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**JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT
IN SOUTH WALES**

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By
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To
T. W. and E. B.
in
gratitude.

Preface

The study on Juvenile Unemployment in the South Wales Coalfield, of which this is the substance, was accepted by the University of Wales as a dissertation for the Doctorate in Philosophy in June, 1935.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who made this book possible.

In particular, my thanks are due to Miss E. Owen and her colleagues of the Ministry of Labour, Wales Division, and to the officials at Montagu House, for their kindness in allowing me access to information; to the Directors of Education in the Region for their permission to issue questionnaires to the Elementary Schools in their respective areas, and to the Head Teachers who so readily completed the forms: without their co-operation the special enquiry into school-leavers would have been impossible; to the officials of the Juvenile Employment Bureaux and of the Juvenile Advisory Committees for their willing advice when help was sought; and to the Superintendents of Junior Instruction Centres, who gave me the benefit of their experience and knowledge.

Above all, I should like to express my gratitude for the constant help and encouragement of Professor H. A. Marquand, M.A.

G. M.

Contents

| <i>Chapter</i> | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION—THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND | 11 |
| I. JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT : | |
| A. THE INSURED INDUSTRIES AND TRADES (16-18 YEARS) | 15 |
| B. SPECIAL ENQUIRY INTO SCHOOL LEAVERS | 29 |
| II. JUVENILE LABOUR : SUPPLY AND DEMAND | 39 |
| III. JUVENILES IN UNREGULATED OCCUPATIONS | 51 |
| V. THE PLACING IN EMPLOYMENT OF UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES | 59 |
| VI. THE JUNIOR INSTRUCTION CENTRE | 79 |
| VII. THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE | 89 |
| VIII. THE UTILISATION OF LEISURE | 97 |
| IX. CONCLUSION | 109 |
| A NOTE ON WAGES | 116 |
| APPENDICES | 122 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 141 |

Introduction

The challenging spectacle of two millions of unemployed and the failure of successive governments to bring the figure below the two million mark have succeeded in centring the attention of an increasing number of thoughtful people upon the problem of unemployment. It might be considered that sufficient research into the problem has been done, and that all that is now necessary is to press authority to act in accordance with the findings of the investigators. But this study is offered as a contribution to one particular aspect of the general problem which has not, in fact, received the attention it deserves. Apart from the recent work of Jewkes & Winterbottom¹ no exhaustive treatment of the special problem of juvenile unemployment exists, and this book attempts to do for South Wales what the Manchester investigations did for Lancashire.

From many points of view juvenile unemployment is a more serious phenomenon than adult unemployment. It is, of course, impossible to deny the tragedy and pathos of lives, which, after years of service and hard work, are no longer of use to the community; the sense of frustration and helplessness which fills men who feel themselves to be on the scrap-heap, the worry and the misery involved in years of idleness—these cannot be underestimated in their effects upon the health and character of the older generation of workless. It is this tragedy of wasted abilities and thwarted ambitions that most people have in mind when discussing the effects of unemployment.

But think for a moment of boys and girls leaving our elementary and secondary schools; some of them full of ambitions and the spirit of adventure; others, it is true, with no very clear idea of what sort of mark they want to make in the world, but all united in their desire to get work. If it is tragic that a man of fifty should be unemployed, how much more tragic is it that lads of fifteen or eighteen should not be given the opportunities of creative self-expression which would be theirs if they could feel that they were performing some useful function in society. Enforced idleness leads ultimately to demoralisation, to loss of pride in one's own person and appearance, to envy of those better placed in society, and envy leads to hatred as hatred leads in the last resort to social conflict. The heart of the tragedy lies in the fact that the boys and girls who to-day in varying degrees are experiencing these consequences of unemployment are the citizens

¹ *Juvenile Unemployment*, Jewkes & Winterbottom. Allen & Unwin. 1933.

of to-morrow. Their present experience is in no wise adequate for the coming tasks of citizenship, and their contribution to the common good in the coming years will almost certainly be less valuable in virtue of their small opportunities in the present.

A society which allows boys and girls to leave school to become unemployed is committing a double sin; it sins against the children themselves, and it sins against itself. Great Britain, for the next twenty years, will be poorer in every way for having permitted the waste of human ability and the frustration of young ambition which are involved in juvenile unemployment.

THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

In this account an attempt has been made to survey the extent of the problem and to discuss the lines of approach along which a solution might be found. One difficulty is at once apparent when dealing with boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 years, viz. the lack of information concerning those in the age group 14-16. My investigations into the problem were begun before the passing of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1934, and official information was available only for insured boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18 years. To obtain some idea of the incidence of unemployment among juveniles 14-16 years of age, recourse had to be made to the method of sample enquiry, and questionnaires were issued to and answered by the majority of the elementary schools in South Wales.

Under the provisions of the new Unemployment Insurance Act, however, the minimum age of entry into unemployment insurance, as from 3rd September, 1934, was lowered to the age at which boys and girls are no longer required by law to attend school, i.e. to 14 years. It will, therefore, be possible for future students of the problem to obtain a much clearer picture of the extent and incidence of juvenile unemployment now that the gap between the school-leaving age and the age of entry into unemployment insurance has been closed.

THE SOUTH WALES INDUSTRIAL REGION

The area covered by this survey is the same as that of the industrial survey of South Wales which was made in 1931 by the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire at the request of the Board of Trade.¹ A full description of the region will be found in the Survey Report, pp. 4-6; here it can be briefly described as that

¹ *An Industrial Survey of South Wales*. H.M.S.O. 1932.

part of South Wales bordered on the west by the Gwendraeth Valley, on the east by the Avon Llwyd, and on the north by the Brecknock Beacons. It comprises, in fact, the eastern and western valleys of Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, and the industrial districts of eastern Carmarthenshire and southern Breconshire. This region was divided into nine areas corresponding to certain Employment Exchange groupings, and the whole arrangement made it possible to study unemployment in the region as a whole as well as the extent to which it is concentrated in particular areas within the region. This arrangement has been adhered to in the present study.

Before proceeding to examine our special problem, it will be well, first, briefly to say something about the general economic situation of the industrial region, so that juvenile unemployment may be seen in its appropriate background.

The principle that concentration of industry results, in times of economic depression, in concentration of unemployment, is clearly seen at work in the post-war history of South Wales. The existence in the area of only three major industries—coal-mining, iron and steel, and tinplates—has meant that the fortunes of practically the whole population are intimately bound up with the fortunes of these industries. The increasingly bad position of the coal industry in particular has been cumulative in its effects, and there are few industries and services which to-day offer as great a volume of employment as they did formerly.

The whole position was exhaustively investigated and the results published in the *Industrial Survey of South Wales* which has been previously referred to. More recently Lord Portal conducted an enquiry into the economic circumstances of the South Wales "Special Area," his report being published in 1934, together with the reports of the other investigators appointed by the Government to survey the position in each of the depressed areas.¹ These and other published works² show that the significant trends of economic activity in the region may be summarised as :

- (a) A shrinkage in the population of the region, and a decline in the number of insured workers ;
- (b) The small demand for female labour owing to the predominance of coal-mining ;
- (c) The depressed state of the coal industry, due in the main to the loss of foreign markets ;

¹H.M.S.O. Cmd. 4728.

²E.g. *South Wales needs a Plan*, H. A. Marquand, M.A. Allen & Unwin. 1936.

- (d) The contrast between the depression of the steam coal area and the relative activity of the anthracite area ;
- (e) The serious volume of unemployment even in the comparatively prosperous western area ;
- (f) The existence of a volume of surplus labour from anything between 50,000 to 60,000, the bulk of which is concentrated in the central and eastern parts of the coalfield.

It is against this background that we must examine juvenile unemployment.

CHAPTER I

Juvenile Unemployment

A. The Insured Industries and Trades (16-18 years)

I. REVIEW OF THE POSITION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1933

In 1933 two factors combined to make the unemployment position of juveniles in the country as a whole more favourable than in former years. The Ministry of Labour Report on Juvenile Unemployment in 1933 shows that in many districts the burden of unemployment was considerably eased during the year. Two factors operated simultaneously to bring this about. A revival in trade expanded the demand for juvenile labour. Coinciding with this was the fact that the number of boys and girls under 18 years and available for employment reached its lowest point, which restricted the supply of juvenile labour. Consequently, the Juvenile Advisory and Employment Committees of some areas (e.g. London, the Midlands, and the South-Eastern) could state that practically a return had been made to "pre-slump" conditions.

Recovery, however, varied considerably from district to district, and of the "depressed" areas, "the most that can be recorded is a slight easing of the difficult situation of the last two or three years."¹

The improvement in the general situation can be seen from an examination of the numbers of boys and girls (14-17 years) on the registers of the exchanges and bureaux; they declined from 108,000 in December, 1932, to 72,000 in December, 1933.

The Ministry of Labour's Report on Juvenile Unemployment in 1933 shows the very uneven way in which the 1933 recovery was spread over the various divisions of the Ministry. Whereas in the South-Eastern, the South-Western, and the Midlands divisions the numbers unemployed declined by about 71 per cent, 43 per cent, and 73 per cent respectively, the other areas were left at the end of the year with masses of unemployed juveniles which had not diminished

¹ *Report on Juvenile Unemployment in 1933*, p. 3.

to anything like a proportionate extent. The decline in the North-Eastern and North-Western divisions was 44 per cent and 47 per cent; in Scotland 20 per cent; and in Wales 25 per cent.¹

The unemployment of boys and girls is, of course, merely one feature of the problem presented by declining prosperity in certain basic industries, and the concentration in certain geographic areas of juvenile unemployment is the natural corollary of the diminution of the industrial importance of these areas. Thus boys and girls are without work where ship-building, coal-mining, cotton and woollen goods manufacture are depressed.

South Wales is such an area, where, since 1923, the problems raised by its peculiar industrial structure have become increasingly grave. One of the most pressing of these problems will now be examined in some detail, but it should be remembered that no mere examination of sets of statistics can throw very much light upon the more human problems—problems of frustrated hope and abandoned dreams—which these figures shadow.

II. INSURED BOYS AND GIRLS IN SOUTH WALES

The number of boys and girls insured in industry in the region has declined very considerably since 1931. The following table shows, in the form of index numbers calculated with 1923 as the base year, the extent of this decline. It will be seen that the numbers in all industries were greater in each year until 1932, since when the fall has been rapid and continuous. That the total figures have not contracted to an even greater extent is due in large measure to the attractive powers of the distributive trades which have, in the years under review, enormously increased their personnel. Between 1923 and 1932 the number of insured juvenile workers in these trades grew from 4,960 to 9,200, but in the last two years a falling off in the numbers has been witnessed, though the total in 1935 was still 70 per cent greater than in 1923.

¹ The position in Wales was very much worse in 1934, due partly to the increase in the numbers leaving school and seeking employment (owing to the high birth-rate in the immediate post-war years), and partly to the inability of the area to absorb these additional juveniles within its own borders. The number of boys and girls aged 14-17 registered as unemployed increased from 7,563 in December, 1933, to 11,981 in December, 1934, with an unemployment rate (amongst insured boys and girls aged 16-17) of 9.9 per cent. This was the highest rate of any of the divisions of the country, and compared unfavourably with Scotland's 8.4 per cent and the North West's 6.1 per cent. (See the *Report of the Ministry of Labour on Juvenile Unemployment for 1934.*)

In marked contrast to this expansion in the distributive trades is the contraction in the number of insured workers registered in coal-mining and in the iron and steel, tinplate, and iron and steel tube group of industries. The numbers insured in this last group contracted until in 1933 they were little more than half what they were in 1923; a slight upward trend was apparent in 1934. On the other hand, coal-mining shows a consistent decline year by year since 1923, with no sign of a change in the downward trend of the figures.

TABLE I

| Estimated number of insured boys and girls | | Index numbers of insured juveniles (1923=100) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| July 1923 | July 1935 | 1924 | 1927 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | |
| A. COAL-MINING | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15,640 | 8,470 | 94.7 | 91.0 | 84.2 | 78.6 | 80.1 | 75.3 | 65.7 | 59.8 | 54.2 | |
| B. IRON AND STEEL, TINPLATES, AND IRON AND STEEL TUBES. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4,040 | 2,250 | 108.9 | 89.9 | 98.3 | 91.3 | 74.8 | 64.6 | 53.2 | 56.7 | 55.6 | |
| C. DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4,960 | 8,380 | 116.5 | 150.2 | 158.5 | 163.3 | 177.0 | 185.5 | 177.4 | 163.1 | 168.9 | |
| D. ALL INDUSTRIES | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33,720 | 28,390 | 102.5 | 104.6 | 103.7 | 101.7 | 102.8 | 99.8 | 88.6 | 83.8 | 84.2 | |

It is instructive to compare these trends with what has been happening to the volume of insured men and women in the South Wales region. If 1923 is taken as the base year, = 100, then an examination of the figures shows that the numbers of men and women insured in all industries decreased in 1935 to 97.8; of the main industries, coal-mining was the only one to show a continuous decline since 1923, the index figure for 1935 being 70.4, though even in this case the decline was not as great as in the case of the insured juveniles.

It is clear that there exist to-day fewer opportunities for the engagement of boys and girls in insurable industries than there existed formerly. In all the industries taken together, as well as in the three

most important groups of industries, the proportion of juveniles to adults insured in them has declined. In all industries the 1923 proportion of 72 insured juveniles per 1,000 insured adults had fallen by 1934 to 61. In coal-mining, the iron and steel trades group, and the distributive trades, the proportions in 1923 were respectively 64, 84, and 174; in 1934 these had reached the low figures of 51, 46, and 164.

Further light is thrown upon the variations which have taken place since 1929 in the size of the insured juvenile population of South Wales by the following table, which also enables comparisons to be made between the local position and that in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The figures relating to the United Kingdom are taken from an article in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for November, 1934.

TABLE II

| Date | South Wales Industrial Region | | | Great Britain and Northern Ireland | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|--|----------|------------------------------------|--|----------|
| | Insured at date in first column | Increase or decrease compared with a year before | | Insured at date in first column | Increase or decrease compared with a year before | |
| | | Number | Per cent | | Number | Per cent |
| | | | A. | Boys | | |
| July, 1929 .. | 28,130 | — 700* | — 2.4* | 597,530 | +25,500 | +4.5 |
| „ 1930 .. | 27,210 | — 920 | — 3.3 | 604,930 | + 7,400 | +1.2 |
| „ 1931 .. | 27,130 | — 80 | — 0.3 | 588,800 | —16,130 | —2.7 |
| „ 1932 .. | 26,220 | — 910 | — 3.4 | 565,800 | —23,000 | —3.9 |
| „ 1933 .. | 23,200 | —3,020 | —11.5 | 515,400 | —50,400 | —8.9 |
| „ 1934 .. | 21,700 | —1,500 | — 6.3 | 478,100 | —37,300 | —7.2 |
| | | | B. | Girls | | |
| July, 1929 .. | 6,830 | +400* | + 6.2* | 448,310 | +25,800 | +6.1 |
| „ 1930 .. | 7,100 | +270 | + 4.0 | 459,810 | +11,500 | +2.6 |
| „ 1931 .. | 7,530 | +430 | + 3.8 | 448,000 | —11,810 | —2.6 |
| „ 1932 .. | 7,420 | —110 | — 1.5 | 435,700 | —12,300 | —2.7 |
| „ 1933 .. | 6,670 | —750 | —10.1 | 401,300 | —34,400 | —7.9 |
| „ 1934 .. | 6,570 | —100 | — 1.5 | 378,800 | —22,500 | —5.6 |

* Compared with 1927.

It will be noticed that the rate of decrease among boys and girls was highest in 1932-33, and that this was true not only of South Wales but also of the whole of Great Britain. There can be little doubt that one important cause governing the decreases was the fall in the birth-rate in the years 1915-18; but it is not clear exactly to what extent other causes—e.g. changes in the demand for products, changes in the internal structure of industry, etc.—were at work assisting to bring about the same result.

It is possible, further, to show the changes which have taken place in the estimated numbers of insured juveniles in the various industry classifications over the period 1934-35. In this period (July—July) there were net increases in the numbers of insured juvenile workers in six industrial groups, and decreases in four groups; the remainder of the industries are grouped together as "all other industries," and in this general group an increase of 6·7 per cent took place. The industries in which increases were recorded are: building (22·5 per cent), the distributive trades (3·6 per cent), iron and steel manufacture (4·0 per cent), iron and steel tubes (12·5 per cent), railway service (88·4 per cent), and shipping service (8·7 per cent); the industries which experienced decreases in the number of insured in the same period are: public works contracting (15·0 per cent), tinplates (9·8 per cent), canal, dock, and harbour service (20·0 per cent), and coal-mining (9·4 per cent).

These changes in the occupational distribution of the insured boys and girls can be illustrated in another way. In 1923 nearly 60 per cent of the insured juvenile population of the region were engaged in three main industries—coal-mining, the manufacture of iron and steel, and tinplates. In 1935 about 37 per cent were so engaged. If these figures are read side by side with figures relating to unemployment (see Table III), it will be seen that, despite the contraction in the number of insured workers in these industries, unemployment, with considerable fluctuations, has continued to be very severe. Coal-mining has been a particularly bad sufferer, its unemployment percentage of 17·6 in June, 1934, comparing unfavourably with 2·8 per cent in June, 1929, and 10·9 per cent in 1930, although its worst experience of 22·0 per cent of June, 1932, has not since been repeated. It is a disturbing feature that in 1935 the iron and steel industry, whose insured juveniles were then less than half the 1923 total, had an unemployment percentage in June more than three times that of June, 1923; even so, the position has been very much more serious, for in 1931 and 1932 unemployment was about eight times as great as in 1923, even though the number of insured was considerably less

Juvenile Unemployment in South Wales

TABLE III

| Year | Total number of insured juveniles | Percentage of total insured juveniles registered in | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| | | Coal-mining | Iron and steel | Tinplates | Distributives |
| 1923 | 33,720 | 46.4 | 4.9 | 6.6 | 14.7 |
| 1924 | 34,550 | 42.9 | 4.2 | 8.1 | 16.7 |
| 1927 | 35,260 | 40.6 | 2.8 | 7.3 | 21.1 |
| 1929 | 34,962 | 37.8 | 3.3 | 7.8 | 22.5 |
| 1930 | 34,310 | 35.8 | 3.1 | 7.4 | 23.6 |
| 1931 | 34,660 | 36.1 | 2.1 | 6.4 | 25.3 |
| 1932 | 33,640 | 34.9 | 2.0 | 5.6 | 27.3 |
| 1933 | 29,870 | 34.4 | 2.1 | 5.1 | 29.5 |
| 1934 | 28,270 | 33.1 | 2.7 | 5.4 | 28.6 |
| 1935 | 28,390 | 29.8 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 29.5 |

| Year | Total percentage unemployed | | Percentage of insured juveniles unemployed (wholly unemployed + temporarily stopped) | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|------|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | June | Dec. | June | Dec. | June | Dec. | June | Dec. | June | Dec. |
| 1923 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 3.2 |
| 1924 | 2.8 | 6.7 | 2.4 | 5.8 | 4.6 | 10.6 | 0.7 | 23.1 | 3.2 | 3.7 |
| 1927 | 6.6 | 10.9 | 6.6 | 16.2 | 5.3 | 16.5 | 19.6 | 6.4 | 4.9 | 5.2 |
| 1929 | 5.0 | 6.6 | 2.8 | 4.5 | 10.4 | 16.3 | 11.6 | 8.6 | 4.8 | 6.4 |
| 1930 | 9.3 | 11.2 | 10.9 | 6.1 | 16.3 | 22.3 | 12.7 | 36.4 | 7.4 | 8.1 |
| 1931* | 12.1 | 12.8 | 13.3 | 13.2 | 21.2 | 19.6 | 17.1 | 18.4 | 7.6 | 10.1 |
| 1932 | 16.3 | 12.6 | 22.0 | 13.0 | 20.0 | 14.0 | 26.5 | 14.2 | 9.8 | 9.4 |
| 1933 | 12.7 | 9.7 | 17.6 | 9.0 | 12.7 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 8.2 | 9.8 | 9.0 |
| 1934 | 11.9 | 10.1 | 17.6 | 8.1 | 5.5 | 7.2 | 10.7 | 14.6 | 8.9 | 9.3 |
| 1935 | 10.4 | — | 9.3 | — | 9.0 | — | 17.1 | — | 10.8 | — |

* For 1931, June and September figures are available, not, as in the case of the other years, June and December.

than one-half. Unemployment in the tinplate industry has fluctuated within very wide limits, varying from 0·4 per cent in June, 1923, to 36·4 per cent in December, 1930. Within these limits the variations have been considerable, and the 1934 figure of 10·7 per cent (June) is higher than that for June, 1933, though lower than any recorded mid-year figure since 1927.

Despite the increase in the number of workers insured in the distributive trades, there has been a tendency for unemployment to increase. The general level of unemployment has, it is true, been lower than in the other industries we have considered, but there has been a persistent tendency for the figure to keep well up between 9 and 10 per cent.

III. THE AREAS EXAMINED

It has already been explained that, when the industrial survey was made, South Wales was divided into nine areas¹; it now becomes necessary to examine the effects of the depression upon each of these areas in turn.

AREA A is that part of the region which is in Carmarthenshire. Its largest single industry is the mining of anthracite coal, and the distributive trades now take the place formerly occupied by tinplates as the second most important single industry in the area.

¹ *Area A*: the area served by the Employment Exchange Offices at Llanelly, Ammanford, Burry Port, Carmarthen, Garnant, Kidwelly, and Llandilo.

Area B comprises the Employment Exchange Offices at Gorseinon, Pontardulais, Morriston, Clydach, Pontardawe, Ystalyfera, Swansea, Mumbles, and Swansea Docks.

Area C: served by offices at Aberdare, Maesteg, Aberkenfig, Ogmere Vale, Pontycymer, Neath, Resolven, Port Talbot, Bridgend, Cymmer, and Porthcawl.

Area D: the County Borough of Merthyr Tydfil.

Area E comprises the area covered by Employment Exchanges at Mountain Ash, Pontypridd, Tonypany, Treorchy, Ferndale, Pontyclun, Porth, Taffs Well, and Tonyrefail.

Area F: Cardiff, Barry, and Penarth.

Area G comprises the Exchanges at Bargoed, Pontlottyn, Caerphilly, and Tredegar.

Area H is the County Borough of Newport.

Area I: the Exchanges at Ebbw Vale, Brynmawr, Abertillery, Blaina, Crumlin, Pontypool, Blaenavon, Pontnewydd, Abergavenny, Risca, and Blackwood.

Between 1923 and 1935 a decrease of 12·2 per cent occurred in the number of insured juveniles, the number of insured boys declining from 2,000 to 1,540, while the insured girls rose from 300 to 480. This decline, in the case of boys, was due to the smaller numbers insured in the iron and steel, tinplate, and coal industries, while girls showed their most notable increase in the distributive trades. The number of juveniles engaged in coal-mining, iron and steel manufacture, and tinplates declined by 38, 73, and 45 per cent respectively. The personnel of the distributive trades increased by 160 per cent, and in 1935 accounted for 22 per cent of the total insured juveniles as against 7 per cent in 1923. Coal-mining, which took 44 per cent of the total in 1923, accounted for 31 per cent in 1935.

