.5	
74 July	21.2	4.4	12.1	67.9	
75 July	61.3	7.5	43.7	15.2	
76 Jan	57.5	5.9	48.6	16.3	
July	146.6	14.2	121.8	14.0	
77 Jan	62.9	6.1	59.5	11.5	
July	166.2	15.3	146.5	13.0	
78 Jan	67.0	6.3	67.9	19.2	

The median duration of unemployment for those under 18 has increased more rapidly than for any other age group between 1.74 and 1.78 and lasts longer than ever before. But in addition, while the % of unemployed who are "youth" has increased, there is an enormous difference in female and male youth unemployment as a % of total unemployed - for males of about 13%, and females about 33% in the last three years.*

* 16-19's as % of total unemployed by sex, Dept of Empl. Gaz, July 1978.

	Male	Female
Jan 72	10.9	30.3
Jan 73	11.1	30.8
July 74	11.1	30.0
July 75	17.5	39.9
Jan 76	13.3	34.8
Jan 77	13.3	32.8
Jan 78	13.3	33.0

In the last part of 1977, 36% of the unemployed were under 25 (Economist, 1.6.77). The general level of unemployment has been on a rising trend for the past 15 years, in each cycle occurring at a higher level than the previous one. Unemployment increased continuously at an average rate of 10,000 per month during 1976, although stabilising in 1977. Moreover, people stay out of work longer - in April 1978 332,300 have been unemployed for over 12 months, almost 1/4 of the total as opposed to around 14% in 1975. Another 20% had been employed for between 6 months and a year compared to around 12% in 1975.

Certain groups in addition to youth are the hardest hit. The over-all rise in unemployment figures conceals the disproportionate rise in the numbers of women unemployed (see footnote on page 4). They rose by around five times between July 73/74 and 77/78, while men's unemployment "only" just more than doubled, girls have been affected more than boys. Again, blacks are disproportionately affected by unemployment, rising at about three times the rate for whites. A third of the unemployed black men were under 25 (no comparable figure for women). And to quote Holland: "Special groups, eg the number of unemployed 16-17 year old Commonwealth immigrants (first or second generation) trebled between 73 and 75." Finally, there are enormous inequalities between the regions, obviously affecting the type of (young) person unemployed. The crude job gap estimated by the MSC for 1981 is 2.32m workers in excess of jobs.

There is a tendency by MSC to present "Common sense" explanations. Robertson of the MSC argued that the effect of the Equal Opportunities Commission was that women were now registering as unemployed, and were additional to "normal" levels of unemployment, as well as making visible that industry needs increasingly less labour. (In practice, women frequently do not show up on the unemployment figures.) Again, though never verbalised, the MSC's references to first and second generation immigrants suggests that blacks may be seen as a (temporary) extra work force. The main reason for the consistently dramatically high youth unemployment figure, according to O'Brien, Chairman of the MSC (Josiah Mason Lecture, Birmingham University, 29.1.78) is the increase in the potential labour force from 7m in 1977 to 7,100,000 in 1981, made up of young people and married women. The high level of unemployment also affects youth disproportionately. The baby bulge of the '60's are the youth unemployed of the late '70s and early '80s.

When we analyse the MSC's Survey of 3000 young people, 16-19 in 1976, what rather is indicated is the decline in employment in many of the areas that young people have traditionally entered, although there do not appear to be any major shifts in the inter-industry distribution of entrants. (In the last few years, about 25% of young people have entered apprenticeships, about 20% clerical, and about $\frac{1}{3}$ into a job with little or no training). There has been a reduction of jobs in distribution, construction and textiles. But youths have traditionally gone in disproportionate numbers into these jobs. There is a higher proportion of males aged 15-19 than in the whole male population in construction. (12.3% to 10.6%) and in distribution (13.2% to 9.9%). In the same age group, women were also heavily represented in textiles (11.1% to 4.4%) as well as in manufacturing (35.0% to 25.2%), transport and communication (24.6% to 21.0%). (They were also much more heavily represented than boys of their own age in the "higher status" occupations e.g. insurance (11.0% to 2.3%), professional and social services (9.9% to 2.8%).) ('71 Census) The MSC, however, remain remarkably unclear as to exactly what are the patterns of industrial distribution or their definitions skill levels, both arguing for and against the decline of unskilled and skilled jobs.

The MSC does not offer an adequate analyses of future trends, concentrating on the symptoms and more cyclical features of unemployment rather than the structural causes. Thus while the MSC's analysis of the patterns of youth unemployment includes recognition of the world recession, they fail to emphasise the degree of upturn necessary for there to be any real solution to unemployment. Thus opposition to Holland, both from the Tories and the left has been based on the irrelevance of the Holland programme to the real problems of youth unemployment. 1,340,000 extra jobs are required to reach an unemployment level of 8,000 in 1981 according to recent MSC forecasts. It is not possible nor is it the function of Holland to create permanent jobs and cut down the level of unemployment.

It was common in the '60s to believe the Keynesian policies could iron out capitalist crises, that increased investment equalled more growth and employment. It was an approach which informed "the education debate", encouraging an equation between a more educated labour force and an expanding, increasingly technologically advanced

economy. The "reality" has proved rather different - an economy with a lower rate of growth, and high unemployment, bringing into question the "utility" of education.

I want to suggest briefly why the "social-democrats" of the '60's were wrong. In the first place and for reasons outside the scope of this dissertation, the economy did not have the expected growth rate. Even today after the attempts of the last ten years to keep down labour costs and create a more efficient labour force, it is predicted that Britain can expect a marked slow-down in economic output (from 3% in the first half of 1977 to 1% in the first half of 1978). (Report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Guardian 28.7.78). And in circumstances of insufficient growth to absorb the "extra" labour, increased capital-intensive investment will create unemployment.

Investment and Labour Time

An analysis of industrial investment, an apparent precondition for industrial expansion, greater output and therefore more employment, suggests a fundamental contradiction. While at the moment the CBI etc do not appear to plan "high" levels of investment at home, in fact, higher investments is likely to exacerbate the growth of unemployment by the substitution of capital intensive forms of production which replace living labour, given the lack of appropriate growth.

So it is in general in the very areas of the economy where there has not been a high level of investment creating capital intensive industry that there has been a growth in the numbers employed (service, secretarial - so far - etc.)

Yet in the pursuit of maintaining profits, the capitalist will tend to increase capital intensive industry, so as to cut down on labour time (the problem of "overmanning"). In other words this is a period of increasing and structural unemployment. But the effect of reducing the proportion of socially necessary living labour time is also to reduce the rate of profit, unless compensated for by increased exploitation of or intensity of labour time. Thus the need to develop

controls over the labour force. When the relative percentage of labour time is falling, the ability to increase the "intensity" of labour time, or its productivity becomes especially crucial to profit margins. Arguably the high rate of unemployment has the function for Capital of providing a reserve pool of labour, an ever-present threat to the employed. Indeed, women and immigrants are traditionally the source of such a reserve of labour disproportionately affected by unemployment. Yet while women could arguably be seen as relatively less organised and militant, the black unemployed youth are often seen as dangerously rejecting the work ethic etc. The present intervention of the State in the economy, and attempts at developing training for labour, the breaking down of the invisible boundary between "levels" of the economic and political, needs in part to be seen as a response to capital's arguably declining rate of profit or certainly need to control labour.

In addition, capitalism is requiring different forms of labour power to be produced. In the '60's, corporate financial interests started calling for restructuring of public expenditure so that resources could be made available to sectors which constitute zones of capitalist accumulation. The cuts in public expenditure, including on education, were in part an attempt to reduce alleged unproductive state expenditure. Education is squeezed in terms of capital costs and some real cuts in "manning" but there is also encouraged an expectation of efficiency and accountability - expressed in the increased role of the inspectorate. The unique section for financial expansion in the "education" sector - the TSA - has to be analysed in terms of whether it was intended to produce a more productive work force. This intervention is crucially made possible within FE because of the starvation of its normal funding.

Changes in Occupational Distribution and Deskillery

In addition, there have been changes in occupational distribution. Thus there appears to be a shift from unskilled to semi-skilled and from manual towards white-collar work. There is also a remarkably high level of turnover of people in jobs. There are 8-9m job changes a year. With 1.5m unemployed, 400,000 per month go into jobs. The result is the demand for a "flexible" labour force. The cause, at least in part, is the changing occupational structure.

The number of white-collar jobs has increased. The increasing role of education was seen in terms of acquiring a technologically prepared work force which was equated with a higher growth rate. Thus the increasing demand for white-collar workers was one important ingredient in creating growth in education. Other white-collar groups have increased - 629,000 between 1971 and 1976, in public administration and defence; draughtsmen by 367% between 1921 and 1961; professional scientists and engineers by 688% and laboratory technicians by 1821% between 1921 and 1961 (Trade Unions Growth and Recognition, by G. Sayers Rain Research Paper: Royal Commission on Trade Union and Employers Associations HMSO 1967). The share of white-collar workers has grown from 18.7% of the labour force to 35.9%, while the manual share has decreased from 74.6% to 59.3% between 1911 and 1961.

In terms of working class jobs what appears to be taking place is a shift away from both skilled and unskilled work towards semi-skilled work. But it is not easy to distinguish the actual decline in the numbers of traditional craftsmen's jobs and the process of "deskilling" of these jobs. (At the same time as the skilled jobs are in decline there remain skill shortages). Any explanation for the exact changes in over-all patterns needs to be specific - a precision the MSC certainly lack. It is often not clear exactly what level of skill they see themselves as training for or what they mean by skill or what the changes in skills in the jobs themselves are, concealed by over-all job distribution figures.

Any illustration of shifts in labour distribution fails to show up the invisible changes in skill content. Nevertheless to illustrate the over-all pattern; in craft and similar occupations, the number of unemployed has gone up for men from 89,931 in March 1975 to 151,425 in March 1978 and for women from 3,351 to 9,558; for "general labourers" (?) from 269,213 to 394,500 for men and for women from 28,518 to 71,037 (Dept. of Empl. G. 7.78). In manufacturing there are 38,100 fewer employed in May 1978 than in May 1977, and in construction 8,500 fewer. To illustrate the process of "deskilling" in the Iron and Steel industry, where over 100,000 jobs have been lost in the last five years, over half were skilled. Whereas in 1961, about 47% of workers in metal manufacturing were classed as skilled, this figure had dropped to 42%

in 1971. In Engineering, famous for the opposition of skilled workers to processes of deskilling, the percentage of skilled workers has declined from 44% to 40% between 1961 and 1971. In 1971 alone there has been a reduction of 199,000 (from 2,184,000) in Engineering. Taking both men and women, by 1975 the percentage of workers in skilled manual jobs in the industry was down to just 25% (Dep. Employ Gaz July 1976). Over-all, the number of skilled male manual workers in Britain has declined by just over 1/2 million from 5,186,118 in 1961 to 4,567,780 in 1971 (Census 1961 and 1971). In addition, the number of skilled manual workers as a percentage of the total working population has continued to decline:

1911 - 30.6%, 1931 - 26.7%, 1951 - 24.9%, 1971 - 22%

(Barrat Brown: From Labourism to Socialism). (from D. Finn, Notes on Skills, Training and the Young Worker).

In September 1977, there were 46,000 vacancies for skilled, craft and technician workers and about 150,000 unemployed people with qualifications to fill those jobs - 3:1.

At the same time, in September 1977 there were 113,000 vacancies for unskilled jobs and 1.2m unskilled unemployed - 10:1. The contraction of unskilled jobs has a particular impact on unskilled young workers. But the employer has a greater choice. The young worker is particularly disadvantaged due to lack of experience compared to the older worker.

