

# JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

by

JOHN JEWKES

&

ALLAN WINTERBOTTOM

The intensified industrial depression of the past three years has produced an acute problem of juvenile unemployment all the more dangerous because of the absence of complete information regarding it. This volume, after describing the results of special investigations carried out in Lancashire, points out the tremendous social and economic waste occurring, in consequence, in the depressed northern parts of the country and the chaos in the labour market which will undoubtedly persist in the future if some remedy is not adopted to deal with existing conditions. The discussion of possible remedies covers the raising of the school-leaving age, the lowering of the age of entry into unemployment insurance, and the development of facilities for education and recreation among unemployed juveniles. Finally, the issue is raised whether the whole task of providing vocational guidance and controlling the entry of children into employment should not be placed in the hands of the State.

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**Mr. John Jewkes and Mr. Allan Winterbottom, the authors of this book, are attached to the Research Section of the Department of Commerce and Economics of the University of Manchester. They have been engaged, for the past two years, upon a detailed study of the social and economic implications of industrial depression in Lancashire and Cumberland.**

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## JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

*Publications of the  
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University of Manchester*

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# JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

AN industrial community which is growing richer normally enjoys its increasing prosperity in two forms: it consumes a greater quantity of goods and services and it devotes a larger part of its time to recreation and leisure. With the widening of cultural pursuits and the increasing ease of producing the material adjuncts for the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, the value of leisure becomes more clearly perceived, recreation becomes purposeful and, in consequence, more generally prized and jealously guarded. It is, however, a widely accepted social principle that the advantages of withdrawal from direct participation in the everyday work of the world should particularly benefit certain privileged classes in the community, namely, the old and the young. It is proper and expedient that the old should be freed from the common burden. Their capacity for work has decreased; the loss in economic wealth occasioned by their withdrawal is, therefore, small. And with their decreasing capacity goes a lessening of the satisfaction from work itself; their leisure is in the truest sense freedom. Expediency

and propriety are even more indissolubly combined in dictating that the young shall enjoy a high proportion of the leisure which the community can afford for itself. This mixture of motives is a reflection of the present two-fold aim of education: first, to reveal to the child the features of the society of which he is a part and the qualities of good social living, and second, to equip him with the technical knowledge and ways of thinking and acting by which he may take his part in maintaining and extending human control over nature for the production of material goods.

The first of these principles now commands general acceptance; education is good in itself even though it may not produce a Ford or a Morris, a Marconi or an Edison, and the educationalist is justified in his belief that his function far transcends the mere task of training the young for the creation of economic wealth. But the full implications of the second principle have never been widely grasped, and even where they are dimly understood, they struggle hard for a hearing against the encrusted dogma which so often surrounds discussion of the future of the standard of living in this country.

It is a truism that, in a competitive world, Great Britain can only continue to maintain a general standard of living higher than that in any Continental or Eastern industrial country by a superiority in industrial efficiency. In the nineteenth century

that superiority took the form of an early start in the industrial race and a plentiful supply of raw materials. Both these substantial advantages have passed and it now becomes necessary, if we are to retain our privileged position, to rely either upon a more highly and efficiently organized industrial structure or, failing this, upon a keen, intelligent and technically minded population, more efficient in production and more responsive in foreseeing, creating and meeting new demands on the part of the consumers of the world, and thus enabling that population to be continually engaged in 'making the higher valued goods which will yield a larger national income per head. A community which is to achieve this result would, of necessity, have a high natural aptitude in industrial technique; it would lavishly and cunningly train its young people in order to supplement their natural ability and it would continually teach the principle that the essence of efficiency in a competitive world is the willingness to change and experiment, "that the greatest weapon in industrial progress is the junk heap." The task of maintaining an industrial lead in this way will not be easy, but to it there is only one alternative in a capitalistic society; that is for the level of wages and the standard of living in this country to fall.

In the last analysis, then, whether Great Britain can prolong her privileges will depend upon whether

her population is better trained, more imaginative industrially and commercially, and more capable of rapid readjustment than that in other countries. In a world economy, staple industries with standardized and highly mechanized processes will naturally pass to the countries with low wage rates because, in such cases, the demands upon the skill of the worker or the enterprise of the business organizer are so slight that low wages mean low labour costs. To take the cotton industry as an example. It is becoming increasingly clear that the fundamental factor in the success of the Eastern cotton industries, notably Japan, is the low level of wages. The Lancashire cotton industry loses little on the score of technical efficiency, industrial organization or the individual skill of the worker. The present international disparity in wage costs is the one overwhelming influence in the re-location of world textile production. There is no reason to believe that the average child in Lancashire can learn to weave or spin any better or any quicker than the average child in Japan. The issues, therefore, are plain; those in the cotton industry must show their adaptability, partly by continually widening the range and variety of finer textile products in which Lancashire skill is superior, partly by breaking out into entirely new forms of industrial enterprise; or wages in Lancashire must fall towards the level of those in Japan; or the cotton industry in Lancashire

must largely disappear. The first process demands a high general level of courage and adaptability and the presence of large numbers of individuals with executive capacity for independent action. None of these qualities is likely to exist in an untrained community.

Any nation which employs vast numbers of relatively untrained and immature children in competitive industry is heading straight for a low general standard of living, for, in industries where untrained and unskilled workers are required, the Eastern countries will have a tremendous advantage; they will be fighting on the ground which makes their final success certain. Industrialization is going on in practically every part of the world; the belief that the simpler forms of industrial and mechanical aptitude are confined to one or two races is a suicidal fallacy. Excluding differences in natural wealth, countries which will have the highest standard of living in the future will be those which hold the largest sources of human capacity for discovering wants and swiftly moving away from those lines of industrial activity in which the low wage areas of the world can successfully compete. From this angle, to equip the most impressionable section of the community—the young—with the outlook and knowledge which will keep it in the front industrially in a world of competing nations is not a luxury. It is a condition of survival.

Such considerations make it clear that the failure to adopt special measures for dealing with juvenile unemployment in the present industrial depression in Great Britain cannot fail to have the most serious consequences upon future well-being and material wealth. In many parts of the country, notably the depressed northern districts, the years between the ages of fourteen and eighteen have ceased, for a high proportion of juveniles, to be those in which manual dexterity was being gained from constant practice in the factory or technical knowledge in the schools. Instead, they have become years of sporadic employment, often in blind-alley occupations or in industries already overcrowded with adults; of interrupted training; of weary and deadening idleness. Instead of a world opening up to ambition, enterprise and energy these young people find one in which they are sometimes too old at sixteen years of age—because the employer has then to pay an unemployment and a health insurance contribution for them; in which progress is blocked by a surplus of adult workers; or in which attendance at a secondary school seems to be a positive hindrance to the subsequent finding of a post. In brief, at a time when it has become obvious that the most radical readjustments in the direction of our natural economic effort are necessary, we subject the necessary agents by which this can be brought about—the next generation—to just

the influences which will sap their confidence, dissipate their enthusiasm and endanger their industrial skill and knowledge. It is hardly too much to say that, by exposing this generation of industrial workers to the most deadly effects of the present depression we are storing up elements which threaten to perpetuate depression by striking at the quality of future labour resources.

This is perhaps the most serious aspect of the national unemployment problem and, at first sight, it might seem surprising that we should continue, in this manner, to squander real national capital in the form of skill and energy of the rising generation. Apart from pure apathy, and a series of unfortunate accidents outlined in later chapters, there are two principal reasons for this social blindness: in the first place, the country has never really faced the fact that Great Britain has no divine right to a standard of living higher than that in countries with competing industries; that our higher standard of living in the past has been due to advantages which have disappeared and that it can now only be maintained by superiority in mental resource and technical knowledge. The deeper the industrial depression the stronger the case for sheltering the young from its effects. Armies do not throw away their iron rations when they know that the normal commissariat has broken down. Secondly, the appalling waste of fundamental national resources goes

on because the nation wilfully refuses to take steps to acquaint itself with the truth of the present position by the collection of information. Too little is known directly of unemployment among young people, for reasons which are detailed later in this volume. There are no comprehensive statistics of those children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years of age who are out of work. Even among juveniles sixteen to eighteen years of age the statistics of unemployment are undoubtedly misleading as to the true numbers out of work. Nothing perhaps more clearly illustrates the existing muddle in our sense of social values than the decisions made as to what economic and social information the State does find it worth while to collect, and what is considered too expensive and irrelevant. Our official statistics, built up as they have been in piecemeal fashion over a long period by numerous Government Departments, present paradoxical examples of the collection of most detailed statistics of certain subjects and the almost complete gaps regarding other equally important phases of economic and social life. We know, for example, from the Board of Trade Returns, our annual imports by volume and values of Brushes (distinguished between shaving, tooth, painters' and artists'); Buttons and Studs; Walking-sticks and Canes. We have complete information, from the returns of Central and Local Authorities, of how many widowers of any particular



age married widows of any age every year; of the consumption of whisky per head in the country; of the number of movable ashbins in each district; of the precise cause of every death which has taken place. If a child is away from school we have a national system by which the reason is elicited from the parents by school attendance officers. But once these children have left school this comprehensive supervision is discontinued; many unemployed children are allowed to drop out of touch with every official agency for providing guidance and employment, and the problem of dealing with juvenile unemployment is blurred by the absence of the fundamental information regarding the scale and character of the problem.

In the following chapter an account is given of conditions in Lancashire and Cumberland, which is necessarily incomplete at many points. But, from the bare and inadequate statistics, it needs no great effort to imagine the individual suffering and social waste that lie behind, and the urgency of undertaking ameliorative measures.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT IN LANCASHIRE AND CUMBERLAND

At the present time it is impossible for any individual or any authority to state how many children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years are unemployed.<sup>1</sup> The enquiries which are to be described in the following pages represent an attempt, by private investigators with limited resources, to approach nearer to actualities by studying in detail the conditions in Lancashire and Cumberland. An examination of this Region has, however, a significance which far transcends such boundaries. Each of the depressed northern industrial areas presents an unemployment problem which has its own peculiar features arising out of the character of the industry which is carried on there. But the problem of juvenile unemployment to be found in Lancashire and Cumberland is, in kind if not in degree, indicative of that to be encountered

<sup>1</sup> The Ministry of Labour Report for 1932 (p. 43) states that "it has been estimated that in Great Britain the number of unemployed juveniles between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years who do not register are equivalent to about one-third of the total number of juveniles who do register." It is not known, however, upon what basis this estimate is made. And the proportion to be allowed for non-registration would, presumably, be much higher in the depressed areas.

elsewhere. The appalling conditions revealed in this chapter as existing in Cumberland would, without any doubt, be found to be duplicated in such areas as South Wales and the mining districts of Durham. The difficulties of Lancashire will certainly be typical of those of the Yorkshire textile districts and the North-East coast industrial area. This study is, therefore, merely a localized sample of a kind of problem which has already attained national dimensions.

#### I. THE OFFICIAL RECORDS

The official figures, inadequate as they are, do, nevertheless, indicate the gravity of juvenile unemployment and the changes which have taken place in it in the past four years. In Table I the main facts are summarized. They show that among insured juveniles (i.e. those between sixteen and eighteen years) in the Lancashire Survey Region<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Various Districts will be referred to in the Report, which it will be convenient to describe at this point:

*Lancashire Survey Region:* This is the Region adopted by the Research Section for the Report, which it prepared for the Board of Trade, "An Industrial Survey of the Lancashire Area (excluding Merseyside)." This covers the whole of Lancashire south of Lancaster and also the industrial fringes of Cheshire and Derbyshire, but it excludes the Merseyside Area.

*Cumberland Survey Region:* This Region was adopted by the Research Section for its "Industrial Survey of Cumberland and Furness." It includes industrial West Cumberland (but not Carlisle) and stretches south into Lancashire to cover Barrow-in-Furness and the Furness Peninsula.

*North-Western Division:* This is an Area adopted by the Ministry

unemployment, after being relatively low until 1929, more than doubled in 1930, 1931 and 1932. In 1932 about 9,000 insured boys and girls were unemployed, nearly 9 per cent. of the total. Similarly, the Live Register (i.e. all juveniles between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years who were registering as unemployed) for the North-Western Division shows that between 1924 and 1929 the number unemployed never reached 15,000 juveniles. In the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 it never fell below 23,000.

Juvenile unemployment is more serious in certain areas than in others. Thus, in 1932, unemployment among insured juveniles was only 4 per cent. in the district covering the Lancaster, Blackpool and Fleetwood Employment Exchanges; 5 per cent. in the Manchester district and 7 per cent. in the district covered by the Exchanges of Trafford Park, Eccles, Altrincham and Salford. The heaviest rates were found in the Wigan, the Oldham and the Stockport districts.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible, as stated earlier, to determine what proportion of the children who are unemployed come under the notice of the Employment Exchanges and thus fall within the official statistics. But there are certain facts, which are inconclusive in them-

of Labour for administrative purposes. It includes the whole of Lancashire and Cumberland, Cheshire, and the northern parts of Derbyshire.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Tables I and II.

**TABLE I**  
**JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT IN NORTH-WEST ENGLAND**

	<i>Lancashire Survey Region, Insured Juveniles (16-18 years)</i>						<i>North-Western Division</i>
	<i>Numbers Unemployed*</i>			<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>			<i>Juveniles (14-18 years) on Live Register.*</i>
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	
1923	3,691	5,070	8,761	6.2	9.4	7.7	—
1924	2,924	3,334	6,258	4.5	5.5	5.0	14,665
1925	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,877
1926	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1927	1,866	1,740	3,606	3.2	3.2	3.2	12,377
1928	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,017
1929	2,424	2,169	4,593	4.2	4.0	4.1	14,884
1930	6,013	7,002	13,015	10.5	12.7	11.6	27,974
1931	5,630	5,133	10,763	10.1	9.5	9.8	26,957
1932	5,037	3,998	9,035	9.7	8.0	8.9	23,859

\* Average March, June, September and December for each year.

THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER

selves, but which suggest that the official figures of juvenile unemployment fail to assess fully either the volume or the rate of unemployment.

- (1) In the Lancashire Survey Region the percentage unemployment among insured juveniles (sixteen to eighteen years) in September 1932 was 12·1 for boys and 10·8 for girls. But, in the same Region, in the autumn of 1932, the unemployment among all children who had left school three months earlier was 21·6 per cent. for boys and 17·7 per cent. for girls.<sup>1</sup> It may be expected that unemployment would normally be heavier among those who had left school only three months previously and had not had sufficient time to find work, but the very wide margin between the two percentages certainly suggests that the Ministry of Labour figure understates the true severity of unemployment.
- (2) The statistics relating to insured juveniles suggest that, in the Lancashire Survey Region, conditions improved somewhat between 1930 and 1932, since the unemployed percentage fell from 11·6 in 1930 to 9·8 in 1931 and 8·9 in 1932. But no such improvement is shown by two successive enquiries into unemployment among all children leaving

<sup>1</sup> See p. 26.

the schools of the Lancashire County Council. The first of these enquiries showed that, of all the children leaving school between August 1930 and July 1931, 20·7 per cent. were unemployed two months later. The second enquiry revealed that, of the children leaving school in the summer of 1932, 20·5 per cent. were unemployed three months later.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the apparent improvement shown by the official statistics is due to the fact that more juveniles who were over sixteen years were unemployed without that fact being recorded, because, after attaining the age of insurance, they had never been employed.

- (3) From time to time instances occur where some new avenue of employment appears, or promises to appear, and large numbers of persons recommence to register as unemployed. No case more clearly illustrates that than an incident in Cumberland in 1929. Unemployment in Cumberland is, and has been for several years, particularly severe. In September 1929 a foreign firm decided to establish a textile works at Wigton. The factory was actually built but never commenced production. Meanwhile, however, the rumour that employment might be avail-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 40.

## WIGTON BRANCH EXCHANGE OFFICE

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## WHOLLY-UNEMPLOYED REGISTER

<i>Date</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
July 29, 1929	77	5	12	—	94
August 12, 1929	74	4	12	—	90
August 19, 1929	73	4	12	—	89
August 26, 1929	91	4	11	—	106
September 2, 1929	83	5	11	—	99*
September 9, 1929	126	29	37	47	239
September 16, 1929	164	29	46	53	292
September 23, 1929	169	37	50	55	311
September 30, 1929	183	36	56	58	333
October 7, 1929	172	37	59	60	328
December 30, 1929	262	52	72	65	451

\* Rumours of new factory began to circulate.

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT



able caused a very large increase, in relation to the surrounding population, in the wholly unemployed Register, particularly among juveniles. The table opposite gives the details of this for the Wigton Branch Exchange Office. It reveals clearly that before September 1929 many juveniles had completely lost touch with the Exchange.

## II. SCHOOL-LEAVERS IN LANCASHIRE

Unemployment among juveniles in the North-West of England is, therefore, heavy; it has become very much heavier in the past three years, but since in times of prolonged depression the link between Employment Exchanges and juveniles tends to weaken, there is reason to suspect that we are, as a community, underestimating its incidence. Special enquiries serve to confirm these views and to bring out certain other notable features of juvenile unemployment.

In the autumn of 1932, with the collaboration of Directors of Education and Head teachers, an investigation was carried out to determine whether children who had left school at the end of the summer term were then unemployed or employed and, in the latter case, what type of employment had been obtained. The information was collected for each child at the end of three months after

leaving school; the enquiry covered practically all schools in the Lancashire Survey Region, and details were received of a total of nearly 21,000 school-leavers—10,700 boys and 10,200 girls—of whom about 17,000 came from elementary schools and the remainder from secondary and junior technical schools.<sup>1</sup> The enquiry, therefore, provided very complete information upon such questions as: How rapidly were school-leavers obtaining posts in the summer and autumn of 1932? Were they, for the most part, moving into progressive or into blind-alley occupations? Were secondary school-leavers successful in gaining better posts than children leaving elementary schools? And, since a similar enquiry had been conducted earlier, were conditions of employment becoming better or worse?

### *Unemployment*

Of the children who left school in the summer and were available for work 22 per cent. of the boys and 18 per cent. of the girls were still unemployed three months later.

The incidence of unemployment, however, was not evenly spread either as between different districts or different types of schools. One of the most significant results was that secondary school-leavers had been much less, and junior technical

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Table III.

school-leavers slightly less,<sup>1</sup> successful in obtaining posts than elementary school-leavers. Over one-quarter of the boys and girls who were seeking work after leaving secondary schools were unable to obtain it.