During the period under review the total number "in employment" (including the temporarily stopped) fell by 16 per cent. The "staple" industries reveal a very serious contraction in the volume of employment, which the expanding industries (chiefly distributive) failed to make good. Thus, when compared with June, 1923, there were in June, 1935, 73 per cent less employed in the iron and steel trades, and 38·0 per cent less in coal-mining; employment in the distributive trades expanded by 134 per cent, and in all other industries (excluding building and tinplates) by 47 per cent.

AREA B comprises Swansea and the industrial districts around it. Its relative prosperity has already been commented upon. The insured boys and girls fell (1923-35) by 5·5 per cent from 4,120 to 3,890. The number of girls increased, but not enough to balance the fall in the number of insured boys.

The total numbers insured in the major industries fell between 1923 and 1935, in coal-mining by 48·6 per cent, in tinplates by 37·2 per cent, in iron and steel by 37·2 per cent; the only increases occurred in the distributive group (32·5 per cent), building (62·5 per cent), public works contracting (20·0 per cent), and other relatively small industries not separately specified.

Thus, whereas tinplate manufacture was, in 1923, the largest single industry, accounting for 25 per cent of the total insured boys and girls, it had fallen, in 1935, to second place, accounting for just over 16 per cent of the total, while the distributives rose from second to first place and increased its share of the total number of insured from 20·6 per cent to 32·4 per cent. The share of coal-mining declined from 18·0 per cent to 9·7 per cent.

There was a decline (June, 1923—June, 1935) in the numbers "in employment" in all industries of 14·5 per cent. Building, shipping, and the distributives gave more employment than in 1923, but serious shrinkages occurred in the other industries. For example, the number

in employment in iron and steel (including the temporarily stopped) declined by 40 per cent, in tinplates by 39 per cent, and in coal-mining by 50 per cent.

AREA C. We are now moving away from the anthracite area into the dry steam coal area. The district is one in which coal-mining predominates, though iron and steel smelting and tinplate manufacture are carried on at the seaboard.

The salient features of the situation here are a decline in the number of insured juveniles during the period of 10·6 per cent, and a fall in the numbers "in employment" of 15 per cent.

AREA D. These tendencies are still further accentuated in the position in Merthyr Tydfil. Here again we have a district mainly dependent upon coal-mining, particularly since the closing down of the Dowlais Steel Works. The number of insured boys and girls has fallen from 1,590 to 1,100 (by 30·8 per cent). In 1935 there were 10 boys insured in the iron and steel industry compared with 150 boys and girls in 1923; coal-mining lost more than half of its 1923 personnel while workers in the distributive trades increased by 60 per cent.

Employment has naturally seriously contracted in the period. The total number "in employment" in June, 1935, was 36 per cent less than in June, 1923; the contraction in the numbers in employment at the collieries was 52·8 per cent, and in iron and steel 92·9 per cent.

AREA E. Labour in the Pontypridd and Rhondda area is dependent, more than any district we have yet considered, upon coal-mining. The post-war decline in the demand for smokeless steam coal and the absence of alternative occupations, have created a very serious unemployment problem for this district, though the general situation is not quite so bad as in Merthyr. The number of insured juveniles fell (1923-35) by 34·9 per cent, and the numbers "in employment" by 39 per cent. The fall, however, in the volume of insured labour hides an increase of 72 per cent in the number of insured girls, due to the expansion of the distributive trades. Coal-mining, which in 1923 had accounted for 80 per cent of the insured juvenile population, absorbed only 57 per cent in 1935, while the share of the distributive trades rose from 9 per cent to 28 per cent.

AREA F is that area covered by Cardiff, Barry, and Penarth, and is chiefly concerned with distributive, transport, commercial, and holiday business. It contains no one large industry, but is distinguished by the variety of the services which its workers perform. In virtue of its position as the distributing, commercial, educational, and social centre of the coal-producing hinterland, its prosperity is intimately

bound up with that of the industrial areas, and in recent years the repercussions of depression in these areas have been felt in Cardiff and Barry.

The numbers of insured boys and girls between 1923 and 1935 rose by 13·8 per cent, from 4,790 to 5,450. The transport services, ship-building and ship-repairing, and printing and publishing experienced contractions in the volume of labour, while the services of hotels and restaurants, grain milling and bread, biscuit- and cake-making, all increased their insured workers.

Taking all the industries together, there were, in June, 1935, nearly 7 per cent more workers "in employment" than in June, 1923. In other words, the expanding industries and services offered more than sufficient employment to offset the contracting opportunities in the declining industrial groups. Thus, for example, in hotel and restaurant service and in bread-, cake-, and biscuit-making, there were respectively 23 and just over 26 per cent more juveniles in employment in 1935 than in 1923; the increase in the distributive trades was 25 per cent.

AREA G. With the Pontypridd-Rhondda area might be compared the Rhymney-Tredegar area, for in both coal-mining predominates. Chiefly because of developments in the southern parts of the area, the effects of the depression have not been felt quite so badly as in other districts, and the number of insured juveniles fell from 2,240 to 1,880 (1923-35), or by 16 per cent, as compared with the 34·9 per cent decline in the Pontypridd-Rhondda area (Area E) or the 30·8 per cent fall in the Borough of Merthyr Tydfil (Area D). The numbers insured in coal-mining dropped by 27 per cent, while those in the distributive trades rose by 100 per cent. Coal-mining had, in 1923, accounted for 78·5 per cent of the insured juvenile population, and distributives for 8·0 per cent; this distribution had changed in 1935 so that the distributives took 19 per cent and coal-mining 68 per cent.

Fewer boys found employment in the coal industry in the period, and all industries employed some 19 per cent less in 1935 than in 1923. In the distributive trades the number in employment was nearly doubled.

AREA H. Here, in the County Borough of Newport, is an area comparable in many respects to Cardiff, for as Cardiff acts as a distributing centre for the industrial districts behind it, so does Newport for the Monmouthshire Valleys. Industry is varied in Newport, but not to the same extent as in the Cardiff-Barry area, and the effects of the depression have been correspondingly more severe. While the insured juvenile population in Cardiff rose by 13·8 per cent, the number

of insured boys and girls in Newport fell by nearly 6 per cent, from 2,530 to 2,380. The groups to show increases in personnel were building, railway service, and the distributive trades, which latter, between 1923 and 1935, increased by 69 per cent. Workers insured in iron and steel industries declined by 42.5 per cent, in ship-building by 80 per cent, and in shipping by 66.6 per cent.

Employment fell by nearly 7 per cent in the period, and again, the only industry to show an important increase in the number of juveniles in employment was the distributive trades (44.8 per cent).

AREA I. In this area is comprised the eastern and western valleys of Monmouthshire, together with Abergavenny and Brynmawr. Coal-mining is still the largest industry, providing employment for 44.8 per cent of the insured juveniles (against nearly 64 per cent in 1923); the share of the distributive trades in the total insured juveniles has risen in the period from 9.8 per cent to 27 per cent.

Employment fell by 40 per cent, the distributive trades being again the only large industrial category to increase its volume of employment over that of 1923.

IV. THE EASTERN AND WESTERN AREAS COMPARED

If we now compare the eastern with the western section of the coalfield, we find that, although unemployment is heavier in the west, the difference is by no means very great. It is clear that, so far as the employment of juveniles is concerned, there is no great dividing line on one side of which we can regard the area as prosperous and on the other side depressed. It seemed true in 1934 that unemployment amongst boys and girls was lower in places like Newport, Cardiff, and Swansea, where a variety of industries offered varied choices of employment; but the figures for June, 1935, reveal the fact that, owing in large measure to an increase in the numbers temporarily stopped, this distinction has been largely overcome. Unemployment was more severe in the Swansea area (15.9 per cent) than in Merthyr Tydfil (13.5 per cent), and almost as severe in Cardiff (9.6 per cent) as in the eastern area (9.9 per cent); Newport, with an unemployment percentage of 5.8, was as badly off as the Rhymney-Tredegar area, with 5.7 per cent.

V. SURPLUS LABOUR

That there exists a definite surplus of juvenile labour in the 16-18 age group in the insured industries and services is extremely doubtful. If we apply the same test that was applied in the "Industrial Survey of South Wales" to discover the extent of the surplus among insured

TABLE IV

| Industry | WESTERN SECTION* | | | | EASTERN SECTION† | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| | Total number of insured juveniles | Number wholly unemployed (June, 1935) | Number temporarily stopped (June, 1935) | Percentage of unemployment | Total number of insured juveniles | Number wholly unemployed (June, 1935) | Number temporarily stopped (June, 1935) | Percentage of unemployment |
| Coalmining .. | 1,010 | 21 | 20 | 4.1 | 7,460 | 241 | 505 | 10.0 |
| Iron and steel .. | 150 | 4 | 19 | 15.3 | 640 | 11 | 37 | 7.5 |
| Tinplates .. | 940 | 36 | 142 | 19.0 | 430 | 26 | 30 | 13.0 |
| Distributives .. | 1,700 | 241 | 10 | 14.8 | 6,680 | 626 | 27 | 9.8 |
| All others .. | 2,110 | 241 | 50 | 13.8 | 7,270 | 597 | 64 | 9.1 |
| Totals | 5,910 | 543 | 241 | 13.2 | 22,480 | 1,501 | 663 | 9.6 |

* The Western Section comprises Survey Areas A and B.

† The Eastern Section comprises Survey Areas C—I (inclusive).

Juvenile Unemployment in South Wales

workers in general, we find that in June, 1929, there were roughly 34,000 boys and girls in employment (including the temporarily stopped). In June, 1935, so rapidly had the number of insured juveniles been declining, there were only a little more than 28,000 insured in the region. It does seem, therefore, that if the demand for juvenile labour ever increases to its 1929 volume, there will be a theoretical shortage of labour which will be made up by the entrance into the ranks of the insured of boys and girls who, at the present time, are either remaining at school pending employment, have left school and are unemployed, or are engaged in occupations which are not insurable.

A full discussion of the problem must be left for a later section, because no account has yet been given of the employment of boys and girls of 14-16 years of age. Only in the light of further information can the problem of shortage and/or surplus be adequately examined.

CHAPTER II

Juvenile Unemployment

B. Special Enquiry into School-Leavers

In order to form an estimate of the extent of unemployment amongst boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age who, before the passing of the Unemployment Act, 1934, were not included in the scheme of national insurance and some of whom, even under the terms of that Act, are not insurable, it was decided to resort to the method of sample enquiry. Two questionnaires¹ were compiled on the basis of those used by the Lancashire investigators in 1932.² The co-operation of the Directors of Education in South Wales was sought, and in all cases, save one,³ they expressed themselves willing to assist the enquiry in every way possible. They undertook to distribute the forms to the head teachers of elementary schools in their respective areas with a request that they should be filled in and returned as soon as possible. There can be no doubt that the success of the two investigations that were carried through was in large measure due to the interest both of directors and head teachers, and to their willingness to render every assistance in their power. The help that was thus forthcoming is here gratefully acknowledged.

FIRST ENQUIRY

The first questionnaire, which was sent to the schools in July, 1934, was designed to discover how many of the boys and girls *eligible* to leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934, actually did leave (a) to take up employment either locally or in other districts, (b) for purposes of further education, (c) with no intention of entering employment, and (d) with no immediate prospects of employment in view. Head teachers were also asked to specify the industry and occupation of those juveniles who left school for employment, and to state whether such employment was in the locality, elsewhere in South Wales, or outside South Wales.

¹ See Appendices I and II.

² Jewkes & Winterbottom, *Juvenile Unemployment*.

³ The Director of Education for Cardiff did not grant permission to send forms to head teachers in the city on the ground that they are already overburdened with questionnaires and similar requests for information.

In all, particulars were returned relating to over 7,000 boys and 7,000 girls. The information, which is set out in detail in Appendix IV (A and B), must be read with the following facts in mind: all the school-leavers were not covered, for some schools failed to make returns; not all the information relates to the position actually at the end of the summer term, for in many cases the forms were not completed by the head teachers until the schools had re-assembled for the new autumn term¹; in particular, the figures for Monmouthshire refer to the position at the end of September, owing to delay in distributing the forms from the Education Office. In general, therefore, the results of the first questionnaire may be taken as giving a picture of the employment position of school-leavers in September, 1934, between one and two months after leaving school. Despite the fact that all the school-leavers were not covered, the enquiry was sufficiently wide in its scope to justify the claim that it presents a representative picture of the general situation in the region at that time.

Of the 7,284 boys who were returned as eligible to leave the elementary schools at the end of the summer term, 1934, nearly 47 per cent remained at school until they had jobs to go to. In consequence of the increasing difficulty of young lads and girls in the mining areas finding employment on leaving school, there has been a growing tendency for large numbers of them to remain at school even when no longer required by law to do so. On March 31, 1929, there were 4,439 boys and girls in the elementary schools of South Wales who were exempt from compulsory attendance.² Our own enquiry shows that over 6,000 boys and girls were returned as continuing in school—a significant increase, especially when it is remembered that the investigation does not present a complete picture of what was happening.

Naturally, the practice of remaining at school pending employment is most common in areas where the chances of employment are most meagre. In Pontypridd, 69·5 per cent of the boys eligible to leave were returned as remaining at school; in Merthyr Tydfil 75·8 per cent; Llanelly 66·2 per cent; Aberdare 73·7 per cent; Rhondda 60·9 per cent; Mountain Ash 57·5 per cent. In no area did the percentage fall below 30, the lowest being in Newport, 30·6 per cent. The Monmouthshire figures showed that 42·9 per cent continued to attend school, and in Glamorganshire 35·1 per cent. Even in the counties which are predominantly agricultural, the figures are high—31·1 per cent in Breconshire and 44·4 per cent in Carmarthenshire.

¹ The figures for Newport, Aberdare, and Pontypridd may be taken as representing the position at the beginning of August; some of the Glamorganshire forms were completed at the beginning of August. For the rest, it is, as stated, the position in September which is revealed.

² Board of Education List 45 (Wales), 1929.

Of the total number of boys who actually did leave school, only 42.4 per cent left for work in the locality and 2.9 per cent for work elsewhere. Llanelly, Swansea, and Mountain Ash show the highest percentages of boys taking up local employment: viz. 70.7 per cent, 62.8 per cent, and 51.9 per cent respectively. The local absorption in some cases was extremely low: for example, in Ebbw Vale only 20.2 per cent of the boys who left found immediate employment locally, in Pontypridd 19.8 per cent, in Newport 26.4 per cent, in Neath 24.3 per cent.

As the number of boys who leave school with no intention of seeking employment is negligible, it follows from the above that the number looking for work but unable to find it is large, particularly in those areas unable to absorb many in local employment. Nearly 73 per cent of the boys who left school in Pontypridd were unemployed, 58 per cent in Aberdare, and 53.5 per cent in Newport. These admittedly were the worst districts, but, with the exception of Barry, in no area did the percentages fall below 25 and in most areas were nearer 40. The figure for all the areas taken together was 41.3 per cent.¹

One further point remains: the small number of boys proceeding to further education of the junior technical or commercial type.² It is not a matter of pride that only 7.4 per cent of the boys who left school (or 288 in all) left with the intention of continuing their education. The majority of these went to junior technical schools. The low figures point to the need for the provision of more educational facilities of this kind and for the education of parents and scholars in the utilisation of such facilities that already exist in their areas.

Turning now to the girls, it will be seen from Appendix IV (B) that 42.2 per cent of the 7,073 girls eligible to leave school remained at school. Here again, Pontypridd, Aberdare, Merthyr Tydfil, Ebbw Vale, Mountain Ash, and the Rhondda show themselves to be the worst areas in the coalfield. Over one-third of the girls who left school were not seeking employment; the proportion was lower in towns like Newport and Barry, and higher in the mining districts of Mountain Ash, Aberdare, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Abertillery, Ebbw Vale, etc. Only 16.4 per cent of those who left school at the end of the term entered local employment and 7.4 per cent left the districts for employment. Aberdare, Pontypridd, and Rhondda each had less

¹ Some head teachers returned boys and girls as proceeding to Junior Instruction Centres or Home Training Centres. These have been included in the category "Left school but seeking employment."

² Children who were leaving school to proceed to secondary schools were omitted from this enquiry, as they leave before the age of 14 years.

than 8 per cent taking up employment locally. It is very probable—indeed, almost certain—that, did the opportunities exist, a large proportion of the girls who now stay at home “helping mother” would enter the ranks of the wage-earners. The number “not seeking employment” is increased by the few industrial openings that exist in the coalfield, and were the situation different we might expect to find that the number who would then stay at home would not be much more than 20 per cent of the leavers.

But under present circumstances, nearly one-third of the girls who did leave school with the intention of securing wage-earning employment failed to obtain posts. In this connection, Newport with 58·4 per cent and Pontypridd with 53·8 per cent were the blackest spots, followed by Port Talbot (45·8 per cent), Barry (42·9 per cent), Glamorganshire (36·6 per cent), Monmouthshire and Aberdare, with 34·4 and 34 per cent respectively.

The number of girls proceeding to further education was lower even than of boys, for only 2·5 per cent of the total number of leavers went to some sort of technical or commercial school. Actually, in some areas (e.g. Aberdare, Pontypridd, and Breconshire), no girls were returned under this head.

Summing up this part of the enquiry we can say that, of the 14,357 boys and girls covered by the enquiry who were eligible to leave school at the end of July, 1934, as many as 6,402 (or 44·6 per cent) elected to remain at school until they could get work. Of the 7,955 children who left school, 29 per cent immediately found work locally and 5·2 per cent elsewhere, while 37 per cent were unemployed.

In the whole area, 1,639 boys and 671 girls had found local employment by September, 1934. The occupations which these juveniles entered are given in Appendix V (A and B). These figures show that the two industries which attracted the greatest number of boys were coal-mining and wholesale and retail trading, into which went 25·8 per cent and 36·2 per cent of the total number of boys who found employment. Indeed, these two categories accounted for all the boys in the Abertillery returns and for nearly 95 per cent of those in Mountain Ash, 66 per cent in Glamorganshire, and 78·5 per cent in the Rhondda area.

As would be expected, agriculture attracted the greatest number of boys in Carmarthenshire and Breconshire (with, respectively, 59·4 and 36·5 per cent of the total number of boys who left for employment); in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth, 13·3 and 11·6 per cent of the boys entering jobs found work on the land. The iron and steel

and tinplate trades offered relatively few openings to boys, and opportunities of employment were even less favourable in the building, engineering, and transport trades.

For girls, the only occupation open to them on any large scale proved to be domestic and institutional service. More than half (59.5 per cent) of the girls who were occupied in September had taken personal service posts; in some areas (e.g. Mountain Ash, Merthyr Tydfil, and the county of Brecon) as many as 80 per cent and over entered domestic service. The distributive trades, too, took, in some areas, a fairly considerable number, the percentage for the region being 14.8. It was found that a number of girls in the region found employment in the millinery and tailoring trades, in laundries, and in food and drink manufacture; among the less important occupations numerically were hairdressing, cinema attendants, and junior clerkships.

Boys who found employment outside their home towns entered either agriculture, the distributive trades, personal service, or engineering. Of the 114 boys returned as leaving the district for employment, 25 found work in South Wales and 74 elsewhere; the remaining 15 were not accounted for. More than 85 per cent of the 197 girls who found employment outside South Wales entered domestic service, as did nearly 62 per cent of the 97 girls who left school to take up employment in other parts of South Wales. The bulk of the remainder entered the distributive trades. Only 9 girls were not accounted for in the returns.

SECOND ENQUIRY

The position in September, therefore, showed itself to be extremely grave. Large numbers of boys and girls were staying on at school rather than leave and be without jobs; and about 40 per cent of those who had left in July were still seeking employment. The question that now presented itself was: Had the position improved to any considerable extent by the beginning of December?

In order to throw light on this problem, a second questionnaire¹ was issued to the schools, designed to present information relating to those boys and girls who had actually left school at the end of the summer term. Head teachers were asked to state whether at the beginning of December they were employed, and if so, in what industries, whether they were unemployed, continuing their education, or staying at home. Unfortunately, although these forms were in the

¹ See Appendix II.

hands of the Directors of Education at the middle of November, no replies were received from Carmarthenshire, Neath, and Barry. Nevertheless, the information which has come to hand throws an interesting light on the problem, and is still comprehensive enough to be a representative sample of what has happened in South Wales as a whole.

It has been shown that 1,639 boys and 671 girls were returned as having found employment by September. The second enquiry revealed that,¹ at the beginning of December, 2,541 boys and 1,116 girls were at work locally. The occupational distribution of these young wage-earners was very much the same as in September: 30·6 per cent of the boys had taken up colliery work and 38·3 per cent were engaged in the distributive trades; of the girls, 56·2 per cent had found jobs as domestic workers, and 18·9 per cent in and about shops.

In addition to these, 147 boys and 375 girls were returned as having entered employment in districts outside their own localities; 44 boys and 87 girls found work in other parts of South Wales, and 103 boys and 288 girls had jobs outside South Wales. In the case of the boys, the majority were settled in the distributive trades, agriculture and personal service; amongst the girls, the distributive trades and domestic and institutional service accounted for nearly the whole number.

But it is clear that, even with some 4,000 boys and girls in employment at the beginning of December, unemployment was still very serious amongst the July school-leavers. Jewkes & Winterbottom, in their survey of school-leavers in Lancashire, found that of the children who left school in the summer of 1932 and were available for work, 22 per cent of the boys and 18 per cent of the girls were still unemployed three months later.² As these are total figures, and include leavers from secondary and junior technical schools, they are not strictly comparable with our figures for South Wales. The percentages unemployed to the number seeking work three months after leaving the elementary schools in Lancashire were 20·7 boys and 16·7 girls.³

The following table shows the extent of unemployment in South Wales *four* months after boys and girls had left school.

¹ See Appendix VI (A and B).

² *Juvenile Unemployment*, J. Jewkes and A. Winterbottom, p. 26.

³ *Op. cit.*, Table 4, p. 145.

TABLE V

| Local Education Authority | Percentage of school-leavers available for employment* unemployed four months after leaving school. (Elementary schools only.) | |
|---------------------------|--|-------|
| | Boys | Girls |
| Glamorganshire .. | 29·7 | 40·7 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 24·1 | 39·0 |
| Swansea | 46·6 | 59·0 |
| Merthyr Tydfil .. | 14·6 | 44·0 |
| Llanelly | 19·3 | — |
| Newport | 10·4 | 28·7 |
| Port Talbot .. | 25·3 | 41·8 |
| Pontypridd .. | 43·9 | 19·8 |
| Rhondda | 35·3 | 37·3 |
| Mountain Ash .. | 17·2 | 30·4 |
| Aberdare | 22·0 | 28·8 |
| Abertillery .. | 51·7 | 46·0 |
| Ebbw Vale | 56·5 | 40·0 |
| Totals | 30·0 | 39·6 |

* But see below; also Table VI.

These figures reveal how much more serious the problem is in South Wales than it was in 1932 in Lancashire. Of the boys who left school in July, 1934, in the region, only 70 per cent were employed in December, and little over 60 per cent of the girls had found work in the intervening period. Places where the unemployment percentages were highest were the coal-mining areas of Abertillery, Ebbw Vale, and Pontypridd, together with Swansea.

But it may well be doubted whether these figures reveal the situation in all its seriousness. They were calculated on the assumption that the numbers "available for employment" are equivalent to those who left school with the intention of seeking employment. But it should not be forgotten that many hundreds of boys and girls remain

at school until the offer of work presents itself. These children are, in every sense of the word, "available for employment." The real position, therefore, is only seen if we work out on this new basis the numbers unemployed as percentages of the numbers available for employment. In Table VI this has been done. The numbers available for employment include all those eligible to leave school, less those staying at home and/or proceeding with their education, but including those staying at school pending employment. Similarly, the numbers unemployed include those who remained at school as well as those who left and were without work.