Employers are constantly demanding more and better skilled labour. This is in a period when school leavers are more qualified than ever before. And, in addition, employers complain endlessly about overmanning. The genuine skill shortages, which do exist from time to time in old and new industries should not conceal that there is an overall process of loss of skilled jobs/deskilling. It needs to be asked whether industry's demands for more skilled labour are not demands for a more acquiescent labour force: "willing to accept orders" (Social and Life Skills, MSC), and intermittent labour. There is increasing evidence to show that employers are now looking for discipline and steadiness - the new skills required are social skills, the social and life skills of the MSC handbook.

Chapter 2

TSA and the Coventry Report

The new Special Programme designed for the youth unemployed is a product of a body established in 1974, called the MSC. The Employment, Industrial and Training Act 1973 established the MSC, although the main purpose of the Act was an over-all rationalisation of training and employment services, in particular in relation to the Industrial Training Boards which were not seen as providing sufficient levels of skills of the right type. The Commission was responsible to the Department of Employment and in 1975 when the Act was amended, the chairman of the Commission in fact became independent from the government. It has grown from an initial expenditure in 1974 of £125.4m to £249.2m and 22,000 staff in 1975/6 to £580.6m and a staff of 25,385 in 1977/78. The projected figures for 1982/83 are £709m and 29,080 staff (but then in 1975/76 the projected expenditure for 1977/78 was only £379m!).

It is not directly responsible even to the Department of Employment, which established it, for its rapid growth, finance, policies, etc. The MSC illustrates the Labour Government's establishment of QUANGOS of state apparatus where the system of and responsibility for decision making is removed from normal methods of Parliamentary and also local control. It defined its function (Annual Review 1977):

1. to contribute to efforts to raise employment and reduce unemployment
2. to assist manpower resources to be developed and contribute fully to economic well-being
3. to help to secure for each worker the opportunities and services he or she needs in order to lead a satisfying working life
4. to improve the quality of decisions affecting manpower
5. to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the Commission.

The Holland Report of 1977 represents the recognition that youth unemployment is more than a passing phenomenon.

TSA Training

The MSC was divided into different sections, the main two agencies - the Employment Services Agency, which administers the Job Centres, etc.

and the TSA which runs the different training schemes, on employers' premises, skill centres and colleges of FE. The courses in colleges of FE have increased tremendously, and have been geared towards those already in employment, both at the level of retraining for management and technician positions (TOPS courses), and more recently training for so called "literacy". The development of training and courses for the unemployed has been an initiative in the last year and in April 1978 there was established a third section of the MSC - Special Programme. In 1977 distribution of TOPS courses alone were approximately 25,000 in skills centres, 56,000 in FE and 17,000 in employers' establishments. The Holland places will be additional to this.

The TSA sees itself as producing the necessary skills for the economy. Thus in 1976, they produced a pamphlet - Training for Skills, which argues emphatically for the importance of the right skills and the existence of present imbalances in certain areas - a major factor producing skill imbalances is the reaction of employers to recession - who are less likely to wish to invest in lengthy and costly training in uncertain economic circumstances. In addition, however, the nature of the skills (not just the number) in demand is affected by structural change in industry. Thus the State needs to intervene, as opposed to the individual private capitalist, to redress these "skill" imbalances through centralised training programmes. What it requires is a flexible and adaptable labour force, not bounded by traditions of craft.

O'Brien, Chairman of the MSC, talks of a "need for broadly based skills, a need which existing methods of craft training are unlikely to satisfy." "Training will be needed to enable many skilled workers to do more than one job during their working lives." There is a need to improve training - "provide training and retraining of adults at all skill levels providing flexible responses which strikes a balance between the realities of performance required in industry immediately and the desirability of trainees possessing skills which enhance their employability, and their mobility." In addition the MSC document Programme of Action recommends that the MSC should adopt the attitude to training that "All training, whether provided in industry, commerce or in the public training system, should lead to agreed standards in appropriate skills (where they can be satisfactorily defined) and should be of a quality which will help mobility and improve the trainee's

employment prospects both with his current employer and elsewhere." In other words, the demands on training are in practice defined in terms of flexibility especially for the long term need of Capital as a whole, a central feature in Holland as well. Skills are quantifiable and the emphasis is on the importance of agreed standards etc.

The Coventry Report

One of the first on the ground reports to be produced: The Coventry Report, initiated in April 1976 prior to the Holland programme but concerned in particular with the situation facing young people, indicates clearly what, at least in one area, were the demands and expectations of training and is particularly indicative as the Holland proposals are now being put into effect.

They posed questions on current vocational preparations, the "education/work interface", the "current provisions in terms of basic skills (maths and English), and how far the education and training programmes match the future skill requirements of local employers. They emphasise the need to produce employees with a range of different skills, adding that union attitudes and practices will be crucial in providing this "new 'hybrid' type of skilled worker". They are concerned to break down traditional craft divisions, and introduce flexibility in apprenticeship schemes, as well as co-ordinating a national rather than industry-based training system, (in line with the TSA's introduction of TOPS schemes).

There is a division in Coventry between job shortages in skilled manual jobs and in low paid sectors - like the hotel and catering sector, with their low wages and unsocial working hours. While the TSA sees one of its functions as training for skilled vacancies, it states that the problem is actually one of pay - i.e. of retraining the staff not of recruiting them in the first place. Their recurring emphasis on work discipline and attitudes is therefore crucial both for the filling of skilled work and placing of the unemployed youth.

They analyse the employment patterns of young people, making the point that there is little evidence of jobs specific to young people. Their

analysis of what the Coventry employer is looking for when he does employ young people is instructive and worth quoting: "Above all, they want applicants who are willing and have a co-operative attitude to work. After that, they look for basic educational standards for skilled manual and non-manual jobs, and physical fitness for other manual jobs. On all of these dimensions, except physical fitness, young people compare badly with older job applicants: they are particularly criticised for their work attitudes, appearance, and basic education They are extremely concerned about the extents to which young people (in their terms) are deficient in basic skills, such as literacy and numeracy." The TSA itself comments that young applicants are not expected to know much about the firm when they attend for an interview, but "They are expected to have a modicum of skill in interview technique and in this they fail badly. Appearance, manners and the attitudes of youngsters at interview are frequently criticised by employers, and schools and parents are usually blamed for these failings."

The themes are clear - the importance of a well behaved work force. S. Friths' and D. Finn's emphasis - that educational qualifications are seen by employers as indicating a more disciplined person rather than their importance being work relevance - is born out. The TSA's sample of 1976 Coventry College leavers in FE showed that of the 18% who were employed subsequently, all but two had some 'O' levels - certainly employers appear to be more willing to recruit young people with an academic record. In fact, rather than new applicants being less literate etc than previously, they are, compared to the past, likely to be over-qualified.

The relationship between colleges and industry is seen as of the "critical importance". The colleges prepare for employment and changing requirements of industry, (although they never adopt the crudely explicit attitude expressed in a similar TSA report on Merseyside that the over-all objective is to improve "the marketability of the school-leaver".)

The effectiveness of Training (never education) is emphasised, with the corollary of assessing that effectiveness by "measuring the difference in performance before and after training". While the TSA reiterates its concern for the individual, this is always in terms of

a preparation for work which can be quantified economically as clearly traditional education cannot. (The teaching of a high degree of task differentiation, which will be discussed later, is a product of an approach based on measuring effectiveness.)

The TSA see the key issues in training to be: "The effectiveness of training - analysis of "vital skills" requirements - development of technician training (perhaps through the close liaison between the skills centre and an FE college) - the relevance for young people of 'core' skills to employment prospects - counselling and placement services - the important development of a life-skills element in all courses." But these various concepts - vital skills, core skills, are not defined, in fact tend to obscure what is meant just as it is not clear what they mean by the effectiveness of training.

What they are fully aware of, however, is that the colleges will offer resistance to these new demands on them. Teachers of widely differing political attitudes have assumptions about what constitutes FE education and have interests in maintaining their present jobs, specialism and control, they "manage" the system to maintain this situation. (A point developed in Section IV). This partial control by the teachers restricts the TSA's ability to "functionally fit" the college to their needs: "the colleges will need to re-examine their existing priorities", given the government's commitment to unified vocational preparation and dealing with unemployed school-leavers. Their ambiguous comment that the system needs to be improved and is governed at the moment by "trainers" and "trainees", is partly clarified by the comment on the need to introduce a 48 week year and "generally more flexible and responsive structure within which the colleges could be encouraged further to respond to the needs of local industry."

Chapter 3

Context of Policy: Government and Party Policies

Development of government training policies

Before specifically discussing the impact of the Holland package, these proposals need to be viewed not just as a somehow natural outcome of the developments of the TSA and taken as a factor which is given and accepted in the late 1970's. Rather the takeoff of the TSA etc. has to be set against a long history of government proposals on industrial training, many of which have had much less impact. And given that it was proposed that F.E. will be providing up to three-quarters of the places for the new Holland courses, the proposals for FE should not just be seen as an extension of a section of education already orientated towards industry, but rather the question asked as to how far there is an ideological shift in content demanded and, if so, how this took place.

To outline the Government's manpower policies before 1974 (when the MSC was established). In 1958, the then Ministry of Labour and National Service published the report of a committee "Training for Skills" (Chairman: Robert Carr), which found that the existing system of individual industry's training manpower was proving insufficient for the needs of industry as a whole and that there was a need to increase apprentice intake, but, significantly, maintained the existing division of responsibility-training remained the prerogative of industry, education of the government. It was in 1964, the period of the "white hot revolution", that the Industrial Training Act augured in State intervention in training through the Industrial Training Boards which were required to impose a levy on firms in their industry and empowered to pay grants to firms providing training of an adequate standard. Also, in 1964, the Henniker-Heaton report recommended a doubling of day-release places, which was not to take place. "Training for the Future", a government review of training conducted in 1971, recognised that more effective national co-ordination was desirable and proposed the National Training Agency to co-ordinate the ITB's and training schemes generally, which was to become the prototype of the TSA. The government moved into industrial training,

and therefore also into making specific demands in terms of what was to be taught. Indeed, through the TSA, control over major sources of adult training was centralised.

The emphasis on skills, on training for industry, on assessing teaching in terms of work, of a marketable product, was increasing in education as a whole. Moreover, it was the Department of Employment, through the TSA, which was instrumental in developing certain forms of training. On the other hand, the DES at this point virtually failed to mention vocational education in their document "Framework for Expansion", which was produced in 1973 (when establishment of TSA was recommended). The growing impact of the TSA on educational provision is also highlighted in that the following year the government gives the extra £6m. for TSA TOPS schemes (which grew from 3,400 to 30,000 FE places from 1972 to 1975). It never embarks on implementing the Russell Report recommendations on Adult Education, which was not geared to training.

Changing Educational Ideology

Education is on the political agenda, as Callaghan's contributions and the Great Debate clearly show. The Labour Government is becoming indistinguishable from what, in the past, would have been the prerogative of the Tory right, in its emphasis that education needs to be responsive to the need of industry. The alliance of the 1960's, analysed by Johnson, Finn and Grant, as a social democratic alliance in education, has been broken.

Tawney, highly influential in the formulation of early Labour Party policy on education, saw an educational progressive alliance as articulated against industry, defining education as against the demands of industry; "Tawney opposed definitions of secondary education that are derived from children's future employment such as 'the vulgar commercialism which conceives of the manufacture of efficient typists and mechanics as the primary object of adolescent education' - producing 'cannon fodder' for industry. Tawney's position was in opposition to another of Labour's ideologies - the national efficiency of the Fabians, but he had the limitation of not developing specific or clear educational proposals of his own (Johnson, Finn and Grant).