TABLE II

## LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN THE SUMMER  
OF 1932PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYMENT THREE MONTHS  
LATER AMONG THOSE AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOY-  
MENT

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Lancashire County Council:		
Elementary	21.2	19.2
Secondary	20.4	27.9
Junior Technical	15.1	—
Autonomous Areas:		
Elementary	20.5	15.7
Secondary	33.3	29.0
Junior Technical	31.3	16.1
Total:		
Elementary	20.7	16.7
Secondary	26.1	28.5
Junior Technical	23.0	16.1

This merely confirms the view, constantly put forward by those responsible for occupational guidance in Lancashire, that extraordinary difficulty

<sup>1</sup> The conclusions to be drawn regarding Junior Technical Schools are limited in value because of the small number of school-leavers involved. See Appendix, Table IV.

has been met with in recent years in placing the secondary school-leavers.

Further, some districts have experienced much greater difficulty than others in placing their

TABLE III  
LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION  
CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN THE SUMMER  
OF 1932  
PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYMENT, THREE MONTHS  
LATER, AMONG THOSE AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOY-  
MENT—BY DISTRICTS

<i>District</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Burnley, Blackburn, Accrington, Great Har- wood, Darwen	21·8	26·3
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	6·9	2·4
Oldham, Mossley, Shaw, Chadderton, Royton, Middleton, Failsworth	19·3	10·1
Littleborough, Bury, Radcliffe, Heywood, Rochdale	17·2	13·3
Bolton, Leigh, Farnworth, Pendlebury	22·7	13·5
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, Horwich, Ash- ton-in-Makerfield, Hindley	29·9	26·2
St. Helens, Widnes, Earlestown, Warrington	33·9	38·2
Chorley, Preston	21·7	14·0
Trafford Park, Eccles, Salford	14·0	7·5
Lancaster, Blackpool, Fleetwood	10·7	14·4
Nelson, Colne	10·1	18·6
Levenshulme, Manchester, Denton, Openshaw, Newton Heath, Reddish	16·4	8·1

school-leavers. As the table above shows, the percentage of unemployment in the case of elementary schools varies between 2 per cent. and 38 per cent. The heaviest rate is found in the St. Helens,

Widnes, Earlestown, Warrington district where the chemical and glass industries have undergone rationalization in the form of the closing down of plants and the introduction of new technical methods of production and conditions of work, which have very much restricted the demand for young workers. The coal-mining district around Atherton, Wigan and Hindley also shows a high unemployment percentage, as does the weaving district of Burnley, Blackburn, Accrington, Great Harwood and Darwen. On the other hand, the Manchester; Nelson and Colne; and Bacup, Rawtenstall and Haslingden districts, show conditions much better than the average.

### *Employment*

The unemployment revealed by this enquiry is serious enough, but the true implications of it are only fully realized by a study of the types of posts which children have taken. An analysis of the industries entered by elementary school-leavers shows that, among boys, the important industries were wholesale and retail trading, cotton and agriculture (which together accounted for 44 per cent. of the jobs obtained by boys), whilst among girls the important industries were cotton, dress, wholesale and retail trading and food, which accounted for 62 per cent. of the total posts found.

Two industries, Cotton and the Distributive

TABLE IV  
LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION  
PERCENTAGE INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-LEAVERS  
FINDING POSTS

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
<i>Industry or Service</i>	<i>Distribution by Industry</i>	<i>Industry or Service</i>	<i>Distribution by Industry</i>
Wholesale and Retail Trading	26.1	Cotton	27.3
Cotton	12.0	Dress	16.3
Agriculture	6.3	Wholesale and Retail Trading	11.2
Building	3.5	Food	7.5
General Engineering	3.4	Personal Service	5.6
Coal Mining	3.3	Paper	3.8
Electrical Engineering	3.3	Boots and Shoes	3.3
Woodworking	3.3	Printing and Publishing	2.5
Iron and Steel	2.7	Electrical Engineering	2.3
Food	2.6	Chemicals	1.7
<b>TOTAL (10 Industries)</b>	<b>66.5</b>	<b>TOTAL (10 Industries)</b>	<b>81.5</b>
<b>TOTAL (All Industries and Services)</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>TOTAL (All Industries and Services)</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Trades, merit special examination and they are considered in turn below.

### *Cotton*

It is a striking, and a deplorable, fact that very large numbers of children continue to enter the cotton industry in areas in which that industry is already seriously overcrowded. Taking the whole of the Region, 12 per cent. of the boy school-leavers and 27 per cent. of the girl school-leavers who found work entered this industry. In cotton districts this proportion was much higher. For boys, it was over 30 per cent. in the Oldham and the Bolton districts, and actually over 40 per cent. in Nelson and Colne. For girls, the percentage was over 40 per cent. in the Burnley, Blackburn, Accrington, Great Harwood, Darwen; Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, Horwich, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Hindley; and Chorley and Preston districts. It was over 50 per cent. in Nelson and Colne, and over 60 per cent. in the Bolton, Leigh, Farnworth and Pendlebury district. In total, 2,214 children entered the cotton industry.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing more clearly reveals the disorganization into which the labour market has fallen, and the progressive chaos which is inescapable unless some conscious control is exercised, than the present conditions in the cotton industry. In the table below

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Table V.

each district of the Lancashire cotton area is taken and two facts regarding it put side by side: first, the proportion of school-leavers available for employment who entered the cotton industry, and second, the unemployment rate among insured juveniles (i.e. sixteen to eighteen years of age) in the cotton industry.

It will be seen that in many districts, even though there exists a very high juvenile unemployment rate in the cotton industry, a large proportion of the school-leavers continue to enter this industry. Thus, in the northern weaving area of Blackburn, Burnley, Darwen, Great Harwood and Accrington, although 23 per cent. of the boys and 19 per cent. of the girls between sixteen and eighteen years of age in the cotton industry were unemployed, 12 per cent. of the boy and 35 per cent. of the girl school-leavers who were available for work entered the industry. In the district around Oldham the same tendency was to be observed. In some areas the high proportion of entrants into the industry from school is to be understood, for the existing unemployment is relatively low, but generally the picture presented in Table V is one of irrational and dangerous drifting towards further casualization of the labour force in the cotton industry.

#### *The Distributive Trades*

There seems little doubt, therefore, that the



TABLE V

LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

ENTRY OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS INTO, AND UNEMPLOYMENT OF INSURED JUVENILES  
(16-18 YEARS) IN, THE COTTON INDUSTRY BY DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	<i>Proportion of School-Leavers available for Employment who entered the Cotton Industry, July-October, 1932</i>		<i>Percentage Unemployment of Insured Juveniles in Cotton Industry, August-October, 1932</i>	
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Burnley, Blackburn, Darwen, Great Harwood, Accrington	12.3	34.9	23.0	18.7
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	3.4	14.6	20.0	13.4
Oldham, Mossley, Chadderton, Shaw, Royton, Middleton, Failsworth	25.2	31.8	20.6	15.3
Littleborough, Bury, Radcliffe, Heywood, Rochdale	17.8	27.9	23.3	14.9
Bolton, Leigh, Farnworth, Pendlebury	23.5	53.2	12.3	10.8
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, Horwich, Hindley, Ashton-in-Makerfield	7.8	34.0	16.9	18.7
St. Helens, Widnes, Earlestown, Warrington	0.6	7.8	10.0	6.5
Chorley, Preston	10.7	36.1	13.5	8.0
Trafford Park, Eccles, Salford	2.9	11.8	9.3	7.1
Lancaster, Blackpool, Fleetwood	1.3	5.7	—	—
Nelson, Colne	38.2	47.1	11.8	9.6
Levenshulme, Manchester, Denton, Openshaw, Newton Heath, Reddish	4.2	7.7	12.1	6.7

THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER

cotton industry is becoming a blind-alley occupation into which children crowd, not because they or their parents see hope of progressive employment, but because no alternative avenues of employment exist. In many ways entry into the distributive trades is fostered by the same economic environment and creates the same social dangers. Among boys

TABLE VI

## BOYS

OCCUPATIONS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-LEAVERS  
WHO ENTERED "RETAIL TRADING"

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Errand Boy	928	} 73·4
Newspaper Boy	62	
Shop Assistant	283	21·0
Apprentice	44	3·3
Clerk	6	0·4
Office Boy	9	0·7
Miscellaneous	16	1·2
Total	1,348	100·0

leaving elementary schools 26 per cent. of those who found work did so in the industrial group described as "Wholesale and Retail Trading," the vast majority entering "Retail Trading." In certain districts this proportion was even higher; the St. Helens, the Wigan and the Manchester districts showing percentages of 28, 30 and 32 respectively. At first sight this might appear to be an encouraging development in which new occupations

expand to counterbalance the decline of the old. But in fact entry into "Retail Trading" is much more indicative of a frantic crowding into a definitely blind-alley occupation than of the growth of a new avenue of progressive work. The table opposite gives an occupational classification of those elementary schoolboys who entered the industry "Retail Trading": three-quarters of them became errand or newspaper boys, and many of these would be employed only in the early morning or in the evening. The vast proportion of children entering this industry, therefore, would be receiving no sort of technical or occupational training; they would be employed at low wages; they would rapidly outgrow their value and be replaced by a fresh crop of younger children leaving school.

### III. CUMBERLAND AND FURNESSE<sup>1</sup>

In the Cumberland industrial area conditions are even graver than those found in Lancashire. This area depends fundamentally upon an iron and steel industry which has been slowly declining for many years; its principal industries (iron and steel, coal-mining, iron-ore mining, coke-ovens) normally employ only a small proportion of juveniles; and its isolation renders it difficult for young people to migrate to more prosperous areas. The net result is

<sup>1</sup> See *Industrial Survey of Cumberland and Furness*.

that, without any straining of language, there is practically no progressive work for the children who leave school each year. Nevertheless they do leave school to become unemployed and, in large numbers, to be lost sight of by the official agencies responsible for placing work. Nobody knows, or can know, how many children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years are unemployed in Cumberland.

TABLE VII  
ENQUIRY AMONG ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AS TO  
EMPLOYMENT TWO MONTHS AFTER LEAVING  
SCHOOL

	Boys			Girls	
	Number available for Employment*	Total Number Employed	Number Employed in "Retail Trading"	Number available for Employment*	Number Employed
Cumberland C.C.†	198	121	19	140	72
Workington M.B.	23	12	7	34	21
Whitehaven M.B.	37	20	17	44	20
Barrow-in-Furness } M.B.	126	95	58	113	45

\* Total number leaving school less those going on to "Higher Education" or "Staying at Home."

† Part.

But the numbers registered as unemployed at the Exchanges have, in the last few years, often been nearly three times as great as those unemployed who are insured. There must be many children over sixteen years of age who are not insured but who have never had a job. In addition, it is well known that many unemployed juveniles never trouble to register because the Exchanges have no work to offer. A

recent enquiry among school-leavers in this Region shows that apart from "Retail Trading" there is no substantial occupational opening. Among girls less than one-half were employed two months after leaving school. Among boys the proportions employed were higher, but this was due only to the fact that large numbers became errand boys. Apart from this unemployment was extremely high.

There can be no doubt that those conditions of wasteful idleness among juveniles, which it should be the paramount duty of the State to avoid in depressed areas, already exist in the Cumberland industrial region. We have elsewhere given our views as to what might be done to deal with this problem.<sup>1</sup> It is a special case demanding extraordinary measures and yet one in which some relief would be gained from the development of social services such as those discussed later.

#### IV. THE PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Normally, when the average rate of unemployment is low, the periods of idleness suffered by each individual tend to be short and the rapidly progressive demoralization which comes from prolonged inactivity is kept in check. But conditions in Lancashire have now reached the pass in which a high proportion of juveniles are undergoing

<sup>1</sup> See *Industrial Survey of Cumberland and Furness*, Part I, Chap. IV.

TABLE VIII

LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

JUVENILE LIVE REGISTER, MARCH 6, 1933

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILES ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF  
THEIR LAST SPELL OF UNEMPLOYMENT

	<i>Less than 1 Month</i>	<i>1 to 3 Months</i>	<i>3 to 6 Months</i>	<i>6 to 9 Months</i>	<i>9 to 12 Months</i>	<i>12 Months or more</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Boys—</b>							
Claimants	57.7	24.9	14.5	2.4	0.2	0.2	100
Non-claimants	26.0	34.2	18.2	12.5	4.1	5.1	100
Total	37.6	30.8	16.8	8.8	2.7	3.3	100
<b>GIRLS—</b>							
Claimants	70.4	20.7	7.6	1.1	0.1	—	100
Non-Claimants	33.8	33.1	14.7	8.3	3.3	6.8	100
Total	48.7	28.1	11.8	5.4	2.0	4.1	100
<b>TOTAL</b>	42.6	29.6	14.6	7.2	2.4	3.6	100

prolonged spells of unemployment which must be particularly damaging to industrial quality and morale. The results of a special enquiry are given in Table VIII. Of all the juveniles registered as unemployed on March 6, 1933, in the Lancashire Survey Region 57 per cent. had been unemployed more than one month and 28 per cent. more than three months. Among non-claimants (i.e. all juveniles between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years who were registered as unemployed but were not in a position to claim Unemployment Insurance benefit), 74 per cent. of the boys and 65 per cent. of the girls had been unemployed more than one month. Here again, certain parts of Lancashire show particularly disturbing facts. In the St. Helens, Widnes, Warrington area nearly 80 per cent. of the unemployed juveniles had been out of work more than one month and more than 50 per cent. more than three months. Other areas with long average spells of unemployment were the Burnley, Blackburn district; the Salford, Stretford district, and the Blackpool, Fleetwood district.\*

#### V. IS JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASING?

No adequate information exists as to whether juvenile unemployment has become more or less serious in the past two or three years in the North-

\* See Appendix, Table VIII.

## JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

Western Division. The official statistics, given in Table I, suggest that the unemployment rate has fallen since 1930, but, for reasons already advanced, such figures cannot be relied upon in measuring movements in the total of juvenile unemployment. A comparison of two enquiries made among children

TABLE IX  
LANCASHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL SCHOOLS  
RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SCHOOL-LEAVERS AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Children Leaving School August 1, 1930, to July 31, 1931 Rate of Unemployment after 2 months</i>	<i>Children Leaving School in Summer of 1932 Rate of Unemployment after 3 months</i>
Elementary:		
Boys	18.6	21.2
Girls	23.0	19.2
Secondary:		
Boys	17.4	20.3
Girls	30.2	27.9
Junior Technical:		
Boys	16.8	15.1
Total: Boys and Girls	20.7	20.5

leaving the schools under the jurisdiction of the Lancashire County Council in the Lancashire Survey Region does, however, throw some light upon this question. The first enquiry was made as to unemployment among children *two* months after leaving school in the year August 1930 to July 1931; the second enquiry related to children *three* months



after leaving school in the summer of 1932. The two enquiries are, therefore, not strictly comparable so that no incontrovertible conclusion can be drawn from Table IX, but it suggests that there has not been any improvement in the period between the two investigations.

#### VI. CONCLUSIONS

Inadequate as such statistical enquiries may be either in measuring the volume or the intangible social consequences of unemployment, they do serve to reveal the several elements in the present situation which demand remedial action:

1. It is inconceivable, at the moment, that there could be a comprehensive national plan for the treatment of juvenile unemployment because it is impossible to say how much unemployment exists.

The inducements which are held out to an unemployed person to record the fact of his unemployment at the Exchange are four.

He may register because that is a condition for the receipt of benefit, or because he is anxious to obtain work. Further, many Poor Law authorities require, as one of the conditions on which out-door relief is given, that an able-bodied person applying for relief shall maintain registration at an Exchange.

Finally, by registering at an Exchange, an unemployed person who is insured under the National Health Insurance scheme may have his health card franked and thus avoid the accumulation of arrears of health insurance contributions. These circumstances are usually sufficient to constrain practically the whole of the insured adult persons to continue registration upon unemployment. But these influences are not nearly so strong in the case of juveniles. In the first place all children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years and some between sixteen and eighteen years are not insured. Secondly, the conditions for the receipt of benefit for juveniles are such that normally only a small proportion of insured unemployed juveniles will be in a position to claim benefit. Thirdly, children under sixteen years of age are not insured under the National Health Insurance Acts. And fourthly, as has already been shown, in many depressed areas the Exchanges literally have no work to offer to juveniles. The result is that only a proportion of juveniles out of work come within the cognizance of the Exchanges. It is, of course, true that special machinery now operates, either through the Ministry of Labour or the Education Authorities, to maintain contact with young people who are

out of work. But generally speaking, the greater the intensity of prolonged unemployment among juveniles the greater the chance that they will disappear completely from the knowledge of the State agencies for placing and advising children and, hence, from the official statistics. The very conditions which make it most necessary that contact should be maintained with every child will normally render it impossible to do so.

2. Unemployment in the northern depressed regions has undoubtedly reached a point now at which idleness, often for prolonged periods, must be seriously sapping the physical and mental potentialities of those who would normally be the backbone of the community ten or fifteen years hence. Any business man who allowed his capital equipment to fall into disrepair would be heading for disaster. As a nation we are weakly pursuing a policy which no sane individual would himself follow: we are allowing the future man-power of the community to rot. This process has gone much further in Cumberland than in Lancashire, but unless something active is done there is no reason why conditions among juveniles in Lancashire should not become equally serious there, and permanently cripple the industrial efficiency of the county.

3. One result of the absence of employment is to crowd juveniles into occupations which offer no possibilities of progressive work either because those occupations are already overcrowded or because they give employment only to the youngest workers at the lowest remuneration. The Cotton Industry is an illustration of the first form of casualization of labour; the Retail Trading of the second. Parents in Lancashire are not anxious to place their children in the cotton industry; Juvenile Employment Committees, in their advisory work, point out the very poor prospects of progressive employment offered by the industry. Nevertheless school-leavers continue to enter because no other openings present themselves, and because the haphazard and unco-ordinated fashion in which new labour is taken on makes it possible for school-leavers to obtain jobs for a time even when rather older children, who have been employed in the industry, are out of work. Step by step an approach is made, in consequence, towards a complete dislocation of the labour market; an approach which is likely to be hastened by the introduction in the weaving section of the industry of the six- and eight-loom system, under which the demand for labour will be still further decreased. In the Distributive

Trades large numbers of children, particularly boys, are willing to take employment, because of the absence of other occupation, in the most menial tasks which cannot fit them in any way for a life of useful work. The community is taking advantage of the plight of juveniles to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water for a time until they can be replaced in the same work by a new flood of children direct from school. A nation of young people who have been trained only in running errands is hardly likely to be able to maintain a high standard of living for itself in the future.