Thus, instead of there being 41·3 per cent of the boys and 32·8 per cent of the girls unemployed in September, there were actually 72·5 per cent of the boys and 78·9 per cent of the girls without work. At the beginning of December the percentages for those areas for which information was forthcoming were 55 (boys) and 68·5 (girls). While Newport came off comparatively lightly, the remainder of the areas reveal a situation which cannot be viewed with anything but the utmost concern.

Finally, this must be said. Little satisfaction can be derived from the contemplation even of the numbers of boys who have been successful in obtaining employment. It is patent, from our occupational analysis, that coal-mining and the distributive trades absorb the greatest number of male school-leavers. These are occupations which in very large measure must be regarded as blind-alley and non-progressive. This is particularly true of the distributive trades. More than 90 per cent of those taking up employment in these trades became errand boys, van boys, and messenger boys; it will be seen that the very nature of the work precludes most of them from improving themselves in a craft and from receiving training which will fit them to take up permanent and progressive occupations at later stages. Coal-mining, too, does not to-day offer boys chances of permanent and stable employment, in so far as the practice is common of dispensing with the services of youths who reach an age at which they can demand the adult wage.

The position, therefore, is this: that of the boys who find employment in the coalfield on leaving school, large numbers enter occupations in which there is no permanence, in which wages are low, and in which they will be displaced at a young age in order to make room for batches of still younger juveniles, who will experience the same treatment in their turn. The case of girls is not so serious. The bulk enter domestic service, and while this is in many cases—too many cases—an occupation which is overworked and underpaid, it does offer girls the chance of permanence and a large measure of security.

TABLE VI

| Local Education Authority | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--|------------|----------------------------------|--|------------|
| | Numbers available for employment | The number unemployed as a percentage of the number available for employment | | Numbers available for employment | The number unemployed as a percentage of the number available for employment | |
| | | Sept., 1934 | Dec., 1934 | | Sept., 1934 | Dec., 1934 |
| Breconshire .. | 201 | 55·2 | — | 123 | 74·0 | — |
| Carmarthenshire .. | 482 | 75·3 | — | 327 | 73·7 | — |
| Glamorganshire .. | 1,404 | 69·6 | 50·2 | 946 | 82·1 | 66·9 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 1,203 | 68·0 | 51·0 | 1,106 | 78·7 | 70·9 |
| Swansea | 570 | 64·0 | 45·8 | 433 | 70·0 | 60·5 |
| Merthyr Tydfil .. | 229 | 85·6 | 66·8 | 145 | 84·8 | 74·5 |
| Llanelly | 220 | 75·9 | 69·5 | 112 | 73·2 | 47·3 |
| Newport | 451 | 80·0 | 17·5 | 379 | 86·5 | 44·3 |
| Port Talbot .. | 122 | 68·0 | 41·8 | 92 | 83·7 | 65·2 |
| Neath | 148 | 52·0 | — | 153 | 33·3 | — |
| Pontypridd .. | 264 | 92·4 | 76·8 | 279 | 97·5 | 76·7 |
| Rhondda | 673 | 83·8 | 76·1 | 593 | 86·7 | 77·5 |
| Mountain Ash .. | 244 | 74·6 | 58·5 | 231 | 86·1 | 76·2 |
| Aberdare | 364 | 89·2 | 67·8 | 213 | 92·5 | 75·6 |
| Barry | 135 | 73·3 | — | 134 | 79·8 | — |
| Abertillery .. | 84 | 69·0 | 63·0 | 54 | 55·5 | 50·0 |
| Ebbw Vale .. | 121 | 81·0 | 75·2 | 166 | 81·3 | 85·5 |
| Totals | 6,915 | 72·5 | 55·0* | 5,486 | 78·9 | 68·5* |

* These percentages are based on the numbers available for employment only in those areas for which returns were made.

CHAPTER III

Juvenile Labour: Supply and Demand

I. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

One of the most significant features of recent economic development has been the redistribution of labour between different kinds of industry. Table III gave information relating to movements of labour in so far as the insured juvenile population was concerned. It was shown that, over the past eleven years, there has been taking place a considerable decline in the employment of boys and girls in the basic industries—coal-mining, iron and steel, and tinplates. Coal-mining absorbed 46.4 per cent of the insured juveniles in 1923, and iron and steel and tinplates, between them, 11.5 per cent; in 1935 the share of coal-mining had fallen to 29.8 per cent, and that of the metal group to 7.6 per cent.

In contrast with this is the expansion of the distributive trades; the number in this group in 1923 represented 14.7 per cent of all insured juveniles and in 1935 as much as 29.5 per cent.

The re-adaptation that has been going on, even in South Wales, with its limited opportunities for alternative employment, is perhaps most clearly seen by an examination of the Census returns of 1931 and 1921.¹

The effects of the low war-time birth-rate were being felt in the early thirties, and a comparison of the number of males and females (14 to 17 years of age) who were returned as following occupations at the two census periods shows that the number of males had declined by 12.5 per cent, females by 0.2 per cent, and males and females by 9.1 per cent. This occurred despite the fact that the figures for 1921 relate to an area which is smaller than that of 1931.

NUMBER OF PERSONS (14-17 YEARS) RETURNED AS FOLLOWING OCCUPATIONS
(INCLUDING THOSE OUT OF WORK)

| | 1931 ^a | 1921 ^a |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Males | 50,098 | 57,283 |
| Females | 22,457 | 22,506 |
| Total | 72,555 | 79,789 |

¹ See Appendix III (A and B). For the sake of comparison with 1931, the 1,137 boys and 181 girls aged 12-13 years, who were returned in 1921 as occupied, have been ignored in the calculations which follow.

Continued on next page.

Reference to Appendix III will show how this smaller labour force has redistributed itself, and how the lighter industries and services have attracted a greater volume of labour than heretofore. Mining and quarrying, which, in 1921, absorbed 46 per cent of the occupied boys (14-17 years), in 1931 accounted for 35·5 per cent. Labour in the metal trades declined in volume from 13·5 per cent of the total to 7·2 per cent. Agriculture,⁴ transport and communications, commerce and clerical work, and personal service all took a substantially larger share of the total number of occupied boys in 1931 than in 1921; food, drink, and tobacco manufacture was also relatively more important at the later date.

A larger proportion of girls were engaged in personal and institutional service in 1931—53·6 per cent, as against 42·6 per cent in 1921; agriculture claimed 1·2 per cent—0·3 per cent greater than the 1921 proportion. On the other hand, textile and textile goods workers were considerably less as a percentage of the total (5·8 per cent in 1931 and 13·9 per cent in 1921), and there occurred a similar decline in the importance of the metal trades, whose female workers accounted for 4·6 per cent of the 1921 total and 2 per cent of the 1931 total. Transport workers, clerks, typists, etc., makers of foods, drinks, and tobacco, and workers in entertainments and sports all declined relatively to the total occupied females.

Thus, during the ten years between the last two census returns, there has been taking place a movement of labour which might, in general terms, be described as one out of coal-mining and the metal

Continued from previous page.

¹ The area covered is that of the four counties: Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, Brecknockshire, and Carmarthenshire.

² When the 1921 Census figures are discussed, South Wales means *not* the four counties but the following area:—

- (i) The whole of Glamorganshire with the associated county boroughs.
- (ii) A part of Monmouthshire, viz. County Borough of Newport; Urban Districts of Abercarn, Abersychan, Abertillery, Bedwas and Machen, Bedwelty, Blaenavon, Ebbw Vale, Llanfrechfa Upper, Llantarnam, Mynyddislwyn, Nantyglo, Blaina, Panteg, Pontypool, Rhymney, Risca, Tredegar; the Rural District of St. Mellons.
- (iii) A part of Brecknockshire, viz. Urban District of Brynmawr; Rural Districts of Crickhowell, Vaynor and Penderyn, Ystradgynlais; the Civil Parish of Ystradfellte.
- (iv) A part of Carmarthenshire, viz. Boroughs of Kidwelly and Llanelly; Urban Districts of Ammanford, Burry Port, Cwmaman, and Llandilo; Rural Districts of Llandilo-fawr and Llanelly.

⁴ Naturally, Brecknockshire and Carmarthenshire offer more opportunities of employment in agriculture than either Glamorganshire or Monmouthshire. The percentages of the total occupied boys engaged in agriculture in each county in 1931 were, in order: 30·2, 25·2, 3·0, and 6·5.

and textile trades, into agriculture and transport and commercial posts (in the case of boys), and agriculture and personal service in the case of girls.

It is understandable that the number of occupied boys in 1931 should form a smaller proportion of the total number of boys 14 to 17 years of age than in 1921; in the case of girls, a slightly larger percentage of the total was returned as occupied in 1931. The fall in the percentage of occupied males (78·8 to 69) is, of course, to be explained by the decline in the demand for labour in the heavy industries, while the increased proportion of occupied female labour (31·4 to 33·8) can be understood in the light of the expanded demand for girls in the distributive trades and in personal service.

When we turn to the age distribution of these juvenile workers, we find that of the 50,098 boys returned as occupied in 1931, 18,602 were between 14 and 15 years of age and 31,496 were between 16 and 17. Of the 22,457 occupied girls, 7,299 were in the 14-15 age group, and 15,158 in the 16-17 group. Thus the bulk of the occupied boys and girls—about 64 per cent—are 16 and 17 years of age.

Figures given in the 1931 Census returns show that recruitment in most industries in South Wales is low at the earlier ages. Undoubtedly this may be attributed to (a) the effects of the low war-time birth-rate, and (b) the desire of many employers to engage boys and girls who, up to the age of 16 years, have undergone some form of continued education. An analysis of the returns shows, for example, that boys working in commercial and clerical employment numbered 2,011 at the ages 14 and 15; at 16 and 17 they increased to 4,449. Against the 861 boys between 14 and 15 engaged in the metal industries, there were 2,727 aged 16 and 17 years. Of the 12,028 girls engaged in personal service, 4,031 were aged 14 and 15. These figures serve to give substance to the complaint of many Juvenile Employment Officers and others, that great difficulty is normally experienced in placing in employment boys 14 or 15 years of age.

II. JUVENILES AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT

The number of juveniles available for employment is determined, ultimately, by the number of births, and will be greatly affected by the changes in the birth-rate during the past twenty years.

The Ministry of Labour recently issued an estimate of the number of boys and girls aged 14 to 17 years inclusive who would be available for employment in Great Britain in each year from 1931 onwards.¹

¹ *The Ministry of Labour Gazette*, October, 1934. These calculations are a revision of the estimates prepared by the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade and contained in the volume, *Factors in Industrial and Commercial Efficiency*, pp. 150-1.

First were calculated the numbers of juveniles reaching the ages 14 to 17 in the years 1931 to 1945. In 1933 the number was 2,644,000, and in each year until 1944 the numbers will be larger than that for 1933; in 1945 there will be about 17,000 fewer juveniles than in 1933. The immediate increases are:

| <i>Increase on 1933</i> | | <i>Increase on 1933</i> | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| 1936 .. | 570,000 | 1939 .. | 306,000 |
| 1937 .. | 643,000 | 1940 .. | 231,000 |
| 1938 .. | 438,000 | | |

Not all these, of course, will be available for employment. Allowing for those who will be continuing their education, staying at home, and, for other reasons, not offering themselves on the labour market, the Ministry estimates that, at the end of 1933 there were 1,872,000 boys and girls available for employment. The numbers rise to their peak in 1937, when 2,357,000 will be available and decline slowly until in 1945 the number available is estimated to be 1,861,000. The yearly increases in the juvenile labour supply over that of 1933 are estimated to be:

| <i>Increase on 1933</i> | | <i>Increase on 1933</i> | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| 1936 .. | 394,000 | 1939 .. | 227,000 |
| 1937 .. | 485,000 | 1940 .. | 170,000 |
| 1938 .. | 326,000 | | |

Turning now to the position as it is likely to be in South Wales, we first notice the number of births in the four counties (Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen) since 1914.

TABLE VII

| Year | Number of births | Year | Number of births |
|------|------------------|------|------------------|
| 1914 | 53,768 | 1924 | 44,763 |
| 1915 | 50,193 | 1925 | 42,823 |
| 1916 | 46,274 | 1926 | 40,519 |
| 1917 | 42,588 | 1927 | 35,389 |
| 1918 | 44,245 | 1928 | 35,422 |
| 1919 | 42,998 | 1929 | 33,896 |
| 1920 | 54,798 | 1930 | 33,163 |
| 1921 | 52,590 | 1931 | 31,950 |
| 1922 | 45,759 | 1932 | 30,592 |
| 1923 | 45,495 | — | — |

The year of the greatest number of births since the war was 1920, since when the numbers have steadily declined except for a quite insignificant rise in 1928.

By using these figures in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour estimates for Great Britain, it has been possible to estimate roughly the numbers of boys and girls who will reach the ages 14 to 17 in South Wales in the coming years. It must be noted, however, that these estimates are based on the assumption that the rates of mortality and the extent of migration which obtain in Great Britain and which influenced the Ministry's estimates, hold good in South Wales.¹

The result of these calculations are shown in Appendix VII. It will be seen that roughly 170,000 boys and girls will reach the ages 14-17 years in 1937 as against 144,000 in 1933. The numbers in excess of the 1933 figure for each year until 1940 are as follows :

| | | <i>Increase on 1933</i> |
|------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1936 | .. | 25,000 |
| 1937 | .. | 26,000 |
| 1938 | .. | 19,000 |
| 1939 | .. | 11,000 |
| 1940 | .. | 7,000 |

To obtain the numbers of juveniles available for employment in Great Britain, the Ministry of Labour assumed that 55 per cent of the boys and 43½ per cent of the girls of 14 years, 75 per cent of the boys and 61½ per cent of the girls of 15 years, and 89 per cent of the boys and 76 per cent of the girls of 16 and 17 years will be available, and worked out their results on that basis. In considering whether these proportions are applicable to South Wales, attention must be paid to the results of the 1931 Census. It is clear that at the Census enumeration the percentages of occupied boys and girls to the total (14-17 years) were very much lower for South Wales than for the country as a whole. The differences are capable of fairly simple explanation. The numbers of those "not gainfully occupied" were swollen by the children who remained at school because of the lack of suitable employment; they are none the less "available" for employment if and when the opportunity arises. In the case of girls, the extremely low proportions in the three age groups are due to the habit of girls of remaining at home "helping mother"—a habit which would be broken, to a very

¹ In view of the fact that mortality rates are higher in South Wales than in Great Britain, and that there has been a steady migration out of the area, the estimates that follow are likely to exaggerate the real position. It has been impossible, however, to estimate the extent of the possible error, and the figures must be read with this warning in mind.

large extent if suitable employment could be offered to them. A large proportion of the girls who now remain at home would, undoubtedly, enter industry, if this were made possible by the establishment of light industries in the coalfield.

Accordingly, the proportions applied by the Ministry of Labour to the figures for Great Britain are here applied to the South Wales figures.¹ From 101,000 boys and girls which were likely to be available for employment in 1933, the figures steadily rise until 1937, when they reach 121,000; thereafter they fall to 84,000 in 1945. The increases over 1933 are :

| | | <i>Increase over 1933</i> |
|------|----|-------------------------------|
| 1936 | .. | 18,000 |
| 1937 | .. | 20,000 |
| 1938 | .. | 15,000 |
| 1939 | .. | 9,000 |
| 1940 | .. | 6,000 |

These figures conceal great differences in age distribution. In 1934 there were something like 23,000 aged 14; the numbers decline to 14,000 in 1945. The 15 age group reached its highest number in 1935, the 16 age group will reach it in 1936 and the 17 in 1937. In 1937, when the supply of juvenile potential workers reaches its maximum, the total will be made up as follows :

| | | |
|----------|----|----------------|
| 14 years | .. | 19,000 |
| 15 " | .. | 27,000 |
| 16 " | .. | 35,000 |
| 17 " | .. | 40,000 |
| Total | .. | <u>121,000</u> |

These calculations, based on the assumption that the proportions of juveniles available for employment might, under altered circumstances, be the same in South Wales as in the rest of the country, seem, nevertheless, under present conditions, to exaggerate the real position. In our area there is a stronger feeling in favour of women staying at home than in other parts of the country, and it may take some years to change this feeling; furthermore, there is a larger demand for female domestic labour in the home in mining districts. The above figures of available juvenile labour should, therefore, be corrected in conformity with these social customs. It is impossible to say exactly what allowance should be made, but if a figure equal to 10 per cent

¹ See Appendix VII.

is deducted from the South Wales total of available labour we should have a not unduly exaggerated estimate for each year. Our remarks in this discussion should, therefore, be read with this warning in mind.

III. THE DEMAND FOR JUVENILE LABOUR

Having attempted to estimate the likely changes in the supply of boys and girls in the next decade, it now becomes necessary to turn to the demand side of the problem. Is the demand for boys and girls likely to increase, remain constant, or decrease as compared with the position in 1933?

The essential features of the distribution of juveniles by industry have already been referred to. For boys, there are the coal industry, iron and steel and tinsplate manufacture, and the distributive trades; for girls, the distributive trades and personal service.¹ The majority of boys (about 95 per cent) find employment in the insured industries, while about 30 to 40 per cent of the girls are employed in uninsured trades.² It has been shown that the heavy industries of the region continue to employ a declining proportion of the insured juvenile population (16-18 years), while it will be remembered that the number insured in the distributive trades increased from 4,960 in 1923 to 8,800 in 1933—between 1933 and 1934 the numbers dropped to 8,090, and rose again to 8,380 in 1935. We may reasonably regard this as representing the maximum number which the distributive trades can absorb under present conditions, at any rate.

The employment of boys and girls in distribution and in personal service depends upon the general level of prosperity in the region. Ultimately, the governing factor is the state of trade in coal-mining and in iron and steel and the allied industries. Here it is difficult—if not impossible—to take an optimistic view. As things are at present, there is no adequate reason for believing that employment in these industries can increase; the best that can be hoped for is that the conditions of 1929 will reproduce themselves. Even then the demand for labour will fall far short of the supply.

¹ This, of course, includes employment in hotels, restaurants, hospitals, and similar institutions.

² In an enquiry, conducted by the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment, into Juvenile Shortage and Surplus (1930-38), the following distribution between insured and uninsured industries in South Wales was shown:—

Percentage of the total number of boys in employment in insured industries, 98·3.

Percentage of the total number of boys in employment in uninsured industries, 1·7.

Percentage of the total number of girls in employment in insured industries, 64·4.

Percentage of the total number of girls in employment in uninsured industries, 35·6.

This was the position on May 26, 1930. The figures exclude those for Merthyr Tydfil, for which no return was made.

True, the demand for labour might reasonably be expected to increase with the introduction of new industries into the region, but the record of the past few years in this respect has been disappointing. New industries refuse to come,¹ and our juvenile labour is unwanted. Even if industries, such as those established at present at Slough, could be attracted into the region, the effect on the volume of unused boy labour might not be very great. We could rather expect the demand for girls to increase at a faster pace than that for boys; thus an impetus would be given to a tendency that already exists, at any rate amongst the insured boys and girls (16-18 years). The proportion of insured girls per 1,000 insured boys has, in each of the nine areas, increased since 1923. In Area A the proportions in 1923 and 1934 were, respectively, 150 and 324; in Area B, 284 and 382—it is noteworthy that the increase in “all other industries” (i.e. those excluding coal-mining, iron and steel, tinplates, the manufacture of brass, copper, etc., iron and steel tubes, building and public works contracting, and shipping and canal services) was from 397 to 730. Even in areas so completely dependent on coal-mining as Pontypridd—Rhondda and Rhymney—Tredegar, the ratios rose from 56 to 129 and from 82 to 109.

What could be expected, then, from the establishment of new industries in the region is increased opportunities for the employment of boys and girls, but particularly for girls. Incidentally, as the most suitable sites for works and factories are, generally speaking, on or near the seaboard in the areas around Cardiff, Newport, and Swansea, the Welsh valleys are likely to become mere dormitory centres; the success of a policy designed to stimulate new industries will, therefore, depend very largely upon the provision of cheap travelling facilities for workers from their homes in one of the valleys to their work on the seaboard.

IV. SHORTAGE AND SURPLUS

The position, therefore, in the region as a whole will be governed by the unlikelihood of any material change taking place in the demand for juveniles—that is, leaving out of consideration the possibility of increased employment consequent upon the establishment of new industries. It is true that activity will be stimulated in the building and public works contracting trades by slum clearance and road-building schemes. But in the main, it is not possible to forecast any appreciable change in the industrial situation.

¹ “It will be difficult to establish new industries in the Welsh valleys, by normal methods” (*Report by Sir Wynndam Portal into the Depressed Area (South Wales and Monmouthshire)*, Cmd. 4728, p. 160. The reasons adduced are high local rates and past labour troubles.

Some years ago the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment issued a questionnaire to all Juvenile Advisory and Employment Committees to discover the extent of the shortage or surplus of juvenile labour in the years 1930 to 1938. The replies of the committees in South Wales, based on the assumption that the school-leaving age would be raised to 15+ as from April 1, 1931, reveal that the general position in the region is one of surplus, despite the fact that various committees anticipated small shortages in certain years.¹

The findings of the committees are tabulated below. Mejsthyr Tydfil is excluded, because no numerical returns were made by its committee; they anticipated, however, a surplus of juveniles up to 1938.

TABLE VIII

| Year ending March 31 | Estimated shortage of juveniles | | Estimated surplus of juveniles | | Net surplus | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------|
| | Boys under 18 | Girls under 18 | Boys under 18 | Girls under 18 | Boys | Girls |
| 1931 .. | — | — | 7,364 | 10,489 | 7,364 | 10,489 |
| 1932 .. | 1,167 | 600 | 2,108 | 6,204 | 941 | 5,604 |
| 1933 .. | 1,906 | 638 | 2,092 | 5,697 | 186 | 5,059 |
| 1934 .. | 1,581 | 563 | 3,129 | 6,879 | 1,548 | 6,316 |
| 1935 .. | 1,860 | 393 | 2,415 | 6,225 | 555 | 5,832 |
| 1936 .. | 490 | 210 | 4,343 | 8,385 | 3,853 | 8,175 |
| 1937 .. | 544 | 330 | 5,325 | 9,047 | 4,781 | 8,717 |
| 1938 .. | 441 | — | 4,496 | 8,120 | 4,055 | 8,120 |

¹ A small shortage of boys was anticipated in Llanelly, 1933-36; the committee suggested that in so far as this affected the tinplate trade, it might be met by engaging girl labour in the cold roll department, as was done during the war.

Newport anticipated a shortage of boys, 1932-38, and a small shortage of girls, 1933-35. To meet the shortage of girls it was suggested that girls might be transferred into the area for domestic service.

Pontypool anticipated a shortage of boys, 1932-38.

Swansea, assuming that the industrial position remains unchanged, will have a shortage of boys and girls until 1938. But the committee concluded that this was a "theoretical shortage," and that "a consideration of the future position suggests that there should be no appreciable shortage or surplus as far as the town is concerned."

Ebbw Vale anticipated a shortage of boys, 1932-35. But in view of the worsening position of local industry, the committee suggested that "the avenues of absorbing juvenile labour in this industrial area will be considerably lessened as time goes on."