While education came to be increasingly emphasised by Labour, by the late 1950's as a major area for social reforms and attainment of equality, the emphasis was now on economic responsibilities and modernisation. Eccles in 1956 presented the 1956 White Paper on Technical Education, "the first minister to assume that educational expansion was economic investment" (Kogan: the Politics of Education). The human capital theory, that individuals are defined and assessed as part of capital stock, gained increasing ideological ground. The emphasis of "systems needs", so clearly developed in the TSA, was based on ignoring both that there are conflicts of values over social and economic systems but also that efficiency and reward cannot necessarily be calculated by straightforward objective criteria. These assumptions were expressed in and justified in the Crowther Report 1959, Robbins 1963 and Plowden 1967, which equated expanding education with an expanding economy.

The Labour Party supported the expansion of the education system as a means for greater individual self-development which was compatible with national economic development (Johnson). But during the 1960's, the "human capital" approach of industry was gaining ground. This emphasis on "national" growth and private profitability is not an expression of social democratic ideology, never mind expressing any attempt at actually reforming economic relationships. But at the same time teachers, representing the increased radicalism of the 1960s amongst this social strata, had questioned the hierarchical structure and authority relationships within education. There was increasing pressure for the introduction of more participatory and egalitarian structures, often, no doubt, compatible with a "professional" attitude but still pushing the Labour Government to introduce more democratic policies and reforms, partly to maintain the consent of these "ideological state workers". These contradictory demands resulted in the Labour Government's attempt to realign the direction of the education system and a shift in dominant educational ideology (Johnson) from that of the 1960's.

It is expressed clearly in the Great Debate and then again in the Green Paper. There is an over-riding concern by the DES etc. with the curriculum and teachers' control over it and a desire for an agreed framework, a core curriculum, a monitoring of standards. The fear of

increasing teacher radicalism and control is expressed in the attempts to "claw back" control over CSE Mode 3 through external examiners and is apparently displayed in the Tyndale case. The recurring theme is that the effectiveness of education needs to be judged in terms of helping children to appreciate how the nation earns and maintains its standards of living and properly to esteem the essential role of industry and commerce in this process. Somehow there are "misgivings" whether teachers have an adequate appreciation of the world outside the education system, particularly the importance of industry and commerce to the national well-being and the problems facing an industrial society like ours in an increasingly competitive world". One repeated theme by the DES is that teachers are too aloof from the day to day life of industry - thus the increasing emphasis on the desirability of industrial experience. "Educating Our Children" stresses the need to supervise the teacher who needs guidance on what he teaches and how he teaches it. While statements like this may have been found in earlier 1960's reports, the Green Paper etc lack the counterposing emphasis on equality and the individual. The MSC similarly in their Coventry report is quite open in stating the need to change the effectively restrictive practices of the teachers (and administration) in holding onto courses and structures insufficiently suited to local industrial needs.

The hidden meaning of the emphasis on core curriculum, to be found both in the schools and in the MSC FE courses, is to produce a labour force supplied with basic skills and realistic career prospects (DES: Educating Our Children). Thus what we are seeing is the re-emergence of an education system based upon firmly recreating hierarchies, as opposed to the greater flexibility and "inefficiency", introduced by the limited democratisation of schools in the 1960's. This might contradict the hierarchical and authoritarian nature of work discipline, increasingly crucial in a period of labour resistance (Finn). While the Government espoused the importance of re-establishing neutrality, it is actually increasingly attacking "progressive" education and stressing the importance of a particular sort of demand for and practice in education.

The Labour Government is presenting as a solution or partial solution to the crisis of the economy and of unemployment, not the structure or management of the economy, eg the failure to invest adequately, but rather the failure of the education system to produce the proper sort

of labour force - a labour force with the right kind of skills and flexibility and attitudes. The establishment of the TSA provides an institution, specifically introduced by government, based on the provision for the needs of Capital, which, as the 1970s developed, became instrumental in fulfilling these needs by changing education.

It is in part an attempt to circumscribe the areas of autonomy established by teachers. Moreover, there has been resistance by primary and secondary school teachers who do not have the traditions in FE of a more vocational work orientation. The establishment of the MSC reflects the same concern as the Great Debate - discipline of the working class through the state agency of education. But it also indicates the limited success within the existing institutions - the employees within education were failing to achieve this, influenced by the "radicalism" of the late 1960s, although it would be wrong to simply assume that "progressive" education does not serve the State or Capital's interests, an argument elaborated on later in relation to FE teachers.

The TSA training proposals, and the Holland proposals, serve to slot people in, to give them a limited training to a specific level, to win their allegiance to accepting this as their "realistic" economic and social role, ie to win their consent. One major aspect of the TSA's and Holland's training proposals is the importance of "social and life skills", skills which would appear to have the function of encouraging an ability to manoeuvre through the system, never to change it (which will be discussed later). In a period of education cuts, the Government's decision to shift resource to the TSA - the only part of the education system where resources are expanding - has to be understood partly in terms of the greater degree of pedagogic control it appears to offer - there is an assumed emphasis on narrow vocationalism of their courses.

It is not only a question of a gradual ideological shift in educational "hegemony". Rather the internal contradiction within education between "education" and "training" eg expressed in Crowther, are partly resolved and institutionalised because of the crisis of the 1970s. We end up with the TSA partly because the financial crisis opens an avenue into education, allowing the TSA to buy its way into FE, depleted of funds.

DES and FE

But this shift, this emphasis on narrowly vocational courses, is partly made possible by the degree to which the DES has come to adopt the attitudes formally espoused by the Department of Employment. While this has already been illustrated with reference to the Green Paper, a clear example of their desire to change the present nature of education in the FE sector is the document jointly produced by the Secretary of State for Education and Employment in association with the TSA in 1977, called "Unified Vocational Preparation". It argues that the transition from education to work is a "crucial turning point" (for what?) and that "at least part of the trouble" is the separate development of education and training. Thus a unified approach is stated to be required of vocational preparation, inseparably combining education and training. This approach needs to be "relevant and realistic". The provision made should be clearly seen by young people entering work and by employers to be relevant to their needs and should be focussed on the worked situation. The report comments: "the absence of organised preparation for work can be damaging and disillusioning. Without proper induction young workers may feel that no-one much cares what they do, how well they do it or how they should develop. Commitment to the job and interest in the wider function and success of the firm are less likely to grow; and performance and productivity will suffer."

"From the point of view of the firm, if potential is not developed the competence of the workforce will be lower than it might be. Even if employees have the narrower skills to meet the immediate demands of their jobs, a lack of wider knowledge will tend to inhibit their performance as well as to reduce their mobility and versatility within the firm, and retraining will be more difficult and expensive. On a wider front, inadequate vocational preparation is an obstacle to movement between companies, industries and occupations. Yet these days the importance of increasing the adaptability of the workforce can scarcely be exaggerated. The success of any enterprise depends to an important degree on good personal relationships, which in turn not only depend on attitudes and goodwill, but call for certain general skills, especially the ability to communicate effectively. The development of such skills which are needed in all jobs and at all

levels, is too often neglected and it should be treated as an essential element in vocational preparation for young people." The report later refers to the development of basic skills, including "the ability to communicate in a range of working situations."

The report recognises that employers "understandably" need to be convinced... about "off-the-job training in FE if they are to accept the loss of production involved in the release of their young employees" and is just as clear that FE has so far not performed this function adequately - it deplores the development of separate traditions of FE and training and calls for a synthesis. The function of FE is to produce a motivated but realistic workforce which identifies with their job yet which can be mobile and versatile. This task apparently falls under the title of teaching communication and general skills, "general" because skills much not be too particular and in depth but rather transferable and broad. The distinction if any between general and basic skills, is not clarified, indeed the Report's emphasis on "wider knowledge", "broad skills" is not obviously consistent with a task orientated training.

Yet the increasing similarity of approach between the DES and Department of Employment in terms of FE, a consensus which presumably has the support of the Labour Government, is also seen in the establishment and nature of the FE Curriculum Review. Set up by the DES at the beginning of 1977, amidst the Great Debate, "to review curricula and identity deficiencies etc", "determine priorities for action", to "improve provision" and how they can be implemented, it immediately began a review of education for the youth unemployed in FE which was produced in April 1978. Its language and concepts are indistinguishable from the TSA. Although of course this is partly explicable as a review on the whole of TSA courses, there appears no criticism of aims or methods. Indeed R. Thoragood, one of the four full-time staff, was indeed critical of Holland, for its inability to cope with the basic contradiction of there being more unemployed than jobs, and its unawareness of this. But his argument was for a more total review of education. He presented the current debate as centring on a restructuring with 14-19 year olds receiving training and spending from 16 in industry with day-release. The DES has opposed the TSA schemes, yet the result - 1.77 - the fund to local

authorities to establish three day-a-week schemes for unemployed youth - has the crippling disadvantage that the youths only receive social security and not the TSA £19.50.

But FE is seen accurately as particularly suitable for running a programme for preparation for industry and of the young worker - "it has a more robust sense of social accountability. It seems to me that it would be of value if the application of the customer contract principle were more explicitly acknowledged. The aggregate of the perceived needs of employers represents our society's requirements for vocationally prepared manpower We must acknowledge the right of the social customer to explain what he wants, and indeed - if he pays - to get roughly what he pays for." (Baker, Assistant Secretary to Coombe Lodge, Vol. 11, No. 4, 78). This payment for provision in FE - usually by the MSC - provokes "a jealous clamour" because the pattern of FE development is being determined by others. But the contractor always has the choice of not taking the money: what he should not do is take the money and grumble about the way his work is being distorted." (Baker).

The Proposals

To first examine briefly the history and purposes of the Holland proposals. A working party under the chair of Geoffrey Holland was set up by the MSC in October 1976 with the basic aim of recommending a programme to provide training and work experience for all those between 16 and 18 who are not in full-time education and are "unable to get a job". This working party published its report with noteworthy speed in May 1977: "Young People and Work" or the Holland Report, and was with a few amendments, accepted rapidly by the Government - on 29th June 1977 Mr. Booth (Employment Minister) announced "It is our firm intention that no summer or Easter school-leaver who remains unemployed the following Easter would remain without the offer of a place under the programme. The Government will ensure that the necessary resources are made available for this purpose and the MSC will arrange the programme accordingly." (Press Conference Release).

The new programmes were the Youth Opportunities Programme to provide in a full year 234,000 16, 17 and 18 year olds with an opportunity of training and work, in 130,000 places. In addition, it established the Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP) which will provide 25,000 temporary jobs for those aged 19 and over.

The Holland Report states that the programme proposed offers courses designed to prepare young people for work and different kinds of work experience.

There are three types of courses - 1. Employment Induction Courses, lasting two weeks with a target of 3,000 places for 60,000 young people per year, to take place in employers' establishments, Skill Centres and FE. "The objective would be to improve the young person's employability by helping him" (my emphasis) "to assess the type of work he would like to do, and was best suited for; to improve his awareness of the requirements of working life (including particularly how to find and retain suitable employment) and to improve his social skills, including his ability to communicate with others orally and in writing...."

2. Work Preparation Courses. Objective: "To introduce young people to, and develop skills needed for a fairly specific (though broad) occupational area as a basis for employment at operator or semi-skilled level, and also to motivate young people to work and help to equip them

with skills to deal with the demands of adult working life." They would provide three months training for 25,000 young people each year, in Skill Centres, FE and employers' establishments. In 1976, 11,000 young people went on these courses - the expansion is seen as drawing onto the courses people of lower ability.