4. Finally, the depression has produced the paradox that the children who have had the longest training seem least able to obtain employment. It is true that, on the whole, secondary school-leavers, when they do find employment, normally obtain a better type of work than elementary school-leavers.<sup>1</sup> But it is equally true that secondary school-leavers, and even junior technical school-leavers, show a higher unemployment rate than that found among elementary school-leavers. It runs counter to anything that is logical that, at a time when trained, flexible and imaginative minds are more than ever required, industry

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Tables VI and VII.

can find so little use for those who have had the privilege of extended education. There seem to be several reasons making for the high incidence of unemployment among non-elementary school-leavers. It is often alleged, for example, that the education which children now normally receive after the age of fourteen is not well fitted for increasing their value in industry.<sup>1</sup> It is outside our province to enter into this controversy which, of course, raises the much wider question as to whether educational policy should always be moulded by purely economic considerations, but, in any case, this criticism could hardly be advanced against the growing number of Junior Technical Schools.

There are, however, certain other obstacles to the more rapid absorption into industry of children who have had a training longer than the normal. In the first place, there appears to be a marked reluctance on the part of employers in Lancashire to take on older children for training in purely industrial occupations. The view that children can learn much more rapidly when very young is still general. Such an argument has been employed in the cotton industry on every occasion in the last century when the minimum age for employment was under

<sup>1</sup> On the whole of this question, see the Malcolm Committee Report on Education and Industry—Second Report.

consideration; it is implied in the scares which even now from time to time arise concerning the shortage of young weavers, and it would doubtless be brought forward if any attempt was made to raise the school-leaving age. It is, however, not confined to the cotton industry. Advisory Committees for Juvenile Employment in Lancashire frequently speak of the difficulty found in encouraging employers even to experiment with the training of older children,<sup>1</sup> Whether, in fact, technical skill can more quickly and more efficiently be acquired at the age of fourteen years than at sixteen years is a question which would find a different answer between one industry and another and even one child and another. But the view may be confidently advanced that there exists a good deal of prejudice among employers upon this matter, and it is extremely significant that where the demand for labour is active, as for machinists in the clothing industry—an occupation which demands great skill—employers are willing to take on girl secondary school-leavers as learners.

There is a further influence making for unemployment among those with higher education. Children who proceed to secondary schools too often look forward to non-industrial work, such as

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, also the fact that children over sixteen years are insured against unemployment, and the employer must pay his share of the weekly contribution.

clerical work or teaching. Scholastic and academic distinction is widely sought and generally esteemed and that must lead children directly away from industrial work. Here again a question is being touched upon which falls outside the strict boundaries of this enquiry. But it is a question which has frequently been referred to by official investigators in the past. The Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry, for example, reporting in 1928, after pointing out that "pupils from secondary schools proceed mainly to the professions, clerical work and the more organized distributive trades," and that "the provisions made in the schools meet adequately the need of the occupations to which the pupils mainly proceed," argue that "it is probable that industry would benefit by a larger intake of pupils from secondary schools, whether of the existing type or with an industrial bias for the older pupils." Certainly the present conditions in Lancashire lend force to the view that many children who have had higher education must enter industry if they are to find employment and, more important, that such children are needed in many British industries if those industries are to survive.

Finally, so far as Lancashire is concerned, the organization for placing secondary school-leavers in posts is perhaps not so effective as that in the case of elementary school-leavers. The placing of the former is still largely carried out by head masters,



or through personal contacts. Even where the Local Committees for Juvenile Employment interest themselves in secondary school children they face the difficulty that a high proportion of these children in Lancashire towns will normally find suitable employment only in large centres such as Manchester or Liverpool. It is clear, therefore, that for this class of placing work a much larger administrative area is required than is desirable for the normal placing of elementary school-leavers. It might be of very great value if a Committee were instituted for this special work which would comprehend the whole of South-East Lancashire; or even a more extended region.

These, then, are some of the problems raised by juvenile unemployment in the North-West of England. The possible lines of treatment are discussed in the following pages.

## CHAPTER III

### PALLIATIVES

THE one certain remedy for the conditions disclosed in the preceding pages would be a permanent revival of trade which would automatically draw back into employment the majority of those juveniles who are now out of work. It is no part of the scope of this volume to discuss the steps which might lead to such a revival in the demand for labour or to examine the probable future requirements of industry for young workers. But there will be general acceptance of the view that, in certain of the northern industrial areas, there will be a heavy unemployment rate among juveniles for the next few years, even though some may consider that the magnitude of the problem may fall short of that which existed between 1930 and 1932. There must, therefore, be national pre-vision in planning to face this continuing and alarming aspect of the general unemployment problem.

The remedies and palliatives, designed either to reduce unemployment by decreasing and regularizing the supply of juveniles coming on to the labour market or to lessen the demoralizing consequences of the absence of occupation and interest when children have no purposeful outlet for their energy, which are described below, are not new.

They have been frequently examined in the past by authoritative committees—notably the Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry and the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance—and the principles underlying many of them have time and time again been accepted as sound on social and economic grounds. But they have gained an added importance and, indeed, a crying urgency from the sudden acceleration in the scale of juvenile unemployment in the past three years and the progressive havoc which this is producing. Some of the measures which have been recommended and are described below are, in some degree, alternative: there is usually more than one way of dealing effectively with any economic problem. But all these measures which have been most widely discussed, or which appear to possess the best chance of gaining general support, are described, for it is our profound belief that if the present conditions are only widely understood then there will be an irresistible demand that something drastic should be done in the interests of these unfortunate children and that pedantic discussions as to the relative merits of different methods of producing the desired end will not be tolerated.

#### I. THE WORK OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Within the past two years, and notably within the last twelve months, a very marked change has

made itself evident in the attitude of the community towards the social aspects of unemployment, a change which reflects itself in the widespread growth of social service, recreation, or occupational centres for the unemployed, supported by private or local effort. A great fund of good will has undoubtedly gone to produce most excellent results, and the special problems of the unemployed juveniles have not been forgotten in this very welcome shaking off of national apathy. There are many branches of communal life through which it is possible for sympathetic treatment, guidance and help to be advanced to those young people who cannot find work. Churches; Committees engaged in Advisory and After-care work; Associations of business men; Trade Unions; the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements; Boys' and Girls' Clubs; the Toc H movement; the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and a score of other organizations have done, and are doing, valuable social work in this respect. But the present difficulties are too vast, and the consequences of possible failure too grave, for it to be either expedient or equitable to expect voluntary activities of this kind to deal with anything more than a small fraction of the juveniles who have a right to guidance and occupation and are not finding either at the moment. This is a national issue in which the State would be failing in its responsibility if it were not prepared to use to the

utmost both its own power and the efforts which it can command of Local Authorities.

## II. JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTRES

At present, the first line of defence which the State sets up against the loss of quality and morale on the part of the unemployed juveniles consists of the Junior Instruction Centres and Classes which now exist in a number of areas. At these Centres children are kept occupied in interesting and practical work; no attempt is, or can be, made to give continuous courses of education, but participation in organized games and exercises and the provision of facilities for individual handicraft work clearly open up the prospect of turning wearisome idleness into directed effort.

The recognized need for giving occupation to unemployed juveniles has led, within the past three years, to a rapid increase in the number of Junior Instruction Centres, and, in areas where the numbers are inadequate for a Centre, to the creation of Classes. These Centres or Classes are actually conducted by the Local Education Authority, but the central authority for their operation is vested in the Ministry of Labour, which bears 75 per cent. of their cost. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that, although they often work under difficult conditions associated with limited accommodation and the fluctuating attendances occasioned

by spasmodic employment among juveniles, yet they are producing good results.

Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the juveniles out of work actually attend these Centres or Classes. In the whole of the North-Western Division, at present, only about one in every five juveniles registered as unemployed attends a Centre, although, of course, this proportion varies from one part of the Division to another. In most cases the children taking advantage of the facilities offered are claimants to Unemployment Insurance benefit who can be compelled to attend as a condition for the receipt of benefit. Voluntary attendance of non-claimants in the North-Western Division is relatively low. Moreover, in many districts no Centre or Class exists, so that even of the claimants only a proportion (in the North-Western Division normally about one-half) are actually in attendance. It can hardly be claimed, in view of these facts, that adequate provision exists for the occupation and recreation of unemployed juveniles. It is a deplorable fact that of every five children out of work four are never reached by the system of Junior Instruction Centres; they are, therefore, only touching the fringe of the problem, and the reasons for this merit the closest possible scrutiny.

These reasons naturally fall into two groups: firstly, the unwillingness of juveniles to attend the Centres, and secondly, the absence of Centres in

areas where there is a need for them. These reasons are not altogether independent; the experience of the Ministry of Labour and Local Education Authorities in regard to the reluctance of non-claimants to attend has led them to provide Centres only where a minimum attendance of claimants can be guaranteed, and this condition often prevents the establishment of a Centre. Nevertheless, the reasons can usefully be discussed separately.

As was pointed out above, the Ministry of Labour has no power to compel non-claimants to benefit to attend the local Centre when they are unemployed. This means, immediately, that no hold exists over children between the ages of fourteen years and sixteen years and seven months, and propaganda on the part of the Ministry of Labour has not been able to increase voluntary attendance substantially. The work of the Centre is, therefore, crippled from the outset, and various suggestions have from time to time been made by which this serious handicap could be overcome:

1. It might be made compulsory, either by Statute or through the enactment of local bye-laws, that every child not in employment should attend the Centre until work was found again. The Malcolm Committee on Industry and Education considered this suggestion

and rejected it. Such a scheme would raise formidable administrative difficulties: How would it be possible to define the term "in employment"? How could a differentiation be made between those children normally seeking work and those (for example, many girls) who did not look forward to an industrial life? How could it be enforced effectively except by the setting up of a body of inspectors in each area?

2. The Malcolm Committee, whilst rejecting as undesirable and unworkable a general scheme for the compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, actually recommended a modified form of statutory compulsion. Their plan was to be carried out in conjunction with a scheme of "Working Certificates" which will be referred to again later, but the effect was that in the case of all children *seeking employment* who were unemployed and had not reached the age of insurance, attendance at Centres and Courses should be enforced. No action was taken, however, upon this recommendation of the Malcolm Committee.
3. If the age of entry into insurance were lowered to correspond with the school-leaving age, then the contact between unemployed juveniles and the Exchanges would be strengthened,



large numbers of unemployed children would become claimants to benefit, and the power of the Ministry of Labour to enforce attendance as a condition for the receipt of benefit would result in the Centres becoming more widely used. It has often been suggested, therefore, that the age of entry into insurance should be lowered. Such a measure would still leave the difficulty of the insured non-claimant, but even here, by some system of allowing those in attendance at Centres to obtain credit for their weekly insurance contribution, strong inducement could be offered which would bring in many who were reluctant to attend. The question of the lowering of the age of entry into insurance is dealt with, however, in further detail below.

- (4) Finally, the same result would be achieved if the school-leaving age were raised partly or wholly to the present age of entry into insurance. The raising of the statutory school-leaving age, however, involves very many other considerations, and these also are treated in fuller detail in later pages.

Any one, or a combination of such devices, would result in larger numbers of unemployed children presenting themselves at the Centres and, presumably, this would necessitate an increase in the

scope and cost of the system of providing recreation and occupation. There still remains, however, the obstacle that even now only a proportion of claimants to benefit attend the Centres because in many places no Centre is in operation. Under the present regulations the Ministry of Labour will not take steps to encourage or facilitate the establishment of a Centre in any area unless there is a minimum volume of unemployment among those juveniles who will normally be in a position to claim benefit. Whilst this attitude is unexceptionable, for any other rule would lead to a waste of public funds, it often results in centres not being set up in regions where the population is widely scattered or where, because of the very large numbers of children who remain uninsured, a high juvenile unemployment rate goes along with only a small number of juvenile claimants to benefit. The conditions in Cumberland admirably exemplify obstacles of this character. In the industrial region along the Cumberland coast the openings for young people are extremely restricted, and the number of juveniles out of work is undoubtedly very large. But the dispersion of the population and the fact that very many young people have passed the age of sixteen years without ever having been employed mean that the number of claimants to benefit in any one area is small; too low to satisfy the requirements for the establishment of a Centre. The result is that, in this district, despite

the urgent need of measures for dealing with juvenile unemployment, no Centre at all is in operation, although some special evening classes are now conducted by the Local Education Authorities.

This difficulty, in Cumberland and other districts, would be partly overcome if a higher proportion of the non-claimants to benefit (sixteen to eighteen years of age) and the unemployed children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years could be constrained to attend the Centres, and in this connection the suggestions already made have heightened importance. But, meanwhile, if the Junior Instruction Centre system is to be widened, it might be of advantage if the Ministry of Labour regulations as to the minimum attendance could be made more flexible, for, after all, in their present form, they prevent the establishment of centres in those areas which need them most.

Given devices for widening the field of Junior Instruction Centres and financial resources to extend the system, the great bulk of unemployed children under eighteen years of age might be induced or compelled to take advantage of them. But, as they are administered at the moment, at least two other minor difficulties present themselves in the efficient operation of this vital public service.

At present, upon the principle that in the interests of economy the Local Authority should be financially

interested in the service which it administers, the responsibility for the conducting of Centres is jointly shared by the Ministry of Labour and the Local Education Authority. The latter actually organizes the centre, appoints the staff, etc., and meets 25 per cent. of the cost, whilst the Ministry of Labour meets the remaining 75 per cent. of the expense. Unless the Authority is willing to co-operate, the Ministry has no power to establish a Centre. Now the Local Education Authority may, for good reasons, express reluctance to undertake this new function which, after all, is not a simple task of education, but one largely of recreation and occupation; which may still further strain the limited accommodation available in schools and which adds to the already pressing financial burdens of the Authorities in depressed areas. Of course, many Authorities have willingly co-operated with the Ministry of Labour. But in certain cases in Lancashire and Cumberland the establishment of Centres has been impeded by the inability or unwillingness of the Local Authority to co-operate. There seems to be a case for transferring to the Ministry the power to make decisions regarding the establishment of Centres and, with that, the full financial responsibility for them. The Depressed Areas can, with special force, plead that the burden of maintaining the Centres should be a national charge, particularly if the burden increases with the multiplication

and enlarging of the system. No new departure in principle would be involved by transferring the cost to the account of the Central Authority. Between March 1924 and March 1926 the Juvenile Unemployment Centres, so designated at that date, conducted by the Education Authorities received a 100 per cent. grant from the Ministry of Labour. And, even now, in certain particularly depressed areas, the Central Authority bears the whole of the cost of the Centres. If, in future, unenlightened or impoverished Local Authorities are to be allowed to stand in the way, a very serious obstacle will be created to the healthy growth of the Centres, an obstacle all the more formidable in that the Depressed Areas, with heavy rates of unemployment where Centres are most needed, will be just those which will most carefully have to count the cost.

Further, if the chain of Centres is to fulfil its rôle of providing a comprehensive and continuing method of dealing with juvenile unemployment it must be given a permanent status and it must become specialized. The present conditions under which teachers and assistants are now employed are often unsatisfactory. It is now widely accepted that unemployment is a long-distance problem. That means that juvenile unemployment, also, must be looked at from this broader viewpoint. There is, therefore, no reason why the juvenile Centre system should not be established on a permanent basis and

teachers appointed under conditions which give some security. At the moment, the organization, and particularly the staffing, of a Centre is complicated by the constant and unpredictable fluctuations in the day-to-day attendance. Many of the instructors are working under week-to-week, or even day-to-day, contracts. It is, consequently, often impossible to encourage the better type of teacher to take on this work which makes severe demands upon his skill, enthusiasm and energy. If the function of the Centres is to be properly carried out, they must attract the type of teacher who has a natural aptitude and a genuine interest in this class of work. They can hardly do that unless such teachers are granted a higher status and remuneration. Another necessary step in the evolution of the Centre system as a part of our communally organized life, and again one which must wait upon increased financial resources and the accumulation of experience, is the specialization of classes and the segregation of different types of children. It would be idle to deny that, at the moment, the Centres must deal with older juveniles who have suffered from unemployment and whose contact with younger children might produce undesirable consequences. Again, it would be of value if it were found possible to take greater advantage than at present of the existing provisions by which the more intelligent of those who come to Junior Instruction Centres can be given the

opportunity of more formal training in Technical Schools and Colleges.

Fundamentally, of course, the field for these Centres will be determined by how much the State is prepared to spend upon them. The Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance has laid down its ideas in no uncertain terms. It says that "neglect to do what is possible here would be the most shortsighted of policies, and we desire most earnestly to press both upon central and local authorities the necessity that this should be regarded as one of the most significant elements in the national treatment of unemployment, and that no effort should be spared to extend and to improve the present service." This being the case, the present expenditure on Junior Instruction Centres seems parsimonious. In the year 1931-32 the sum spent by the Central Authority in this way was £160,000,<sup>1</sup> so that, even with the expenditure incurred by Local Authorities, the total expenditure was only about £200,000. The total financial provision in the whole of Great Britain, therefore, for this vital first line of defence against the demoralization of unemployed juveniles was less than a third of the cost incurred by the State in respect of military education in the same period at the several military colleges in the country; and it was about

<sup>1</sup> The Civil Estimates show that the estimated expenditure by the Central Authority was £110,000 for 1932-33 and £150,000 for 1933-34.

equal to the cost which the State finds it necessary to expend on its Secret Service. Again, if the total cost of centres in Great Britain was £200,000, the cost of the system in the whole of the North-Western Division would be approximately £50,000; a paltry figure in view of the fact that there are areas where the Centres are now urgently needed.