Even allowing for the assumption upon which these figures were calculated, i.e. that children would remain in school until the end of the term in which they reached the age of 15 years, they seem to be an understatement of the real position.

In June, 1935, there were, in the region, about 28,000 insured juveniles 16-18 years of age (21,330 boys and 7,060 girls). Between September 3 and November 30, 1934, unemployment books were issued to 33,418 boys and girls under 16 years of age in the Wales division (or to 22,442 boys and 10,976 girls).¹ Now it is safe to assume that about 80 per cent of these were issued to juveniles in South Wales²; that would be about 18,000 boys and 9,000 girls, a total of about 27,000. By adding together these two sets of figures we get a reasonably accurate picture of the number of boys and girls in the total age group (14-18) who are in insured industries. Thus, together with the 28,000 insured juveniles (16-18 years) are the 27,000 insured juveniles (14-16 years) to whom unemployment books were issued between September 3 and November 30, 1934, i.e. boys and girls already employed or about to begin work in insured industries. To this total of 55,000 must be added those boys and girls who are engaged in non-insurable occupations; and account must also be taken of those juveniles who have been unable to obtain any insurable employment since September 3, and to whom no unemployment books have been issued.

Making all allowances, therefore, the total number of boys and girls in the region who are in occupations must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 70,000.³ As the numbers available for employment will continue to increase yearly up to 1937 (Appendix VII), the prospective surplus in each of these years will be very much greater, if our assumptions regarding the demand for labour are correct, than is envisaged in the above table.

If we take as our standard the figure 72,000 "occupied" in 1931, and compare that figure with the numbers likely to be available in 1936, 1937, and 1938, we get differences of 47,000, 49,000, and 44,000 respectively.⁴ It would, however, be wrong to regard all these as "surplus" because a certain proportion of them could be absorbed into

¹ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, December, 1934.

² E.g. 79 per cent of the insured juveniles (16-18 years) in the Wales division in 1934 were situated in the industrial region.

³ The 1931 Census figures for the four counties gave a total of 72,555 juveniles (14-18 years) "occupied" (including those unemployed).

⁴ From the estimates here quoted should be deducted 10 per cent (see p. 44).

new industries. But even if these industries are forthcoming, we will have a surplus juvenile population, assuming that 25,000 boys and girls would in this way be absorbed, in each of these years of 22,000, 24,000, and 19,000.

In the light of these facts, therefore, the "shortage" that was mentioned at the end of Chapter I amongst the insured workers between 16 and 18 years would be easily made up from the increased supply of potential labour caused by the high birth-rate of twenty years ago.

CHAPTER IV

Juveniles in Unregulated Occupations

In 1931, at the request of Miss Bondfield, then Minister of Labour, the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment conducted an inquiry into the hours of employment of boys and girls engaged in occupations which were then not regulated by statute.¹ The Council issued a questionnaire to all local education authorities who exercised powers under Section 107 of the Education Act, 1921 (Choice of Employment Powers), and all Juvenile Advisory Committees. The forms were completed and returned to the Ministry by July 31, 1931.

The results of the inquiry are published in the Fourth Report (1932) of the National Advisory Council. It was shown that in England and Wales about 25·7 per cent of the boys and 3·6 per cent of the girls leaving school enter one or other of the unregulated occupations; the South Wales figures are about 24·7 per cent and 1·3 per cent respectively.

Over 5,000 boys and girls were returned as working in the unregulated occupations in South Wales; of these, 4,016 were errand boys, 589 van boys, 172 petrol pump boys, 10 warehouse boys, 80 ice-cream sellers (boys), and 40 errand girls. Other occupations included golf caddies, billiard markers, ice-cream sellers (girls), fairground assistants (boys and girls), and newspaper boys.

I. HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT

From a comparison between the weekly hours worked by juveniles in unregulated occupations in South Wales and those worked in England and Wales, it is clear that the number of hours, both inclusive and exclusive² of meal times and rest periods, are higher in our area than in the country as a whole. In South Wales 69 per cent of the errand boys worked between 54 and 66 hours per week (inclusive of meal times) as against 54·8 per cent in the whole area; for van boys the South Wales percentage in this category was 57·9 compared with 44·5 for England and Wales. Further, 65·1 per cent of all those

¹ In addition to such occupations, agriculture, domestic service, the catering trade, and employment in offices and cinemas were also excluded from the inquiry.

² The weekly working hours, exclusive of meal times and rest periods, is an *estimate* based on information given in the committee's returns.

engaged in unregulated occupations in South Wales worked over 54 and up to and including 66 hours per week, whereas the percentage for the whole country was 45.3.

If we turn to the number of hours worked exclusive of meal times, we find similar discrepancies between South Wales and the whole country. Whereas 64.8 per cent of the total number covered by these returns are, in South Wales, classified as working between 48 and 60 hours a week, and 25.7 per cent working up to and including 48 hours, 38.6 per cent are in the former group in England and Wales and 57.1 per cent in the latter. The position in nearly every one of these occupations is shown, by comparison, to be unfavourable in South Wales. While there is no very marked difference between the hours worked by boys and girls under 16 years of age and by those 16-18 years, there is, as the National Advisory Council's Report points out, a general tendency for those above 16 years to work somewhat longer hours than those in the younger age group.

II. INTERFERENCE WITH ATTENDANCE AT EVENING CLASSES OR CLUBS

The committees were asked to report on the estimated number of juveniles in the various occupations who, by reason of the length of their working day, could not normally attend either evening classes or clubs. It was found to be almost impossible for a large proportion of juveniles to take advantage of facilities, either for further education or for recreation; and for all juveniles in certain occupations (e.g. chocolate sellers in theatres and cinemas, billiard markers, fairground assistants¹), quite impossible. In this respect, too, the position in South Wales is worse than in England and Wales, and follows naturally from the facts mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

One or two figures might make this clear. Of the 5,188 juveniles covered by the South Wales reports, 3,522, or 68 per cent, worked at such hours that regular attendance at evening classes or clubs was impossible or very difficult; the percentage for England and Wales was 45.1. Over 60 per cent of the errand boys, 80 per cent of the van boys, 87 per cent of the petrol pump boys, were not in a position normally to take advantage of educational and recreational facilities that existed for them. The corresponding proportions for England and Wales were 52 per cent, 52 per cent, and 64 per cent respectively.

¹ Certain of these occupations, of course, are seasonal only; the most important are ice-cream sellers and fairground assistants. Golf caddies, too, find it less difficult to obtain employment in the summer months.

III. EFFECTS ON HEALTH

"The replies received from Local Committee were on the whole decidedly against the conclusion that any of the occupations could be regarded as definitely unhealthy," says the National Advisory Council's Report (p. 10). But while it is true that none of these occupations are as definitely dangerous to health as, for example, the manufacture of white lead, some of them are harmful and tend to undermine constitutions not always as strong as they should be. It is difficult to ignore the strain which may be—and, from observation, often is—put on young lads whose job it is to carry heavy parcels of grocery or ironmongery up the steep slopes of the mining towns in South Wales; bicycle deliveries are often overloaded; and deliveries are so speeded up during Fridays and Saturdays as to over-tire all but the strongest lads. Protective clothing is not usually supplied to errand or van boys, and in the winter they are obliged, during bad weather, to spend many hours in damp clothes, with consequent injurious results to health.¹

Neither is it desirable that boys should spend long hours every evening in over-heated and badly-ventilated billiard halls whose atmosphere is fouled by tobacco smoke and where they come into close contact with people many of whom are themselves not free from poor health. Eleven of the 24 boys returned as billiard markers in South Wales were found to be working between 66 and 72 hours a week, and 10 over 72 hours (including meal times). Even excluding

¹ The following comments contained in some of the committees' returns bear out these contentions:—

"Having regard to the very hilly nature of some parts of this area . . . the loads many errand boys have to carry or push are often excessive and undoubtedly injurious to the health of the lads, in many cases causing heart strain." (Barry.)

"Bicycle delivery is common in this district, and an overload not infrequent. Little provision is made for wet weather; the provision of protective clothing is the exception rather than the rule." (Cardiff.)

"The committee consider that in certain cases the excessive hours of work on Saturdays, although compensating time is allowed earlier in the week, must have an injurious effect on the health of the young people concerned." (Pontypool.)

"No proper provision is made for meal-times in the case of most van-boys; 50 per cent take meals on the road; a hot mid-day meal is impossible. While some firms (usually those with open vans) make provision of waterproofs, mackintoshes, etc., many others (usually those with covered vans) do not. Lads employed on the covered vans frequently get wet through in journeying between van and door, and have to work in damp clothes until the end of the day, not going home for meals and so having no opportunity of change of clothing." (Cardiff.)

While saying that the conditions of work are not injurious to health, the Llanelly Committee was, however, of the opinion "that more provision should be made in the way of oilskins and mackintoshes against inclement weather."

meal times, 13 worked between 60 and 66 hours weekly. There can be no doubt that work under such conditions is definitely harmful.¹

IV. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

It has been shown that the effects of the long hours worked in unregulated occupations are bad in so far as they prevent a large proportion of the lads and girls engaged in them from taking advantage of the social, recreational, and educational opportunities provided for them. The nature of the employment and the conditions under which the employment is carried on are, in very many cases, injurious to health; it is quite possible that seeds are sown at this period in the life of a boy or girl which later produce rheumatism, heart-strain, and tuberculosis, particularly if he or she becomes unemployed at 17 or 18 years of age and is, during the period of unemployment, insufficiently and/or badly nourished.

But there are other considerations which increase the undesirability of these occupations. Normally, a weekly half holiday on a week day is allowed, but in some occupations no half day is the rule²; in others Sunday work is very frequent.³ But more serious than this is the lack of progressive opportunities offered by most of these occupations. A few errand boys may become shop assistants, but for the majority it is a blind-alley occupation.⁴ The prospects of progressive employment are, on the whole, favourable only amongst petrol pump boys (some of whom become drivers or engineers), chocolate sellers (girls, some of whom are taken on as ushers), and van boys, where there is a possibility of some of them becoming drivers.

But it is unlikely that the number of juveniles who leave even these occupations to take up regular and progressive employment is at all considerable. The Local Committees reported that boys and girls are prejudiced in their chances of finding other employment by reason of their previous employment in the non-progressive occupations.

¹ "It is considered that the close confinement of the boys (i.e. billiard markers) during long periods is injurious." (Abertillery.)

"The environment of this work is far from conducive to health. Boys are continuously in a smoky and hot atmosphere, which is of necessity detrimental to the general condition of their health." (Neath.)

² No half day is the rule in the following occupations: golf caddies, chocolate sellers in theatres and cinemas, fairground assistants, newspaper boys, and ice-cream sellers (though some of these last have a half day in lieu of Sundays).

³ In the following occupations Sunday work is the rule: golf caddies, ice-cream sellers, petrol-pump boys, and amusement park assistants.

⁴ The blind-alley occupations are: errand boys, gold caddies, chocolate sellers (boys), billiard markers, ice-cream sellers, fairground assistants, newspaper boys, and bill distributors.

It was considered that juveniles who have been employed as errand and van boys, ice-cream sellers, and golf caddies are likely to find it very difficult to obtain employment in other trades,¹ though, on the other hand, juvenile workers in the remaining trades meet with no substantial difficulty in finding other employment. It is certain that the deterioration which accompanies many of these occupations plays a large part in prejudicing employers. Errand boys, van boys, and newspaper boys are particularly liable to become slack and unreliable, and the conditions of their work do not conduce to keep alive the better qualities of smartness and steadiness; they are open to the bad influences of the street corners, and their finer moral qualities have to stand a tremendous strain if they are not to be destroyed by the subtly vicious surroundings in which they spend the major part of their time.

It is well for us to remember that "boys and girls under the age of 18 are still in the formative stage of their lives. They should have leisure to devote both to continued education and to healthy recreation."²

In view of the facts disclosed by the Committees' investigations, the majority of the members of the National Advisory Council urged that further steps should be taken "to regulate the hours of employment of boys and girls in unregulated occupations,"³ though the employers' representatives, in a minority report, stated that "in our view the grave national situation which confronts this country to-day, and which demands that the whole energies of the nation should be concentrated on matters of urgent and paramount importance, does not permit of public effort, time, and money being devoted to matters of this order."⁴ Further, the minority report argued, since about 80 per cent of the total number of juveniles covered by the inquiry were covered by the Shops Acts, only a small proportion could be considered as working in "unregulated" occupations; but as the majority report pointed out, the Shops Acts permitted a maximum working week for persons under the age of 18 employed in or about a shop of 74 hours, including meal times.

There can be no doubt that the degree of "regulation" here referred to is quite inadequate, and that long hours, irregular meal

¹ Though as against this the Pontypool Committee considered that errand boys have a better chance of employment on reaching the age of 17-18 than boys who have been unemployed since leaving school, for many employers prefer employing boys who have done some work than boys who have been continuously idle.

² *Fourth Report of the National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment*, p. 13. (Majority Report.)

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

times, and enforced absence from educational and recreational centres have, of necessity, a stunting and thwarting influence on the lives of these young people. Recent legislation has been designed to implement the promises of successive Governments to deal with this problem.

The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, forbids the employment of children under the age of 12¹ and of children under 14 before the end of school hours.² Local authorities, however, are given power to make bye-laws for regulating the employment of children in their areas, and may permit children under 12 to perform light horticultural and agricultural work for their parents.³ Section 19 of the Act empowers local authorities to make bye-laws to regulate the employment of juveniles under 18, but these powers were not to become operative until a date to be fixed by the Home Secretary and after a resolution had been passed by both Houses of Parliament in the same session. The date has not yet been fixed, and the clause is still inoperative.

The Shops Act, 1934, is an "Act to regulate the hours of employment of persons under the age of 18 years who are employed about the business of wholesale or retail shops or employed elsewhere in connection with wholesale or retail trade or business . . .", and came into force on December 30, 1934.

The normal maximum working week of young persons employed about the business of a shop shall be 48 hours.⁴ Overtime may be worked only by young persons between the ages of 16 and 18 years, provided that the total number of hours worked as overtime do not exceed 50 in a year and 12 in any one week.⁵ Until December 27, 1936, however, the maximum working hours are to be 52 instead of 48 a week, and the amount of overtime permissible will be reduced to 24 hours in a year and 8 in one week.⁶

For the purposes of the Act, a "shop" is deemed to include retail and wholesale shops, and warehouses, and ancillary work, whether inside the shop or outside it.⁷ Van boys and errand boys are, therefore,

¹ Children and Young Persons Act, 1933. Section 18 (1) (a).

² *Op. cit.*, Section 18 (1) (b).

³ *Op. cit.*, Section 18 (2).

⁴ Shops Act, 1934. Section 1.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Section 2.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Section 16 and the Schedule.

⁷ Section 4: "The foregoing provisions of this Act . . . shall extend to the employment of young persons in connection with any retail trade or business carried on in any place not being a shop . . . and, for the purposes of the application of the said provisions to such employment, references in this Act to a shop shall be deemed to include references to the place in or from which the retail trade or business is carried on . . ."

clearly covered by the Act, as are juveniles employed in wholesale shops and warehouses, except those not employed within the premises and those not employed "in the collection or delivery of goods or in attendance upon customers or in carrying messages or running errands." From Section 15 (4) it would seem clear that boys and girls engaged on clerical work in shops and warehouses, as well as kitchen boys and washers-up in restaurants and hotels, are also covered.

On the other hand, domestic works, agricultural workers, transport workers, and newspaper boys and girls engaged in carrying goods for producers are excluded from the scope of the Act. Thus, apparently, the working hours of the errand boy or girl of a small master tailor or of a small cabinet maker are not controlled by the Act.

Further, provision is made for those engaged in the catering trade and in shops selling supplies or accessories for aircraft, motor vehicles, or cycles to work longer hours than the normal 48 (or, until December, 1936, 52).

The Shops Act, 1934, is a very real contribution to the problem, but, as suggested, it has some serious drawbacks. There seems to be no adequate reason why the 48-hour working week should not have come into operation at the beginning of 1935, instead of at the end of 1936. Juveniles at present outside the scope of the scheme should be included; the hours worked by page boys and lift boys in hotels, for instance, and by domestic workers, are often excessive; and boys and girls carrying and running errands for producers and manufacturers ought not to be excluded. The Committee on Wage-earning Children are certainly right, while welcoming the Shops Act, to press for a comprehensive Bill which will deal adequately with those young persons who are still untouched by existent legislation.¹

Continued from previous page

Section 15 (4): "For the purposes of this Act employment in connection with a wholesale shop or a warehouse occupied by a wholesale dealer or merchant which is neither—

(a) employment within the premises, nor

(b) employment in the collection or delivery of goods or in attendance upon customers or in carrying messages or running errands,

shall not be deemed to be employment about the business of a shop; but, save as aforesaid, any employment in the service of the occupier of a shop upon any work, whether within the shop or outside it, which is ancillary to the business carried on at the shop shall be deemed to be employment about the business of the shop, and that expression shall be construed accordingly."

¹ See the Twenty-seventh Report of the Committee on Wage-earning Children.

CHAPTER V

The Placing in Employment of Unemployed Juveniles

I. THE WORK OF THE JUVENILE ADVISORY COMMITTEES AND EMPLOYMENT BUREAUX

(A) HISTORY

The Labour Exchange Act (1909), which established separate juvenile departments in the exchanges, also, in Section 2, made it possible to form special advisory committees whose duty it would be to "take steps, either by themselves, or in co-operation with other bodies or persons, to give information, advice, and assistance to boys and girls and their parents with respect to the choice of employment and other matters bearing thereon." The Board of Trade was responsible for the working of the Act. In 1916 those duties were transferred to the Minister of Labour.

Since 1907 it had been the custom of certain local education authorities to establish Juvenile Employment Bureaux for the purpose of advising boys and girls when they wished to enter industry; and by the Choice of Employment Act (1910) local authorities generally were empowered to make arrangements for giving to boys and girls under 17 years of age assistance with respect to the choice of suitable employment.

These powers were embodied in the Education Act (1921), of which Section 107 reads as follows:

The powers of a local education authority for higher education shall include a power to make arrangements, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, for giving to boys and girls under the age of 18 assistance with respect to choice of suitable employment by means of the collection and communication of information and the furnishing of advice.

— This dual system—juvenile employment being dealt with by the Board of Trade (later the Minister of Labour) in some areas and by the education authorities in others—proved unworkable when unemployment insurance, which was administered by the Board of Trade, was extended and brought into the range of insurance all boys

and girls over 16 years of age not engaged in agricultural or private domestic service. In 1921 the Government invited Lord Chelmsford to report on the position ; as a result, local authorities which establish choice of employment schemes were also made responsible for the administration of unemployment insurance ; authorities unwilling to shoulder the responsibility for insurance administration were not allowed to operate under the Choice of Employment Act.

Further unity in the two systems was achieved by an Order in Council (1927), which vested in the Minister of Labour complete authority and responsibility for juvenile placing and guidance work in all areas. The Minister and not the Board of Education is now the central authority for the supervision of Choice of Employment Schemes.

In the South Wales Industrial Region twelve Local Advisory Committees are operating (October, 1934), and three local authorities are administering Choice of Employment Schemes.

(B) CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS

The Advisory and Employment Committees consist of representatives of the local education committees, of employers and employees, of the teaching profession, elementary and secondary, of voluntary bodies especially interested in the welfare of boys and girls, as well as members attending in a purely advisory capacity invited to serve in virtue of some special qualification which makes their attendance of value to the committees.

Their functions are :

1. To advise juveniles and their parents on the choice of suitable employment (vocational guidance).
2. To place juveniles in employment in the light of the advice given them.
3. To supervise juveniles until they are securely established in permanent occupations (industrial supervision or after-care); and
4. The administration of unemployment insurance.

It is the first three functions that we will examine here.

(C) THE TWO SYSTEMS COMPARED

But first a word must be said concerning the two systems—the Juvenile Advisory Committee, an advisory body appointed by the Minister of Labour, and the Juvenile Employment Committee, a sub-committee of the local education authority, possessing executive powers and responsible to the locally elected council.

In practice, there seems to be no important difference between them. The constitution and the duties of both committees are similar.

The aim of both is to place boys and girls in industry with the minimum amount of wastage, bearing in mind both the desires and capabilities of the boy or girl and the needs of industry at a particular time.

But on examination certain important considerations emerge. Where the education authority is responsible for the choice of employment scheme, an important educational link is maintained between the boy and girl and the advisory body; the boy or girl is not suddenly thrown from school into contact with the Employment Exchange, and it is possible for the Employment Officer to give valuable advice both on the choice of employment and on the advantages of continued education. Further, the education authorities are freer in their choice of staffs and can appoint men with an intimate knowledge of local industrial and social conditions, and men who are likely to serve the committee for a lengthy period and thus become experts.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Labour, through its Employment Exchanges, is in close touch with the industrial trends of the day, and possesses that special knowledge of industry which is necessary when placing individuals—especially juveniles—in employment. Recruitment to the staffs of the exchanges is by examination, and appointments therefore cannot be influenced by favouritism or local “pull”; while wide experience of conditions in different areas is obtained by the staffs through the system of transfer.

What seems necessary, therefore, is that the education authorities should not take a narrowly parochial view of their responsibilities, and should appoint staff according to merit and fitness only. The exchanges need to maintain the fullest possible measure of co-operation with the educational system. There is a danger that they may regard boys and girls when they leave school as industrial units for whom immediate employment must be secured, irrespective of the training or the long-run advantages it may afford.

(D) VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

It is impossible to over-stress the importance of directing boys and girls into those occupations which are most suitable to their particular capacities, mental and physical. It is in the best interests, not only of the children themselves, but of the community at large, that as small a proportion as possible of children leaving school should be allowed to drift into blind-alley and non-progressive types of employment, and into occupations unsuited to their abilities. This is said subject to certain limitations, which will be discussed when the actual placing work of the committees is considered below, but here the general desirability of careful guidance must be emphasised.

Advice is at present given both collectively and individually. Usually in the last term of their school life, lectures are given to boys and girls, by Employment Officers, teachers, and other people interested in the problem of juvenile employment, and the opportunity is often taken of pointing out the advantages of continued education. Many committees issue pamphlets and other literature to school-leavers indicating the scope for employment in their particular areas¹; the "Choice of Careers Series" of pamphlets are sent to the secondary schools. Visits of parties of scholars to local works are arranged, when managers and others show them round and explain the opportunities for employment, the scope of the industrial processes, etc., which the works provide.

Obviously, in the coal-mining valleys of South Wales there is not a great deal of scope for these "visual" methods which a recent report² has insisted are so vital. "With young people, visual demonstration is more effective than oral,"³ and while recognising the truth of that statement, we feel that visits to works and the use of films or slides as vehicles of information about local industries can only be made use of, to any great extent, in cities like Cardiff and Swansea, which do offer their juvenile populations some real choice of employment.

But in general it is desirable the "insistence should be laid upon the desirability of instilling into the child, at least throughout his last year of school attendance, some knowledge of the general structure of industry, the broad divisions of local trades, the classes of operations they comprise, and the facilities available for training therefor . . ."⁴

Besides this collective method of giving advice, expert individual advice is given by means of the school conference system. It has been estimated that in Great Britain rather more than one in three juveniles who leave school for purposes other than higher education receive individual advice upon the choice of a career. So far as can be ascertained, the proportion is higher in South Wales, for 6,757 school-leaving cards were received in 1933 by certain committees for which information is available,⁵ and 5,409 juveniles were interviewed, or more than 2 in 3.