3. Remedial Rehabilitation or Preparatory Courses for disabled young people with an annual throughput of 3,300.

In addition, the Youth Opportunity Programme (YOP, the programme which implements Holland) will offer work experience schemes for young people - on employers' premises, project based work experience in training workshops and in community service. The aim is to provide a total of 70,000 places on this part of the programme. The length of time spent will vary with the type of provision but in general will not exceed 12 months, and, usually, be nearer 6. It is intended that all forms of work experience should include an element of training or FE and counselling.

The estimated costs of the total provision is around £160m., including about £7m. in 1978/9 for costs incurred through FE.

Chapter 2

Why Holland was Introduced

a) Introduction

The Holland proposals are unusual, not just in that they demand government outlay in a period of cutbacks on "service" industry, but also the rapidity with which they were put together and then supported by the Government. Traditionally, education policy takes years to formulate and implement (if it is). From the establishment of the Holland Working Party to its Government inauguration took 13 months. Its speed of inauguration calls for a conjunctural analysis. The Government as well as finding the level of youth unemployment politically damaging, as Thorogood (FECRU) suggested. In these circumstances it was found that the education service had not been responding sufficiently promptly as had some agencies. Indeed, throughout the 1970s, the initiatives on training within the State machinery appear to be taken from the Department of Employment not the DES, as documented by members of the DES: "The DES have not taken initiatives for the benefit of the young unemployed although promoting three day a week courses (Bird, Under Secretary, Coombe Lodge): "We have influenced the rules of the game, and we have issued guidance, admittedly of a high level of generality, in Circular 10/77 (Baker, ASSn Sec DES).

b) Summary on Youth Unemployment

In 1977, more young people experienced unemployment than since the Second World War. In 1976 alone, 800,000 young people had spells of unemployment. The average rate of unemployment for young people had gone up from 13.4% to 18.5% and is much higher than the average for blacks and females.

Moreover, the Holland report shows that youth unemployment is not going to go away; on the most optimistic projection, in 1981 there will be 180,000 youth unemployed, on the more pessimistic project, 350,000. The average length of unemployment for young people has been increasing - it is now on average about 12 weeks for boys and slightly

longer for girls, which is almost double what it was a few years ago. The Holland Report and its spokesman e.g. Holland to Coombe Lodge, Vol. 11, No. 4, 78 and O'Brien, all lay great emphasis on patterns of youth unemployment as the most significant factor underlying Holland.

c) Why is Youth Not Employed?

The Holland Report is concerned as to why employers are failing to employ young people. Industry's competitive position must be increased. "Part of that competitive position is labour productivity... methods are being introduced into Britain which are producing a significant lessening in the numbers of unskilled jobs. It was in unskilled jobs that huge numbers of young people got their first toe-hold in the world of work." (Holland)

Moreover, employers now argue that employees are now seen as a fixed cost. "This partly because of employment protection legislation, partly because of all sorts of things which the unions have negotiated over the years. All these things are adding to the expense of the employer in employing somebody This has great significance for young people." (Holland, Coombe Lodge, Vol. 11, No. 4, 78). The employer needs to be much surer about someone before taking them on. And as already documented, employers' stereotype of youth is that they need to be better mannered, disciplined, etc.*

The significance of union strength is a recurrent theme. Thus the union's unwillingness to accept a reduction in overtime and work-sharing (and also of course abolition of craft differentials and fragmentation of 'skills' is also used as a reason for employers' inability to hire new workers (Thorogood). In practice, with 1.4m. unemployed, employers are now in a position where they are able to be more selective about whom they hire.

* Indeed, one effect (not necessarily in intention) of the Holland Programme, is that employers now get young workers on a six months trial with their wages paid by the State. Employers can therefore select 'suitable' employees. Moreover, as 50% of work experience schemes are with employers with less than 50 employees, Holland acts as a State subsidy to small employers.

Another argument is that the EPA prevents employers disposing of labour and employing new young people, (how minimal is the legal and financial protection to workers of the Labour Government legislation is shown by the failure of unions and workers to gain either recognition or reinstatement for the Grunwick workers), although this legislation was presented by the Labour Government and Trade Union leadership as the workers' side of the social contract.

Industry requires a particular form of labour - and the Holland programme is in part attempting its creation. Note O'Brien: "Employers interviewed in our survey had refused young people jobs for reasons related to attitude and personality, appearance and manners, rather than for lack of basic education". And, to quote Holland: "Most employers look for a greater willingness and a better attitude to work from young people. Those who turn young people down do so because of attitude/personality, appearance/manners, and inadequate knowledge of the 3 R's". (my emphasis)

The difference between these statements probably indicates how little Holland etc. actually do know about their "clientele". The study done by M. Burke indicated that 37% of unemployed school leavers had CSE up to O level, a significant minority never reflected in the Holland approach. Figures from the FEER show that in some regions i.e. with higher levels of unemployment, 29% had O levels, 40% either CSE or O level. But the stress on personal factors as an explanation for failure to obtain a job is a major component of the Holland proposals for FE training courses.

But in addition, to quote O'Brien again: "It does appear that the expectations, aptitudes and attitudes of young people are often out of balance with those of employers and the world of work. The question is: how can we get a better bridge from school to work? The future will require the labour force - of labour force entrants - a higher degree of flexibility; a broader base of learning; and more and better preparation for work. More movement around the labour force will be essential in the future; and certainly within the working lifetimes of some now entering it.... Too much training and job preparation are at present based on the assumption of 'a job or trade for life'". (My emphasis)

Notice that the Holland Report does not present the employers' reasons for problems in employing young people at all critically. Nevertheless, in so far as the employer is failing to employ the young worker (clearly normally defined as male), one of the traditional methods by which the young person gains an identity with the system through work has come into conflict with industry's drive for profits.

A theme of Holland's is that the programme cannot create the jobs; instead "there is a strong argument for trying to share out the burden and sharing out the prospects for such jobs as are available. This would mean more people having short spells of unemployment rather than fewer people experiencing long periods of unemployment."

The Holland Report has to be seen in terms of preparing people for intermittent work, intermittent unemployment. But, essentially, identification has to be retained with work and skills, although they need to be transferable. The Holland programme may not create the jobs but needs to prepare youths to think in terms of their future as workers.

d) Youth discontent. The battle for the preservation of civilised social behaviour

Holland is a response to the expression or feared expression of discontent, but in particular youth discontent. Holland again expresses this clearly. He argues that there are a number of arguments for paying particular attention to the unemployed youth. (Coombe Lodge Vol. 11, No. 4, 78). "What happens on leaving school affects the whole of your subsequent life - economically, financially, socially, attitudinally. If we don't help young people then, we are letting ourselves - and them - in for a lot of problems. Unemployment for young people... is a case of not being able to grow up." And again O'Brien "Young people... to the extent that they suffer long periods of unemployment or patchy employment record, their motivation and attitude to work are likely to be affected in ways which we find unacceptable." The statement about Holland by Brooksbanks (Former Chief Education Officer, Birmingham, Coombe Lodge, Vol. 11, No. 4, 78) "The battle against youth unemployment was a battle for the preservation of civilised social behaviour" is not uncharacteristic. This fear of youth is accentuated by the particular groups who are seen to be unemployed.

They are seen as coming disproportionately from families where there is already unemployment, so that the family norms tend to undermine rather than enforce the work ethic; "money is seen as coming from the post office" (Personal interview with Robertson, SPD). Moral cultivation is equated with 'hard graft'. Also, many of these young people are assumed (often probably correctly) not to have children or families of their own. Thus, they are not tied in economically to past or future responsibilities. They neither owe the allegiance and responsibility to family which an older person might feel nor are they bound to their work as employees. Education therefore becomes much more significant as a regulatory mechanism.

Within youth unemployment, girls are disproportionately affected. An anomaly within Holland is that its analysis is often sighted within a male young person's trajectory. Unemployment of girls (16 and 17 year olds) as a proportion of total youth unemployment (16 and 17 year olds) rose from 35% in January 1970 to 49% in January 1977. Female youth unemployment as a percentage of total female unemployment is around a third. Holland's clear concern for the school leavers' failure to identify with work is more appropriate for the boy; for the girl is more likely to see work as interspersed with sessions at home anyway. A boy without a job is seen as unemployed while the girl is seen as 'having a place within the home'. Female unemployment is easier to manage ideologically - women are both seen as having and often will have lower work expectations which are more easily satisfied. One significant cause for the male bias is that it is the male who is more likely to express discontent. Moreover, the traditional emphasis in sociology on male youth culture, while it totally ignores the existence of a female sub-culture, is partly to be explained by the greater traditional visibility of male youth and his forms of resistance.

Holland is orientated exclusively towards the working class school leaver - it is difficult to estimate how far increasing expressions of conflict within the working class as a whole, was seen as particularly likely to be manifested by young working class males. The increasing number of strikes and other expressions of discontent at work are of concern because of Capital's need for a more disciplined work force. Holland needs to be seen as expressing the State and Capital's requirements from labour but also as Capital's response to

a more militant working class?

The other category in which there has been an exceptional increase in unemployment is amongst "Commonwealth Immigrants" which trebled between February 1973 and 1977 (a spokesman for the SPD assuring me they were never racist but the MSC refer to "immigrants of the first and second generation). This highlights the significance of employers' attitudes but also has to be seen in the context of an increasing racist climate and fightback. In the mid-seventies the number of (real) black immigrants was reduced to practically nothing, combined with the growing emphasis, from the National Front to the Labour Party, on the importance of nationalism and local community; there are moral panics about 'muggers', ambiguously identified as black. Blacks, youths in particular, are increasingly harassed by the police, with increased use of SUS, etc.; 1977 was the year of riots at Notting Hill Carnival against the police, of Lewisham and other confrontations with the National Front and the police, and of course at Grunwicks, marking the growing militancy of previously unorganised black workers.

Hall, etc. ('Policing the Crisis') argue that the growing fightback of the blacks after 1974, precipitated strategies both of social control (the police) and the 'social problem' - Shores targetting of city inner rings for economic aid plus attempts to contain militancy by strengthening the legitimacy of intermediary agencies. But this settlement, this resolving of the crisis was not to be. The growing economic recession meant and means that the black workforce, especially young black school leavers, are most exposed to unemployment. While the police may attempt to control the unruly ghetto, they can't control unemployment and its effects especially given the increased militancy and consciousness amongst blacks, in particular, youths.

The MSC spokesman all reiterated a fear of the ghettos, of the breakdown of 'normal' values. One education officer explained the establishment of unemployed school leavers' courses by direct reference to the 'problems' of the local Carib Club (a youth club where the blacks were regularly and sometimes violently harassed by the police, ending in a lengthy and costly trial of the youths).

He added, moreover, that the cost of establishing these courses in FE was less than the implementation of law and order.

Thus Holland may be seen partly as a response to a growing, and often ghettoised, group of unemployed black working class, young people, who are already feared as a source of tension. Holland needs to be understood both in terms of encouraging an identity with work by the young unemployed, often seen as a threat, and as a response to the needs of capital. As one SP spokesman said "There is also the political factor - kids that are unemployed for four years are fodder for the Communists, the Marxists; they want to change the system and I wouldn't blame them." (Notice that the National Front were not included).