### III. THE LOWERING OF THE AGE OF ENTRY INTO INSURANCE

At present the vast majority of children leave school at the end of the term after reaching the age of fourteen years, but they do not become insured under the Unemployment Insurance Scheme until they obtain their first post in an insurable occupation after attaining the age of sixteen years. Moreover, no insured juvenile can possibly qualify for benefit until he has paid thirty weekly contributions. It follows that there is a gap of at least two years and a half during which the juvenile cannot receive benefit and during which he will be in contact with the public agencies created for his occupational guidance only if he considers it worth while to register his unemployment and thus enable the Exchanges to assist in placing him back in employment. Some of the more serious implications of the presence of this gap have been described earlier. They are summed up unequivocally by the Majority



Report of the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance which declared that: "At the age when the facilities are most needed the best use is not made of the work of the Juvenile Employment system in giving information to young people as to available openings, in getting the right child for the right work, in advising them as to continued education, in putting them into touch with voluntary agencies working among juveniles, in visiting them or in inviting them to the Exchange after they have been placed in employment, and, where necessary, in advising transfer to another occupation. Evidence has been given to show that the majority of young persons who claim benefit between sixteen and eighteen have been in blind-alley occupations since they left school. If they had been within the cognizance of the Employment Authorities at that time, they might have been given the advice and opportunity to move on to better work. Just in so far as the work of the juvenile employment service increases in value and becomes more thorough and more scientific, so it becomes more unfortunate that so many of those who may need its assistance should be outside its activities."

There is a widespread belief that this gap should be closed by lowering the age of entry into insurance to that of the statutory school-leaving age. The Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry in 1927 did not, indeed, recommend the lowering of

the age of entry into insurance because they believed that the end sought could be better achieved by their plan for "Working Certificates." But they declared that "if the recommendation which we make on this subject (i.e. in regard to 'Working Certificates') is not accepted and brought into operation, further consideration might be given to the lowering of the age of entry into Unemployment Insurance,"<sup>1</sup> and they actually laid down the principles to be observed in lowering the age of entry should their own recommendation not be adopted.<sup>2</sup> Their own plan for "Working Certificates" was, apparently, not found acceptable. In 1929 the Government of the day decided to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen years. At the same time the National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment were asked to consider the question, in relation to this, of lowering the age of entry into Insurance. The Councils recommended that the age of entry should simultaneously be lowered to fifteen years so that the gap might be completely bridged, and the principle was accepted by the Government, which inserted in the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1930 a provision for the lowering of the age of entry to fifteen years when the school-leaving age was raised to that level. Unfortunately the Bill introduced into Parliament to enable the school-leaving age to be raised never became law,

<sup>1</sup> Report, First Part, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

so that the principle adopted was never embodied in an enabling Act. In 1932 the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance recommended that the age of entry into insurance should be lowered to correspond to the age of entry into employment, which meant, in effect, to the age of fourteen years for the generality of school-leavers.

Significant opposition to the principle of this measure has come only from one direction, that of the Education Authorities who have opposed it mainly on two grounds. First, because they consider that the period between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years in the life of the child should be regarded, potentially, as years for education and not for employment; that to allow children between these years to become insured is tantamount to a national admission that children of these ages should be "industrial units," and that, in consequence, the bridging of the gap (unless it were brought about by raising the school-leaving age to sixteen years) would definitely imperil a forward-looking national educational policy. Second, Education Authorities fear that if it became possible for children between these years to obtain Unemployment Insurance benefit, this might act as an added incentive to parents to place their children to work and thus reduce the numbers benefiting from Higher Education courses. It will be seen, therefore, that Education Authorities are not

opposed to the bridging of the gap, they are merely fearful lest the many powerful influences which make for a reactionary educational programme should be strengthened.

If the fear of educationalists were well founded then this would constitute a very damaging criticism of any suggestion for lowering the age of entry into insurance. But both the Malcolm Committee and the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance rejected this line of reasoning. In particular the latter framed its final recommendation in such a form that the lowering of the age of entry could not possibly prejudice the case for raising the school leaving age and accompanied its recommendation with a provision (i.e. that Unemployment Insurance contributions should be credited to all those children who voluntarily continued full-time education, subject to certain conditions) which would create an added inducement to parents to keep their children at school.

Apart from this, the general consensus of opinion is that this illogical gap in the insurance life of young workers should be swept away. But the conditions which exist and have existed among juveniles in the past three years, particularly in the depressed areas, make it all the more urgent that effect should be given to this principle. Every month that passes with the present high rate of unemployment must be leading to an accelerating

demoralization of large numbers of children. The beneficial reactions of lowering the age of entry upon the more serious elements of unemployment outlined in the last chapter would be immediate and general. In the first place, a closer contact would be instantaneously established between school-leavers and the Exchanges; we would know more exactly what was the scope of the problem and the kind of steps which would have to be taken in each area to meet it. Secondly, the widest possible extension would become possible of the work of advising and guiding the early activities of children entering industry. And thirdly, a means would be found of bringing a much higher proportion of unemployed juveniles within the influence of the Junior Instruction Centres, partly because more children would normally be in a position to claim benefit upon unemployment and partly because contributions could be credited to those who maintained attendance. Only the blindest and most wilful indifference to the claims of unemployed children and to the irrecoverable social loss arising out of the present conditions can prevent this suggestion of the Unemployment Insurance Commission from passing into law.

#### IV. THE "WORKING CERTIFICATE" SCHEME

The Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry, reporting in 1927, was so much con-

cerned with bridging the gap in the public supervision of juvenile workers between the age of leaving school and the age of entry into insurance, that they were led to put forward for further investigation and discussion a scheme of "Working Certificates" which they considered would effectively deal with this problem. The outline of their plan can best be summarized in their own words:

- "1. There should be statutory obligations, firstly; on employers to require from the juvenile, before giving him employment, the production of a Working Certificate issued by the Exchange or Bureau, or evidence that he possessed such a certificate, and secondly, on unemployed juveniles seeking employment to attend Unemployment Centres or other approved courses of instruction when required to do so.
- "2. The arrangements for the issue and return of Working Certificates should be such that
  - (a) a juvenile should be brought into contact with the Exchange or Bureau before he obtained employment, at every change of employment and during unemployment;
  - (b) the Exchange or Bureau should be immediately aware of the engagement or discharge of a juvenile, and

- (c) this knowledge should be used to make possible the compulsory attendance of unemployed juveniles at Juvenile Unemployment Centres or other approved courses of instruction."

The net effect of this scheme would therefore be that all those children who obtained employment, either through their own efforts or through the activities of the Exchange, would register that fact with the Exchange. Fairly exact knowledge of the volume of juvenile unemployment would therefore be available; and all those children seeking work but not finding it, i.e. all those within the normally "occupiable" population, would be compelled by law to attend a Centre. Such a procedure has, superficially, some attractive features. It apparently appeals to the employers since this plan was in substance recommended by employers' organizations in their evidence; it would presumably not be opposed by educational authorities since it would operate apart from the insurance scheme. It has, however, many weaknesses. Where children in depressed areas had found it useless to keep in touch with the Exchanges because they knew, through long experience, that no work was available, then they would break their contact and, in consequence, not be compelled to attend the Centre. And, in addition, difficulties in administration, enforce-

ment and definition would be imposing. In any case, no further steps have been taken to introduce the "Working Certificate" scheme, and it must be presumed that the suggestion has been discarded.

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The foregoing description of the devices, some of them alternatives, which might be employed in the treatment of juvenile unemployment makes it evident that the problem to be faced is not one against which human ingenuity is powerless; on the contrary, any one of the methods outlined would be sufficient to bring at least partial relief.<sup>1</sup> The question is not so much whether anything can be done but which of the possible lines of alleviation should be adopted. If, despite this, no effective action is taken in the future it will prove conclusively that, not inherent difficulties, but apathy, ignorance and a short-sighted social viewpoint constitute the essential obstacle to a reform which should make its own appeal on humanitarian grounds even if the community finds itself lacking in a true perception of its own material interests. One further line of attack,

<sup>1</sup> Many other suggestions have, indeed, been made. Thus Mr. D. O. Malcolm, the chairman of the Malcolm Committee, has himself recently suggested (see *The Times Educational Supplement*, April 15, 1933) a modified scheme for lowering the age of entry into insurance which would overcome the objections of those who resist, on "principle," the receipt of "doles" by children.



however, still remains to be considered, that of raising the school-leaving age, but this involves such a wide variety of issues and touches so many sides of communal life that even a short summary of them must be reserved for the chapter which follows.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LENGTHENING OF SCHOOL LIFE

THOSE acquainted with the conditions of life of adolescents who are fated to spend the years of their youth in idleness or in intermittent employment are almost unanimous in supporting the view that children should not be allowed to leave a public elementary school to enter the ranks of the unemployed, but that, by some means or other, provision should be made for the continuance of their education. It is with this partial and tentative remedy that the present chapter will deal.

#### I. NATIONAL POLICY UP TO 1931

The soundness of the principle that no child should leave school to become unemployed is recognized in practice by the large number of Local Education Authorities who have, for many years, encouraged parents to keep their children at school beyond the age of compulsory attendance until they secure employment. Moreover, on more than one occasion since the War, the Board of Education have urged Authorities to exert all their influence to this end, particularly in areas where juvenile unemployment was heavy.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding these weighty prece-

<sup>1</sup> See Reports of the Board of Education for 1922-23, p. 6, and for 1923-24, p. 51.

dents, if the scarcity of employment was the only good reason in favour of retaining children at school beyond the age of fourteen, it would be a moot point whether this alone constituted a sufficient justification, and it might be preferable to rely upon some alternative course, such, e.g., as that of seeking to increase the numbers of children who on leaving school without obtaining employment attend Junior Instruction Centres.

A very cursory inspection of the trend of national educational policy since the War is sufficient, however, to show that, on social and educational grounds, the case for the lengthening of school life for *all* children, and not merely for those who are unemployed on leaving, is overwhelming; and that the energies of the Central Authority and of Local Education Authorities were continuously directed towards the accomplishment of this object for a number of years before the financial crisis of 1931 intervened to produce what was intended at the time to be merely a temporary slowing-down of the wheels of educational progress.

The lack of wisdom, in a modern industrialized community, in withdrawing children from school at the age of fourteen should need no stressing, but, unfortunately, during the past two years there have been grounds for wondering whether the numerous authoritative declarations in favour of the lengthening of school life made in the years

before 1931, and the irresistible arguments advanced therein, have been forgotten. As early as 1909 in the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission, and again in 1918, in the report of the Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction on Juvenile Employment, attention was drawn to the serious social evils that result from the premature entry of adolescents into the ranks of wage-earners. Considerable progress has been made since the end of the War in curbing these evils by prolonging the period of school attendance and by introducing into the later years of school life forms of instruction designed to facilitate the child's subsequent adjustment to the practical affairs of the outside world. In 1921 the period of compulsory school attendance was extended to the end of the school term in which the pupil attains the age of fourteen; and, further, a partial step was taken towards raising the leaving age to fifteen by Section 46 of the Education Act, 1921 (re-enacting Section 8 of the Education Act, 1918), which empowered Local Education Authorities to make bye-laws requiring the attendance at school up to the end of the term in which the fifteenth birthday is reached either of all children or "of children other than those employed in certain specified occupations."<sup>1</sup> A further factor tending to lengthen school life has been the increasing willingness of parents to permit their children to

<sup>1</sup> See later, p. 100.

remain at school beyond the legal leaving age, as the value of the improved educational facilities for older children has come to be more fully appreciated. Even in 1927 the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on "The Education of the Adolescent" (the "Hadow Report") expressed the view that

"while large numbers of children leave school prematurely owing to economic difficulties, with the provision of a better education for pupils over eleven, the desire of parents that their children should have the advantage of it increases, and that the efforts which have been made in recent years by certain authorities to organize advanced instruction for the older children have contributed in an appreciable measure to the lengthening of the school life."<sup>1</sup>

The Report pointed out that the increase in the numbers staying on voluntarily was not spread evenly over the whole country, but was most marked in the areas of those Authorities which had improved the facilities for advanced instruction, as, e.g., by the provision of Central Schools.<sup>2</sup> The statistics of school attendance in the years since 1927 have continued to reveal this close association

<sup>1</sup> P. 142.

<sup>2</sup> P. 51.

between the habit of voluntary attendance and the provision of suitable courses of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

In February 1924 the President of the Board of Education announced that he would be willing to consider on their merits proposals by Local Education Authorities for providing advanced courses in Elementary Schools (whether by means of Central Schools or otherwise), and in May of the same year the Board's Consultative Committee began to deal with a reference, the main part of which was framed in the following words: "To consider and report upon the organization, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than Secondary Schools, up to the age of fifteen, regard being had on the one hand to the requirements of a good general education and the desirability of providing a reasonable variety of curriculum, so far as is practicable, for children of varying tastes and abilities, and on the other to the probable occupations of the pupils in commerce, industry and agriculture."

The report upon this enquiry, best known as the

<sup>1</sup> The Report of the Board of Education for 1931 showed that, on March 31, 1931, while the number of pupils who remained voluntarily in attendance was still small in comparison with the number who left at the age of exemption, about two-thirds of those who remained were in schools that provided senior departments or departments with senior divisions, whereas probably no more than a quarter of the total number of pupils in public elementary schools aged eleven and over were contained in senior departments or departments with senior divisions.

Hadow Report, was published in December 1926. It is upon the authority of this Report and the almost unanimous approbation with which its main argument and recommendations have been received that the case for the provision of advanced education for all children at least up to the age of fifteen firmly rests. Two of the Committee's leading recommendations have special relevance here:

- (a) It was held that, at the age of eleven, all normal children should go on to some form of post-primary (secondary) education, preferably at a different school; for the great majority who do not go forward to "grammar" schools, this second stage "should be envisaged so far as possible as a single whole, within which there will be a variety in the types of education supplied" according to the individual capacity and interests of the pupils themselves.<sup>1</sup> The provision of schools and departments of schools suitable for this purpose had already begun: the Committee wished to see it greatly accelerated.
- (b) In the words of the Report: "we recommend that, as soon as possible, an additional year should be added to the general school life, and the leaving age should be raised to fifteen. Only in that way can the modern schools and

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 75, 77.

senior departments, which will then be able to plan a four years' course, exercise their full influence on their pupils; only in that way can children be guided safely through the opportunities, the excitements and the perils of adolescence: only in that way can the youth of the nation be adequately trained for a full and worthy citizenship."<sup>1</sup>

There seems at the present time to be general agreement among educationalists with the Committee's assertion that "the task of planning a satisfactory course of post-primary education is greatly simplified if the period which it is designed to cover is sufficiently long to allow of its being given a certain unity and completeness. Even if the great majority of children continued, as to-day, to cease attending school shortly after their fourteenth birthday, we should still regard the regrading of education proposed above as a necessary and important step in educational progress. But it seems to us evident that its value will be greatly increased if children can look forward to a somewhat longer period of school attendance after the age of eleven than is normally the case at the present time."<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that, in the Committee's view, the lengthening of the school life was a highly desirable condition of the reorganization of post-primary

<sup>1</sup> P. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> P. 140.



education such as they proposed; and conversely, the desirability of extending the period of school attendance depended largely on the carrying through of such reorganization. To reorganize without raising the leaving age, while not impracticable, would not, by itself, be sufficient; to extend school life without reorganizing would be unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

There are some who look upon the extension of part-time education, e.g. in the form of "day continuation classes," as an alternative to full-time education up to the age of fifteen that might with advantage be adopted in its stead. Without entering into details regarding the merits of this question, it might be useful to point out that the Hadow Committee envisaged part-time education entirely as supplementary to, rather than as a substitute for, an extended full-time education, and expressed the view that "even when the age of full-time attendance is prolonged by one year, the dangers to which young persons may be exposed on leaving school are likely sometimes still to be serious, and the importance of ensuring that they remain in contact with educational influences will continue to be urgent."<sup>2</sup> There are other widely admitted drawbacks to a

<sup>1</sup> The Committee, of course, emphasized the fact that the raising of the leaving age to fourteen in 1921, and the tendency for the number of children remaining at school voluntarily beyond that age to increase, had already made it more urgent "to plan the education of children over the age of eleven as a progressive course, with a unity and character of its own" (p. 42).

<sup>2</sup> P. 149.

scheme of part-time continued education as an alternative to the raising of the school-leaving age. It would destroy the whole policy of a four-year course of a secondary type for all children which was the kernel of the Hadow Committee's proposal. It would, in the majority of cases, considerably reduce the educational value of the change. It is unfair and undesirable to expect children to serve two masters. What is to be desired for them is that the school, and not the factory, should be the main influence in their lives—that they should, in fact, continue to grow a year longer in the atmosphere of a spiritual society. If they combine a few hours in school with many hours of industrial work, the latter will inevitably be the dominant influence. The day-continuation scheme would raise many practical difficulties in dovetailing employment and education. And, finally, it would almost certainly be much more expensive than the rival method. It is, therefore, strongly to be hoped that, in future, day continuation classes will continue to be regarded as strictly supplementary to a prolonged full-time education.

The views expressed in the Hadow Report were supported by the Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry which, reporting in 1928, declared that "we cannot afford to let this opportunity pass without emphasizing our strong personal opinion that the extension of compulsory education, either whole time or part time, would be in the interests

of the boys and girls themselves and of the country as a whole."

Meanwhile the Board of Education had signified their agreement with the Hadow Committee's proposals for the regrading of education, and during the two years that followed the issue of the Report the Board offered encouragement to Local Education Authorities to proceed with the work of reorganizing their schools, primary and post-primary, on the lines laid down in the Report. Then, in July 1929, the announcement was made that the Government intended to promote legislation for raising the school-leaving age to fifteen as from April 1931—thus enabling Authorities in preparing their building programmes for the three years 1930-33 to make provision of a suitable character for the additional age-group 14-15 in their reorganization schemes. The necessity of expediting the execution of their programmes would have placed an added burden on their finances, and with a view to assisting them the Board further announced that they would increase from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. their grant in respect of capital expenditure on elementary schools to which Local Education Authorities should become contractually committed between September 1, 1929, and August 31, 1932, subject to the condition that the expenditure represented an effective contribution to an approved scheme of reorganization and development.