¹ The Cardiff Committee, e.g. issues a *Booklet to School-leavers*. The Ebbw Vale Committee sends circulars and pamphlets dealing with local occupations to teachers and pupils.

² *Joint Report on the Organisation and Development of the Vocational Guidance Service in Great Britain*. H.M.S.O. 1934.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵ The Committees were Barry, Abertillery, Ebbw Vale, Llanelly, Neath, Pontypool, and the Rhondda.

The "conference" is not so much a conference as an informal chat between the head teacher and the Vocational Guidance Officer—able to provide information about the boys' capabilities and about the local industrial situation—and the child and his parent, ready to voice their wishes in the matter. In areas where trade is brisk and where, therefore, there are industrial openings for lads leaving school, this system enables valuable advice to be given by the officer to juveniles about to seek employment, but in most areas in South Wales the task of advising children with respect to choice of employment has become, in great part, a heart-breaking job, so few are the local vacancies year by year that the committees advise children to remain in school pending suitable employment, or if they refuse this, to attend evening classes. At the same time the evils of blind-alley occupations are urged upon them, and they are advised not to take employment in these occupations merely for immediate financial gain, though that, in fact, is what often happens. Other committees advise school-leavers to become members of boys' and girls' clubs.

A serious feature which is probably more common than is generally realised is referred to in the report of the Pontypridd Juvenile Advisory Committee for 1933,¹ viz. the existence of boys with no definite ideas as to the employment they would themselves like to undertake. What many of them are sure about is that they have no desire to work underground.² If, then, there is taken into account the fact that in an area like Pontypridd the types of vacancies occurring for boy labour are, in the main, of a non-progressive character, a situation exists which makes choice of employment almost impossible.

Despite these drawbacks—and they are very real—much good work has been done, and the energy and sympathy of the committees and of the head teachers have done much to assist boys and girls in a particularly difficult period.

The School-Leaving Card is a vital instrument in this advisory work. "The basis of all sound vocational advice is the alliance of the teacher's knowledge of the individual juvenile's educational and personal capacity

¹ "The acute depression prevailing in the area for many years has resulted in a generation of young people growing up who cannot remember having seen their fathers going to work."

² The 1929 Report of the Pontypridd Juvenile Advisory Committee states that 90 per cent of the boys interviewed definitely refused to consider coal-mining, though normally 75–80 per cent of the boys leaving school would enter the mines. In Neath, extensions at a colliery led to an additional demand for boys which could not be met locally. At the end of 1933 there were 60 vacancies current. The demand was partly met by the transference of boys from three neighbouring areas, and 12 boys were so transferred. The shortage is stated to be due largely to parental prejudice against boys working underground. (Neath Advisory Committee Report, 1933.)

with the industrial knowledge of the Juvenile Committee and its officers. The School-Leaving Card is the foundation of all the personal records at the exchange or bureau related to the boy or girl."¹ The card in standard use in Ministry of Labour areas, when completed by the head teachers, gives information about the health of the child at the last school medical examination, his general educational standard, whether after-care is or is not necessary, and the head teacher's general report with a recommendation as to the type of occupation for which, in his or her opinion, the child is best suited.

Useful as this information is, it could be more so if the cards were larger and the reports had not to be cramped in small spaces. It is encouraging to hear² that the Ministry, in certain selected areas (not in South Wales) is experimenting with a new type of card of four pages to be completed partly by the head teacher and partly by the child himself.

(E) PLACING WORK

Reference has already been made to the few opportunities that exist for choice of employment in South Wales. The advisory committees feel the hampering effects imposed on their work by this condition. "The advisory work of the committee has been greatly impeded by the almost entire lack of opportunities of employment for juvenile labour within the area" (Ebbw Vale 1933 report). The Abertillery committee states that there is practically no choice of employment to offer potential applicants for work; Bargoed speaks of the hopelessness of advising juveniles when there are no jobs for them; Aberdare, of the disheartening work in view of the scarcity of employment: "Advice without material assistance is apt to create disillusion and disappointment."

Adding to the difficulties of the committees is the "hereditary" method of recruitment obtaining in the two important industrial groups in the region. It is usual for boys to enter the collieries as assistants to relatives or friends and comparatively few vacancies are notified to the exchange or bureau. Similarly, engagements in tinsplate and galvanising works are generally reserved for sons and daughters of those already employed therein or for juveniles whose parents or friends have influence with the management. It is also common for employers in the distributive trades, in their own interests, to engage as assistants the sons and daughters of their best customers.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

There are, therefore, a large number of vacancies filled without appeal to the local exchange, and while there is, in most districts, fairly vigorous co-operation between the employers and the placing authorities, many committees report that their work would be more effective if the employers co-operated with them to a greater extent, by notifying requirements. Large concerns like the railway company, tinplate companies, and so on are generally more backward in co-operating than employers on a relatively small scale.

In such circumstances as these, children are often forced to accept jobs for which they are unsuited in order to help their parents financially. Boys, in mining areas, demand "any job on top"; girls ask to be placed in shops, dressmaking, and clerical posts. Placings on a large scale along these lines becomes quite impossible in areas where local demand for girls is confined to domestic helps and for boys to miners' assistants or errand boys.

These difficulties have been summed up in the Ministry of Labour's Report on Juvenile Employment for 1933. In areas of poor employment "the scarcity of vacancies means that large numbers of boys and girls who make contact with the committees immediately on leaving school find that suitable work cannot be offered to them. As the weeks pass and the search for work becomes prolonged, every other possible avenue is explored. In such circumstances, young people quickly lose heart; they cease to look for assistance from official sources, while committee members inevitably come to feel that their work of vocational guidance lacks reality. This is accentuated by the fact that the static position of trade and industry causes a totally disproportionate number of the vacancies which are available, particularly for boys, to be non-progressive in type; and such few openings as arise are often reserved for sons of employees or of customers." (p. 6.)

Parents' reluctance to allow their children to be placed in employment away from home was very strong some years ago, but now, with the more widely diffused knowledge of after-care methods and the greater certainty that children will be under some kindly supervision while they are settling down to their new jobs in strange surroundings, this reluctance has to a very great extent disappeared. Parents still are, however, more willing to allow girls to be transferred than boys. The juveniles' will to move and the parents' consent would be very much easier to obtain if wages were offered sufficient for the full support of the boys or girls concerned; too often the juvenile in his new sphere becomes an additional drain upon the financial resources of a family already hard pressed at home. It is also important that the boy or girl should know that he is entering what, given normal conditions, would be a permanent job in the new district.

The committees operating in the industrial region placed 8,649 juveniles in employment in 1933; this was 89 per cent of the total number (9,700) placed in the Wales division. Of this total, 62 per cent were drawn from the ports of Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport; the remainder were distributed over twelve committees, most of them functioning in areas which have been severely hit by the depression. These figures reveal the extreme difficulties facing the advisory committees in these localities.

If we take the placings in the years 1927-33 inclusive, we see that the committees operating in the three ports were responsible over the period for placing in employment 32,105 juveniles, or 65 per cent of the total of 49,223 placed by the region committees. Altogether, 21,601 boys and 19,314 girls were placed locally during these seven years, and 3,517 boys and 4,791 girls in other districts. The bulk of those transferred came from the districts served by the twelve advisory committees.¹

Before proceeding to examine these figures, it should be pointed out that the present method adopted by the committees in presenting their statistics is very unsatisfactory. Some committees in their annual reports give a detailed occupational analysis of the number of juveniles placed by them, which is extremely valuable in assessing the importance of their work; others, however, merely state the total number placed without further analysing the figures, contenting themselves with mentioning the chief occupational groups in which the boys and girls have been found employment. It is very desirable that the committees should be asked by the Ministry to adopt a uniform presentation of statistical material; comparison between the work of the different committees would then be a relatively simple matter.

As it is, however, it has been possible to analyse the placings of ten² committees in South Wales; even this was not easy, because while some committees give separate returns for, say, messenger boys and errand boys, domestic servants, and nurse probationers, and so on, other committees treat them under one head. Certain general conclusions emerge, however, which, so far as can be ascertained, hold good for the whole region.

¹ See Appendix VIII for an analysis of the placings of the Committees in the region (1927-33 inclusive).

² The committees are: Aberdare, Bargoed, Barry, Cardiff, Merthyr, Pontypool, Pontypridd, Port Talbot, Rhondda, and Swansea.

(1) BOYS

TABLE IX
LOCAL PLACINGS (1927-33)—(Boys)

| | Total local placings (boys) | Percentage placed in coal-mining | Percentage placed in ¹ wholesale and retail trading | Percentage placed in all other industries |
|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Cardiff | 10,682 | — | 52.0 | 48.0 |
| Swansea | 4,034 | — | 37.4 | 62.6 |
| Barry | 425 | — | 49.9 | 50.1 |
| Port Talbot .. | 545 | 0.7 | 26.8 | 72.5 |
| Pontypridd .. | 486 | 33.5 | 42.4 | 24.1 |
| Rhondda | 478 | 57.1 | 18.4 | 24.5 |
| Merthyr | 589 | 34.4 | 35.5 | 30.1 |
| Aberdare | 506 | 70.2 | 16.6 | 13.2 |
| Bargoed | 411 | 53.1 | 24.3 | 22.6 |
| Pontypool .. | 329 | 15.2 | 42.3 | 42.5 |

Further and more detailed calculation shows that 44.5 per cent in the Swansea area were placed as general labourers, and 3.9 per cent as clerks and office boys; 41.3 per cent were placed in the local iron and steel and tinplate works by the Port Talbot committee; 11.2 per cent in the local galvanised sheet and tinplate works by the Pontypool committee; in Barry 7.1 per cent were placed as servants, page boys, etc.; 5.2 per cent in the cement works and 4.9 per cent in the enamel works; the Cardiff committee placed 4.9 per cent in works and factories, 9.7 per cent in general, electrical, and motor engineering, 6.3 per cent in building and allied trades, 8.3 per cent in clerical posts, and 5.5 per cent as servants, page boys, porters, etc.

The remainder were spread thinly over a number of occupations, including transport (principally as bus and tram conductors), post office messengers, brickworkers, gardeners' assistants, bakers' apprentices, window cleaners, etc.

¹ "Wholesale and retail trading" includes errand boys, shop assistants, van and lorry boys, parcel boys, messenger boys, canvassers, bill distributors, etc.

TABLE X
PLACINGS IN OTHER DISTRICTS (1927-33)—(Boys)

| | Total I.O.D. placings (boys) | Percentage placed in personal service ¹ | Percentage placed in agriculture ² | Percentage placed in engineering ³ | Percentage placed in all other industries |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Swansea | 29 | 37·9 | 10·3 | 3·0 | 48·8 |
| Barry | 37 | 19·0 | 40·5 | — | 40·5 |
| Port Talbot .. | 226 | 39·4 | 5·8 | 15·9 | 38·9 |
| Pontypridd .. | 299 | 46·8 | 9·3 | 10·4 | 33·5 |
| Rhondda | 363 | 57·3 | 6·3 | 5·2 | 31·2 |
| Merthyr | 160 | 22·5 | 10·0 | 3·8 | 63·7 |
| Aberdare | 248 | 41·1 | 4·4 | 23·4 | 31·1 |
| Bargoed | 480 | 50·6 | 9·2 | 6·7 | 33·5 |
| Pontypool | 219 | 79·8 | 5·0 | 3·7 | 11·5 |

A small number of boys were found employment as shop assistants, stores boys, etc., ranging from 4·1 per cent of the Pontypool total to 14·4 per cent of the Merthyr total. 23·1 per cent and 7·7 per cent of those placed by the Merthyr and the Rhondda committees respectively were found jobs underground. Other placings include posts in the building trades, factories and workshops, and clerical posts; a number of boys were sent as trainees for the mercantile marine to training ships (e.g. 12 boys from Swansea, 22 from Pontypridd, 117 from Cardiff, 22 from Merthyr).

(II) GIRLS

The Barry committee placed 37 girls in the local enamel works; 49 girls were placed locally in the tinsplate works by the Port Talbot committee; 127 were found employment as milliners and dressmakers in Swansea, and 6 in Merthyr. Other jobs found for girls included laundry and clerical work, hairdressing, tinsplate manufacture, and so on. Of the girls placed locally by the Cardiff committee, 22·1 per cent were found employment in works and factories, 7·6 per cent in clerical posts, and 7·4 per cent in tailoring and dressmaking concerns.

¹ Includes boys transferred to private and institutional service.

² Includes a few "gardeners' boys."

³ General, electrical, and motor engineering.

TABLE XI
LOCAL PLACINGS (1927-33)—(GIRLS)

| | Total local placings (girls) | Percentage placed in personal service ¹ | Percentage placed in wholesale and retail trading ² | Percentage placed in all other industries |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Cardiff | 9,644 | 54.0 | 12.8 | 33.2 |
| Swansea | 3,583 | 67.7 | 20.3 | 12.0 |
| Barry | 534 | 72.7 | 13.1 | 14.2 |
| Port Talbot .. | 441 | 74.4 | 11.6 | 14.0 |
| Pontypridd .. | 261 | 54.4 | 33.3 | 12.3 |
| Rhondda | 91 | 59.3 | 30.8 | 9.9 |
| Merthyr | 212 | 55.2 | 18.4 | 26.4 |
| Aberdare | 313 | 73.5 | 21.4 | 5.1 |
| Bargoed | 166 | 88.0 | 10.2 | 1.8 |
| Pontypool | 324 | 75.6 | 18.2 | 6.2 |

¹ Includes daily and resident domestics and institutional service.

² Shop assistants, errand girls, messengers, canvassers, etc.

TABLE XII
PLACINGS IN OTHER DISTRICTS (1927-33)—(GIRLS)

| | Total placings in other districts (girls) | Percentage placed in personal service | Percentage placed in all other occupations |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| Swansea | 264 | 100.0 | 0.0 |
| Barry | 44 | 86.4 | 13.6 |
| Port Talbot .. | 288 | 85.1 | 14.9 |
| Pontypridd .. | 205 | 97.1 | 2.9 |
| Rhondda | 491 | 97.8 | 2.2 |
| Merthyr | 216 | 92.6 | 7.4 |
| Aberdare | 432 | 98.2 | 1.8 |
| Bargoed | 780 | 96.0 | 4.0 |
| Pontypool | 575 | 99.5 | 0.5 |

The foregoing Table speaks for itself. The vast majority of the girls who are transferred out of South Wales to employment elsewhere are sent to work either as resident domestics,¹ or workers in cafés and restaurants, or in hotels and hospitals. Nearly all the girls who were sent to other districts from Cardiff (there were 203 in all) found similar employment; a very few were placed in factories, shops, and offices.

(III) CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing facts several important conclusions emerge.

It is apparent, in the first place, that, despite their general unwillingness to undertake colliery work, many boys are being obliged to accept work of this nature for want of other and more attractive opportunities. That there is a demand for boy labour underground is obvious; this demand is largely the result of a practice which has been referred to in a previous chapter, viz. that in their search for cheap labour colliery owners employ boys until they reach an age at which they can claim men's wages; they then turn them off and take on younger boys. Colliery work, therefore, under modern conditions, is rapidly becoming a non-progressive form of employment—at least so far as boys and young lads are concerned.

Secondly, too large a number of boys are being placed in the distributive trades as errand and messenger lads, bill distributors and canvassers—jobs which offer no prospects of permanent and progressive employment.²

It would be no over-statement of the problem to say that, on an average, quite 50 per cent of the local placings are of this blind-alley sort. The committees themselves realise the seriousness of the position, but their hands are tied by the local situation and they have to place boys where they can. The amount of permanent, constructive work that is being achieved by the committees is, therefore, relatively small, and while one must pay tribute to the immense amount of hard work achieved by the committees and their real concern for the welfare of the juveniles under their charge, it is necessary to emphasise the need for a continuous and close examination of the possibility of increasing the proportion of permanent and progressive placings.

¹ In this connection, the work of the Home Training Centres must be praised. Some of the best work that is being done for juveniles is that of the centres which provide excellent training, under qualified teachers, in housewifery, laundry-work, and cookery, for girls between the ages of 16 (and in some cases 15) and 18 years. Some thousands of girls have been trained, and the majority placed in suitable employment.

² The eighteenth report of the Cardiff Juvenile Employment Committee (1932-33) states that a "considerable proportion" of the boys who enter the distributive trades are discharged at 16 years or 18 years on the ground of expense, also because their work can just as well be done by younger boys.

Closer co-operation between the committees and the employers in each locality would do a great deal towards this end, though finally any real solution must depend on the general economic position of the region as a whole.

It is the general experience of Juvenile Employment Officers and others throughout the region that little difficulty is normally experienced in placing boys between 15 and 16 years of age. It is true, as suggested above, that the choice before these boys is one of two evils—either no employment or unsuitable employment in order to augment the family income. But the choice is there. On the other hand, boys in the 16–18 age group present serious difficulties, for they suffer from the competition of younger labour. Here again wages is an important factor. As Mr. Ben Williams, Juvenile Employment Officer for Cardiff, points out in the eighteenth report of his committee, where occupations are governed by Trade Board or trade union agreements, and wages are payable in accordance with age, juveniles are dismissed on reaching 16 or 18 years, when they can demand increased wages, to make room for boys and girls who would cost less. The report comments: "Such agreements (as those operating in the milk distributive trade and in the milling industry) have removed the worst elements of sweated labour, but in doing so they have contributed to a material extent in making employment less constant and in diminishing its progressive nature."

So far as errand boys and van boys are concerned, the very nature of their jobs—spells of intense activity followed by bouts of idleness with nothing particularly important to do except lounging about waiting for deliveries to be made—soon makes them slack, careless, and unreliable. Employers discharge them to take on bright and alert boys straight from the discipline of school; so that the combination of deterioration in smartness with demands for an increase in wages persuades employers to dispense with their services. They are discharged with no special skill or aptitude, with no outstanding qualities which will ensure them alternative employment; they have started on the high road of unemployability.

It is obvious, then, that a large part of the work of the committees is temporary in its effects, in view of the difficulties of placing boys in posts which will give them permanent employment and opportunities for advancement. It is not possible to arrive at any accurate determination of the percentage of boys who fail to remain in their jobs, but there can be little doubt that the figure is a high one.

The provision of employment for girls is extremely limited, particularly in those areas (e.g. Aberdare and Pontypridd) dependent upon coal-mining. Girls are faced, therefore, with either a limited number of openings in the distributive trades (in many cases non-progressive)

or equally limited opportunities as day or resident domestics. Many girls who are now "staying at home" helping their parents and remaining in school beyond the statutory leaving age would take up employment either in industry or as domestics were the opportunities available. It is, generally speaking, easier to transfer girls than boys to other districts, and parents who are willing to allow their daughters to leave home for domestic or institutional service in London, seaside towns, and the provinces, often refuse to allow their sons to leave home.

Successful transference involves the breaking down of this reluctance on the part of the parents and an unwillingness to move that is frequently shown by the juveniles themselves. To do this it is necessary to offer wages which will fully support the children transferred, without the necessity of financial assistance from the home. Parents and children, too, wish to be assured that adequate supervision will be forthcoming to safeguard those who are starting their industrial lives in a strange locality. Such supervision is at present vigilantly exercised, and will be discussed below. A further and very important point is that confidence in the transference system can only, in the last resort, be maintained—and increased—if juveniles can receive some assurance that the work to which they are being sent offers them a fair degree of stability and permanence. Conversations with lads who have been sent away to jobs that have only lasted some months reveal that most of them have little objection to transference as such (granted that the wages offered are in their view adequate for self-maintenance), but that they do object to the lack of permanence which so many of these jobs imply.

These criticisms must not blind us to the value of juvenile transference, and it remains true that "committees most concerned in the work are clear that the service rendered to the community by a successful transfer is full compensation for the trouble taken and the occasional failure of their efforts."¹

The only quarrel we have here is with the use of the word "occasional." As stated above, it is not possible to obtain an accurate estimate of the number of juveniles who throw up their jobs and return to their homes. But it does seem likely that such failures are more than "occasional."²

¹ Ministry of Labour Report on Juvenile Employment for the year 1933.

² Whereas the Cardiff committee state that the percentage of those transferred who fail to remain in their jobs is small, the Neath committee in their report for 1930 state that 50 per cent of such boys returned home. Apparently girls find it more difficult to adjust themselves to new surroundings than boys.

(F) INDUSTRIAL SUPERVISION

The work of the committees is not completed when children have been advised and placed in employment. Not the least valuable part of their duties consists in the supervisory contacts which the committees maintain with boys and girls after placing. The committees, working through bodies of voluntary workers, attempt to keep in touch with juveniles placed by them, particularly those placed in blind-alley or otherwise unsatisfactory employment, and with those whose general welfare (e.g. home circumstances) appears to make after-care desirable.

Broadly, supervision is exercised in three ways—by “open evenings,” by visits to employers, and by home visits. “Open evenings” are held either at the juvenile department of the exchanges or at the bureaux usually once a month. The Employment Officer (or secretary to the committee) and members of his committee are present to meet boys and girls who have been invited to attend and about whom information is needed. The “open evening” is a social affair, and a pleasant and friendly atmosphere prevails. The parents of the boys and girls are welcomed, and advice and guidance is given to those children who are desirous of changing their employment or who are dissatisfied with their jobs or who, for whatever reason, seek the help of the committees.

Complementary to this are the visits paid by officers of the exchanges to employers to enquire about boys and girls placed by the exchanges and to discover how successful the placings have been, and the visits of voluntary workers to the homes of children for whom such supervision is deemed necessary. Throughout, the opportunity is taken of pressing upon children and parents the desirability of continued education, of bringing to the notice of children the existence of boys' and girls' clubs which they are urged to join, and in other ways of guiding and assisting juveniles in the period of adolescence.¹

It would seem, therefore, that the supervision exercised by the committees is fairly complete and adequate. But one disappointing feature has to be noted: not all those invited to attend “open evenings” do, in fact, attend, and in some cases the percentage is very low.² It may be that the committees have not, as yet, gained the full confidence of the boys and girls concerned; it may be that, in many cases,

¹ Mention must be made, too, of the supervision exercised over boys and girls placed L.O.D. They are taken to the station of their home town by welfare officers, met at their destination and taken to their lodgings or place of work. Thereafter the committees keep in touch with them in such ways as are described above.

² E.g. in 1931 the Pontypool committee held 21 “open evenings,” to which 120 boys and 114 girls were invited; only 89 boys and 81 girls attended. In 1933 the Neath committee invited 93 boys and 118 girls to attend “open evenings,” 16 boys and 29 girls attended with parents or guardians; 25 boys and 25 girls attended alone.

boys and girls who possess jobs fail to see the advantages of maintaining contact with the exchanges and utilising the advice which is available for them. But whatever the reason, their failure to do so operates against the success of the supervision system. It is essential that parents and children should co-operate with the committees if welfare work of this sort is to have its maximum usefulness.

PLACINGS FROM SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Juvenile Advisory and Employment Committees are, for the most part, concerned with the school-leavers from the elementary schools. While they try to keep in touch with the secondary schools (e.g. by inviting head teachers to serve on the committees, by circularising the schools with particulars of Civil Service examinations, and so on), they have not found it possible in the past to place any considerable number of secondary scholars in employment.