PART III

HOLLAND, TRAINING AND "EDUCATION"

Chapter 1

The Characteristics of the Holland Courses

a) Introduction

Holland courses are geared to training for the semi-skilled level, a training which, it will be argued, is based as much on training for social as "vocational" skills. But, in addition, the present ignorance of the MSC/SPD as to how many courses will be run and for whom is remarkable. Indeed, there also appears to be a lack of any systematic information as to what sort of school leavers will be going on these courses. The SP designers appear to operate rather with a set of common-sense stereotypes. The unemployed school leavers are simply categorized as underachievers, low ability, although sometimes recognised as not lacking all skills.

The SIC and day release schemes will be the significant sections for FE, not the induction courses, although again the percentage of all these courses planned to be run in FE is unclear. Nevertheless, despite MSC's possible preference for running their courses in their own centres, many will be run within FE. An internal document of the FECD (written by Thorogood) for FE, i.e. Principals, indicates consensus between the Department of Employment and the DES as to the terms on which these courses will be run.

It suggests that FE needs "to insure that participants mature as adults in more than the intellectual sense". In relation to SIC courses it makes explicit that: "Colleges should be able to identify shortages in the local labour market and thus make appropriate provisions in their Short Industrial Courses. (SIC) This is to ensure that young people acquire "saleable skills" over a number of occupational fields.

But there is a problem - unemployment. As some school leavers have "slight prospects of paid employment, ... colleges' greatest contribution can be to draw the attention of young people in the

Programme to our present definitions of work and to point out that there are many worthwhile tasks to be done which are excluded by these" - like "offering small services about the home". - As young people will not achieve adult identity and status through work, "FE can set up learning situations with 'success' as the predicted outcome." In other words, persuade the young people to identify and be satisfied with limited goals, so intentionally limited that the word success is in quotes.

b) Having a concept has no utility, we need to have the right answer

These courses represent a break not just with dominant educational patterns, but, in certain significant ways, also with the type of training so far available in FE. The break with educational ideology is explicit; courses must not be general but specifically vocational. The spokesmen for Special Programme Planning condemned the teaching of general studies on these courses and used it as an example of when a proposed course might be vetted.

There is however a significant lack of clarity as to what a vocationally orientated course does imply. The courses are seen as giving training in "skills" which are adaptable rather than specific to one employer - a common theme is that the MSC does not want to do an individual employer's training for him, rather it is the training of a labour force for Capital as a whole. Yet these 'core skills' are never clearly identified (according to the FECD, the TSD is at present working on "isolating 'generic' or 'core' skills"). The common element would appear to be the potential to perform certain tasks, rather than performing the tasks themselves; thus the need to be dexterous or adaptable. The so-called skills are reduced to 'motor skills' and attitudinal patterns. It is not a training for skilled work and this is the vital distinction for most training schemes in FE so far. The 30 week course does not offer an equivalent training to the one or more year course it parallels or replaces in FE, in e.g. secretarial

or engineering. They are courses geared towards the semi-skilled and operator level. Thus training and education can be counterposed: "If people are not able to conceptualize about that (world of work), that may not have very much relevance to being able to fulfil their work role. (Then commenting on students' responses to T.S.A. courses) At last, someone has told us how objectively we reach an answer. Having a concept has no utility, we need to have the right answer... At a higher level, yes, we need broader concepts. Teachers have a professional romantic view of the importance of concepts. There are very few situations in which concepts are important. For most people, they don't actually need for their work to be able to grasp the concepts if they can use the formula. Maybe some polarization is going on - some people are simply expected to reiterate formulae. Other people understand and develop concepts and they're the people who need the conceptual training." (Robertson, responsible for revision of M.S.C. Social and Life Skills document). (Previously in the interview he had stated how important theory and concepts were in informing his work).

Yet this training is probably more significant in terms of its attempts to affect motivation, than in terms of the transmitting of real skills. The courses are seen very much as an attempt to increase an acceptance of normality, of the consensus. This is manifested in various forms. The programme must not encourage the school-leaver to be over-ambitious - there is great sensitivity both by the spokesmen of the M.S.C. and the FECD about setting people targets which they cannot fulfil - "They expect a job and don't get it. That is a damaging event." (Robertson).

But the training programme is also having to compensate for youths' lack of orientation to work. There is a fear of the - euphemistically phrased - ghetto and the declining controls of the nuclear family. The theory of the cycle of deprivation is suggested - unemployed youths come from families where no-one is employed. "All the sanctions of the family unit were: he's an idiot ever to go to work." "They don't pick up the conventions."

In addition "The ghetto school is not successful in socializing people in some areas; in some parts of our cities, you have ghettos that have developed their own rules, their own conventions,

but ones that are different from normal, conventional society (not any worse)." (Robertson). This was an answer to the query as to whether the training programme encouraged questions.

There is an emphasis on preparing the youth for adult working life, even if, as one MSC spokesman said, "He only works for five years of his life." The courses must not only be seen as a preparation for work. Many of the people will not have anything like permanent jobs and this is recognized by the MSC. Therefore, the emphasis on 'self-help', on coping at home as well as at work, and centrally with identifying with these modest levels of achievement.

Chapter 2

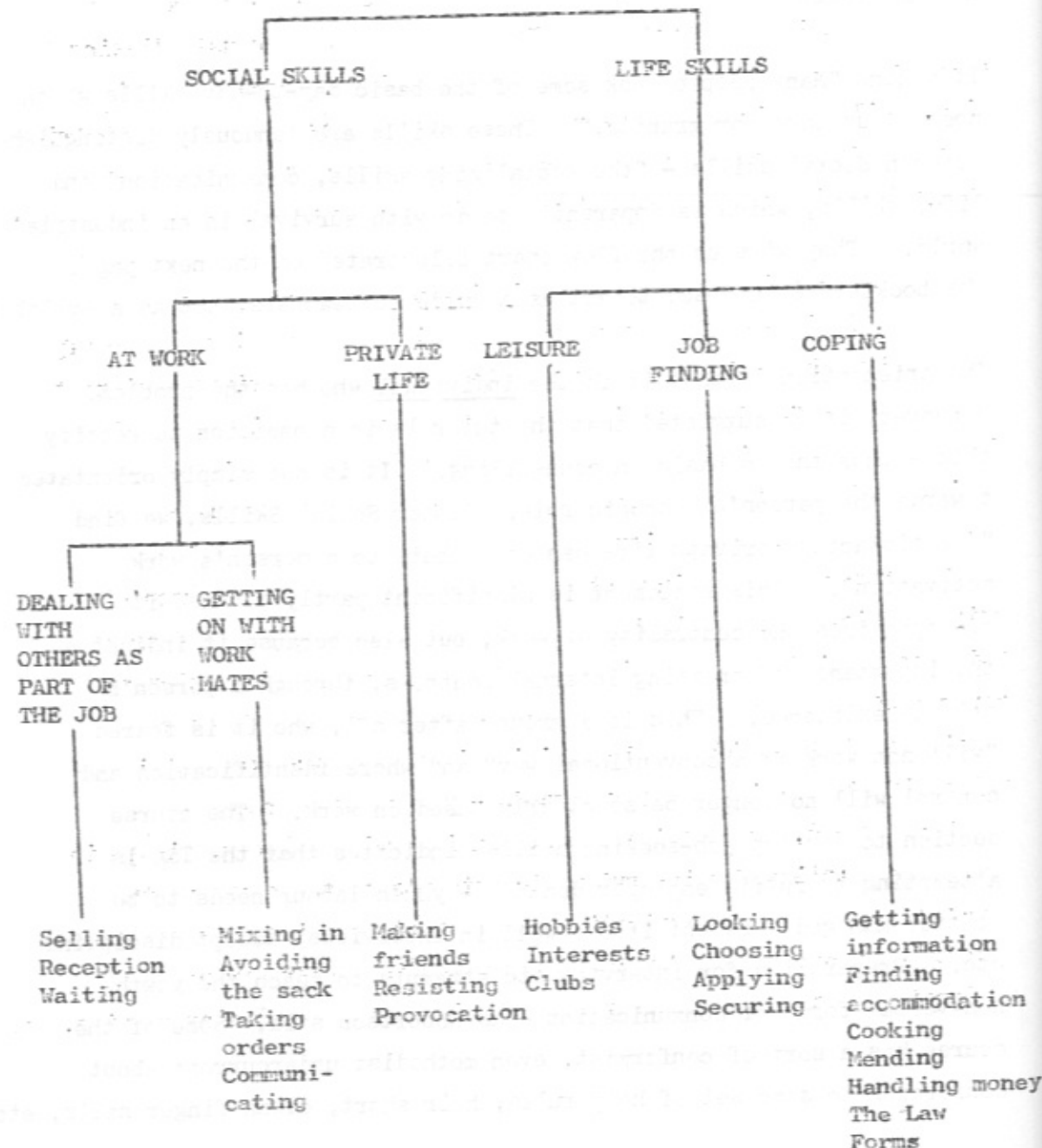
Social and Life Skills

A production of the MSC which is gaining increasing usage is the Social and Life skills document, -although it is not clear whether it is to be principally used at this point on day-release courses, on all Holland courses or whether it will be specifically run as a separate course. It illustrates the expectations of the MSC for Holland courses.

It begins "Many people lack some of the basic day-to-day skills which most of us take for granted." These skills are tenuously distinguished between social skills - "the socializing skills, communication" and life, skills, which is apparently to do with survival in an industrial world. They give us the flow chart illustrated on the next page. The booklet is supposed to act as a guide to teachers, not as a syllabus.

The orientation is that it is the individual who has the problem. Moreover, it is suggested that the tutor is in a position to rectify this - thus the emphasis on counselling. It is not simply orientated towards the person's economic role. Under Social Skills, we find "a satisfactory private life can contribute to a person's work motivation". This statement is significant partly because it re-emphasizes the centrality of work, but also because it indicates the importance of creating internal controls, through a person's private existence. This is a group, after all, who it is feared "will not work in a conventional way" and where identification and control will no longer be so clearly based on work. The course section to develop job-seeking ability indicates that the TSA is attempting to fulfil employer demands - youth labour needs to be better managed, present itself well in interviews, accept discipline etc. Preparation for interview etc attempts to teach the youth non-verbal forms of communication - as Robertson said, "Some of the course has a sort of conformist, even methodist undercurrent about conforming to some set of holy rules, hair short, clean finger nails, etc."

FLOW CHART OF
SOCIAL AND LIFE SKILLS



The following section, To Develop Ability to Retain Employment, includes sections on "acceptance of authority" and "job satisfaction". The implication is clearly that the young worker needs to learn to accept authority, take orders in order to avoid the sack, and to seek job satisfaction. This model of teaching, while it will include items on Trade Unions etc., presents them as part of a structure which it is not for the worker to find out more about. Knowledge is fragmented just as the worker's job is fragmented. A framework of analysis is not presented. The presentation of information conceals the structural relationships: the real economic and social situation - the emphasis is on the individual. MSC spokesmen's explanations are often in terms of the individual being lacking. Yet this is also presented within a traditional "social democratic" framework of increasing equality of opportunity for a group who have never previously gained from the education system including FE. Yet this use of the 1960's concept of equality is in contradiction with the 1970's lack of opportunities.

The emphasis for teaching technique is on group interaction. In theory, the tutor's role is to 'bring out' the student. Students should not be assessed in terms of external criteria, but in terms of their own development within the group. In practice, this theoretical denial of hierarchies and emphasis on group development encourages expectations of participation. It is in line with the Government's Taylor report and their Report on Industrial Democracy reflecting an increasing emphasis on co-operation and collaboration as a form of gaining consent rather than exercising control. Yet in general the youths on these courses lack power at work. It is therefore a device for social control and mystifying inequalities of power. This has to be counterposed to the emphasis in the course on the individual's failings, a creation of individual anxiety-failure is not social, it is the individual's responsibility.