The story of the failure of the attempts made

between December 1929 and February 1931 to carry legislation through Parliament raising the school-leaving age is well known. The uncertainty caused by the protracted negotiations no doubt tended to check the progress of reorganization and the provision of improved and additional accommodation, but it was still the case that the increase in the Board's grant greatly accelerated the programmes of many Authorities for the reorganization of schools, the reduction of the size of classes, the replacement and repair of defective premises, and the provision of accommodation for the additional age-group. While there is no satisfactory statistical method of measuring the progress made with reorganization schemes, some indication of the degree of building activity on the part of Authorities<sup>1</sup> in the years 1929-30 and 1930-31, as compared with earlier years, may be gathered from the figures of approved capital expenditure for the provision and improvement of elementary school premises in England and Wales:

	£		£
1926-27	3,321,969	1929-30	5,509,505
1927-28	3,859,614	1930-31	9,186,572
1928-29	4,298,909	April 1-September, 1931	5,000,000 (approx.) <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not including, of course, capital expenditure incurred by managers of non-provided schools.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is in excess of the total expenditure actually incurred, as it includes some expenditure that was foreshadowed in proposals which, not having been put in hand before September 1931, were subsequently suspended or postponed.

## II. THE POLICY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

In the autumn of 1931, when the financial crisis led the Government to take steps to secure a substantial reduction in public expenditure on education, it could be said that educational reform had proceeded so far along the routes indicated in the Hadow Report that retrogression would be disastrous, while a "standstill" policy would be unjust to children in areas where reorganization schemes had made little progress, and wasteful in areas where some capital expenditure had already been made, but could not be put to its full use until reorganization was carried to completion.

The economy measures promulgated in 1931 affected the work of reorganization in a fundamental respect. The special temporary increase in grant from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. in respect of capital expenditure on elementary schools for reorganization and development was withdrawn as from September 1931, one year earlier than the date originally proposed for its cessation. The Board made it clear in Circular 1413 that, while existing facilities should be generally maintained, further educational developments would only be countenanced in circumstances of particular urgency. As may be expected, only a small amount of capital expenditure has been approved since September 1931, and, generally speaking, Local Education Authorities have been

denied the sanction of the Board for proposals that would involve additional expenditure. The position during the past eighteen months has therefore been that, for the most part, Authorities have only carried out such plans as they had become contractually committed to before September 1931. The majority of Authorities have been held up at different stages in the execution of their 1930-33 programmes, with the result that in most districts the reorganization of post-primary schools has not been carried into force, or has been effected in partial measure only, while, on the other hand, in a comparatively small number of areas reorganization has been substantially completed.

The chaotic diversity of conditions in the provision now made for the instruction of older children in different areas, which is the outcome of the building inactivity during the past eighteen months, can be illustrated from information recently collected from a number of Local Education Authorities in Industrial Lancashire.<sup>1</sup> It was found that the reorganization of schools has been completed and carried into effect<sup>2</sup> in the areas of four County Boroughs, four non-County Boroughs, three Urban Districts, and in some parts of the area under the County Council; reorganization has been effected in part only in the

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the area of the County Council, eleven County Boroughs, thirteen non-County Boroughs, and seven Urban Districts.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception in some areas of the Roman Catholic schools.

areas of six County Boroughs, four non-County Boroughs, and three Urban Districts; while no progress has been made with the execution of reorganization plans in the areas of one County Borough, five non-County Boroughs, and one Urban District. It is not difficult to imagine the anomalies that may arise from such a lack of uniformity in the educational facilities available for children in different localities, and the social loss and waste that may be involved through the holding up of partially completed reforms upon which large sums have already been spent. But there are at least three outstanding results that merit special reference:

(a) It is possible for senior children in adjacent districts or even in different parts of the same town to be afforded radically different facilities for advanced instruction. In one extreme case the reorganization of schools took effect, in August 1931, in three out of the four areas into which a certain district had been divided for purposes of reorganization. In the fourth area, reorganization cannot be carried through until a new senior school is erected, and this has been held up since September 1931, because at that date the Authority had only reached the stage of purchasing the necessary site. Thus, during the past eighteen months, the children of one area have suffered inequitable treatment, and, unless the ban on additional capital expenditure is

removed in the near future, many children will leave school without having enjoyed many of the advantages of senior education gained by the children in neighbouring areas against whom, to some extent, they will be competitors in the labour market. In another town, situated quite near to the district mentioned above, no progress has been made with the regrading of education, and all the schools are "all-through schools." Two other instances were encountered in which the schools in one part of a town have been reorganized, while in the rest of the town reorganization is being held up for lack of suitable school premises.

(b) In most of the areas in Lancashire in which the reorganization schemes have been carried into effect completely, provision has been made for the additional numbers that would have been in attendance if the school-leaving age had been raised to fifteen, and the increase in revenue expenditure that would result from the raising of the age would be small. The disadvantages arising from the present position in these areas are at least two. Firstly, so far as there is at present surplus accommodation and teaching staff, the failure to raise the leaving age brings financial waste. Secondly, as the Hadow Committee pointed out, the full benefit of the reorganization of post-primary education cannot be realized unless the schools are organized for a four years' course. The accuracy of this view is confirmed



by the experience of Authorities and teaching staff, who have been consulted on this point, in areas where senior instruction is planned only on a three years' basis.

(c) From details provided by the Local Education Authorities in Lancashire it appears that, after September 1931, many Authorities reviewed, and made drastic modifications in, their three-year programmes. It is highly probable that, in some districts, the revised schemes fall short of the standards necessary for giving effect to the recommendations of the Hadow Report, and there is a distinct danger that if those schemes are acted upon they will saddle the schools concerned with technical shortcomings that may be costly to redress in the future.

These and other serious defects that have been taking root in the educational system of this country during the era of public economy, if not treated at once, are likely to strike still deeper as time goes on. Already much valuable time has been lost, and the consequences for many children will be irretrievable unless it is made possible for the Board of Education, in the near future, to remove the primary obstacle in the way of educational progress by raising the ban that at present is placed on further capital expenditure by Local Education Authorities, and restoring the 50 per cent. grant in respect of approved expenditure until such time as the re-

grading of education is accomplished throughout the country. This would naturally be accompanied by the immediate resumption of efforts on the part of the Board, Local Education Authorities and managers of non-provided schools, first of all to make the course of reorganization as smooth as possible, and secondly to prepare the way for the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen by general legislation at the earliest possible moment. Enquiries have revealed that in Lancashire, at any rate, with very few exceptions, the Authorities are even now ready to proceed with new building operations as soon as the Board are prepared to sanction further capital expenditure. In most districts, the Authorities are assured of the participation of the managers of some, at least, of the voluntary schools in the schemes that are awaiting execution, and it is greatly to be desired that in districts where no agreement has yet been concluded between the Authority and the managers, the welfare of the children shall be the governing factor in any future negotiations.

The Government have recently expressed their willingness to consider on their merits proposals submitted by Local Authorities for capital expenditure on remunerative public works. It would be a grave betrayal of the interests of the children of this country and a reckless disregard of the considerations of the future industrial efficiency and intellectual capacity of our population, if the expression

“remunerative” were construed in a narrow commercial sense so as to deny to schemes for school building the encouragement that the Government have promised to give to such projects as the clearing of slums, the construction of houses and of roads and bridges, afforestation, and the reclamation and draining of land. In comparison with the cost of housing, or road and bridge works, the amount of capital expenditure that would be involved in carrying out in full the programmes of the Local Education Authorities as originally framed would not be great—the amounts approved by the Board of Education for grant in the two years 1929–30 and 1930–31 were £5,509,505 and £9,186,572 respectively—and no one who realizes that the industrial future of this country depends upon the intellectual quality of its young people can fail to regard such expenditure as a necessary social investment. Moreover, from a strictly economical point of view the enforced cessation of partially executed building schemes, in which money has been sunk that cannot begin to yield its full return until the schemes are finally completed, is indefensible.

The objection is certain to be advanced that, if the school-leaving age were raised during the next few years, the accommodation that would have to be provided for the additional age-group 14–15 would be in excess of normal requirements in the years following 1937 when the effect of the abnor-

mally high birth-rate in the years after the War ceases to be felt in the age-group 11-15. This is admittedly a serious difficulty in the way of immediate action, unless, as a nation, we are convinced of the urgency of the task of affording to every child a satisfactory senior education up to the age of fifteen. The objection may be countered by a number of considerations. Firstly, the programmes adopted by Local Education Authorities for the years 1930-33 on the assumption that the school-leaving age would be raised to fifteen, were open to the same objection, and yet they were energetically pursued up to the time of the promulgation of the economy measures. In the numerous instances of Authorities that have carried their reorganization schemes into effect, the accommodation provided in their senior schools would usually be sufficient to cope with an immediate raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen. Secondly, the decision reached by the Board of Education in 1929 to introduce legislation advancing the leaving age came at a time when trade depression—and, in particular, juvenile unemployment—was much less severe than it has been in the past two years. If good grounds for lengthening school life at an early date were rightly believed to exist in 1929, then the knowledge of the injury and suffering that the present acute depression is inflicting upon the younger generation should make the case even more overwhelming in 1933.

Lastly, assuming the leaving age be raised at the earliest possible moment, it should not be beyond the powers of Authorities, in districts where the cost of providing sufficient accommodation of a permanent character for dealing with the relatively large numbers in the highest age-groups during the next three or four years would be unusually heavy, to devise merely temporary expedients for overcoming this difficulty.

The extension of school life would, of course, involve a certain increase in public expenditure under other heads besides loan charges. Of these others the only item likely to be appreciably affected would be staffing costs. Even here, however, the increase could be considerably reduced in districts with a large number of small schools still not reorganized, if the raising of the leaving age was accompanied by the regrading of education and a reduction in the number of schools; and, again, in areas where senior schools have already been built and are in use, with accommodation sufficient for the additional age-group 14-15, the increase in teaching staff consequent upon the raising of the leaving age would usually be relatively small.

### III. THE POSITION IN DEPRESSED AREAS

While it is desirable that the renewal of educational progress should be nation-wide, it is in the depressed industrial areas, where the quality of the future

personnel of industry must at all costs be protected against the many adverse influences that at present endanger it, and where the chances of industrial survival depend to such a large extent on the intellectual energy of the working population, that the need of a forward educational policy is most urgent. It is there, too, that the prolongation of school life would assist in relieving juvenile unemployment which, for the next few years at least, is not likely to be drained away by business recovery. If, therefore, it proves impossible to raise the school-leaving age generally by Act of Parliament, it ought to be considered whether it would not be practicable to raise the age by statute in depressed areas alone where the conditions of juvenile unemployment are serious. The questions of determining the conditions which would have to be satisfied if any region were to be scheduled as "depressed" for this purpose, and the delimiting of boundaries would obviously create some administrative difficulties, but, assuming that the country cannot at this stage afford a general raising of the school-leaving age, the method of prolonging school life in large industrial districts would provide an economical and flexible device by which this might be effected first in those regions in which the educational case was most strongly reinforced by industrial conditions.

But if all efforts to obtain national legislation

raising the leaving age fail, Local Education Authorities, managers of voluntary schools, and private individuals who are favourable to the pursuance of a progressive educational policy, in the respective depressed areas, should endeavour by independent action to further the acceptance and enforcement of the principle that children should not leave school before obtaining employment. There are two ways that are open to them. Either they may take the simpler, but less effective, course of exerting their influence with parents and children to increase the numbers of children who stay on voluntarily at school beyond the statutory leaving age until they secure employment, or the Local Educational Authorities may, assuming certain conditions are fulfilled, obtain the sanction of the Board of Education for bye-laws extending the period of compulsory school attendance to fifteen years in their areas.

#### *Prolonged Voluntary Attendance*

Voluntary attendance is an expedient that has been given a thorough trial during the past few years. It has been encouraged by the ceaseless propaganda of Local Education Authorities, teachers and voluntary welfare organizations, and the efforts of many Authorities to make continued attendance more attractive have had the same end in view. As has been pointed out earlier, parents have shown

an increasing readiness since the war to retain their children at school in places where the facilities for advanced instruction are satisfactory, and, taking the country as a whole, the average length of school life has been tending to rise, partly through the growth in the numbers proceeding to "grammar" schools, and partly due to some increase in voluntary attendance beyond fourteen years at elementary schools (including "central" schools). Yet this tendency has contributed little to the relief of the problem of unemployment among children fourteen to fifteen. The statistics of voluntary attendance set out in the Appendix, Tables IX-XII, show conclusively that in many of the depressed districts of Lancashire, where voluntary attendance is most needed, it is much less common than in the country as a whole, and that the increase in the amount of voluntary attendance in the past two or three years has been slight in comparison with the increased difficulty of finding jobs on leaving school. Taking forty Local Education Authority areas in Industrial Lancashire, only 15 per cent. of the boys and 12 per cent. of the girls who left public elementary schools (including central schools) during the year ended March 31, 1932, were over the age of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  years on leaving<sup>1</sup>; 9 per cent. of the boys and 7 per cent. of the girls were over  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ; while 4 per

<sup>1</sup> It can be assumed that practically all those leaving below the age of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  left on attaining the age of exemption from compulsory school attendance.



cent. of the boys and 2 per cent. of the girls were fifteen or over. The proportion of the school-leavers who were over the age of  $14\frac{1}{4}$  varied between wide limits in the different areas, but there is no indication that the proportion was higher where juvenile employment was scarce than where the demand for child labour was keen. Indeed, there were many cotton and coal-mining towns where voluntary attendance was almost insignificant, and the conclusion is obvious that the readiness of parents to retain their children at school is more closely bound up with the existence of attractive educational facilities than with the scarcity of employment for school-leavers. This readiness is, therefore, likely to be of slow growth in the future, and those who are concerned with the administration of education consider that any intensification of their efforts to encourage children to stay at school until they find work would at this stage produce little additional immediate response. Nevertheless, so long as Authorities lack coercive powers to enforce attendance they should make use of every opportunity of stimulating the desire for a longer school life.

*The Raising of the School-leaving Age by Local Bye-law*

The second course that may, on certain conditions, be followed by Local Education Authorities—the adoption of bye-laws raising the leaving age to fifteen—calls for detailed explanation, because there is reason to believe that it might, with great advan-

tage, be resorted to by many Authorities that have not as yet explored its possibilities, and it is proposed here to describe the operation of the bye-laws in the few areas where they have been put into force and to outline the merits and defects of the system with reference to the possibility of applying it to depressed industrial districts.

The statutory basis of the power of Local Education Authorities to adopt bye-laws raising the school-leaving age to fifteen in their areas is not generally known. Section 46 (2) of the Education Act, 1921, enables Local Education Authorities to make a bye-law requiring parents of children to cause them to attend school between the ages of fourteen and fifteen. Section 46 (3) enacts that such bye-law may apply either (*a*) generally to all such children or (*b*) to children other than those employed in any specified occupations; and makes it lawful for the Local Education Authority to grant exemption from the obligation to attend school to individual children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen for such time and upon such conditions as the Authority think fit in any case where, after due enquiry, the circumstances seem to justify such an exemption. It is provided, further (Section 48), that the bye-law shall not come into operation until it has been approved by the Board of Education.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A minor provision is that the Council of a county may, if they think fit, make different bye-laws for different parts of their area.

Although this enactment was so obviously less satisfactory than an absolute and general raising of the legal leaving age to fifteen would have been, it has not been allowed to become entirely a dead letter. On more than one occasion since July 1, 1922 (the date on which the relevant provisions of the 1921 Act came into operation), the Board of Education, actuated mainly by knowledge of the evidence of heavy juvenile unemployment in many localities, have announced their willingness to consider proposals by Local Education Authorities to make bye-laws under Section 46 (2).<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding these appeals by the Board, the response by Authorities has been singularly small. Only five Authorities in England and Wales have, as yet, put the bye-law into operation, viz. Caernarvonshire and East Suffolk County Councils (1925), Plymouth County Borough Council and Cornwall County Council (1927), and Bath County Borough Council (1930). At the moment, the Borough of Chesterfield is making its plans for bringing the bye-law into force at the beginning of the next school year. There is no instance of the bye-law being adopted by an Authority in any of the larger depressed areas.

From the beginning, the attitude of the Board was that its sanction of a bye-law raising the leaving

<sup>1</sup> See the Reports of the Board for 1922-23, p. 6, and for 1923-24, pp. 51 *et seq.*

age to fifteen would be conditional upon the provision by the Local Education Authority of suitable courses of advanced instruction. Thus, in Circular 1180, issued by the Board in October 1920, it was laid down as one of the conditions that should be satisfied before the bye-law was brought into operation that the Local Education Authority should have organized in their public elementary schools adequate and suitable courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children, including children who stop at school beyond the age of fourteen. Substantially the same condition was stipulated in Circular 1332 issued in June 1924.

Looking more closely at the operation of the bye-law in practice, it is found that, although on a strict interpretation of Section 46 (3), it is permissible to frame a bye-law that requires *all* children to attend school between the ages of fourteen and fifteen, and it is not obligatory upon an Authority to grant exemption to individual children even where the circumstances justify an exemption, yet all the five Authorities mentioned above have set up machinery for the awarding of exemptions.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this—at least, in four out of the five areas—becomes apparent when the objects which the Authorities had in view in adopting the bye-law, and the condi-

<sup>1</sup> We understand that, in the case of Chesterfield, the Board of Education have stipulated that provision must be made for granting exemptions to boys and girls who are offered "reasonably suitable employment" and to girls who are required at home on domestic grounds.

tions on which exemptions are granted, are inspected. The bye-law was regarded primarily as a means of preventing children from leaving school without having secured employment; in operation it is not used to retain at school children who have the offer of work of a suitable nature. In short, the bye-law enables an Authority to enforce the principle that a child should not leave school under the age of fifteen to enter the ranks of the unemployed, whereas without the bye-law an Authority is limited to the use of methods of persuasion to secure voluntary attendance.

The procedure adopted for the consideration of applications for exemption, and the conditions on which exemption certificates are allowed, in four out of the five areas differ only in detail.<sup>1</sup> The following procedure appears to have most to recommend it. Each Head Teacher from time to time supplies the local organization that has charge of the work of placing juveniles in employment with details of the children who are eligible to apply for exemption. Applications are considered by a representative of this organization in conjunction with the Head Teacher, and with the assistance of the School Medical Officer and School Attendance

<sup>1</sup> In the fifth area, the decision to adopt the bye-law appears to have been made on educational grounds, and although exemption certificates are often granted it is understood that they cannot be obtained simply on the ground that the pupil has found work: it must also be shown that his continuance at school would cause domestic hardship.