To meet the special requirements of the secondary school pupil, therefore, the North and South Wales Secondary Schools' Employment Committees were established and began their work in November, 1929. They work in close co-operation with the Juvenile Advisory and Employment Committees, and a special officer of the Ministry of Labour makes periodic visits to the secondary schools in the area. Talks on careers¹ are given, and the "Choice of Careers" series of pamphlets are issued to the schools as well as information relating to types of employment not covered by the pamphlets.² The committees' work is, to some extent, made more difficult than it need be by the unwillingness of the employers to negotiate directly with them³; but their greatest difficulties arise from other causes.

¹ Some of the careers talks that have been given are :

"Nursing," by Miss R. E. Darbyshire, R.R.C. (Matron of University College Hospital, London);

"Openings for girls in electrical work," by Miss C. Haslett, C.B.E. (Director of Women's Electrical Association, and Hon. Sec. of Women's Engineering Society);

"Agriculture as a career," by Mr. W. S. Jones, M.A. (Divisional Inspector, Ministry of Agriculture, Wales Branch), and Miss E. H. Pratt, O.B.E., M.A. (Ministry of Agriculture);

"The making of an engineer" by Mr. A. W. Loveridge, D.Sc., Technical College, Cardiff.

² The committee has collected and filed much information, e.g. relating to dentistry, horticulture and agriculture, salesmanship, kindergarten teaching, nursing, physical training, health visiting, librarianship, the Police Force, etc.

³ Annual Report (1931) of the North and South Wales Secondary Schools' Employment Committees: "The support of employers, without which the placing side of the committees' work cannot progress, has not been encouraging . . . In many

The factor which, more than any other, militates against a secondary boy or girl obtaining employment is his (or her) age. Pupils are not qualified, usually, until they are 17 years old—and it has already been shown that the greatest difficulty is experienced in placing boys and girls over 16 years. A boy of 17 years is heavily handicapped in competition for a job with another lad of 15,¹ despite the so-called advantages of a secondary education. Further, another difficulty is created by the curriculum of the secondary schools themselves, for girls discover, at the end of their school careers, that further courses in special subjects are necessary if they are to enter certain kinds of employment, e.g. nursing² or accountancy. In many cases the extra expense involved makes this impossible, and the girls have then to accept employment which to them is less attractive and suitable.

But there can be no doubt that the Secondary Schools Committees³ are doing a great deal to overcome these obstacles, and their figures of placings show a continuous improvement. In 1931 they placed 45 boys and 47 girls locally, and 39 boys and 57 girls I.O.D.; in 1933 the number placed locally was 92 boys and 85 girls; I.O.D.—53 boys

Continued from previous page

instances employers notify their vacancies direct to the schools, and this practice is one which has obvious advantages looked at from the local standpoint. It is, however, hoped that as the activities of the committees become more widely known, employers will make greater use of the wider choice of applicants which should be possible through the committees."

¹ It is the experience, e.g. of the Cardiff Employment committee that often younger juveniles from the elementary schools are accepted instead of older juveniles from the secondary schools. "There never was a time when boys and girls from the higher schools found it so difficult to secure employment . . . In interviews with employers the question of costs is looming to a larger and larger degree. The average age when boys and girls complete a secondary school education would be about 16½ years. For various reasons it is often 17 or 17½ years before a fair proportion have secured the necessary educational qualification. The older they become, the greater the difficulty. When an employer desires to engage a secondary school applicant, he usually prefers the youngest he can get, so that those who fail to be absorbed quickly find their opportunities receding in proportion as the delay is prolonged" (Cardiff J. E. C. Report, 1932). Also "The depression in trade has had an adverse effect upon the opportunities of employment of many of these boys and girls in common with those of less advanced education. Indeed it is sometimes felt that employers, in selecting juveniles of 14-15 years of age for, say, junior clerical posts, in better times would have probably preferred an older boy or girl of secondary school education. Particularly has difficulty been experienced in the case of girls seeking clerical posts or work as stenographers, many of these remaining unemployed for long periods" (Newport J. A. C. Report, 1932).

² One secondary school in Wales provides a special course for girls who have taken the School Certificate examination and who intend entering the nursing profession. Evening classes are now held at Newport, at the suggestion of the Matron of the Royal Gwent Hospital, for girls in a similar position. These examples ought surely to be multiplied.

and 114 girls. Boys and girls are placed most easily locally in commercial and clerical employment and wholesale and retail trading. Boys are also regularly placed in engineering trades and with the Post Office. Many boys are transferred out of Wales to work in the distributive trades, clerical and commercial posts, engineering, and personal service. The large majority of girls are transferred to jobs as domestic or institutional servants and nurses.¹ Great care is undoubtedly exercised so that leavers are not placed in blind-alley occupations, but the committees' 1931 report states that, while reliable information is not available as to the nature of the employment found by school-leavers *for themselves*, "there is evidence that in a number of cases the employment obtained is not of a progressive character."

From the reports of the Secondary Schools' Committees it can be seen that about 3,000 secondary school-leavers obtained employment on leaving school in 1933, and over 1,000 were without employment (an increase in the number unemployed of 200 over the figures for 1932). The numbers who proceeded to courses of training for teaching were 1,793 in 1933, a decrease of 97 over those for 1932, which was most probably due to the decreasing chances of employment in an overcrowded market.

On the other hand, the numbers training for other professions (medicine, the ministry, agriculture, architecture, secretarial work, law, and so on) increased from 665 to 706. The net result, however, was that in 1933 there were 944 boys and 849 girls in courses of training as compared with 971 boys and 919 girls in 1932.

In the same period the number of boys who obtained employment on leaving school rose from 1805 to 2,114. More boys found employment locally in 1933 than in 1932, and less in other districts.

Of the 1,710 boys who found employment locally in 1933, over 21 per cent went into the distributive trades; the same number entered commercial employment, 13 per cent entered agriculture. Of the 404 who found posts in other districts, 31·7 per cent entered the fighting forces and the police, 17·6 the distributive trades, and 19·1 per cent commercial employment.

A larger number of girls entered local employment in 1933 than in the previous year, but a reduction occurred in the number who found jobs in other districts. Over 36 per cent of the 644 girls who took up jobs locally entered the distributive trades, 20 per cent commercial

¹ See Appendix IX. These references to secondary school-leavers refer, throughout, to Wales. The appropriate figure for South Wales would be from 85-90 per cent of the totals.

employment, and 13 per cent domestic service. Of the 516 who obtained employment elsewhere, 60.9 per cent entered the professions, 12.4 per cent domestic service, and 14 per cent the distributive trades.

There can be no doubt that secondary school pupils are being slowly brought to realise that there are other types of employment besides the black-coated ones. Talks on careers and the advisory work of the Secondary Schools' Employment Committees are doing something to break down the ancient prejudice against skilled manual trades; the lack of demand for school teachers is perhaps doing as much. But there is still much to be done, particularly in South Wales, both to redistribute the supply and to create new demands for juvenile labour. The existence of large-scale unemployment amongst our secondary school-leavers is a particularly serious problem, especially in view of the long and expensive training to which they have been subjected, and which, seemingly, is being wasted. There are boys in our South Wales secondary schools who are 19 and 20 years of age, just hanging on until something—anything—in the nature of a job turns up. It is, admittedly, better that they should remain at school than hang about street corners; but they experience a frustration and helplessness as great and as dangerous as that experienced by the young unemployed lad of 15 and 16 years of age. Their existence is a challenge alike to the public policy of governments and to the ameliorative agencies which exist to provide them with the means of utilising their leisure.

CHAPTER VI

The Junior Instruction Centre

The work of the Ministry of Labour and Local Education Authorities in regard to the unemployed juvenile which we have just described—advising and placing him in suitable employment and exercising a friendly supervision over him during the first year in his particular job—by no means concludes the story of their achievement. Of equal importance are the provisions in the Unemployment Act, 1934, for the establishment of courses of instruction for unemployed boys and girls. Under the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1930, courses of instruction for unemployed persons under the age of 18 in receipt of unemployment benefit could be provided by local authorities in association with the Minister of Labour, but there was no statutory obligation on local authorities to provide such courses; nor could unemployed juveniles not in receipt of benefit be forced to attend.

The Unemployment Act of 1934, however, lays it down that the provision of courses of instruction for all unemployed boys and girls becomes a statutory duty of Local Education Authorities, who were requested to submit schemes for the Minister's approval. The policy to be pursued is described in a memorandum on the establishment and conduct of courses of instruction for unemployed boys and girls, issued by the Minister of Labour.¹ The purpose of the scheme is not merely the prevention of demoralisation, but "to give the boys and girls a real interest in life, to keep their minds and fingers active and alert, and their bodies fit, to teach them something which will be of real use to them whether at home or at work, and, without trying to train them for specific occupations, to give them the type of mental and manual instruction which will help them to become absorbed or reabsorbed into employment as soon as an opportunity may occur."²

With this dual purpose—to prevent demoralisation and to facilitate absorption or reabsorption into industry—it is proposed to establish junior instruction centres in areas where the number of unemployed boys and girls is substantial,³ and junior instruction classes in areas

¹ H.M.S.O., 1934.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

³ Centres will be established in places where there are, within a radius of 5 miles, not less than 50 persons 14–18 years, who have been out of work for a period of twelve consecutive working days. The Ministry reserves the right to refuse approval for the establishment of a centre if, in its opinion, the probable trend of unemployment does not justify the expense involved.

where the numbers of unemployed juveniles are smaller.¹ Centres and classes cease to be recognised if the average attendance for four consecutive weeks falls below 40 and 20 respectively, and the Minister will give a month's notice of termination. Should, however, the average attendance rise to at least 40 in the case of centres, and 20 in the case of classes, for two consecutive weeks, and should there be reason to anticipate a continued need for the centre or class, the notice of termination may be withdrawn.

In addition to the provision of centres and classes, two further lines of policy are stated in the memorandum. Where the numbers of unemployed juveniles are not sufficient for the establishment of either a centre or a class, they may be admitted to existing educational institutions, i.e. those providing higher education and evening classes. This may only be done if their admission is unlikely "to prejudice the facilities provided for ordinary pupils."² Also, in the case of boys and girls possessing higher educational or industrial qualifications than the ordinary, it is stated as desirable that they should attend places of instruction which are more likely to provide instruction of a type suited to their special aptitudes than the centre or class. Thus, while secondary and junior technical schools would be considered unsuitable, permission would not, generally, be withheld from a boy or girl seeking to attend technical, commercial, and art schools and colleges and day continuation schools.³

Into this scheme it is hoped to bring every unemployed boy and girl.⁴ Compulsory attendance is to be enforced, with forfeiture of benefit as the penalty for non-compliance.⁵ Progress, however, since the passing of the Unemployment Act, 1934, has been slow. The

¹ There must be, within a radius of five miles, at least 25 persons 14-18 years who have been unemployed for twelve consecutive working days.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 8. The memorandum continues: "In special circumstances it may be desirable to consider whether use should be made of elementary schools for boys and girls who have recently left those schools, and the Minister and the Board of Education would be prepared to consider any such suggestion on its merits: they would not, however, agree normally that boys and girls over the age of 15 should be required to return to elementary schools."

³ This privilege will normally be confined to juveniles with at least ten contributions to their credit in respect of insurable employment, and who have entered, or intend to enter, an occupation to which the special instruction provided is appropriate.

⁴ A boy or girl who has just left school will not be required to attend courses until at least one month has elapsed. Other juveniles will not be required to attend until they have been out of work for one week.

⁵ The length of disallowance of benefit is to be determined by a court of referees. Where the insurance sanction cannot be invoked, other sanctions are to be used—those in Sections 45 and 78 of the Education Act, 1921: in cases where the school attendance order is not complied with, the parties may be summoned before courts of summary jurisdiction.

number of centres and classes in South Wales at the beginning of September, 1934, was 20¹; the number at the beginning of March, 1935, was 21.² That is, although nine months have passed since the Act came into force, no substantial advance has been made in the provision of courses of instruction for unemployed youths. It is, however, true that negotiations are still proceeding in many places for the taking over and reconditioning of premises by local authorities; but the rate at which this is being done is not commensurate with the rate at which the number of school-leavers is increasing as a result of the high birth-rate in the immediate post-war years. The greatest need for instruction centres will be felt between 1935 and 1937, when the numbers available for employment but unlikely to obtain it will reach their maximum. It is imperative, therefore, that the establishment of centres should be pushed on with the utmost celerity if they are to be of maximum use.

An appraisal of the value of the centres must of necessity be based on the work done by those which have been in existence for some years past. Their experiences may serve both as a stimulus and as a warning to those whose duty it will be to run the new centres to be established under the 1934 Act.

PREMISES AND EQUIPMENT

The quality of the buildings used for junior instruction work in South Wales varies considerably from centre to centre. For the efficient working of the centres, suitable premises are essential. Experience shows that what are needed are a large hall for gymnastics, well-lighted, large rooms for craftwork, airy classrooms, playing-fields, gardens for cultivation, and adequate sanitary arrangements. It is not surprising in view of these requirements—which must be regarded as absolutely necessary—that those centres are best in this respect which are housed in old school buildings or in huts which have been built for the purpose.³ Other centres are held in what were once

¹ They were: Aberdare (Boys), Abertillery (Boys), Abertillery (Girls), Bargoed (Boys), Blaina (Boys), Cardiff (Mixed), Ebbw Vale (Boys), Ferndale (Boys), Llanelly (Boys), Maesteg (Boys), Merthyr Tydfil (Boys), Neath (Boys), Newport (Mixed), Pentre (Girls), Pontypool (Boys' Class), Pontypridd (Boys), Port Talbot (Boys), Risca (Boys' Class), Swansea (Boys), Tonyypandy (Boys).

² The new centre is at Cardiff, for boys. It is anticipated, however, that other centres will be established in the next few months.

³ The centre at Newport is housed in an old elementary school; that at Swansea in an old girls' secondary school. At Cardiff the centre is held on the premises of the Employment Bureau, and huts have been erected for craftwork. These three centres are undoubtedly among the three best in South Wales.

private houses,¹ and some of the proposed new centres will have similar accommodation. The assumption that even large private houses are suitable for instructional purposes is surely unfounded. Sanitary arrangements are often insufficient, and while the rooms can be used for classrooms they are often totally unsuited for craftwork (carpentry, metalwork, and so on), and completely useless for physical training. Their re-adaption and alteration to suit the purposes of the centres' activities and the building of huts for gymnastic work is costly, and, on the whole, unsatisfactory. The difficulty of the work—already, from its very nature, great—is considerably increased by the hampering conditions of unsuitable and ill-conditioned premises.

In some cases the centres are extremely badly housed. The Bargoed Centre for Boys, for instance, is a badly-lighted and ventilated part of the Baptist chapel below the street level, in which the electric light has to be kept burning all day. Among the boys who attend it, it is known as "The Dungeon." In Neath the boys are accommodated in a part of an old workhouse, built in 1838, and there is a definite reluctance on the part of the parents to send their boys to what is called "The Old Workhouse" or "The Union."²

The provision of suitable buildings is admittedly difficult in view of the temporary nature of the problem. In the memorandum which has been referred to above, it is stated definitely that the Minister will not approve for grant the cost of permanent buildings, of brick or stone; semi-permanent buildings or huts should be erected.³ But whether centres and classes are held in huts built or buildings adapted for the purpose, great care must be exercised to see that the essential requirements regarding light, air, and space, and sanitary arrangements are observed. Conditions such as those existing in Bargoed, must not be allowed, having regard both to the health and well-being of staff and pupils and the quality of the work done.

¹ E.g. Tonyypandy, Ebbw Vale.

² The Superintendent, in his report for 1933, says: "The Advisory Committee have done their best to increase the numbers of the non-claimants, but all their efforts have been in vain, and will be so, as long as we remain in the present buildings. Parents will not allow their boys to enrol, for the buildings are known in the town as 'The Old Workhouse' or 'The Union,' and they are extremely unpopular."

³ Memorandum on the "Establishment and Conduct of Courses of Instruction," p. 13. It is stated that the Minister will be normally prepared to approve for the standard rate of grant any necessary expenditure by the education authorities on the provision of new accommodation or the adaptation of existing building. Where the adaptations effect permanent improvement in the authorities' property, the Minister will recognise only one half of the cost of the adaptations. Where the adaptations are solely for the purpose of converting buildings into centres or classes, and have no lasting value once the buildings cease to be so used, the whole cost will be recognised for grant.

The equipment of the majority of the centres is, on the whole, satisfactory. There is no lack of tools, and, in many cases, local residents have co-operated with the centre by presenting gifts of motor car engines, etc. On the mechanical side there is little to criticise; but on that side of the work which the present writer regards as the more important—namely, the “cultural” side—a great deal remains to be done. This matter will be mentioned when we consider the curriculum of the centres, but here it must be emphasised that among the equipment which is essential to any centre must be a good library of well-chosen books, of range wide enough to appeal to varying tastes, a piano, and a wireless receiving set. It is true that most centres possess “libraries” and pianos; fewer have the radio installed. In some cases books are lent by the county library or by local libraries. (where these exist); in others, the centre attempts to build up its own library, relying on the gifts of local residents, visitors, and others. Anyone who has had any experience of begging for books to form a library will know the great amount of useless stuff which can, in that way, be accumulated. I would like to see in every centre a wide range of books—not necessarily novels, even “classics”—and some one on the staff of the centre sufficiently well-read and interested to be able to guide the reading of the boys who attend.

Further, there should be, attached to every centre, a reading room (and library combined, perhaps), in which is placed a wide variety of newspapers and periodicals. Pleasant and comfortable surroundings and wise guidance could do a great deal towards improving the quality of the reading of these boys, and their understanding and appreciation of the outside world. The wireless should also be used extensively for listening to talks and music.

THE STAFFING OF THE CENTRES

The National Advisory Council, in its fifth report, said: “The success of courses of instruction depends in our view largely on the personality of the teachers employed, and especially on that of the superintendent. We would again urge that the greatest care should be taken by education authorities in the selection of the staff, and that the teachers should be appointed, not so much on their academic qualifications, as on their ability to handle boys and girls over the age of fourteen, and to develop a sense of *esprit de corps* among those attending the courses” (p. 16). The experience of the past ten years has amply proved the contention that the success or failure of the centres is due, almost directly, to the quality of the superintendent.

In South Wales the superintendents are all trained certificated teachers; the best of them are men of personality, keenly interested

in their work, and possessing wide sympathies and range of interests. The impress of the superintendent is to be seen on the boys and girls in their charge, in the way they set about their work, in their treatment of the buildings in which they meet, in their language and bearing. A poor superintendent adversely influences the work of his centre, the lads grow indolent and rude, the staff is hampered in their efforts to combat the declining "tone" of the centre.

The instructors, too, must be men of outstanding qualities, possessed not only of technical expertness, but also of tact, sympathy, and vitality. The work is hard, and a special technique is needed for boys who, in many cases, have not experienced the discipline of school or work for some years. The emphasis in the curriculum on practical subjects like woodwork and metalwork, has attracted men with the necessary qualifications in these subjects, and too often the English subjects have to be taught by the superintendents who should be devoting the whole of their time to organising and administrative work.

It is, therefore, encouraging to note that in the Ministry's memorandum it is suggested that local authorities should make arrangements for suitable teachers in their permanent service to be seconded for a period of service in the centres and classes.¹ This arrangement would go a long way towards removing the objection that work in a juvenile instruction centre is unpromising because it offers no security of tenure. The memorandum further recommends that certificated teachers should receive the standard rates of pay, but that would not remove the anomaly of differences in the rates of pay for uncertificated assistants in different parts of the country. There is everything in favour of the argument that if the right men and women are to be drawn into the service, the conditions of tenure and salary will have to be made attractive.

There is the further point, however, that in so far as junior instruction centre work is new, needing an approach all its own, men must be specially trained for the job. Summer schools and vacation courses for instructors are useful, but better still would be special courses in our training colleges and in the normal departments of our university colleges. Mr. V. A. Bell, in his admirable report on junior instruction centres and their future, makes the valuable point that men and women should be specially trained, and should have a thorough knowledge of the working boy and girl. "They will be the same type that should be engaged in the new senior or central schools where practical work is being expanded, for there is little difference between the boy or girl of 14+ years at a senior school and the same individual when 15+ at a J.I.C. . . . The two services (senior schools and J.I.C.'s)

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

should be linked together, and as the secondary, technical, and elementary services are definitely recognised, so provision should be made for the recognition of this new type of teacher who can work equally well in a senior school or a J.I.C. If this is achieved, numbers of instructors working with the unemployed juveniles will be available, as the centres close down, to staff the senior schools as they arise in various parts of the country."¹

CURRICULUM

It has been laid down in the Ministry's memorandum that a much greater time should be devoted to practical work in the centres and classes than is usual at elementary and secondary schools. But it must be "a fundamental principle of the scheme that the instruction provided should not take the form of training for specific occupations, and a wide variety of instruction should, so far as possible, be given" (p. 23). Courses should be inspired by "the club spirit," and the juveniles in attendance should realise that "the instruction they receive is something which will be likely to help them in securing employment and in making them better citizens." Games are stated to be important, "though the course should not be allowed to develop merely into a place of amusement" (p. 24).

These principles, embodying the recommendations of the National Advisory Council contained in its fifth report, bring nothing new into the scheme, for centres and classes have long been acting according to this pattern. Instruction has been devised to develop manual dexterity and to increase the standard of employability, and to these ends due weight has been given handicrafts and physical exercise. Woodwork, metalwork, boot repairing, and leatherwork for the boys, and domestic subjects such as cookery, dressmaking, and home nursing for the girls, comprise the major part of the curriculum. In addition, book-keeping, shorthand, and typewriting are provided for commercial students. General subjects include English, civics, history, arithmetic, drawing and painting; physical training and organised games, useful for "the creation of alertness, initiative, and energy," are also included.²

¹ *Junior Instruction Centres and their Future: A Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust*, by Valentine A. Bell, 1934, p. 37.

² For recommendations *in re* curriculum, see National Advisory Council's Fifth Report, Appendix 2, and the Memorandum on the "Establishment and Conduct of Courses of Instruction," Appendix 4.

In addition to the subjects mentioned, which are common to all centres and classes, the following subjects are also taught in different centres: gardening, first-aid, weaving (raffia and basket-work), rug-making, upholstery, and mining and engineering science.

Lectures are frequently given,¹ and perhaps what is more valuable, some centres regularly stage debates and mock trials in which the students themselves take part. Visits are sometimes paid to local works and factories, exhibitions of craftwork are held, occasionally photography provides a live interest (e.g. at Ebbw Vale cellars have been adapted as dark rooms; also, a cinematograph projector is installed and films are lent weekly by the Canadian Pacific Railway), and summer camps are held.

Obviously, the subjects taught depend to a considerable extent upon the available buildings and apparatus. Many superintendents report that physical training is much handicapped by the lack of suitable halls; domestic science work of a better quality could be done by the girls if kitchen and laundry accommodation was better. The syllabus is also to some extent conditioned by the abilities and wishes of the students. There is no doubt that the emphasis laid upon manual work for boys and housewifery for girls meets with their general approval, particularly in the case of boys over 16 years of age, who find the "English" subjects irksome and "too much like school."

But the matter is not settled there. The aim of the courses—the creation of industrial adaptability and general smartness—is good so far as it goes. The point is, whether one side of a boy's (or girl's) nature should be neglected at the expense of another, whether a course designed to cultivate manual dexterity alone does not leave at any rate an *equally* important sphere untouched—that of intellect and culture. It is not being argued here that it is possible to make even the majority of these juveniles into geniuses, but it is being maintained that if it is considered important to make boys more agile in the use of tools, it is surely as important to teach them something more than they knew before of their country's history and its place in relation to other nations, something of economics so that they might understand the functions and uses, say, of money, something of politics—in a word, those subjects of social importance about which so much is said, especially in South Wales, and so little understood. Nor should the influence of well-written books be forgotten, the cultural value of music clearly explained, the beneficial and vitalising results of the communication of new ideas and the sharpening of the mind's edges which comes when two persons clash in argument.