But it is open to question how far this emphasis on group interaction may not have the effect of encouraging attitudes of solidarity with other workers rather than with management.

TSA spokesmen are quite clear that it vets both the specific skill courses and the Social and Life courses for content. The Social and

Life skills must not be a general education course; that is for the local education authorities to do. Women's Studies would be opposed not, however, how to claim Family Allowance. Thus, even the Social and Life Skills element is defined primarily in terms of an acceptance of and adaptation to narrowly defined work and non-work roles. It is clear from the FEER's review of the working of TSA courses that they (and the DES) have come to accept or at least sanction the style of courses and the shifting curriculum involved.

While the original statements proposed that most of these courses would be run in FE, it is becoming increasingly clear that other institutions will be running Short Industrial Courses and Social and Life Skills courses. In one area of London (north-west) these courses were being run privately by individual firms, and by one local authority, Brent, for itself. The original policy is proving difficult to implement.

Again, there are differences of opinion within the SPD as to how great the impact of these courses on FE will be. So I was told both that the problem was one of lack of accommodation and that there was slack in accommodation - an excellent reference to the possibility of cutting down/out on subjects like Liberal Studies. This, however, leaves open the question as to how far the TSA/SPD and the local employers may prefer 'trainees' on Work Experience schemes etc., and not to use FE. Clark (Chief Education Officer, Gloucester to Coombe Lodge, Vol. 11, No. 4, 78) "70% of SIC courses are going to run in FE - a higher percentage than the MSC think healthy but to be realistic, I don't see where else courses can be provided in these numbers." This, although the government's/MSCs' intention has been to centralize training schemes - to prepare them for Capital rather than the firm. Indeed, one of the recurring worries of the MSC is that firms will use them to train the 'students' specifically for firms' needs. The 'broad skills' of SIC may not meet the immediate needs of the local firm.

PART IV

FE + EFFECTS AND THE RESPONSE TO HOLLAND

Chapter 1

Course Content as a cause of conflict in F.E.

To analyse the likely effect of these courses on FE, we also need to examine the causes of conflict and co-operation between the TSD/SPD and the Technical Colleges.

FE has always catered for the post sixteens: it has not been mandatory; courses taught have varied enormously depending on regional demand. Many of these courses, especially outside London, have been vocational.* It is this combination of factors which make FE an apparently obvious organization to introduce TSD/SPD courses based on a clearly vocational ideology. Indeed, many of the staff are 'skills teachers', 'product orientated', e.g. shorthand and typing. Performance is paced and matched to the demands of the students' future job. The ideology apparently resembles the TSA approach.

But also within FE is the tradition of the "process orientated pedagogy" (Brain). The typical example is the English teacher, but also strategically, the General Studies/Communications teacher teaching the same students on the vocational courses referred to above. These teachers' criteria are not based on matching up to a work situation and "no ideal performance was offered as a model, or any attempt made to define one." (Brain) Standards of performance can to some degree be negotiated between the teacher and the student.

Thus, these teachers are more likely to oppose schemes which break down their development of personal relationships with the students, and also deprive them of what they see as professional status, through teaching vocational subjects especially according to a pre-formulated and non-conceptual scheme. The TSA is not the only body

* In 1975 approximately 4m people attended FE and Evening Institutes - of whom about 2m went to FE; three quarters of the 4m were evening students (The Government's failure to separate these figures probably suggests something about the future autonomy of Evening Institutes.) Around 600,000 students took ONC, OND or City and Guilds, another 600,000 were on day and block release. Only 358,477 people took academic exams at O or A level.

introducing such courses. City and Guilds are attempting to replace the General Studies component with a Communications unit, which has met resistance by sections of FE teachers because of its restricting and limiting nature.

It would be a mistake, however, to demarcate lines of resistance to TSD courses within FE on the basis of the teacher's subject area and pedagogic style. The teacher on the SIC may well oppose the organization of these vocational courses. The ideological and political upheavals of the late 1960's emphasized and legitimized concepts of joint decision making - the teacher may apply this to the relationship between the Principal and the staff but also between the students and the staff. It undermined assumptions of god or State-given hierarchies. These attitudes have particular purchase in FE as the students were older, even adults (one "problem" on the TSA Tops courses is that sometimes the students are older than the teacher.) FE colleges, as already stated, are anyway relatively independent. FE teachers develop college-based democratic structures. Thus, certain sorts of assumptions within FE were not necessarily exclusive to the more obviously militant teacher, even if they may act as 'carriers' of these ideologies. Moreover, as some 'skill' teachers have chosen FE to escape from the practices and hierarchies of industry they will be more predisposed to be critical of the redevelopment of such structures, particularly given a 'professional' attitude of 'knowing best for your students'. The more militant skills teacher might therefore oppose the impact of TSA courses on conditions, but not because of their proposed content, while other skills teachers will oppose on the grounds of content.

The TSA bureaucratic structure may therefore create conflict over control. To take the example of students, the TSD does not view these people as students. Despite verbal acknowledgements that they may progress on to 'other FE courses', this possibility is not taken seriously. There is no provision for it financially or structurally. The students are seen rather as 'trainees' - being Prepared for work. Discipline and time-keeping should be as at work. This conflicts with the expectations of many teachers who would wish for more personal relationships, but also to develop the student's educational career. The TSA "criteria for judging progress were largely based on non-disruptive behaviour and good time-keeping...Anything not

fitting this description could be defined as 'educational' or 'welfare' and therefore not appropriate to training." (Brain).

Thus teachers run into conflict over TSD expectations on students, they oppose their attitudes to the students and their power-of withdrawal of funds etc. - over them. The FE teacher, committed to possibilities of educational opportunity for the students, will aim to develop a college structure to facilitate advancement - an aim which will not necessarily be supported by the college management, or indeed all the Staff, resisting the reorganisation of structures and the introduction of lower grade work.

Chapter 2

The importance of funding

It is unclear what and how many courses the SPD expect to run in FE - probably originally at least 70% for SIC, plus day release courses for WEP schemes. What is also never clarified is exactly how many of which kind of student are expected, although there appears to be an expectation of 19,000 places (not students) by September 1978 in the colleges - (c.f. Appendix).

To achieve their programme, the first factor, says the Holland programme, is money. The major element would be payment to the young people participating, plus contribution to capital costs etc., although as is now much emphasised, the Holland programme depends on sponsors. F.E. is specified: "We note that money will certainly unlock opportunities, especially in Colleges of Further Education."

The importance of the financial variable for the introduction of TSD and Holland courses needs to be recognised, to understand their impact. In a period when the L.E.A.'s and colleges were being financially squeezed, "there has been an astonishing influx of money into MSC funded schemes. There is a sharp contrast between the availability of MSC resources and the shoe pinching of the L.E.A." (Clark, C.E.O., Gloucestershire to Coombe Lodge). This availability of funds for courses both "reinforced the anxiety that a new system of FE was being introduced surreptitiously" (Brooksbank, Former CEO), but was also financially attractive to both the college and the L.E.A.

The very advantage to the government of the MSC/Holland structure is that it was established as a semi-autonomous body, which could be funded directly. The Government deliberately wished to avoid the control of the local authority of funds which the rate support grant system gives them - and to funnel large quantities of funds specifically into training and unemployment schemes. (Finn).

This financial autonomy of the MSC also represents a political autonomy. It can initiate new courses, given l.e.a. approval - more forthcoming in a period of financial stringency. The financial resources of the

MSC are therefore an essential factor in understanding the extent of its influence in FE.

Use of FE necessarily involves capital costs both in terms of acquiring or improving buildings and for any equipment involved in the courses. The Holland report notes: "It is not possible for us to make any estimates of the contribution that may be needed towards capital costs in CFE: this must be a matter for discussion between those responsible for running the new programme and the l.e.a." Or to put that more clearly, the MSC does not pay for capital costs in CFE (except for some contributions to be negotiated - on the new day release schemes for WE schemes). Payment of the costs have to be negotiated between the l.e.a. and the college. On the other hand, the TSD/MSD pays recoupment per student hour (now 95p. per classroom hour, £1.44 for workshops) to the local authority. The interests of the local authority and of the college are divergent. It is profitable to run Holland courses for the local authority, despite overheads.

But for the college, the introduction of MSC/Holland courses creates problems. We have already discussed teachers' responses to course content. But finance is important both in terms of whether and how these courses are run.

The l.e.a. is, at best, unlikely to fund new accommodation. SPD, unlike the TSD, may contribute towards temporary accommodation (but then this is seen as unlikely because of the 'slack' in FE). It is too easy to dismiss the central importance of suitable accommodation for these courses.

When the college accommodation is already fully used, Holland courses are likely to be run in an odd assortment of cheaply rented accommodation, not necessarily within easy reach of the main college. Alternatively, space already being used is taken over, at the expense of existing courses. Moreover, as the probable need for equipment, e.g. engineering machinery, may not be fulfilled sufficiently or at all by the MSC in old school rooms and church halls, there is additional pressure for the existing resources to be deployed by Holland courses.

The actual location of the courses has a determining effect on the possibilities and type of integration these courses have with the other college courses. The dominant MSC philosophy, as already stated, is

to use FE as it offers available space and staff, not as an avenue of educational development for the "trainees". Indeed, the importance of location is recognised by the FEER, in terms of the possibilities of an independent or integrated course structure. Any attempt at integrating Holland students and encouraging them in terms of an educational career effectively depends upon them being physically part of the relevant buildings etc.

Given that the MSC pays the local authority for the training of Holland students in FE, and that it, not the local authority, "pays" the students (now £19.50 a week), in a period of at best "no growth", the local authority has a financial incentive to replace existing courses for which they pay for courses for which they are paid. Moreover, it is in areas of industrial rundown and high unemployment, that college intake for normal day release apprenticeship courses and full time courses are more likely to be dropping. MSC appears to offer a much surer source of students and finance, causing the loss of courses in the same subject area which, though vocational, are longer, broader, and not specifically job orientated. Ironically, it is in exactly such areas, that the possibilities of employment after such Holland courses are much lower.

The effect on teachers of the introduction of these courses is that certain teachers, where their course has been removed, may be threatened with redundancy, or at least redeployed - onto courses the teacher may neither be interested in nor trained for.

In so far as FE colleges are already short of courses or students, (by the i.e.a. definition at least), the TSD quite obviously offers an important and cheap means of maintaining staff and college.

An additional effect of the system of recoupment is that it is financially advantageous to increase the number of MSC students per class - rather than basing the numbers of the students on educational and personal criteria.

In addition, the TSD/SPD has a policy which encourages the non-establishment of staff. They continue to act on the assumption that the crisis and the high levels of unemployment are relatively

temporary phenomena. Most teachers on TSD/SP courses are either not established or part-time. This policy has the effect of differentiating between "proper" teachers and those of lower status teaching and lower status courses (and often in low standard accommodation).

One extreme development is a tech. for local - TSD - courses and primarily black students, separate from the rest of the local FE provision. Another aspect of Holland's stress on "community needs", is that teachers and management in FE may argue that courses with a high percentage of overseas - and black - students should be closed for local - black - students.

Holland courses are usually defined as the lowest category, and their teachers will be on the lowest salary grade. Thus, the status of the section/department will be lowered, as well as staff's promotion prospects - another cause for potential opposition.