Officers, and if they fail to make a recommendation, the application is referred to the Director of Education or a sub-committee of the Education Committee of the Authority. In laying down rules governing the decision as to what is "beneficial" or "suitable" employment, there is clearly room for variation from one area to another, and the system here gives an Authority a great opportunity to exercise some measure of effective control over the entry of school-leavers into work. In the first place, they may draw up a list of occupations that shall as a general rule be deemed to be "unsuitable," and in doing so may not merely debar occupations that are commonly included in local bye-laws relating to the employment of children: they may regulate entry into blind-alley jobs in general or into any occupation, even one in a staple industry, that does not appear to offer any prospect of progressive employment. Secondly, they may require to be satisfied that the wages offered and the hours to be worked are reasonable. In certain incidental ways, too, the child's benefit may be promoted. For instance, in considering an application, the opinion of the Head Teacher and the School Medical Officer may be sought as to whether the child is physically and mentally suited for the occupation offered. Again, the Authority may require an undertaking from the parent and employer that if the child is allowed to take up employment, they will ensure that he

attends an evening school during the period for which the exemption is granted.

Although the main object of the bye-law is usually to prevent children from leaving school to enter the ranks of the unemployed, there is no reason why the Authority should not use it as an instrument of educational progress. Thus the courses of study provided for those who stay on beyond the age of fourteen may be so organized that normally the child should be ready to proceed to a Technical College at the end of his fifteenth year; and in order to foster his interest in and desire for further education, the practice may be introduced of allowing him to attend at a college, say, one session each week during his fifteenth year. Continuity of curriculum between senior schools and institutions for further education is a factor that should, in course of time, serve to win the willing favour of parents for a longer school life for their children, and one that will make untenable the allegation that the senior school is an educational cul-de-sac.

In the estimation of the Authorities who have put the bye-law into force, the results have been more satisfactory than could ever have been obtained by a mere policy of encouraging voluntary attendance. It has completely eradicated unemployment among children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years, and has enabled the Authorities to strengthen the powers of their juvenile employment

organization in controlling the flow of young labour into industry. While it is true that the numbers retained at school for a full year have been small, except in the area of the Caernarvonshire County Council, and a large majority of the children have been granted exemptions during their fifteenth year, this has been due to the keen demand for juvenile labour in the areas in question. The numbers staying on would undoubtedly be much greater if the system was introduced in depressed districts where there is a shortage of openings for juveniles in industry. It is anticipated that this will be the experience of Chesterfield when the bye-law is adopted and enforced. There, up to the middle of last year, only about one in five of the children remained voluntarily at school for any part of their fifteenth year, while a very large proportion of those who left school during the year 1932 are known to have endured long spells of idleness. It is expected that when the bye-law comes into operation, unless a great improvement has meanwhile taken place in work in the district, about one-half of the children passing the age of fourteen will remain at school for a full year, the proportion of boys remaining being higher than that of girls.

Before judgment can be passed on the desirability of bringing the bye-law into force in depressed industrial areas on a wide scale, it is necessary to appreciate the probable shortcomings of the system.



It is decidedly inferior in almost every respect to the act of raising the school-leaving age to fifteen by general legislation, and should not be seriously considered unless all efforts to secure the passing of such legislation are unsuccessful in the near future. Further, it would be unwise to establish it in any area until the schools have been reorganized in accordance with the Hadow Report, and accommodation can be found for the additional numbers remaining at school. In Lancashire, for instance, there are several Authorities who are just as favourably placed as is Chesterfield for raising the school-leaving age; but the remaining Authorities could not reach the same position without making further capital expenditure. It follows that for those latter Authorities the adoption of the bye-law is out of the question unless the Government remove their ban upon building schemes involving additional expenditure, and increase the financial assistance they give to Authorities in carrying out such schemes. Lastly, the adoption of the bye-law in individual areas in thickly populated regions would probably raise a number of administrative difficulties that are not encountered in isolated towns and agricultural districts, the principal being that the leaving age would be higher in an area that had adopted the bye-law than in adjoining areas that had not. The consequences of such a position are often greatly exaggerated. There is little, for

instance, in the objection that employers in a town where the bye-law was in operation would tend to go outside of the town for their child labour, for this does not reckon with the inroad that travelling expenses would often make into the scanty earnings of the children, and with the fact that an employer could draw upon the children aged fourteen to fifteen in the schools in his own town if he could satisfy the conditions laid down by the Local Education Authority. But it is less easy to dispose of the difficulties that would arise in the case of the children (the number of whom is large in many localities) who live in the area of one Authority and attend schools in that of another. The force of this dilemma was recognized by the Board of Education in Circular 1180, issued in 1920, where it was pointed out that Authorities when considering the making of the bye-law "should consult with the Authorities of adjoining areas, especially where the circumstances of these adjoining areas, industrially or otherwise, are similar, in order to secure that the same conditions of school attendance may prevail throughout areas which are substantially identical in character." Given the readiness of the Authorities in a self-contained, homogeneous region to put forth a co-operative effort to make possible the introduction of the bye-law throughout the region, and willingness on the part of the Government to facilitate the completion of reorganization schemes,

there is no reason why the bye-law should not work effectively in thickly populated industrial areas where some means of checking the flow of school-leavers into the ranks of the unemployed are most urgently needed. This leads to the suggestion that, if the Government cannot in the immediate future be prevailed upon to raise the leaving age to fifteen generally, or in scheduled depressed areas, the Local Education Authorities in any depressed area that possesses the necessary characteristic of homogeneity should unite to appeal to the Government to co-operate with them in making preparations for the adoption and application of the bye-law in all parts of their area. In particular, it seems desirable that the Authorities in Industrial Lancashire should frame and carry out a common policy on this matter, in the belief that thereby they can make a signal contribution to the solution of the problem of unemployment among children.

#### IV. SUMMARY

To sum up: the case for or against the raising of the school-leaving age must be decided, fundamentally, upon educational grounds and not by an appeal to the facts of juvenile unemployment. On such grounds the consensus of opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of lengthening the period of school life; one official committee after another in

the past quarter of a century has argued that the national interests would be well served by retaining children from industrial work until the age of fifteen or sixteen years, and up to September 1931 educational reorganization was rapidly going on which was preparing the ground for that logical and progressive step. Whilst, however, the arguments of the educationalist rightly carry the greatest weight, it would be a narrow and pedantic view to deny that industrial factors ought to be taken into consideration to some degree, and the present conditions among juvenile workers are such as to reinforce strongly the case for lessening the numbers of children on the labour market who are frantically, and unsuccessfully, seeking work.

The campaign for national economy dating from the autumn of 1931 has literally left educational progress in the air. Reorganization upon the basis of the Hadow Report has been suddenly and drastically checked, producing not a few anomalies and some waste which will continue until it is once again made financially possible for the Board of Education to provide on the former scale for the capital expenditure still necessary to complete the sweeping plans which were originally envisaged and which are partially completed. And this financial check has further retarded the attainment of a position in which the fullest results might be gained from the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen

years. If the Government is really serious in its protestations that it will impede no sound schemes of public works construction of a remunerative kind submitted by Local Authorities, its attention must be directed towards assistance in the provision of the capital required for completing the reorganization of elementary schools and towards the early raising of the school-leaving age by statute either in the country as a whole or in specified depressed areas.

But, if other counsels prevail, then depressed areas must look to their own interests. The encouragement of voluntary attendance by children who have reached the school-leaving age, but have no work to which to go, is an avenue which has been energetically pursued in the past, but it has numerous drawbacks and limitations. The second line of self-help would be for Local Authorities to use the powers already granted to them to raise the school-leaving age by bye-law to fifteen years. Certain obstacles exist even to this. Some Authorities have not yet reached that stage in reorganization which would enable them to take this step with profit to the children retained at school. Here again is a direction in which the Central Authority, by providing for the necessary capital expenditure, can do much to lessen the evil effects of an over-drastring economy. Again, if the age is to be raised by this device in large industrial areas, many administrative

difficulties would be encountered unless the Authorities in the area could collaborate for this purpose and, perhaps, take the step simultaneously. Further, the raising of the leaving age might meet with the opposition of employers who feared a shortage of juvenile labour, but this opposition could be satisfied by establishing machinery for the granting of exemptions in those areas where children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years have suitable employment waiting for them.

If, for example, the Authorities in the whole of the Lancashire industrial area found it possible within the near future to make this concerted step, definite and undeniable benefits would follow: large numbers of school children would gain another full year's education; many of these would be saved from the misery and waste of a full year's unemployment; the chaos in the labour market would be lessened, and, if the experience of similar schemes in other areas is to be trusted, many children would be prevented from entering blind-alley occupations.

CHAPTER V  
THE CONTROL OF JUVENILE EMPLOY-  
MENT

IN the preceding chapters an account has been given of the problems raised by the presence of unemployment among adolescents on the scale which has persisted for the past three years in Lancashire and Cumberland, and a number of the devices suggested to deal with these problems outlined in detail. Apart from a general business recovery, conditions among juveniles can be much improved; first, by reducing the number of children coming on to the labour market; second, by bringing all adolescents within the cognizance of state or local authority agencies, which can advise and direct them and become acquainted with the true extent and character of existing unemployment, and third, by making it certain that all juveniles out of work shall be shielded from the evil effects of idleness. The simple and, in view of the tremendously valuable assets involved, the relatively inexpensive devices described can undoubtedly bring about these improvements.

But one major problem still remains which is perhaps not amenable to immediate treatment, but which can never be far distant from the minds of those seriously concerned with the development of

a national technique of distributing the available labour among the available occupations in the most efficient manner: the problem of eliminating blind-alley occupations and of lessening the misdirection of the flow of labour which makes for the acquirement by adolescents of industrial skill which rapidly becomes valueless and which, finally, results in casual labour. An illustration may make this general proposition clearer. In the Lancashire cotton industry the number of firms in each locality is large and the variety of fortunes between them often results in some concerns taking on new labour, perhaps children from school, when others are finding it necessary to dismiss some of their employees or to work them on short time. Under such circumstances the ideal arrangements would, of course, be that some dovetailing of operations between the different firms would lead to a minimizing of unemployment. Children of fifteen or sixteen years unemployed at one factory would be taken on by others who required additional labour instead of further children, direct from school, being trained in the industry. Now it happens in the cotton industry that the Employment Exchanges, although they are gradually extending their work, are not responsible for a very high proportion of the placings that are effected. Most children who enter the industry do so through individual contacts of one kind or another, and the Exchanges, although



constantly on the watch to extend their work in this direction, find obstacles in the very strong personal contact that still exists between employers and employees or in the active placing work of the Trade Unions. The absence of any local clearing-house for employment inevitably leads, therefore, to the type of chaos portrayed in Chapter II, where it was shown that in very many cotton towns large numbers of school-leavers were continuing to enter the cotton industry when already there was a high percentage unemployment rate among juveniles between sixteen and eighteen years in that industry.

It is important to notice that none of the suggestions described in earlier chapters could effectively deal with this type of maladjustment. Even if the Exchanges had much more complete knowledge of the existing rates of juvenile unemployment in individual industries than they now possess; even if they maintained constant contact with all children from the time that they left school until their entry into insurance; even if a system of "Working Certificates" were introduced and successfully operated—so long as the majority of children found work in the cotton industry for themselves and so long as the majority of cotton employers took on children of their employees or of their acquaintances, the haphazard system of hiring adolescent labour would inevitably produce the undesirable results outlined above.

Undoubtedly, in other areas and other industries, the same illogical processes are working out, though perhaps rarely to the extent to which they are found in the cotton industry. Moreover, during conditions of extreme depression, it is natural that these evils should be intensified; the scramble for work for juveniles becomes more frantic and the absence of centralized co-ordination more dangerous. In the long run, of course, the Employment Exchanges, by fostering the co-operation of employers who take on juvenile workers, might very much improve the situation, but it may very seriously be questioned whether steps should not be taken to hurry on the establishment of this co-ordination. The only adequate method of doing this would be to place the whole machinery for the employment of juveniles (say up to the age of eighteen years) in the hands of the Ministry of Labour; to stipulate that juveniles could find work only through the Exchanges or some special branch of them devoted to juvenile work, and to make compulsory the notification of vacancies to the Exchange by the employer. The question at issue, therefore, is how far such a scheme would be desirable or practicable.

The general question as to whether posts for all workers should be filled through the Employment Exchanges has for long been a subject of controversy, and it was lately considered by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance. The

Commission received evidence from a number of experts, notably Mrs. Webb, Sir W. Beveridge and Mr. G. D. H. Cole, who, even if they considered it impracticable at the moment for all posts to be filled through the Exchanges, believed that there was no objection in principle to such a system for special classes of workers. But, both in its Majority and Minority Reports, the Royal Commission rejected the suggestion that the Employment Exchanges should be given a monopoly of placing work. The views of the Majority report put the case against the suggestion most strongly and in a form which would probably be supported by those actually engaged in administering the Exchange system.

The Commission in its reasoning was concerned only with the proposition that the Exchanges should be granted powers to fill all vacancies for workers of all ages; it did not specifically discuss the special question of applying such a system to juveniles. It rejected the wider suggestion on two grounds. In the first place it dealt with the statement that is often made that unemployment insurance is always liable to create malingering unless employers are compelled to make use of the Exchanges so that the willingness to work of recipients of unemployment insurance benefit may be widely and continuously tested by the Exchanges. In this connection the Commission pointed out that compulsory use of the Exchanges would not solve the problem of malingers;

that, in effect, the placing side and the insurance side of the work of Exchanges are, and must be, kept separate, and that it would be dangerous if the Exchanges were ever to depart from the policy, in their placing work, of sending the most suitable applicant for any vacancy notified. In the second place, the Commission pointed out that the Exchanges are not yet fitted, either by experience or by the present scale of their operations, to undertake the task of controlling the whole flow of labour into industry. At the moment, they are responsible only for a relatively low proportion of the vacancies filled; it would be unwise to impose upon them suddenly this new and imposing task, and it would be more judicious to allow them to continue to develop the technique and scale of their work "subject to the competition of alternative methods of engagement" of labour.

These objections to a compulsory scheme for all workers are very formidable. But they are much less damaging to the case for such a scheme for juveniles alone, and if, to quote the views of Sir William Beveridge, "(general) compulsion should not be tried at once, but proceed gradually," then there appears to be no more fruitful field for extension than among the juvenile section of the working population. Thus, to take the principal point raised by the Commission (that the Exchanges now only deal with a small proportion of vacancies filled and

that, in consequence, the existing machinery could hardly be adjusted rapidly to undertake the whole burden of placing work), this is not nearly so true for juveniles as for adults. The question as to what proportion of total jobs found are filled through the agency of the Exchange is one upon which existing statistics may be extremely misleading; but no one doubts that this proportion is very much higher for juveniles below eighteen years than for adults. Thus the evidence presented before the Commission shows that whereas the Exchanges are responsible only for about one-fifth of the posts found by all insured persons who have been out of work, they were responsible for over two-fifths of the jobs found by unemployed juveniles between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. Moreover, juvenile placing work appears to be developing much more rapidly than that among adults. Those official agencies which have specialized in the placing of juveniles, the Juvenile Employment Committees of Local Education Authorities and the Juvenile Advisory Committees of the Ministry of Labour, already control a sufficiently high proportion of juvenile placing to give them the experience which would be necessary in undertaking the whole task. It is less legitimate to argue here, therefore, that the administrative machinery for placing could not be rapidly expanded to meet the needs of a compulsory system covering the whole field of juvenile employment.

Further, the placing of juveniles is, in some respects, a simpler process than that necessary in the case of adults, and it does not create to the same extent the difficulty, which the Commission foresaw in the wider scheme, that a complete control of the labour supply would demand a very elaborate and costly extension of Employment Exchange work and staffing to deal with the many purely technical questions which would arise in the placing in occupation of skilled and highly specialized workers in the wide field of industry. The young person beginning his industrial life is not specialized; he does not need directions as to where his specialist knowledge and skill is in demand; he requires sound vocational guidance which will lead him to take the type of work for which he is best suited naturally, direction which will enable him to avoid blind-alley trades and help in changing his occupation if he finds that he has made a mistake about the kind of work he wants and can perform. Now, that is the kind of guidance which is already being given on a wide scale by the Committees for Juvenile Employment in the form of discussions with children and parents before the child leaves school and of close industrial supervision after a post has been found. The work, which is perhaps now aiding half the young industrial workers in Lancashire, could easily be extended and even improved without demanding any of that "development in technique" which the Commission

considered was essential before it would be possible to contemplate a system by which employers could take all their labour through the Exchanges. The "technique" for juvenile work may, of course, conceivably be improved in the future. Meanwhile, if it works with such excellent results at present in the case of half the young workers there seems to be good reason why all those workers should benefit from it.

Finally, when the Commission urges the value of the competition of alternative methods of engaging labour, their reasoning again hardly applies to juvenile labour. It would be generally agreed that, for adult labour, there are many agencies—notably the Trade Unions—which carry out placing work very efficiently and thus provide healthy and stimulating competition to the Exchanges in the same field. But such agencies do not operate in the interests of the youngest groups of workers to anything like the same extent. Apart from official agencies, they must depend upon the advice of parents, headmasters, or friends whose knowledge of the general labour market and the possibilities in this or that occupation are likely to be imperfect. Such procedure, surely, is inferior to one in which the child might be guided by specialists equipped with the full knowledge of conditions in the local labour market and, through their connection with every other Employment Exchange, with industrial condi-

tions and possibilities in all other parts of the country; working in the closest contact with education authorities who can throw the clearest light upon the industrial potentialities of each child; and chosen for their interest in and qualifications for this extremely important work.

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to underestimate the very serious administrative difficulties, in definition and enforcement, which would be encountered in controlling the whole supply of juvenile labour through State agencies, and the practicability and desirability of such a scheme would largely turn upon whether such difficulties could be overcome easily enough to render a smoothly working arrangement possible. It would be no simple matter to enforce the law in respect of the many thousands of part-time posts as errand-boys and the like, which exist in every large town. But it must not be overlooked that even now equally formidable tasks arise, and presumably are effectively dealt with, in preventing evasions by some casual workers of the National Health Insurance, in the enforcement of Trade Board Wages Rates, in the supervision of working conditions in Factories and Shops, or in the enforcement of school attendance. Again, the operation of the scheme might require special adjustments in scantily populated areas when the nearest Employment Exchange, or more likely merely a Sub-Office, might be many miles



from many of the juveniles in the area. It might be found, in consequence, that agricultural employment would have to be omitted from the scheme or its scope limited in other ways. It might be found desirable to exclude other types of occupations, and this would result in the well-recognized difficulties of demarcation between one occupation or industry and another. Or, cases where small employers provide occupations for their own children would obviously create the need for some elasticity in the administration of the scheme.