It does seem that these educative forces should not be subordinated to other purposes, though it may be true that the present juvenile instruction centre scheme is sheltered from this attack by the insistence

¹ Lectures embrace subjects like Psychology, the Departure from the Gold Standard, Reparations, Books and Writers, Abraham Lincoln, Alcohol, Temperament, Care of the Baby (for girls).

upon instruction rather than education. But here is an opportunity for real educational advance which ought not to be missed. If it is true, as seems to be the case, that children *at present* prefer practical subjects, there seems to be no adequate reason why this should always be so. Too often people like and admire a certain thing because they have never been taught to appreciate anything else. The challenge presented by this scheme, therefore, seems to be this: Are we going to be content to turn out a generation quick with their hands and possessed of a fair all-round capability, or is it our intention to produce men and women of good mental calibre, able to use their leisure creatively, able to think and reason over the problems of a society growing increasingly complex; able, in short, to take their places as citizens contributing the best of which they are capable to the common stock? For citizenship, surely something more than woodwork and metalwork and civics and arithmetic are needed.

This problem will be raised later, but here one further argument must be disposed of. Educationists and others concerned for the welfare of the juvenile are perturbed by the fact that the discontinuity inherent in the scheme makes the planning of a course of education impossible. Juveniles may be present at a centre for three weeks, employed for three months, and back at the centre again at the end of that time. Therefore, for children here to-day and gone to-morrow the organisation of a course of education planned to meet the needs of our society is not possible. This is true, and is a point of very real substance. But it does not invalidate the argument of the preceding paragraphs. It is possible, even with a floating population, to provide opportunities for cultural subjects, just as it is considered possible to improve manual dexterity. In neither case will the results be as good as under a continuous system, but a degree of achievement can be aimed at which is the best possible under the circumstances.

Mr. V. A. Bell, in his report, concludes, after an exhaustive survey of the activities at the centres,¹ that "there is no doubt that the activities of the centres are preventing deterioration and demoralisation." True, but is this the best use that can be made of them?

THE FUTURE OF THE CENTRES

It is quite certain that the centres are improving the morale of the students. Contact with youths who are in attendance confirms this, and superintendents, in their reports, speak of the improvement that takes place in the general bearing of the boys, in neatness and cleanliness of person. Boys "become more alert and eager, lose most of their apathy, and reveal more team spirit and initiative" (Ebbw

¹ *Junior Instruction Centres*, Ch. 6.

Vale report, 1928). In his 1930 report, the superintendent of the Newport Centre mentions the improvement which is "apparent in the bearing, the conversation, the habits of mind and body, and the general tone" of the boys, and states that the centre reinstates "hope and self-respect in place of the sense of impotence and failure." In Trealaw (Rhondda) it was noticed that "the morale of the boys after a few months shows a decided improvement" (Report, 1930), and in Ferndale (1930), "the regular hours of instruction combined with organised games, etc., have often been the means by which unemployed youths have regained their self-respect and enthusiasm."

But it is quite certain that, as they are at present organised, the centres cannot adequately meet the educational needs of the boys and girls who attend them. The centres have undoubtedly come to stay—for who can prophesy a time when there will be no unemployed juveniles between the ages of 14 and 18, especially in South Wales? A wider vision, therefore, should be taken of their functions. In pleasant surroundings, with ample means of access to all the equipment necessary for "cultural" as well as manual instruction, and taught by capable staffs—men and women chosen because of their special training in, and aptitude for, the work—the unemployed boys and girls might be brought to a more splendid realisation of their capabilities and of the true means of utilising aright the leisure which has been thrust upon them.

Many boys who attend the centres call it "going to the Dole College"; there is something half bitter, half proud in that description. The bitterness must be removed, the pride fostered. It can best be done by talking less of preventing deterioration and demoralisation and more of educating boys and girls to make a more fitting contribution to the society of which they are part. What is needed is a new vision of the possibilities provided by the centres—a new memorandum on the establishment and conduct of courses of instruction for unemployed boys and girls which will maintain an even balance between practical and "literary" subjects. Admittedly, new methods of teaching these subjects will have to be discovered if the interest and attention of the boys and girls are to be held. Some instructors—and they are the most successful—have found it possible to combine originality of treatment with sound instruction. The new technique can be discovered and then used to stimulate the students' interest in subjects like English and History, which, when taught in the traditional school way, in many cases merely bored.

Given this treatment, the junior instruction centres can become places where unemployed boys and girls find the means of creative self-expression in the use of their leisure time, harmonising their practical and cultural needs, and learning to grow to the full stature of citizenship.

CHAPTER VII

The School-Leaving Age

The foregoing discussion attempted to assess the value of the centres on their merits and as a permanent addition to our educational machinery. If the argument was correct, it is clear that they could be made a very valuable force in the lives of unemployed juveniles, provided that their functions are envisaged in a different light and that certain conditions with regard to buildings, equipment, and staffing are fulfilled.

But, ultimately, the value of their contribution is subject to the limiting condition of discontinuous attendance, and the impossibility of providing a planned course of instruction. The provision of centres can never, therefore, be an alternative to the raising of the school-leaving age.

There are two arguments in favour of the raising of the age: (a) that it would be the means of providing boys and girls up to 15 years with the necessary educational opportunities, and (b) that it would remove a considerable number of juveniles from the labour market and would have the effect of redistributing employment among the young adult population. This last argument will be examined first.

THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

For the majority of boys and girls the age of 14 years is the age at which they enter, or attempt to enter, industry and become full-time wage earners. During the year ended March 31, 1933, just over 31 per cent of the boys and nearly 29 per cent of the girls who left public elementary schools in Wales left for further education of some sort. The percentages leaving for employment (whether employment was secured immediately or not) were about 67 in the case of boys and 69 in the case of girls.¹ In round numbers, nearly 26,000 boys and girls left elementary schools in Wales to take up work. The results of the sample enquiry into school-leavers discussed in Chapter II

¹ *Education in 1933*: Report of the Board of Education (Cmd. 4631), p. 105. It is interesting to note that the percentages proceeding with education in Wales are higher than those in England and Wales, where 21·8 per cent of the boys and 18·6 per cent of the girls left for further education, and 76·9 per cent boys and 79·8 per cent girls left for employment.

revealed the difficulties of obtaining employment on leaving school; the estimates of the numbers of juveniles likely to be available for employment in the coming years contained in Appendix VII throw light on the difficulty which will increase in the years of the "bulge" of finding work for the increased numbers of boys and girls.

We have suggested that the number of additional juveniles in South Wales over and above the 1933 figure available for employment will, in 1936, 1937, and 1938 be about 18,000, 20,000, and 15,000 respectively.¹ It is clear that the influx of these swollen numbers of boys and girls on the labour market will lead to very undesirable consequences. Either juvenile unemployment will be seriously increased, or boys and girls will find employment at the expense of older workers. Neither of these possibilities (and to some extent the two results may be felt at the same time) can be regarded with equanimity.

If the school-leaving age were immediately raised to 15 plus, the result would be to retain in school about 20,000 in 1936 and 19,000 in 1937 (see Appendix VII). The total of those estimated to be available for employment in each year would, therefore, be reduced by these amounts. The numbers available for employment would then be 99,000 in 1936, 102,000 in 1937, and 97,000 in 1938.

The report of the Board of Education for 1933 (Cmd. 4631) shows that of the 26,000 boys and girls who left public elementary schools in Wales for employment during the year ended March 31, 1933, 21,000 were 14 and under 15 years of age. There were also 12,000 between 14 and 15 years on the registers of public elementary schools on March 31, 1933.² In view of these figures, it does not seem that the estimates of children of 14 years and available for employment are unwarrantably high. It seems safe to assume that the potential labour supply under the influence of the "bulge" will be that stated in the preceding paragraph.

At the end of Chapter III it was estimated that there would be a prospective surplus of juveniles in South Wales of about 22,000 in 1936, 24,000 in 1937, and 19,000 in 1938. If the school-leaving age were raised immediately it could be anticipated that some of this surplus would disappear and openings would be made for older boys and girls. It is doubtful, however, whether vacancies would be produced to any considerable extent in South Wales which could be

¹ But see p. 44.

² *Education in 1933*, pp. 100 and 105.

filled by young adult workers. The whole situation here is so much more serious than that obtaining in the country as a whole, and opportunities of employment are so much more restricted, that the first great result we can expect from the raising of the school-leaving age is that in the next few years the surplus, which undeniably exists, will be reduced.

But this will not be without valuable results. The retention of large numbers in school will reduce the supply of cheap, young labour which, there is evidence to suppose, is being to some extent used by employers mainly because it is cheap. Under the new arrangements, employers will be forced to employ the labour of older boys and girls, and since it is broadly true that the younger the labour the cheaper it can be hired, we might expect to find larger numbers of older juveniles (say those between 16 and 18 years) employed rather than adults over 18 years.

THE SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The foregoing argument should certainly provide a very powerful incentive to those who wish to see the leaving-age raised to 15 plus. But when all that is said, there remain even more urgent reasons for the extension of school life. For more than two-thirds of our boys and girls, education ceases abruptly at 14 years. They are the victims of a society which regards as proper one educational system for the rich and another for the poor. To satisfy the demands of the industrialists for a continuous supply of cheap juvenile labour, thousands of young persons are prematurely poured into wage-earning employment, and the social and intellectual deterioration which results makes inevitable a wastage of a considerable proportion of the money and energy which is spent on their education up to the time that they leave school.

The Hadow Report made the important point that the "effect of education on mind and character depends, in part at least, on the length of time for which its influence is exercised . . . The habits of orderly work and intelligent co-operation, which it is part of the function of a good school to promote, are more likely to be a power in later life, if the seeds sown at school have been sheltered sufficiently long for them to take root and grow, before boys and girls are plunged into the stress and turmoil of wage-earning employment."¹ And again, the "addition even of a few months to the present school life

¹ *Report of the Consultative Committee on The Education of the Adolescent.* H.M.S.O. 1926. P. 140.

may not seldom enable him (the teacher) to kindle into flame the spark which but for them would have been extinguished . . . If their school-life lasts till 15, they will enter industry straight from school with intellects more sharpened and characters more fortified, and their physique more fit to bear the burden of the work which life will lay upon them."¹

The raising of the leaving age to 15 plus is the necessary preliminary to the reorganisation of our educational system on the lines advocated by the Hadow Committee. The idea, broadly, is to grade the system that children will spend four years in primary schools and four years in secondary schools. Secondary education for all is the underlying principle, but secondary education envisaged in new terms. Under the present system, with its snobbish distinction between secondary and technical education, the tendency is for boys and girls to proceed to secondary schools who are not of the calibre to benefit from the instruction they there receive. The tremendous amount of waste involved would be avoided were parents and children free to choose between two types of teaching—"academic" and technical—both with the same status and of equal quality.

The raising of the school-leaving age is an essential preliminary to changes of this sort. It has, in the past, been opposed by the Government on two grounds: that of cost, and because the necessary steps have not been taken by the local authorities to reorganise their schools. But what is the use of the Board of Education using this latter argument, when its own policy has prevented schemes of reorganisation from being carried out? Since the National Economy Order of 1931, authorities have been unable to effect schemes even though they have been approved by the Board. Until the embargo on building is lifted, the responsibility for holding up reorganisation must be laid upon the Government, not upon the local authorities.

What of the cost? It has been estimated by Government spokesmen that to raise the leaving age to 15 plus would, at the present time, cost about £8,000,000. Lord Halifax, speaking in the House of Lords on July 11, 1934, said: "The overriding consideration in this matter is finance . . . I would not be frank with the House and the country if I did not make it plain that these financial facts—the large cost of raising the school-leaving age, the competing claims, many of them just as strong, of other educational services and development, and lastly the general financial obligations to which we are already by general consent committed—that all these hard facts prevent the Government at the present time from considering the raising of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

school-leaving age as practical politics." Surely the answer is that the cost of a measure is largely influenced by its urgency ?¹

The Government's case is all the weaker when it is pointed out that the £8,000,000 is a gross and not a net figure. Certain important savings would be effected which would bring the annual cost down by some millions of pounds. Provision would not have to be made for juveniles aged 14 to 15 years in the junior instruction centres nor in the evening schools; and money would be saved which would otherwise be spent on unemployment insurance.

In addition, there is the important fact that by 1943 there will be over one million fewer children in elementary schools in England and Wales than in 1932.² The children born in the years immediately after the war will by that time have left school, and the effects of the fall in the birth-rate in the subsequent years will then be making themselves felt. It will, therefore, be possible to retain children between 14 and 15 years in school without making any elaborate increases either in staffing or in accommodation. In other words, the decline of one million set against the retention in school of 600,000 to 700,000 between 14 and 15 years would make it possible to raise the leaving age to 15 plus within the next few years with the minimum of expense.

Further, the Board of Education will be required to pay capitation grant³ on reduced numbers, and will save over £2,000,000. This sum might very well be put to the provision of maintenance grants. Taking all these savings into consideration, it is obvious that the net cost of raising the school-leaving age would be several million pounds less than the Government's figure of £8,000,000.

Under these circumstances, "the overriding consideration in this matter" can hardly be that of finance; rather does it seem to be the lack of desire on the part of the Government to see the reform effected. The country's children are its potential living capital—its most valuable source of future wealth and well-being. It should be conceived as the duty of society to provide the means for its children to be as healthy,

¹ "It may be urged that it is unreasonable to incur the burden of prolonging education at a period of great economic depression. It may be equally urged that it is unreasonable to attempt to harvest crops in spring, or to divert into supplying the economic necessities of the immediate present the still undeveloped capacities of those on whose intelligence and character the very life of the nation must depend in the future. There is no capital more productive than the energies of human beings. There is no investment more remunerative than expenditure devoted to developing them." *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent*, p. 145.

² The Government Actuary has estimated that in 1943 there will be 4,389,000 children on the rolls of elementary schools; in 1932 there were 5,576,000 on the rolls.

³ The present capitation grant is 41s. per head.

vigorous, and alert (mentally as well as physically) as possible. Ultimately, the only guarantee a society has of continued existence is the ability of its citizens to solve the problems of a world which is growing ever more complex. That guarantee is destroyed if we deny to the bulk of our rising generation the best educational opportunities which we have it in our power to give them. No longer can we afford to regard with equanimity the existence of two classes—one an educational élite, the other a mass fit at the age of 14 only for the labour market. The right of self-development is not the exclusive possession of any group in society.

The opportunity for coming to grips with the problem is now ours. The decline in the number of children attending elementary schools should be used, not to reduce staffs and hold up the building of new schools, but to decrease the size of classes, remodel old and out-of-date schools, and build new ones incorporating the best modern architectural principles to allow the reception of the maximum amount of sunshine and fresh air.¹ An intensive reorganisation drive should form an important part of a "New Deal" for education, and, with the leaving age raised to 15 plus, it should be possible to reveal life to the pupils, not as a wearying struggle against forces which, because of their magnitude and mystery, baffle and dishearten, but as an adventurous crusade against problems which, because of the understanding of the crusaders, can be swept away when reason and determination join to form a determined and informed will.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

As has been pointed out in previous sections of this book, a sufficient amount of pressure is being exerted on parents and children in South Wales to persuade very considerable numbers of children to remain at school until such a time as they are likely to obtain employment. But this is by no means a solution to our problem, though it is commendable so far as it goes. The education authorities of South Wales and Monmouthshire have met and passed a resolution in favour of raising the age, and at their meeting it was decided to forward a resolution to the Board of Education and to the Prime Minister asking the Government to fix the date on which Parliament be asked to pass

¹ See an excellent article in *The Times Educational Supplement* for January 26, 1935: "Better Schools for Fewer Pupils," by F. H. Spencer, D.Sc., late Chief Inspector, London Education Department. The writer concludes: "Among the securities for the betterment of the future citizen, man or woman, a task we dare not, in our present situation, neglect, the reform of school premises is perhaps the most important. Our superabundant money capital could be put to no better use."

the necessary legislation and to facilitate the completion of reorganisation by removing restrictions on building and making adequate provision for grants.¹

But if the local authorities in South Wales are content to wait upon the pleasure of the Government, they are likely to wait a long time, despite the recent statement of the Prime Minister that the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department have already been charged to re-examine the whole problem.² There is no reason, except the lack of reorganisation, why the authorities should not group together to raise the age by bye-law, under Section 46 (2) of the Education Act, 1921. Admittedly, it would be stupid to raise the age before reorganisation has been proceeded with on the lines of the Hadow Report; here, then, is the first line of advance. Afterwards, the authorities, acting together, could approach the Government and ask for permission to introduce a bye-law. The South Wales industrial region is a homogeneous area eminently suitable for this course of action.

The authorities which have adopted bye-laws require the attendance of children at school until the end of the term in which they reach the age of 15. Exceptions are granted in certain cases, but children who wish to leave in order to take up occupations which are, in the eyes of the authority, "unsuitable," are not exempted from the general rule. This method does, therefore, give the authority some measure of control over the leaver's entry into employment. In Chesterfield, where a school attendance bye-law raising the age of compulsory attendance to 15 years came into force at the end of August, 1933, the following are some of the occupations which are regarded as unsuitable: lather boy, kitchen boy in hotel, etc., billiard marker, programme seller, rag sorter, hawker of goods from door to door, newspaper seller. In the first ten months of the operation of the bye-law, 550 boys and girls were eligible to leave if exemption were granted. Of these, 57 per cent were exempted for employment, 6 per cent for domestic reasons, and 37 per cent remained at school.³

The low percentage remaining at school in Chesterfield is adequate proof of one thing: that the bye-law method is no alternative to the general raising of the age throughout the country. If the advantages of the extra year in the senior schools are to be reaped by all, then

¹ The meeting was held at Cardiff on February 25, 1935.

² See the Prime Minister's reply to the deputation, headed by the Archbishop of York, which waited on him on February 21, 1935, to put the case for raising the leaving age to 15 years.

³ See *Education*, September 14, 1934, for an article by the Education Officer of Chesterfield on the operation of the bye-law in the Borough.

compulsory attendance, with the provision of maintenance grants where necessary, is essential. The bye-law method can, however, be regarded as a useful interim policy, to be superseded by compulsory attendance when possible.

The policy that the local authorities of the region should pursue should therefore aim, firstly, at completing schemes of reorganisation, and, secondly, at obtaining the permission of the Board of Education to raise the leaving age by bye-law; in this, the authorities should act as one body. Even should this be achieved, it will still be necessary to press for the raising of the age by statute throughout the whole country—for only in that way can the advantages of the reform, economic and educational, be fully achieved.¹

¹ Since this was written, the Government has introduced its Education Bill which provides for the raising of the compulsory school-leaving age to 15 in England and Wales as from September 1, 1939. It empowers local authorities to exempt children from attendance at school if they can show they are entering "beneficial" employment—that is, employment which satisfies the following conditions:

- (1) the work and the conditions of labour should be adequate in the eyes of the local authority;
- (2) opportunities should be afforded to the child for further education;
- (3) time should be available to the child for recreation.

The inadequacy of this measure has aroused a storm of protest from informed and responsible parties, and the critic who writes that it is a "miserably small instalment of social progress, representing a position already left behind by majority opinion, and doomed to appear obsolete even before it comes into force" ("Planning," *P.E.P.*, No. 68, February 11, 1936), is hardly underestimating the meagreness of its contribution either to educational advance or to the problems of this book.

The principle of "beneficial" employment is certain to mean that between 50 and 80 per cent of the total children affected will obtain exemptions. It is not easy to see how an educational course can be planned and developed in view of the constant leakages from school that will take place; nor is it difficult to imagine the reluctance with which children will pursue their school-work during their last year if they are preoccupied—as they will be—with looking for jobs.

For educational and social reasons, nothing short of a measure raising the compulsory leaving-age to 15 without exemptions will meet our needs. The paltriness of the present Bill leaves the main problems untouched:

CHAPTER VIII

The Utilisation of Leisure

It is possible to judge the worth of a civilisation by the use that its people make of their leisure time. But no judgment is more liable to the error of hasty generalisation than this; glibness and superficiality are the enemies of reasoned deduction. For all that follows, therefore, I can only claim that I have attempted critically to examine the situation and that I have tested my own observations with the observations of others in South Wales who are closely in touch with social problems. The following is what I believe to be a fair picture of the lives now being led by young people in the coalfield, together with some suggestions for the better utilisation of leisure.

THE HOME AND ITS ACTIVITIES

The home, as the centre of living, has many more counter-attractions than thirty years ago, but despite the popularity of the cinema, the greyhound racing track, and the football ground, the home still retains its place as the centre of the family, and a place to be proud of. Working-class houses in South Wales can be terrible places—slums which make the heart ache, dirty, sodden ruins which bring a pinched and helpless look to the faces of the housewives, and from which the menfolk, young and old, are glad to escape. On the other hand, they can be—and more usually are—poorly-built houses, but ones which to some small extent repay the care bestowed on them by the womenfolk. Generally, housewives in South Wales are house-proud, and the gleaming brass and shining steel are a measure of that pride. Perhaps nothing is more eloquent of the strength and pride of these people, in the face of dire hardship, than the common saying that it does not cost anything to be clean.¹

Into this battle against dirt—which, in many of our valleys is an endless one—the unemployed boys have been drawn. It is quite usual for lads to tell you that they have spent the morning “cleaning up at home,” and a considerable part of their time is spent in this way—in minding younger children, and, generally, in helping their mothers

¹ This is particularly true of the homes of indigenou Welsh people. There are few working-class houses in which I would take a meal in Merthyr Tydfil, for example; but of the Rhondda this could not be said.

about the house. A number of the older juveniles assist their fathers with allotments, but I have not discovered many boys between 14 and 16 years who are in the slightest degree interested in gardening.

On the other hand, there is the common habit of staying in bed until eleven or twelve o'clock "because there's nothing else to do"; also (but this is rarely admitted) in order to save a meal. For many boys the home is merely the place at which they eat and sleep; for others, it occupies a more central position in their lives, enabling them to find joy in helping their parents, in making the house more attractive and comfortable, and in the real companionship which comes of a united family.

THE CINEMA

Of all the attractions outside the home, the cinema is pre-eminent. Most boys and girls go to the cinema at least once a week; many go twice. Sitting in the cheap front seats (usually 5d.), they are content that they are having the same programme as those in the dearer seats behind. They reveal an exhaustive knowledge of films and film stars, and are by no means uncertain in their preferences. Wild West films, and those of the "eternal triangle" type do not make much appeal, though the appearance of a favourite actor or actress might compensate for the deficiencies of plot. Good crime films, with strong detective features, seem to be most generally popular, at any rate among boys; British comedies of the Ralph Lynn and Sidney Howard type are firm favourites, as are musical comedy films.