Chapter 3

Teacher's attitudes - causes of support and opposition

The introduction of TSD/SP courses may therefore not be in the interests of the teachers, both for the reasons just noted, and the questions of content and control of courses previously discussed. The extent to which courses have been and are being introduced - the question of any 'settlement' between FE and the TSD - therefore needs to be seen in terms of the way in which teachers have been able to organise and express their attitudes. I shall first specifically discuss teacher attitudes and organisation and then look at the nature of the organisation of the TSD/SP and its specific effects on negotiation with FE teachers and the mediating, i.e.a's.

The areas of potential opposition to SP courses are varied - from the effects on existing conditions of service (e.g. establishment of staff, changing length and distribution of the college year) to the nature of the courses being run and how they are run. Yet, similarly, the teachers who oppose the TSD on one ground may well support it on another. Thus the more traditional trade-unionists may oppose its effect on conditions, but may see little cause to oppose its introduction per se - especially if they are themselves "skill teachers". And again, certain more radical teachers may well support the courses as apparently offering an increased opportunity for a level of 'youth' previously untouched by FE, although not entirely in agreement with the content of the courses. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the effect of education cuts is often to undermine potential opposition where there is possible redundancy or redeployment - to schools, for example. As SP will often be found in areas where industries which fed FE with day release students are contracting the change of opposition is lessened. Moreover, although this will be discussed more fully in the next section on the organisation of the TSD etc., the very structure of the TSD/SP, highly bureaucratic, responsible to nobody, circumvents many of the methods which have been developed by the union etc. in terms of gaining information, representation and a modicum of control. Thus potential opposition is effectively kept ill informed and often circumvented structurally (see next section).

Thus the two groups most likely to offer consistent opposition to the TSD/SP are the revolutionary left and sections of the right. To first consider the left. They oppose the content of the courses and the basis that they do not offer proper training. In addition, within the framework of the TSD, the orientation of the less obviously vocational subject cannot ultimately be controlled by the teachers involved, e.g. the TSD increasingly emphasising that literacy should be seen in relation to the specific work situation. The courses are seen as being designed to act as a form of social control over the "trainees"; to prepare them to accept available employment and stretches of unemployment. In addition, the revolutionary left will oppose many of the implications of TSD/SP courses for existing conditions - the failure to establish staff, the decrease in control by the staff etc. But, their strategy and impact is circumscribed by the degree to which they need to form or maintain alliances. Their opposition to the content of the courses and the way they are run is met from the liberal, humanitarian wing by arguments based on the community's (or even blacks') need for such courses and the necessity for the teachers involved to try to control their content. There is the additional argument offered by 'socialists' that many of these schoolleavers do lack certain basic skills, that they do need training in literacy and numeracy, which these courses give the teacher scope to present, and who are we as socialists to, in any way, deny them this opportunity. Moreover, the argument goes, it is the 'socialist' teacher who is interested in these kids - 'we will be doing the teaching', i.e. defining the real, content of literacy courses etc.; the TSA only vets the formal syllabus not actually what is taught. As one person trying to organise a TSD funded college centre said: "Take the money and run".

Opposition by the left to the TSD/SP is complicated further by the fairly systematic and sometimes virulent opposition from sections of the right. The right may well oppose, where locally relevant, the "influx of disorderly, uncontrollable members of the ethnic minorities". Also, they may oppose to a very significant degree, the lowering of status of themselves and of the college and the changing nature of FE - from a more educational to vocational orientation, a move viewed with panic and disgust. To some extent, this will be because they support the broad educational values based partly on classical, partly

on a humanistic tradition which stands in opposition to the TSD. But it is also because they view 'academic' teaching as carrying status and actively and sometimes vehemently reject work being introduced which pushes FE away from that direction.

This group may well include active tradeunionists, many having a corporatist or cooperative model of power and who would also oppose any threat to the (hard fought for) conditions of service.

As they will therefore oppose many issues raised by the introduction of TSD/SD courses, this fraction may well attract issue based support, which nevertheless may create a 'shift' in the teachers' attitudes to the right. The outcome of these alliances and shifts within the college appears to result in a very low level of outright opposition to the TSD/SP. Some of the most militant opposition has been in the form of laying down conditions (or attempting to) before accepting TSD funding e.g. structure for democratically controlling courses, funding for appropriate accommodation etc.

The role of NATFHE

The structure of decision making within the college is based on the union, National Association for Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE), which most FE teachers belong to, and on the formal apparatus - of Governing Body, Principal, Academic Board etc. The structure and importance of decision making within the FE college has been affected both by the relative independence of the college in terms of courses being run etc. and by the ideological and political upheavals of and following 1968, which furthered the introduction of formal structures of democratic decision making e.g. the Academic Board, which in theory can determine what courses shall be run etc. The actual effectiveness of these bodies is highly dependant on the level of organisation of the staff in their union, NATFHE, and their militancy. FE teachers system of controls are central to patterns of cooperation and resistance to the MSC...

At a national level, the union officially welcomed Holland. The left opposition to the Executive was limited and the last Conference

supported the F.C's position.*

The Executive have limited their opposition to calling for a unified Department of Education and Training, although they even attempted to drop this position, given opposition from the TUC and the government. The support, by at least significant sections of the left on the Executive, of the desirability of control by the State over education may give rise to a relatively uncritical support for state intervention in the area of training, previously the province of private capital. Moreover, the TSD represents funds in a period of cutbacks. Given the lack of an overwhelming grassroots opposition to the introduction of these courses, the NATFHE leadership have failed to offer any consistent opposition to the MSC. Thus they demand representation on its bodies, obviously taking its existence locally and nationally for granted.

Equally, their policy documents on TSA education/training policy are confused - supporting the right to compulsory day release (a backdown from the previous immediate demand), generally supporting a vocational element and transferable rather than narrow skills ("The Education, training and employment of the 16-19 age group; The Young Unemployed - policy documents from NATFHE). They have also called for a unified post 16 education and the importance of non-vocational adult education sector. In other words they have failed to produce a relevant critique, never mind policy, on TSD policies.

What they have been concerned with is the distribution of high grade posts for low grade work where they have won a small but important improvement. They have also pressed for more adequate funding for the specifically FE contribution (10/77).

In terms of a policy on TSD 'students', while they have called for common guidelines for mandatory assistance for this whole age group,

* The structure of NATFHE - all members are in branches based on their college. The branches send delegates to Regions (13), which in turn elect the delegates to Annual Conference - the decision making body, and to National Council, which theoretically acts in between Conferences, but actually tends to rubber stamp the Executive Committee, who are elected by and from National Council.

at Holland levels (hardly attained in even the Labour Government's proposals on 16-18 grants), they failed to match the response of the National Association of School Masters: the effect is to discriminate against the poorer student, inducing them to leave school for the dole queue. "We cannot believe that any thinking person, still less those who hold government office, can approve the continuation of arrangements which act as nothing less than bribes calculated to lure away from education those who are most in need of it".

Policies and actions towards the TSD/SP therefore have had to be developed on a college basis - although this pattern only furthers a lack of coordinated opposition. TSD/SP negotiates for its courses at a local level - given the lack of either an official or effective national rank and file opposition, most college branches are likely to decide that their greatest effect is through attempting local negotiations on funding, conditions and control of courses, students, etc.

Chapter 4

The organisation of the MSC

Any understanding of the introduction and impact of the TSA/SP on FE has to include how the decisions get made in the different institutions and how they are then 'negotiated' - the relevant institutions being FE, TSD/SP and the I.E.A.

To start with the MSC/TSD - the real decision making process requires a research topic of its own. The organisation has the characteristics of a rapidly expanding bureaucracy, with rapid changes in the distribution of tasks and personnel. A commonly used phrase is 'in flux'. The introduction of the Holland programme under the MSC caused a change in structure. The SP council consists approximately 3 industrial representatives, 3 TUC representatives, 3 I.E.A. representatives, plus one careers officer, the director of L.N.U.S. representative, and the directors of the MSC and SP. Planning and management of the programmes is in the hands of 28 Area Boards, with a similar distribution of members. Members are appointed by the MSC on the advice of local officers, theoretically to represent all 'constituencies'. The aim, states O'Brien, is that the programmes "are the communities' programmes... They are about helping the sons and the daughters of local people ... And the way to achieve this is through the maximum possible local involvement" (MSC, 28 February. Press Notice).

The reality is rather different. While the MSC does depend on local cooperation as it relies upon sponsors, according to 'Youth Aid', there has been totally inadequate consultation or guidance locally, and this shortly before the Holland programme is due for inauguration.

Only a handful of area board's members are female, in an occupational area where many are women, e.g. education, youth and careers service, etc., and about half the youth unemployed are girls.

There are no young people on any of the boards. In addition, the MSC (not I.E.A.) has no staff in its offices with experience of working with 'ethnic minorities', despite one of its major constituencies and concerns being black youth. Mr. O'Brien is quoted by Youth Aid as commenting on this issue: "We wish to make absolutely clear that racial conflict will

not be allowed." If you're Chairman of the MSC, you can apparently wish racialism away. Educational representation is restricted to one place on regional boards, which is likely to be filled by an LEA nomination. None of the Area staff had direct experience of teaching. Moreover, the area officer has overwhelming responsibility for education/training provision, greater than H.M. Inspector.

The MSC was set up virtually autonomous from any body, including the Department of Employment. Its phenomenal growth in numbers of employees, finance and schemes appear to have been largely self-generating. Originally established as the MSC to improve manpower planning and training schemes, its structure has to be analysed in terms of an attempt by the State, in particular through the Department of Employment, to restructure industry, not by reorganising Capital, but retraining labour. The equal representation of trade unions and management on the committees and boards is in line with the Labour Government's drawing in of the trade union leadership so as to win the consent of trade unionists, for restriction on wages, end to traditional apprenticeship systems etc. It is worth noting that most of the MSC documents quote at length and appear to accept as important criteria the employers statements.

Thus the autonomy of TSD/SP within the education sector can be seen as an extension of the position of the MSC, established primarily because of its economic function. This is not, however, necessarily entirely functional in terms of its operation within FE, where its bureaucratic structure and operation may cause opposition to it which otherwise would not have taken place.

TSD is an alternate and highly centralised form of control in FE. Its establishment without responsibility to the local authority even at local level, has placed it outside of the traditional negotiating procedure. The Area Officers are in a unique position to control what courses shall be run and how. Decisions to run a course can be taken at three months notice. Similarly, withdrawal of funds can be as or more sudden. These decisions which have in the past been decided on, or at least ratified, by the college Academic Board, are now taken elsewhere. Moreover, it is not at all clear what are the criteria in use for the approval of a course, or perhaps more

seriously, for its withdrawal. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that despite what the TSD says, in practice, it is increasing its vigilance and vetting over courses. The Area Boards work closely with the H.M. Inspectors, whose role is on the increase. By introducing new subjects, such as Social and Life Skills, they can appoint new staff with an appropriate ideological perspective. Robertson was explicit that they were offering guidance as to what sort of staff to appoint, as well as drawing up a programme for the retraining of staff.

In addition, they have a high degree of control over students. They may determine appointment procedures and criteria. They can effectively 'dismiss' a student from a college, by withdrawing their funds an activity teachers may well not endorse. TSD students have the additional problem that they are still not accepted as members of the NUS. It is therefore much easier for the Principal or other figure of authority to dismiss them, sidestepping any established procedures.

The TSD/SP are, in other words, not responsible to the college. They undermine FE's previous system of controls over courses and students by the teachers, represented by NATFHE, in relation to their employers - the local authority and the Principal.