But if obstacles of this kind could be overcome effectively and economically, and the suggestion of the present chapter is merely that attention should be redirected to such matters, conditions in the juvenile labour market would become much more regularized:

(1) At one stroke all those difficulties would be eliminated which arise from our incomplete knowledge of the extent of unemployment and the impossibility of bringing all unemployed juveniles to Junior Instruction Centres and Classes. All juveniles wanting employment would be in contact with the local Committees for Juvenile Employment; they would be able to obtain work only through the Exchange, and it would be a very simple administrative measure to insist that such children should attend Centres as a condition to being considered as suitable applicants for any vacancies notified to the Exchanges.

(2) Real meaning and purpose would be given to a great deal of voluntary and whole-hearted effort on the part of those engaged in advising and guiding juveniles which now largely seems to be wasted. Of what value, at the moment, is vocational guidance to children in many Cumberland Centres where no work is available? Of what value are the efforts of those engaged in similar work in many Lancashire towns when the great bulk of children enter the cotton industry in spite of the advice that there is no future for them there? It is true, of course, that even if the State controlled the whole supply of juvenile labour, unemployment would still exist and the frightful dilemma continue of where to place children in areas in which only one industry, and that a declining one, is all-important. But this advantage would certainly accrue: that guidance would come from a source which was informed of the position in the local and the national labour market; which could enforce its views in the light of its knowledge and which could observe the principle that, for whatever posts became available, the best among the willing candidates could be submitted instead of permitting the present frantic and ill-informed struggle between harassed parents and well-meaning teachers or friends, to reduce the entry of young persons into employment into a chaotic and ineffectual scramble.

(3) The wholesale casualization of adolescent

labour could be partly prevented by the discrimination which the local Juvenile Employment Officer might exercise in his placing work. If a compulsory scheme were introduced, that Officer would be in a very powerful position in the local community; his status would be high, and it is of the essence of the scheme that persons of the highest qualifications should be entrusted with this work. He could, merely by regularizing, merely by working at the centre of the system, prevent, in large measure, the casualization which arises in the manner already described in the cotton industry where, even in one town, large numbers of school-leavers enter the cotton industry when already unemployment on a wide scale exists among young persons who have had some training in that industry. That, of course, is a valuable result arising out of the fullest application of the principle of a truly comprehensive Employment Exchange system. But, beyond this, the officer would be able to exercise his prestige and influence in reducing the casualization being caused by the fact that the supply of juveniles is, in many depressed areas, now far in excess of the demand and that, in consequence, the wholesale exploitation of economically defenceless children is possible and has, indeed, become actual. The practice of taking on large numbers of school-leavers, dismissing them at sixteen years of age and taking on a fresh batch from the schools; the practice of employing children

in the most menial and unprogressive tasks—such as errand boys, newspaper boys, lather boys, etc.—because their market price has fallen; the practice of taking on learners and paying them little or no wages for long periods often in industries which offer no chance of full-time permanent employment—these are some of the concomitants of prolonged unemployment among children which it is the duty of the Central Authority to eliminate both in the interests of the individual and the nation.

It must be admitted that a State official, such as a Juvenile Employment Officer of the type suggested, would have only restricted powers to deal with this second group of evils. Whilst the system of private enterprise exists, he could hardly refuse to supply juvenile labour directly to any employer who asked for it, and it would not be within his official powers to enforce standards regarding wages, conditions of work or the progressive nature of the employment offered. But within his official routine he could exercise salutary influences. He could, through the activities of his Committees, advise all children against blind alleys and be certain that all children were constantly in touch with the flow of sound advice. Where alternative employment existed he could steer children away from the less eligible openings. And if the experience of the present working of the local Bureaux and Departments for Juvenile Employment throw any light

upon this question, he would in fact exercise, in an informal way, a powerful check by his own personal influence upon the irresponsible and anti-social activities of the worst class of employer. Above all, his presence in local affairs, armed as he would be with this power of controlling the supply of labour, would constitute a permanent and powerful advocate in the general interests of young workers, an advocate badly needed at the present juncture.

It might be, and it probably would be, the case that even if such an expedient as that discussed here were adopted and the juvenile labour market completely regularized, unemployment would still continue. To deal with this, recourse could be had to measures discussed in earlier chapters.

## CHAPTER VI

### WHAT LANCASHIRE CAN DO— A SUMMARY

IT has been shown in an earlier chapter that juvenile unemployment in Lancashire is serious and that it now constitutes a continuous drain upon the present and future industrial efficiency of the county. Any temptation to ignore the whole question on the grounds that conditions will right themselves by an improvement in trade must be set on one side, for the indications are that unemployment among children is likely to become more, rather than less, widespread. In the first place, the prospects in the staple industry, cotton, are not reassuring. The export trade in cotton goods has shown a disquietening downward trend in the last ten years, and although the reasons for this cannot be entered into here, there are no grounds for believing that foreign competition will become any less severe in the future. Undoubtedly, further industrial readjustment between the staple and the secondary industries must go on in Lancashire, and that implies a period of severe dislocation in the labour market. Secondly, even if the volume of trade in cotton goods were to recover some lost ground, employment would not expand to the same degree. Increasing mechanization, looking over the long period, is inevitable. It

has already begun in the adoption of the "more looms to a weaver" system which, in itself, has substantially reduced the demand for that class of labour. Thirdly, whilst it would be extremely unwise to anticipate any future expansion in the demand for

LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION  
ESTIMATED NUMBER\* OF BOYS AND GIRLS  
LEAVING SCHOOL

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
1926	31,797	31,830	63,627
1927	31,047	30,441	61,488
1928	31,951	32,014	63,965
1929	33,472	32,845	66,317
1930	28,195	27,532	55,727
—	—	—	—
1933	24,793	24,122	48,915
1934	28,457	28,645	57,102
1935	35,565	35,078	70,641
1936	36,035	34,800	70,835
1937	33,174	32,817	65,991
1938	31,077	30,708	61,785

\* These numbers are slightly on the low side for the years after 1930. The estimates were originally made upon the assumption that the school-leaving age would be raised to fifteen years in 1931. They, therefore, presumably make allowance for some slight wastage, between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years, in respect of deaths, migration, etc.

juvenile labour in the cotton or the associated industries, the supply of that labour in the immediate future will increase. Owing to the abnormally high birth-rate after the War it can be confidently estimated that larger numbers of children will be leaving school between 1935 and 1937, and will

become available for employment. The figures given on page 127, drawn from the "Industrial Survey of the Lancashire Area," show that the annual flow of children from schools will be substantially higher between 1935 and 1937 than in earlier years, and this will produce, apart from an expansion in trade, either an increase of unemployment among juveniles or, if juveniles replace adults to an increasing degree, to an accentuation of adult unemployment. It becomes all the more urgent, therefore, that opinion in Lancashire should be mobilized to call upon the Central Authority for its aid and, in so far as this is possible, to bring together Local Authorities for a co-ordinated pursuit of the most practicable methods of alleviating or remedying the conditions among juveniles.

### *The Treatment of Juvenile Unemployment*

In preceding chapters it has been shown that these methods fall into two groups: those designed to aid children when they are out of work, and those devised to reduce unemployment by restricting the number of children available for employment. The first group is hardly amenable to local treatment; it requires State intervention, and the county should seek, in every possible way, through its many organs of expression, to impress upon the Government the vital need for measures to the following ends:



- (1) The bridging of the gap in the public supervision of children between the school-leaving age and the age of entry into insurance. This question has been dealt with in detail earlier. The most convenient method of bringing about this result seems to be by lowering the age at which children enter into the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, as recommended by the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance.
- (2) The extension and development of Junior Instruction Centres to the point at which the vast majority of unemployed children below the age of eighteen years will be in attendance at them. This, as explained earlier, will require additional finance; some device for encouraging or compelling children to maintain attendance, and the sweeping away of several minor obstacles to the widespread extension of the system of providing recreation and occupation for those unable to find work.

### *Raising the School-Leaving Age*

But these are palliatives; they admit the fact of unemployment and merely seek to lessen its damaging consequences. The one positive, direct and certain method of abolishing some part of the unemployment of juveniles would be to raise the

school-leaving age to fifteen years. There are, theoretically, three possible ways of doing this:

- (1) The school-leaving age might be raised in the whole country by legislation.
- (2) The school-leaving age might be raised, by statute, in certain specified areas (e.g. industrial Lancashire) where juvenile unemployment is, and promises to continue, at a very high level.
- (3) The Local Authorities in Lancashire might combine to ask for the sanction of the Board of Education to raise the age by bye-law, but in this case, presumably, exemptions would have to be granted to those children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years who find employment.

It cannot be too strongly urged that either of the first two methods would be much superior in effectiveness, in simplicity and in economy to the third which should only be considered if the others prove impossible of attainment. The educational interests in Lancashire, and indeed all those who view present conditions far-sightedly, can therefore urge with great force that the leaving age should be raised by legislation. But if political or other considerations prevent this, then the Lancashire Industrial Area might well consider the possibility of the third method. It would, indeed, be a magni-

ficient gesture if Lancashire could, in this matter, set an example of self-help to be followed by other similarly depressed areas. It is literally true that the happiness and welfare of the young people in the county are at stake; it should not be impossible for local interests to be united when these are the issues.

It has been pointed out elsewhere that Local Education Authorities may make application to the Board of Education for sanction to raise the school-leaving age by bye-law to fifteen years. Certain authorities in England have already received that sanction and have put it into operation along with a system of granting exemptions to children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years who have found employment. But a study of conditions in Lancashire makes it immediately apparent that unless all the authorities in the industrial area were to adopt this policy jointly and simultaneously very many serious administrative difficulties would arise, and the children in the areas of the more progressive authorities would suffer at the expense of the others. Here, then, is the field for a county effort. If representations regarding the raising of the school-leaving age by legislation fail, steps should be taken immediately for consultation and conference between the authorities concerned to determine how best this joint effort might be carried on; how best the preparatory work for the general appeal to the Board of Education could be prosecuted, and what

machinery should be established for guaranteeing a roughly similar procedure in the detailed operation of the scheme, such as in the granting of exemptions, in all parts of the Area.

The question which naturally arises is what extra expenditure would be involved in raising the school-leaving age in the Lancashire Industrial Area by any one of the three possible methods. Any estimate of this must necessarily be tentative. There are two main items in it. First, there is the annual charge for interest and amortization on the capital expenditure still required to complete the "re-organization" of the elementary school system. It would be undesirable to keep children at school up to the age of fifteen years unless adequate provision had been made to enable them to obtain the fullest results from the extra year's attendance. In any case, if the method of raising the age by by-law were relied on, the Board of Education would almost certainly refuse to sanction any application unless it had been preceded by complete reorganization upon the Hadow formula. Second, extra annual costs would have to be met for increased teaching staff, and certain smaller incidental items. It will be realized that the figure given below can only be a very approximate estimate. Some Authorities in Lancashire have reorganized their schools, but others have carried through none, or only a part of this work, and calculations of the cost of completing

it are complicated by the recent substantial fall in building costs. "Reorganization" implies varying costs according to the thoroughness with which it is carried out. Estimates relating to non-provided schools are, in particular, extremely hazardous. "Reorganization," in some areas, will lead to economy in staffing, through the closing down of small schools and centralization at others, but it seems impossible to make exact estimates of the financial results of this. Although, however, some of the items involved are hardly amenable to exact budgeting and others have never been carefully assessed, yet it appears desirable, in order to make discussion concrete, to provide a figure even if only to disclose the order of magnitude of the cost involved.

But, assuming that the school-leaving age were raised in the Lancashire Industrial Area; that this were preceded by the complete reorganization of schools, and that 60,000 more children were, in consequence, normally in attendance, different methods of estimate lead to the conclusion that the total extra annual cost for the Central and the Local Authorities (i.e. interest and sinking fund on new loan charges and increased cost for staffing, administration, etc.) would be between £600,000 and £800,000. The higher figure, we believe, would certainly be an over-estimate; the lower might well be much nearer the true amount.

This, however, represents a gross cost from which certain countervailing items, of unpredictable magnitude, would have to be deducted. In the first place, if the leaving age were raised by bye-law then presumably a number of children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years of age would obtain employment and would be granted exemption from school attendance, thus reducing the cost of staffing and certain minor expenses. Secondly, small savings would accrue in the national balance sheet since some children who would normally attend Junior Instruction Centres or Evening Schools would not now do so since they would be in attendance at school during the day. Thirdly, a saving would arise from the fact that some children would now remain at school who otherwise might have left school and obtained employment. In consequence older juveniles, or even adults, now on unemployment insurance pay might be drawn back into employment. If the school-leaving age were raised by legislation, so that all children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years were in attendance at school, then larger numbers of older children or adults would be reabsorbed into industry and reductions made in unemployment benefit or transitional payments. But it is patently impossible to estimate exactly what the volume of saving effected in these ways would be.

The gross annual cost of raising the school-

leaving age in the Lancashire Industrial Region is, therefore, not likely to exceed £600-800,000; the net cost might be considerably less. This seems a small sum to weigh in the balance against the advantages which would accrue as a result of raising the leaving age: the complete abolition of unemployment among children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen years; the granting to perhaps 60,000 children each year of the privilege of living for a longer period in the spiritual atmosphere of the school; the certainty that when those children did ultimately pass from school they would be more mature, better trained and more likely to produce from among themselves the qualities of leadership and enterprise which are so conspicuously lacking at the moment in some Lancashire industries.

Whatever device were employed to raise the school-leaving age, one initial obstacle would have to be removed, i.e. the present restrictions on increased capital expenditure by Local Education Authorities now imposed by the Central Authority through the Board of Education. Even with the best will in the world, with the most earnest desire to co-operate and the most sincere wish to improve conditions among juveniles, the Region by itself can do nothing unless it can impress upon the State the desirability of this change of policy. At the moment a vicious circle exists: the Board of Education is not likely to favour the raising of the school-

leaving age until reorganization is complete; reorganization cannot be completed unless the Local Authorities spend more money on capital equipment; such increased expenditure is impeded by the present attitude of the Central Authority towards further expenditure. But if, for example, the whole of the Local Authorities in the Lancashire Industrial Region were to declare jointly that they were prepared to contemplate concerted action to raise the school-leaving age as soon as reorganization were complete, then the Central Authority would be bound to consider seriously so impressive an expression of opinion upon the need for undertaking what is perhaps the most remunerative type of capital expenditure—increased provision for the training of the young.

### *The Chaos in the Cotton Industry*

Much of the disorganization of the juvenile labour market in Lancashire arises from the reluctance of the cotton industry to co-operate wholeheartedly with the Employment Exchanges in the engaging and dismissing of employees. Although conditions are gradually improving in this respect, probably no staple industry in the country makes such little use of the Employment Exchange system. This is due partly to the personal contact between employers and employees and partly to the placing work carried out by



the Trade Unions in the cotton industry. To some degree, therefore, the Employment Exchanges are less needed here than elsewhere, although it is very seriously to be questioned whether the cotton unions, highly localized and strangely inimical to centralized administration as they are, are really the most suitable agencies for placing labour with the minimum of maladjustment. But, apart from these influences, there can be no doubt that cotton trade employers, too, make much less use of the Exchanges than they should. The strength of personal influence and contact; the irrational antipathy to Employment Exchanges which characterized their introduction and still perhaps remains in some parts of Lancashire—these factors are still strong enough to prevent anything but a small proportion of cotton industry placings being effected through the Exchanges. The result, among juveniles, is the chaos, described earlier, in which school-leavers continue to crowd into the industry even in towns in which already there is a heavy juvenile unemployment.

Ultimately, perhaps, the remedy for this type of disorganization will be dealt with by measures such as those outlined in Chapter V, but since they could only be introduced, if at all, after much more study and investigation, the industry itself should attempt to deal with its own problems. It is to the interests neither of the Trade Unions nor of the employers

that the cotton industry should be continually over-crowded by an unbroken supply of juvenile labour from the schools. It weakens the bargaining position of the Unions and, by creating a flood of semi-casual labour which has partly to be supported by the resources of the Local Authorities or the State, it throws an additional direct burden upon the employer. There is a joint interest here which the Employers' Organizations and the Trade Unions might very usefully make the subject of common investigation and action.

Employers in the cotton industry could do much merely by working in closer co-operation with the local Committees for Juvenile Employment. If 80-90 per cent. of the children who found work in the industry did so through these Committees, a big step would have been taken to regularize juvenile employment; the goodwill of employers could almost immediately bring this about. Again, Trade Unions should realize that the chain of over 400 Employment Exchanges in the country, each linked with every other, provides a system much more comprehensive and with much more general knowledge of industrial conditions than they themselves can possess, and they should, in consequence, seek closer co-operation with the Exchanges. Further, this seems to be a subject to which the two bodies might well turn their joint attention. Now that the wages question in the industry is settled and

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machinery established for much more effective conciliation and co-operation, there could be no subject more likely to yield useful social and economic results than a combined effort to devise some system of replacing the present unco-ordinated and haphazard method of engaging and training young workers by a regularized system in which the joint efforts of the two sides in the industry could be supplemented by the active participation of the available State agencies.

## APPENDIX

TABLE I  
LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION  
PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INSURED BOYS, GIRLS AND TOTAL JUVENILES  
IN THIRTEEN SUB-AREAS. JUNE 1923, 1927 AND 1932

<i>Sub-Area</i>	<i>Boys</i>			<i>Girls</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	1923	1927	1932	1923	1927	1932	1923	1927	1932
Blackburn, Great Harwood, Darwen, Accrington, Clitheroe }	12.1	2.0	10.1	13.1	1.7	11.3	12.7	1.9	10.7
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	4.4	2.7	10.8	5.7	4.0	12.8	5.1	3.3	11.8
Oldham, Mossley, Shaw, Chadderton, Royton, Middleton, Failsworth }	18.4	2.6	14.8	20.8	3.6	13.5	19.7	3.1	14.1
Littleborough, Bury, Ratcliffe, Heywood, Rochdale }	10.5	2.5	10.2	16.9	3.1	12.7	13.6	2.8	11.5
Stalybridge, Hyde, Glossop, New Mills, Stockport, Ashton-under-Lyne }	11.1	1.7	12.5	17.4	2.7	16.8	14.3	2.2	14.6
Bolton, Leigh, Farnworth, Pendlebury	4.2	2.8	13.8	9.6	1.3	8.9	6.7	2.1	11.2
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, Horwich, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Hindley }	2.2	9.0	18.2	22.5	5.3	13.4	10.5	7.4	16.0
St. Helens, Runcorn, Widnes, Earlestown, Warrington }	1.8	3.7	15.4	4.4	4.5	9.1	2.7	4.0	12.9
Chorley, Preston	5.4	2.6	9.2	6.4	3.0	14.6	5.9	2.8	12.0
Trafford Park, Eccles, Salford, Altrincham	5.5	3.4	8.0	10.0	3.4	6.0	7.5	3.4	7.1
Lancaster, Blackpool, Fleetwood	2.0	1.3	3.2	2.0	0.9	5.5	2.0	1.1	4.3
Burnley, Nelson, Colne	9.8	1.6	7.7	16.2	1.2	10.0	12.9	1.4	8.8
Levenshulme, Manchester, Denton, Openshaw, Newton Heath, Reddish }	4.7	1.9	6.7	4.5	1.8	3.8	4.6	1.8	5.2

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

TABLE II  
 QUARTERLY AVERAGE OF NUMBER OF JUVENILES REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED IN  
 CERTAIN AREAS OF LANCASHIRE, 1924, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931 AND 1932

	1924	1927	1929	1930	1931	1932
Accrington	131	104	204	653	537	389
Ashton-under-Lyne	140	171	269	811	620	424
Blackburn	251	228	276	1,106	920	549
Bolton	403	239	772	1,201	716	597
Burnley	200	123	134	403	514	384
Bury	175	124	145	343	278	153
Chorley	79	67	129	349	248	218
Manchester	1,501	1,246	1,192	2,398	2,560	2,450
Nelson	20	52	51	290	205	121
Oldham	1,058	380	366	1,332	1,105	891
Preston	146	163	286	478	295	403
Rochdale	468	111	90	569	584	390
St. Helens	143	252	203	337	465	514
Salford	827	716	539	1,076	947	750
Stockport	189	133	293	449	361	285
Warrington	140	278	281	458	610	471
Wigan	569	277	374	658	607	593

TABLE III

## LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL IN THE SUMMER OF 1932 COVERED BY AN  
INQUIRY INTO EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>Lancashire County Council</i>		<i>Autonomous Areas</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Elementary	2,697	2,719	6,064	5,874	8,761	8,593
Secondary	863	677	747	792	1,610	1,469
Junior Technical	178	—	183	126	361	126
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,738</b>	<b>3,396</b>	<b>6,994</b>	<b>6,792</b>	<b>10,732</b>	<b>10,188</b>

TABLE IV

## LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

POSITION OF CHILDREN THREE MONTHS AFTER LEAVING ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY  
AND JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS IN THE SUMMER OF 1932

	<i>Elementary</i>		<i>Secondary</i>		<i>Junior Technical</i>		<i>Total</i>									
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>								
	<i>Actual</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>%</i>								
Employed	5,663	64.6	5,613	65.3	895	55.6	469	31.9	258	71.5	94	74.6	6,816	63.5	6,176	60.6
Unemployed but seeking work	1,480	16.9	1,127	13.1	316	19.6	187	12.7	77	21.3	18	14.3	1,873	17.5	1,332	13.1
"Staying at home"	56	0.6	564	6.6	10	0.6	173	11.8	—	—	4	3.2	66	0.6	741	7.3
Further education	1,562	17.8	1,289	15.0	389	24.2	640	43.6	26	7.2	10	7.9	1,977	18.4	1,939	19.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,761</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,593</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,610</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,469</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,732</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,188</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Percentage unemployed to those seeking employment	20.7		16.7		26.1		28.5		23.0		16.1		21.6		17.7	

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TABLE V  
LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION BY DISTRICTS  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-LEAVERS  
PERCENTAGE INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN FINDING EMPLOYMENT

District	BOYS										Total (to Industries)	Total (All Industries and Services)
	Cotton	Retail and Wholesale Trading	Agriculture	Coal Mining	Building	General Engineering	Iron and Steel	Woodworking	Food	Electrical Engineering		
Blackburn, Burnley, Accrington, Darwen, etc. }	15.8	21.1	9.2	3.5	3.3	2.3	2.5	2.9	3.9	0.8	65.2	100.0
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	3.7	9.9	6.2	4.9	2.5	1.2	—	1.2	1.2	—	32.1	100.0
Oldham, Mossley, Chadderton, etc. }	31.2	15.5	2.4	1.5	3.8	4.0	3.1	1.8	2.9	2.4	68.6	100.0
Bury, Littleborough, Rochdale, etc. }	21.5	15.9	5.2	—	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.5	3.3	—	52.2	100.0
Bolton, Farnworth, Pendlebury	30.5	23.7	4.3	4.1	4.7	2.5	2.7	2.7	1.2	0.8	77.1	100.0
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, etc. }	11.1	29.6	9.2	19.5	4.2	2.1	2.3	3.4	2.1	—	83.6	100.0
St. Helens, Widnes, Warring- ton, etc. }	1.0	28.1	9.9	6.8	4.6	2.7	6.1	1.9	1.9	3.8	66.7	100.0
Chorley, Preston	13.7	20.4	18.4	0.2	3.8	1.1	1.6	2.9	3.8	0.9	67.0	100.0
Trafford Park, Salford, Eccles	3.4	27.9	2.5	—	4.4	7.1	2.4	6.2	3.2	12.8	69.9	100.0
Lancaster, Blackpool, etc.	1.4	35.2	18.7	—	4.9	0.4	—	2.8	2.1	0.7	66.2	100.0
Nelson, Colne	42.5	20.0	7.5	—	1.3	1.3	1.3	3.7	2.5	1.3	81.3	100.0
Manchester, Denton, etc.	5.0	32.2	0.6	0.4	2.4	4.2	2.5	4.1	2.7	4.5	58.7	100.0

GIRLS

District	Cotton	Dress	Food	Retail and Wholesale Trading	Personal Service	Books and Shoes	Paper	Printing and Publishing	Electrical Engineering	Chemicals	Total (to Industries)	Total (All Industries and Services)
Blackburn, Burnley, Accrington, Darwen, etc. }	47.4	3.8	7.7	9.9	6.1	11.1	1.1	2.9	0.2	0.2	90.5	100.0
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	15.0	—	1.3	7.5	1.3	51.3	10.0	—	—	—	86.3	100.0
Oldham, Mossley, Chadderton, etc. }	35.4	18.9	6.5	6.1	1.3	—	1.6	0.6	5.7	0.4	76.4	100.0
Bury, Littleborough, Rochdale, etc. }	32.1	3.9	9.0	5.9	7.5	12.1	5.9	0.8	—	0.8	78.0	100.0
Bolton, Farnworth, Pendlebury	61.5	9.1	5.7	6.5	2.5	0.2	1.1	0.2	—	2.5	89.3	100.0
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, etc. }	46.0	8.9	8.6	8.4	7.4	4.2	0.6	0.4	—	2.7	87.3	100.0
St. Helens, Widnes, Warrington, etc. }	12.7	16.5	3.4	9.7	23.4	—	3.6	3.4	3.0	—	75.8	100.0
Chorley, Preston	42.0	3.9	9.2	7.6	4.6	6.2	1.4	3.9	0.2	0.2	79.1	100.0
Trafford Park, Salford, Eccles	12.8	18.2	11.4	10.1	2.9	1.3	4.0	3.2	8.2	6.7	78.7	100.0
Lancaster, Blackpool, etc.	6.6	6.2	17.2	22.7	12.9	4.6	—	3.9	—	—	71.1	100.0
Nelson, Colne	57.9	5.3	8.8	7.0	3.5	1.7	—	—	—	—	84.2	100.0
Manchester, Denton, etc.	8.4	33.1	5.6	17.4	2.1	0.1	8.5	3.9	1.5	1.8	82.6	100.0

TABLE VI

LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF BOY SCHOOL-LEAVERS ENTERING RETAIL TRADING  
AND THE COTTON INDUSTRY

<i>Occupation</i>	RETAIL TRADING			
	<i>Elementary School-Leavers</i>		<i>Secondary School-Leavers</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Errand boy	928	68·8	2	1·3
Newspaper boy	62	4·6		
Shop assistant	283	21·0	88	55·7
Apprentice	39	2·9	—	—
Pharmaceutical chemist apprentice	—	—	39	24·7
Salesman	—	—	9	5·7
Apprentice salesman	5	0·4	—	—
Clerk	6	0·4	20	12·6
Office boy	9	0·7	—	—
Miscellaneous, (hawker, etc.)	16	1·2	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,348</b>	<b>100·0</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100·0</b>

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

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COTTON INDUSTRY

Little piecer	154	25.3	—	—
Warehouse boy	73	12.0	—	—
Tuber	62	10.2	—	—
Loom tenter	45	7.4	1	2.6
Reacher	34	5.6	—	—
Weaver and "learning to weave"	38	6.2	—	—
Spinner and apprentice spinner	30	4.9	—	—
Scavenger	23	3.8	1	2.6
Errand boy	21	3.5	—	—
Bobbin and weft carrier	20	3.3	—	—
General labourer, cleaner and sweeper	18	3.0	—	—
Doffer	16	2.6	—	—
Office boy	13	2.1	3	7.7
Clerk	4	0.7	24	61.5
Creeler	7	1.2	—	—
"Learning trade"	—	—	7	17.9
Miscellaneous	50	8.2	3	7.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>608</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE VII

LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION

## OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF GIRL SCHOOL-LEAVERS ENTERING THE DRESS INDUSTRY

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Elementary School-Leavers</i>		<i>Secondary School-Leavers</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Machinist or apprentice machinist	289	38·8	18	42·9
Apprentice dressmaker and tailor	90	12·1	2	4·8
Milliner, hat bander and trimmer	71	9·5	6	14·3
Hand sewer, button and trimming sewer	52	7·0	1	2·4
Errand girl	46	6·2	—	—
Knitting machine tenter	37	5·0	—	—
Finisher and presser	31	4·1	—	—
Folder and packer	26	3·5	1	2·4
Clerk	19	2·5	10	23·8
Cutter	17	2·3	—	—
Embroiderer and tracer	17	2·3	—	—
"Learner"	15	2·0	1	2·4
Saleswoman	—	—	2	4·7
Miscellaneous	35	4·7	1	2·4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>745</b>	<b>100·0</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100·0</b>

TABLE VIII

## LANCASHIRE SURVEY REGION BY DISTRICTS

## LIVE REGISTER OF UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES, MARCH 6, 1933

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILES ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF THEIR  
LAST SPELL OF UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>District</i>	<i>Less than 1 Month</i>	<i>1 to 3 Months</i>	<i>3 to 6 Months</i>	<i>6 to 9 Months</i>	<i>9 to 12 Months</i>	<i>12 Months or Over</i>	<i>Total</i>
Burnley, Blackburn, Accrington, Great Har- wood, Darwen, Padiham	39.6	30.4	11.3	7.8	3.9	6.9	100.0
Bacup, Rawtenstall, Haslingden	64.2	30.0	4.7	0.8	0.4	—	100.0
Oldham, Mossley, Shaw, Chadderton, Royton, Middleton, Failsworth	57.2	25.1	10.2	4.4	1.0	2.0	100.0
Littleborough, Bury, Radcliffe, Heywood, Rochdale, Ramsbottom, Whitworth	53.9	25.4	9.2	6.4	2.9	2.2	100.0
Bolton, Farnworth, Pendlebury, Turton, West- houghton	59.2	21.4	8.8	7.1	1.6	1.9	100.0
Atherton and Tyldesley, Wigan, Horwich, Hindley, Standish, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Upholland	60.2	20.0	9.9	5.2	2.4	2.3	100.0
St. Helens, Widnes, Earlestown, Warrington, Prescot, Irlam	21.1	28.4	17.6	13.3	6.0	13.6	100.0
Chorley, Preston, Croston, Leyland, Longridge	51.3	32.2	9.0	4.8	1.8	0.9	100.0
Salford, Stretford, Eccles	36.8	32.0	25.1	5.2	0.6	0.3	100.0
Blackpool, Fleetwood, Lytham, St. Annes	20.7	39.3	30.0	7.0	1.3	1.7	100.0
Nelson, Colne	48.9	32.1	15.3	2.6	0.7	0.4	100.0
Manchester, Denton, Prestwich	37.6	37.1	16.2	6.7	1.2	1.2	100.0

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TABLE IX

FORTY LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY AREAS IN INDUSTRIAL LANCASHIRE

AGE CLASSIFICATION OF LEAVERS FROM PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, FOR REASONS OTHER THAN FURTHER EDUCATION, ON AND AFTER ATTAINING THE AGE OF EXEMPTION FROM COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: YEARS ENDED MARCH 31, 1929, 1931 AND 1932

## BOYS

<i>Age</i>	1929		1931		1932	
	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Under 14½	26,945	90·8	20,780	88·4	18,697	85·4
14½ to 14½	1,762	5·9	1,219	5·2	1,360	6·2
14½ to 14¾			342	1·5	423	1·9
14¾ to 15			247	1·1	299	1·4
15 to 16			626	2·7	780	3·6
16 and over	964	3·2	294	1·3	337	1·5
Total—14½ and over	2,726	9·2	2,728	11·8	3,199	14·6
Total—All ages	29,671	100·0	23,508	100·0	21,896	100·0

## GIRLS

Under 14½	27,668	91·6	20,926	89·5	19,354	87·7
14½ to 14½	1,728	5·7	1,049	4·5	1,038	4·7
14½ to 14½			272	1·2	343	1·6
14½ to 15			195	0·8	260	1·2
15 to 16	819	2·7	671	2·9	775	3·5
16 and over			272	1·2	306	1·4
<hr/>						
Total—14½ and over	2,547	8·4	2,459	10·6	2,722	12·4
<hr/>						
Total—All ages	30,215	100·0	23,385	100·0	22,076	100·0

APPENDIX

\* The age-group "under 14½" contains the vast bulk of the children who left on reaching the statutory leaving age—i.e. the end of the term in which the fourteenth birthday was attained.



**TABLE X**  
**ENGLAND AND WALES**  
**AGE CLASSIFICATION OF BOYS AND GIRLS LEAVING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS**  
**FOR EMPLOYMENT,<sup>1</sup> ON OR AFTER ATTAINING THE AGE OF EXEMPTION FROM**  
**COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.<sup>2</sup> YEARS ENDED MARCH 31, 1930 AND 1931**

BOYS				
1930			1931	
<i>Age</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Under 14½	187,716	81·9	195,669	82·8
14½ to 15	31,645	13·8	30,509	12·9
15 to 16	8,237	3·6	8,357	3·5
16 and over	1,546	0·7	1,703	0·7
<b>Total—14½ and over</b>	<b>41,428</b>	<b>18·1</b>	<b>40,569</b>	<b>17·2</b>
<b>Total—All ages</b>	<b>229,144</b>	<b>100·0</b>	<b>236,238</b>	<b>100·0</b>
GIRLS				
Under 14½	187,224	83·5	196,776	83·7
14½ to 15	27,315	12·2	27,710	11·8
15 to 16	7,710	3·4	8,464	3·6
16 and over	1,985	0·9	2,229	0·9
<b>Total—14½ and over</b>	<b>37,010</b>	<b>16·5</b>	<b>38,403</b>	<b>16·3</b>
<b>Total—All ages</b>	<b>224,234</b>	<b>100·0</b>	<b>235,179</b>	<b>100·0</b>

<sup>1</sup> Whether they secured it immediately or not.

<sup>2</sup> See Note (1) to Appendix, Table IX.

**TABLE XI**  
**LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY AREAS IN INDUSTRIAL LANCASHIRE WITH RELATIVELY**  
**LOW PERCENTAGES OF BOYS REMAINING AT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS VOLUNTARILY**  
**BEYOND LEGAL LEAVING AGE, 1931-32**

<i>Local Education Authority Area</i>	<i>Boy Leavers aged 14½ or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>	<i>Boy Leavers aged 15 or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>
Bolton County Borough	10.4	0.8
Burnley County Borough	12.3	4.9
Bury County Borough	9.4	0.0
Preston County Borough	11.9	2.2
Salford County Borough	5.1	1.5
Warrington County Borough	9.7	0.4
Wigan County Borough	5.0	0.5
Area under Lancashire County Council	11.2	1.8
Bacup Municipal Borough	2.1	0.0
Chorley Municipal Borough	5.7	0.5
Clitheroe Municipal Borough	8.3	0.0
Eccles Municipal Borough	5.8	0.0
Haslingden Municipal Borough	1.5	0.0
Leigh Municipal Borough	5.3	0.4
Middleton Municipal Borough	1.3	0.0
Rawtenstall Municipal Borough	2.2	0.7
Chadderton Urban District	1.1	0.0
Farnworth Urban District	7.1	1.3
Hindley Urban District	5.1	0.0
Ince-in-Makerfield Urban District	2.9	0.0
Radcliffe Urban District	0.0	0.0
Swinton and Pendlebury Urban District	8.9	0.0
Forty areas in industrial Lancashire	14.6	5.1

TABLE XII

PERCENTAGE OF BOYS REMAINING AT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS VOLUNTARILY BEYOND  
LEGAL LEAVING AGE, COMPARING INDUSTRIAL LANCASHIRE AND ENGLAND

<i>Local Education Authority Areas</i>	1926-27		1928-29	
	<i>Boy Leavers aged 14½ or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>	<i>Boy Leavers aged 15 or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>	<i>Boy Leavers aged 14½ or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>	<i>Boy Leavers aged 15 or over as Percentage of Total Boy Leavers (other than for Further Education)</i>
<b>County Councils:—</b>				
Lancashire	5·8	0·6	5·9	0·5
England—excepting London	11·2	1·5	14·2	1·8
London	15·3	5·5	14·7	6·3
<b>Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts:—</b>				
Industrial Lancashire	5·6	1·1	5·3	0·9
England	17·1	4·5	17·8	4·5
<b>County Boroughs:—</b>				
Industrial Lancashire	8·7	4·3	11·8	5·1
England	14·1	3·5	15·7	3·9
Forty Areas—Industrial Lancashire	7·5	2·9	9·2	3·2
All Areas—England	13·6	3·2	15·3	3·5

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