The effect, if not the intention, is probably to dissipate teachers' opposition against those taking the decisions as it becomes difficult to establish where those decisions are made and by whom, and about what. Moreover, without established procedures of representation or negotiation with the MSC, by the teachers, the area officer's expectation of negotiating with the top decision maker in the college hierarchy, i.e. the Principal, can be much more easily fulfilled. And the Principal, released from the constraints of informed organised teacher opinion, is more likely to view the TSD relatively uncritically as a source of students and possibly funds, and to resist infringements on his renewed lease of authority. Perhaps it is in the interests of the Principal, perceiving the college as a bureaucratic structure, and with 1968 well past, to increase his power and effectiveness by bypassing controls on that power.

The MSC structure therefore does function as a form of control over teachers. But this should not just be seen as a byproduct of an

already highly centralised organisation, where organisational structure has simply come to control the direction of policy. Given that the TSD/SP need FE for their training component, it is their interests to lessen effective opposition from trade-union organisations and elsewhere.

Moreover, interest in and commitment to running TSD/SP courses for the youth unemployed and youths not normally involved in FE is more likely from liberal and leftwing members of staff, often, though by no means always, involved in the non-vocational, more "process-orientated" subjects and approach. Yet these are the very staff who are most likely to oppose the orientation of Holland courses. The structure imposed through the TSD/SP of consultation with the top levels of the college hierarchy i.e. the Principal and those whom he chooses to be involved, usually (but not always) Heads of Departments etc. in this programme, is likely to debar the more dissident but interested teacher from involvement. And there is already limited evidence that this process of exclusion is taking place.

A central problem is raised, which I shall not try to resolve here, as to whether it is possible and desirable to attempt a greater degree of control within the MSC structure or whether, in effect, to only deal with it 'defensively'. And even if it is argued that the MSC as a State apparatus, in certain circumstances, may be used by those working within it, this begs the question as to how to use it, what form of control. It is also possible to argue for some form of representation and established procedures of negotiation without accepting that this is an apparatus which can be controlled in the 'left'/Teachers' interests, or that education is unambiguously, if at all, a State apparatus. Would the effect of FE teachers attempting to gain representation on the TSD committees and relevant college committees be to counter 'State' interest or to become absorbed in the TSD structure.

Formally, Holland encourages union support, and is emphatic about gaining trade union support for local schemes through the Trades Council, etc. Thus teachers could be seen as represented. But this form of representation is, again, an attempt to gain local trade union support through union official representatives for schemes which

do not go along traditional lines, rather than any real system of union representation and control. In the case of FE teachers, the MSC is trying to win support for courses being run outside of the regulated FE structure, in Skill centres, workshops etc.

The highly centralised and expanding structure of decision making by the MSC also comes into conflict with local education authorities. LEA's, while in opposition to aspects of the MSC may also act as its agent in relation to FE.

"We are simply not set up to take part in major initiatives at the level where matters of any detail are decided. To keep up with the legions of MSC staff concerned with the Programme, we can field only the proverbial two men and a dog" (Baker, Ass. Sec., DES, to Coombe Lodge). "The creation of the MSC has meant an astonishing injection of money into an area which overlaps in responsibility with the education service...at a time when the local authorities have faced the need to reduce public expenditure. There is therefore a sharp contrast between the availability of resources on the MSC side and the shoe pinching on the LEA side" (Clark, CEO to Coombe Lodge, 1977). The importance of the financial variable must, again, be recognised to explain the impact of MSC courses and the lack of opposition by the LEA's.

The rapid growth of the MSC ("the LEA's found themselves faced with a strong and rapidly growing monster" Baker) was unexpected by the LEA's. While it had an impact on education, the MSC did not really consult with the LEA's. Education had one representative, and not on the "Innermost council". Moreover, there was also practically no contact at local level between the local authorities and the MSC. The LEA is not automatically represented on the Area Board, although Holland courses for FE will often be initiated and planned by the LEA in consultation with the education officer, this still is strictly advisory. LEA's and teachers organisations are urged to "seize their opportunity, make their mark with the MSC Area Boards, and organise local consultative arrangements... to develop an educational component of YOF" (Baker).

The other major cause for friction was economic. "Money offered

liberally to the MSC to perform tasks which, at least in part, fell within the conventional role of education...The conviction became deeply etched into LEA minds that there was a real danger that an alternative system of FE was being attempted by the TSA, and that unlimited funds were being poured into the MSC while the education service was being deliberately underfinanced." (Baker). The introduction of TOPS courses was seized partly because colleges were being financially squeezed.

The LEA's expressed discontent at their need to provide the capital costs for the financial commitments of the MSC training programme. Holland at least recognises this by suggesting some scheme of reimbursement, to be calculated.

Thus the LEA's are unwilling executioners of the MSC policies in FE, dependant on its funds, even if disapproving of its incursion on their power.

CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that throughout the 1960's, there were conflicts within the developments in education, where nevertheless the ideology which remained dominant supported an expanding and egalitarian even if elitist structure, it put the stress on education in terms of individual realisation and opportunity. The MSC, initially developed to cope with the failures of industrial training, inevitably had an impact on training systems in FE. It represents a dramatic shift in 'educational' ideology towards the primary need of training for work. It required the economic (and political) crisis of the 1970's for this approach to become so influential. While this study has been of sections of the MSC, very similar developments are taking place in much of the rest of FE - the system of teaching business studies, secretarial duties (BEC), engineering and technicians (TEC), English and communications (City and Guilds) are all being developed in similar directions - towards a more fragmented, exclusively job orientated approach. Even the proposed introduction of the N & F exams to replace O & A levels has been favoured by the CBI as likely to produce a more flexible labour force.

The effect is not just the 'deskilling' of the students. The teacher can also be seen as becoming 'deskilled' if they are expected to teach more flexibly and less bounded by traditional curriculum boundaries.

Yet the degree of organised opposition has been apparently marginal - partly because of the degree to which the official union has accepted this new State responsibility for training, partly because of the traditions of FE teachers.

While FE has become the first State educational institution to be decisively effected by these developments, for specific reasons, like its vocational tradition, it is a stepping-stone to the introduction of similar techniques in the schools. Already TSD is talking of reorganising education to allow training from 14; the engineering board also recommends early training in schools. There are proposals for three day courses in schools. And, of course, the Great Debate, with its emphasis on core curriculum, the

accountability of teachers etc. was focused on schools.

The MSC can be seen as an attempt by the State to try to manage education in the interests of Capital. This is not to say that this can be achieved. There is first of all the varied, even if limited resistance to the MSC, significantly from teachers. In addition, although decisively collaborating with the MSC, the DES and L.E.A.'s still are critical of it for its encroachment on their power and control.

But there is a contradiction within the MSC itself in that the interests of the individual capitalist or the locally dominant sections of Capital for the training of young people may not be in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole. The MSC sees its function as training for global capital, but the usefulness of core or generic skills for any particular job is open to question. On the other hand, a constant pressure on the SPD has been employers wishing for new recruit trained for specific tasks. This conflict between the interests of Capital and the individual employer will develop with the development of state capital. The requirements of capital globally are themselves fundamentally contradictory. For example, the need for strong job loyalties today for jobs that will be gone tomorrow.

Indeed, Holland proposals, with their inevitably inadequate provision for the tens of thousands of youths unemployed, of short term jobs and training, may primarily have the effect of gaining an ideological adhesion by the individual to an irregular work/unemployment life pattern, rather than providing training directly useful to them or the employer.

The impact of Holland and the TSD on FE has been underestimated - perhaps because in this respect the bureaucracy has been successful in maintaining its formal autonomy. It is important to analyse and establish in practice how to counter and work within this structure.

APPENDIX

Most of the research for this paper was done in July and August 1978, i.e. before September when most of the Holland proposals were scheduled to come into effect. The numbers of youth unemployed have marginally increased since the beginning of 1978. But it would appear that the new Special programmes have not even approached their 234,000 person target. Figures from the MSC in October 1978 showed that 45,000 people were on YOP, 3,000 on STEP.

While some local authorities have failed to cooperate with the MSC (out of Tory dislike of QUANGOS rather than some amazing radicalism), a more significant factor is that existing places are not taken up. The NUT journal, "The Teacher" 3.11.78 reveals that 2/3 of the places available under YOP were unfilled: "A breakdown shows that in London there were 2,546 places but only 287 have been filled, in Liverpool there were 9,000 approved places but only 2,546 taken up, while in the North West, as a whole, 17,700 places are on offer but only 9,300 occupied. Out of 11,800 places available in the South West only 3,100 are occupied. In the North East, 13,600 are offered but only 4,800 taken up."

This information was originally given to the NUT (H. Hewland) by an MSC Press Officer, but on publication, they disputed the figures and appear to have subsequently issued much less information about themselves and become less cooperative in allowing any examination of their work. In a Press Conference in January 1979, they referred to the establishment of 35,000 projects and informed me ('phone conversation with P. Barnett, YOP) that 100,000 young people had been on YOP since April 1978. This figure is less than half the 234,000 target for September 1978 - April 1979. Moreover, the numbers are inflated as some SIC and Job Creation programmes were adopted by the Holland programme (as SIC and Work Experience Schemes). The MSC have failed moreover to offer a breakdown of these figures, into types of schemes or the successful or unsuccessful areas of their work. Given this lack of precise information, it is difficult to offer an adequate explanation of the apparent shortcomings of the Holland programme.

The MSC proposed to me that the explanation for the lack of take up

was the problem of mobility. Youths did not want to travel. This fails even as a "commonsense explanation".

What is more likely is that the MSC "payment" of £19.50 is not appreciably greater than social security once travel and lunch have been paid for (deductions for lunch are sometimes compulsory). A spokesperson from Youth Aid suggested that news about the usefulness of the schemes has spread along the 'youth network'. In addition, in areas where young people do have some opportunity for intermittent work, like London, the possibility of a real job may seem preferable to the courses and WE schemes, which do not appear to be especially useful. It is the immediate school leaver who is most likely to find Holland schemes attractive. The YOP schemes are intended for areas where there is a high level of youth unemployment yet in these areas there is a low take up of the MSC schemes. Young people may be reluctant to 'train' when there are few jobs. But this highlights the contradictions of the programme and the question as to what are the explanations for and implications of its relative failure.

It is also not clear to what degree the MSC is establishing and funding separate institutions, e.g. Skill Centres rather than placing courses in the existing FE institutions. The extent to which FE is being used to run SIC or Social and Life Skills courses is not known. In so far as the MSC are increasingly using Skill Centres, this may perhaps be partly explained by the extent to which the MSC was in different forms resisted by the colleges, particularly the teachers, as well as by the possible undersubscription for the courses.

While the existence of Skill Centres suggests in some ways a different strategy by the MSC, it is clearly also one possible extension of their previous policy. Skill Centres are geared exclusively to "training".

At least in some areas, there have already been approaches by Skill Centres to FE to 'staff' their courses, partly because they are understaffed. Staff in Skill Centres are employed on a

substantially lower pay and with worse conditions. The effect is that MSC courses would then not run within FE establishments but using FE staff on their own territory. These developments would clearly give the MSC a greater degree of control over what is taught and in what way.

It is also likely to precipitate a faster change in content and style of FE teaching, both for the vocational teacher and the Liberal/General Studies teacher who discovers s/he is now a "Social and Life Skills" expert. It was previously suggested that the introduction of MSC/SP courses represented a qualitative shift in educational ideology within FE. It now appears in addition that the effect of the MSC may partly be to turn sections of FE into "servicing agencies" for organisations, quite outside the FE structure.

These suggestions are all highly tentative as one would need to know more about the present functioning of YOP - but this information the MSC clearly does not see it has any responsibility for the moment to reveal.

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(While clearly their statements do not represent "official" policy, they can be seen as indicative at least).