It is good to find that boys and girls are not content to accept everything that Hollywood or Elstree send them, without any critical discrimination. They do criticise, but chiefly in terms of persons, not of plot or treatment.¹

The cinema forms a very real background to their lives. They take their vocabulary from it, and not a few of their political judgments are based on the luxury and opulence of the upper classes as seen on the screen. Girls dream of being like Greta Garbo or Marlene Dietrich, and model their clothes on the illustrations in the weekly papers devoted to the cinema. All, boys and girls, are cinema-conscious, attempting to conform to a standard of values which are, at best, doubtful, and, at worst, degrading. They prefer the simpering of a Jack Oakie (in any of his films) to the wonderfully polished acting of a Cedric Hardwick (as in "Dreyfus"); they grow ecstatic over the

¹ Compare the experience of E. Wight Bakke: *The Unemployed Man*. In Greenwich he found that "conversation with the men brought out comments only on the films, not on the players" (p. 179). My experience amongst juveniles in South Wales has been quite the reverse, in this connection.

crooning of Bing Crosby, while they accept with equal admiration the singing of Grace Moore. They admire the cruder Americanisms and scoff at a good English voice as "haw-haw-ish."

This lack of real critical standards is the fault not so much of the cinema, as of the training, or lack of it, which our boys and girls have received. Appreciation of the second-best is not to be improved merely by abolishing the second-best. Boys and girls must be trained to appreciate the best—only in that way will the pretensions of the second-rate be exposed for what they are. Most of the blame that is usually fixed on the cinema for the harm that it does to young boys and girls should, more correctly, be fastened on the inability of educational and social institutions in the past to create sound critical standards in the minds of the children. The cinema has come to stay, and much of its drawing power derives from its comfortable surroundings and the illusion created of participating in a new, exciting, and seductive environment. The habit of going to the cinema once or twice a week is, by this time, ingrained, and it is a habit which introduces some amount of gaiety and welcome change into lives which would otherwise be very empty and drab.

But if we are not to rest content with a generation of boys and girls whose acme of enjoyment is a crooner and whose search for beauty ends in a row of chorus-girls, it will be necessary to improve the tastes and the habits of critical appreciation, and improve them quickly. This is one of the most important tasks to be performed by the educational, social, and religious institutions with which our boys and girls come into contact; in the last resort, the way in which they face this problem will be the test of their worth.

THE STREETS

Next in attractiveness to the cinema are the streets, which provide a continuous show free of charge. The movement and bustle of the streets make a strong contrast to the dullness of the homes, and although the movement is one of inevitable sameness—the same tramcars, the same buses, and the same vans and carts—"something is always going on," and there is the chance that something out of the ordinary might occur—a traffic jam, an accident, or a fire. To all this is added the fact that the streets are the meeting-places of one's own kind. • Boys congregate on corners, near the employment exchanges, or on level ash-tips, where somebody might come along with a football or a bat. Conversation is desultory and usually is concerned with local events or with racing and football news. Only occasionally is politics discussed, for I have not found many boys of the ages we are here considering at all interested in politics.

The streets, again, are the great parade-ground of our boys and girls in the evenings, and particularly on Saturday and Sunday evenings. At these times the streets of our South Wales towns present a spectacle of youth seeking the satisfaction of its impulse to show off and be noticed. Shop doorways are filled by groups of boys; on the pavements march up and down girls linked together in threes and fours, wondering if they are observed, waiting to be spoken to; ready, on the slightest word, to pair off with the boys whose admiration they seek. Traffic goes by unheeded; all that an observer is aware of is an atmosphere of repressed excitement, broken by the shrill giggling of the girls and the hoarse laughter of the boys as something particularly smart is said in the conversation which is ever going on.

The streets are both the playground and the meeting-place of our juvenile population. Here they rid themselves of some of that restlessness of adolescence; here they feel themselves to be men and women, holding their own against raillery and undesired advances, taking their own part in an exciting battle, receiving the rewards of smartness and attractiveness in the pleasurable attentions of the opposite sex.

THE CHURCHES

Religion, and, in particular, Nonconformity, has in the past played a tremendous part in the life of South Wales. In its social aspect, it has given them a vivid sense of right and wrong, courage to fight for the right (and their rights), a blazing sense of social justice, and a hope for better things, not only in the next world, but in this world.¹ Religion, through the churches, has in the past given strength to the people, a feeling of self-respect, and a social conscience. It would not be exaggerating to say that church- and chapel-goers are, on the whole, tidier and cleaner, more house-proud, more dignified, than non-attenders. I have noticed time and time again that the cleanest and freshest-looking boys in boys' clubs are the sons of chapel-going parents, and boys who themselves attend chapel and Sunday school.

But in the main, the grip of the churches on our population has weakened in the past fifteen years. Here and there one finds a minister of outstanding genius who gathers round him a full, live, and

¹ Morgan Watcyn-Williams, B.A., in his recently published book, *The Beatitudes in the Modern World*, says: "The people to whom I have ministered for eleven years in a depressed area (Merthyr) are nearly all out of work. None of them believes that his poverty is the will of God, or socially necessary. Most of them are convinced that it could even now be ended if the will were here. They are patient and forbearing, but their faith is no 'opium of the people'."

prosperous church; other ministers and clergy are making themselves indispensable to their communities by their interest in social work. But the general tendency has been for the churches to cease to command that loyalty and allegiance which was paid to them by former generations.

As mothers and fathers cease to attend church and chapel, so do their sons and daughters. Sunday school is still fairly popular, but once the boy or girl reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen, attendance ceases to be regular, and sooner or later stops for good.

When asked why they do not attend chapel, young people give the same answers as would their parents. The commonest reply is that "I'm as good as those people who go," or that "there are better people outside the chapels than in them." Sometimes you are told that the churches "have got nothing to tell us," while there is a general feeling amongst boys with whom I have discussed this subject that the churches are allied to the "system" (i.e. capitalism), and therefore have to find reasons for supporting an unjust economic system rather than face the task of attacking its injustices.

Nothing has done more harm to organised religion than the preachers' division of man's needs into the material and the spiritual, and the dismissal of the material needs as having nothing to do with the mission of the Church. "I come to preach salvation" said one minister recently in my hearing; "I have nothing to do with the means test or with unemployment." So long as Christianity is envisaged in these terms, our men and women and boys and girls will remain outside the churches. They will have nothing to do with a creed as barren as that. They realise that if we focus all our attention on the next world we will have nothing to say and nothing to do about the present world, with its pressing problems of human misery, poverty, and unhappiness. The vision of the kingdom to come has blinded our churches to the implications of a social order which denies happiness to the many and well-being to all but the few.

Consequently, for the majority of those boys and girls who have been the subject-matter of this book, the Young People's Fellowships and the Christian Endeavour Societies, the Bands of Hope, and the League of Nations Union societies, the church choirs and the church dramatic societies, have little practical appeal. Through an imposing list of organisations the churches influence only a small number of boys and girls; it is their tragedy that they have missed the opportunity of performing valuable and creative work amongst a section of the population which so badly lacks guidance and so miserably needs help.

Religious leaders have no right to hold up their hands in horror and protest against the Sunday night parades in our villages and towns unless they have some alternative means of enjoyment to offer to our juveniles, and, for that matter, to our young adults. But they seem to have become impotent in the face of the challenge—and boys and girls continue to evade chapel-going in the search for excitement and amusement, which they find so easily—and sometimes so tragically—on the streets.¹

BOYS' CLUBS

The South Wales Federation of Boys' Clubs has attempted to solve this problem for the boys in the coalfield. Through its twenty-nine affiliated clubs² an effort has been made to get hold of the adolescent, whether employed or unemployed, and to offer him recreational and educational facilities which, if taken advantage of, are calculated to maintain and enhance his self-respect, inspire him with confidence, and assist in the formation of a useful citizen.

Obviously, the two most important means towards this end are the provision of adequate premises and the existence of trained, competent leaders.

What do we mean by "adequate" premises? In the first place, buildings should be clean, homely, and comfortable. Good pictures and bright curtains help to give a cheerful and homely atmosphere; a plentiful supply of soap and clean towels assist to maintain cleanliness of person; good lavatory accommodation—and here again scrupulous attention should be paid to its cleanliness—is essential. Each club should have a large hall for games and concerts, a library well-equipped with books, newspapers, and periodicals, a piano and a wireless set; a canteen is also useful.

By these standards, some of the South Wales clubs are far from faultless, particularly clubs in temporary premises. Accommodation is cramped and quite unsuited to the varying needs of boys of different

¹ Cf. "For the large majority of those who fall out of work for long periods of time, the Church is not a potent and ever-present influence . . . 'Neither the Church nor God is in a position to do very much about unemployment.' This is the judgment of Greenwich workmen." *The Unemployed Man*, E. Wight Bakke, pp. 221-2.

² The affiliated clubs are: Aberaman Red Triangle, Blaengwynfi, Cardiff, Clydach (Brecon), Cross Keys, Llwynypia, Neath, Nantymoel, Newbridge, Newport, Pontypridd, Penygraig, Penarth, Risca, Swansea Red Triangle, Swansea Y.M.C.A., Ton Pentre, Treorchy, Treharris, Wattstown—these are clubs with permanent buildings. Affiliated clubs in temporary premises are: Aberaman Welfare, Abercarn, Merthyr, Blaengarw, Crumlin, Llangennech, Oakdale, Pontllanfraith, Tylorstown, and Troed-y-rihw. Other clubs exist in the coalfield: e.g. at Tredegar, Ebbw Vale, Cadoxton, and Porth.

ages. Libraries are usually quite inadequate, and it is to be regretted that library grants from the Carnegie Trust Fund have ceased owing to the fund being exhausted; some clubs borrow books from the county libraries, but few clubs appear to be building up collections of books of wide and catholic appeal.¹ The provision of newspapers and periodicals is the exception rather than the rule. Brightness in the interior decoration of clubs is not insisted on, and the general impression is one of dinginess. There is scope here for imaginative organisation.

But if club premises could be improved, the standard of leadership in the Federation is woefully inadequate. Again let us set before us what is desirable: the quality of leadership is essentially one of friendliness for, sympathy with, understanding of the boys under the leader's direction; a thorough knowledge of the boys and their environment—their home circumstances and their work—is also necessary. The best leader is he who combines good organising ability with sympathy and tolerance; nor is the quality of reliability and the ability to inspire confidence any less important. Combine with these a sense of humour and the capacity of moving among club members without condescension, and you have the characteristics of sound leadership.

All this means that club leaders must be carefully chosen, for the success or failure of a club in no small measure depends upon the choice that is made. A badly-run club, with little or no attention paid to cleanliness, order, routine, and friendliness, is more harmful than no club at all. The South Wales Federation recognises this, and in its fifth report it is stated that "our movement cannot hope to succeed until it has tackled effectively the question of leadership. Conferences and training centres are proving the most effective method in this direction." But however useful this method is, it cannot overcome the difficulties created by the initial mistake of choosing the wrong type of leader.

Educated men are needed, men whose training and culture should enable them to impart some, at least, of the fruits of their advantages to the boys under their control. It is only to men who have something to offer them that boys will respond with the gift of their respect and friendship. Too many club leaders in South Wales are not fit for their job; they are too near the boys' own level, and are really

¹ During the year ended June 30, 1933, grants to the total of £205 were received by clubs from the Carnegie Trust Fund. This sum was distributed between ten clubs. Eight clubs received books from the county libraries of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire. Mr. H. Farr, the Librarian of the Cardiff Public Library, presented the Federation with 500 books which had been returned from the schools.

themselves in the position of needing to be led. True, they are doing their work as best they know how, but their best is a poor thing. It is an encouraging sign that this question is perturbing the minds of the controllers of the movement; the sooner they face up to realities the better for the sheep who now look up and are not fed.

Good leadership is essential, too, if club activities are to be varied and of maximum value. Unless ping-pong and billiards, cards and competition football, are to be the only activities, imaginative and cultured leaders are necessary to plan club life as a means to self-expression. And the plain fact of the matter is that in many of our clubs ping-pong, billiards, and cards are the main interests of the boys. The one impression left in my mind after visiting the clubs was that the movement is producing a generation of boys admirably fitted to take their place in ping-pong and billiard tournaments, but miserably equipped to take their place in life itself.

I should like to see, in the South Wales clubs, a greater emphasis placed upon dramatics, debates, mock trials, mock parliaments, music groups, either for listening to or for performing music, orchestral or vocal, and the production of club magazines by the boys themselves. These are the activities which are most truly creative—and these are the activities which demand the finest qualities of leadership.

The club movement, therefore, can succeed only if it is imaginatively led, only if its functions are conceived not in terms of giving boys something to do—something to keep them quiet—but of providing them with the widest possible opportunities for creative self-expression. The Federation envisages the day when the boys' club movement will become an effective training ground for citizenship; we suggest that the goal will be reached only after a wider view has been taken of the possibilities of the clubs, only after leaders have been chosen who deserve the name, only when we cease to think in terms of ping-pong and inter-club competitions (with the attendant dangers of "pot-hunting"), and begin to think in terms of real creative activity.

GIRLS' CLUBS

Twenty-seven girls' clubs exist in the coalfield, with a membership of just over one thousand.¹ Unemployment is not very marked

¹ They are: Treharris, Abercanaid, Merthyr (Park), Merthyr Vale, Ton Pentre, Abergwynfi, Bargoed, Penrhenglyn, Deri, Troedyrhiw, Senghenydd, Clydach, Penygraig, Merthyr (Settlement), Merthyr (Hope Chapel), Dowlais, Treherbert, Trealaw, (All Saints), Cross Keys, Gilfach Goch, Wattstown, Maesyrfhaf, Cwmbran, Trehafod, Tylorstown, Treorchy, Nine Mile Point.

amongst club members. Many of the girls are employed as domestic servants or shop-girls; some are nursing. Perhaps the majority are girls who help their mothers at home.

Premises are varied. Only three clubs are able to meet on more than one evening a week, as the greater number of clubs have to hire or share rooms. The usual meeting places for clubs are church or chapel halls, school classrooms, unemployed clubs, boys' club halls lent for one evening, converted shops, and settlement rooms. The great need is for suitable, roomy premises, with plenty of space for the various activities, lavatory accommodation, and storage room.

In fact, the same requirements are necessary for girls' clubs as were suggested above for boys' clubs. But in this case the need is even more urgent.

As for leaders, girls' clubs have been, in one respect, more fortunate than boys' clubs, for, although all leaders, except one at Merthyr Settlement, are voluntary, the movement has attracted to itself women—often teachers—who are doing useful handcraft and needlework with their girls; but more district organisers are needed to direct and assist the voluntary helpers. Activities in the clubs include physical training and folk dancing, handwork, dramatics, singing, games, home-nursing instruction, and talks. A summer camp is held at Boverton.

This short review of the work of the South Wales clubs reveals two problems which must be faced: in the case of boys' clubs the need for good leaders, and in the case of girls' clubs the need for adequate premises. If these conditions were satisfied, we believe that the attractiveness of the clubs would be very much greater than it is at present. There ought not to be the excuse for boys and girls parading the streets at night that there is nowhere else for them to go. The club should be the centre of activity, should provide an atmosphere of homeliness and comfort, should present facilities and opportunities which would properly meet the demands of the adolescent child and enable him to face the world with courage born of understanding.

CONCLUSION

For the majority of boys and girls in our mining valleys, the existence of organisations other than those we have already discussed means very little. The Y.M.C.A. does its best work in the large towns, though its "British Boys for British Farms" scheme has been quite successful; under this scheme, between June, 1933, and September, 1934, 193 boys from Welsh localities were placed in employment—

158 in farmwork and 35 in other employment; about one half the total number were placed outside Wales.

Work on similar lines is done by the Boy Scouts Association, through the Hedingham Scout Employment Scheme, whereby men between the ages of 18 and 25 are trained for domestic service. Scouting touches but a fraction of the boys, and the Girl Guides Movement is no more successful at reaching the girls about whom we are here concerned.

Unemployed boys and girls—but boys to a greater extent, because girls more generally help in the home—are therefore thrown upon their own resources for the greater part of their time. They drag out monotonous hours lounging on the streets, going to “the pictures” and to “the dogs,” snatching a feverish enjoyment at “twopenny hops,” waking from their listless apathy only occasionally. They go to their clubs in the hope of a game—and the habit of lounging against the wall of a club is as harmful as that of lounging against a street lamp. They congregate in gangs, and, mastered by spirits which must find an outlet, tear up trees in the parks and pull down railings; they go singing through the streets at night, or organise pilfering expeditions. The increase in crime amongst juveniles is a matter of grave concern. “In a few instances it is disclosed that youthful offenders show the characteristics of potential criminals. Amongst the remainder, unemployment, giving rise to the lack of pocket money, often persuades young persons into the path of crime. In order to obtain amusement and diversion from their idleness, these offenders turn to pilfering for funds to buy cigarettes, attend the cinema, etc. Once the first step is taken in this direction, an early escape from detection soon encourages a repetition of this easy means of acquiring the desired money or petty luxuries.”¹

The worst of them have no respect for persons or things, are furiously hostile to society and bitterly opposed to authority. The best of them are attempting, within the limits imposed by their circumstances, to improve their condition and to understand the meaning of their world. But for the majority, there is little but a bewildering sense of impotence and helplessness, a feeling that life has already beaten them from the start, and that there is nothing to look forward to but a lifetime of poverty and drabness, in which the common prayer will be “Thank God for the pictures.”

¹ Chief Constable's Annual Report for the year ended December, 1933, County Borough of Newport, p. 3. During the year ended December, 1934, the Chief Constable states that of the offences detected, children and young persons were responsible for 30 per cent; of the 336 persons brought before the court for indictable offences no less than 183 were children or young persons, i.e. 54 per cent of the total dealt with.

To these battered young lives some help has been given. The junior instruction centre and the club, the church and the chapel, are all making some effort towards alleviating the misery created by not knowing what to do with leisure hours. Any criticisms that have here been levelled at these organisations have been made, not without due regard for their contributions, but remembering a greater part they could play in the life of the community. Until their opportunities are seized with both hands, until their policy and methods are charged with vision, the lives of the most precious part of our population will continue to be ugly, mean, and purposeless.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

If the facts stated in previous chapters are admitted, no one has the least cause for satisfaction, and everyone has the greatest reason for anxiety. Two arguments emerge which cannot, it is claimed, be contradicted: (a) that juvenile unemployment is a more serious matter than adult unemployment, and (b) that so far as juvenile employment is concerned, much of it must be regarded with disquiet in so far as it is non-progressive and offers no training to the juveniles engaged therein that fits them for future employment. Both these features of juvenile life attack morale, inculcate bad habits, breed discontent and dissatisfaction, and hinder the full blossoming of personality. Ultimately they produce a generation of people not amenable to discipline and unable to stand on their own feet; filled with desires which crave satisfaction, but not knowing how or where realisation might be sought; demanding a remedy, but totally uncritical of the nostrums offered by competing physicians; men and women, in a word, called to citizenship but without understanding the responsibilities implicit in the response to that call.

The problem is one that concerns the whole country, though we have here been attempting to picture it only as it affects South Wales. If the future of South Wales is all the more hazardous because of our comparative neglect of the issue, how much more serious is the future of Great Britain? For we must not imagine that the questions raised are only of local significance, that they concern South Wales only, or Lancashire only, or Tyneside. The most serious result, as I see it, will be a definite lowering of the standard of citizenship, a poorer nation in every way, a nation less able to make a fitting contribution to the solution of the problems of a world order. And that is, or should be the concern of everybody, not only of those who live at close quarters with the problem.

Remedial efforts are therefore imperatively needed; no time should be lost in getting to grips with all that is involved. We have already suggested lines of development, but here it is necessary to bring them together in an ordered policy.

I. LENGTHENING SCHOOL LIFE

The school-leaving age should at once be raised to 15 plus. If this is considered impracticable for the whole country, no barrier should be opposed to the raising of the age in the industrial region of South Wales by the united action of the local authorities concerned. The question of maintenance grants should not be allowed to confuse the issue; the important step to take is to raise the age: maintenance grants would follow as a matter of course.

The raising of the age would not only go far towards abolishing juvenile unemployment, but, if it were done in South Wales before it were done in England, it would enable the English market to absorb the increased numbers of juveniles who are now, and will be for the next two years, competing for employment there. The economic argument for raising the age is as strong as the educational argument. The findings of the Hadow Committee must remain a pious aspiration until reorganisation is achieved and the age extended to 15 years. Aspiration must be transformed into reality before we can progress.

But it is not enough that boys and girls should be kept at school until they reach the age of 15 years. There is every reason why children should be continuously associated with the educational system up to the age of 18 years. The effects on intelligence, physique, and mental alertness need not be stresses, nor their effects upon industry and the nation.

It is suggested, therefore, that day continuation schools be established in the region in order to effect this necessary association. Part-time education for all boys and girls between 15 and 18 years must, of course, be regarded as no substitute for a higher leaving age, but rather as an attempt to pay attention to a period in the lives of children which educationists have so far ignored. The scheme would undoubtedly cause dislocations in industry, and it would be desirable to proceed slowly and experimentally at first. But we suggest that it would be worth paying considerable attention to this question, for it would assist to build up a better generation of people, intellectually and physically, and would do away with the evils of blind-alley occupations, in so far as children engaged therein would be simultaneously preparing for other jobs.

Further, more attention should be paid, in the future, to the training of our youths for occupations. With the decline in the birth-rate, the tendency will be for our population to contain a preponderant proportion of old people, and for the adaptable, mobile section of the population to become smaller, just at a time when these qualities are most needed to satisfy the demands of new industries. Vocational

training, therefore, becomes urgently necessary. "The declining birth-rate involves a decrease of juveniles relatively to adults in the population, and thus reduces the average mobility of the whole; it becomes each year more important to prevent diversion into wrong channels of the shrinking supply of adaptable youthful labour."¹

To this end, the work of the newly formed Advisory Council for Technical Education in South Wales and Monmouthshire should prove of immense value.² There is urgent need of a body to plan vocational training in terms of the changed industrial structure of the coalfield.

We therefore urge,

- (1) The immediate raising of the school-leaving age in South Wales to 15 plus without exemptions, and the provision of day continuation schools giving half-time vocational training in specific occupations.

II. INDUSTRIAL TRANSFERENCE

Our investigations into the changes that are likely to take place in the supply of and demand for juveniles led us to the conclusion that there exists in the coalfield a large surplus of boys and girls who cannot expect to find secure employment under present conditions. For these, transference to other districts seems the only remedy. Even if the school-leaving age is raised immediately, there is likely to be a surplus, particularly in the present years of the "bulge." But, as we pointed out earlier, a successful transfer policy depends upon the ability of industry elsewhere to absorb the migrants. Industry, however, seems unlikely to be able to perform this feat. The conclusion emerges, therefore, that an expansionist industrial policy is the first requirement for successful placings in other parts of the country.

But granted that placings could successfully be carried out, what conditions remain to be satisfied? The most important is that the vocational guidance offered by the juvenile advisory committees and employment bureaux should possess more of the attributes of guidance and less of the qualities of haphazard selection. What seems too often to happen is that Tommy is asked what he would like to be, his headmaster is consulted, his parents are asked if they agree, and if such a vacancy if at that time going, Tommy becomes whatever it was he blurted out. If no such vacancy exists, Tommy is either advised to remain at school or is asked if he would not like to be something else.

¹ Sir W. H. Beveridge: *Unemployment, A Problem of Industry*, p. 403.

² Its aims are stated to be: "to review industrial, commercial, and agricultural training in the coalfield as a whole and to recommend methods of co-operation and common action."

Contrast with this a system under which Tommy is guided into employment in the light not only of his preferences, his parents' wishes, and the industrial situation, but also of his own capacities, psychologically tested. Our country is far behind several continental countries in the practice and technique of industrial psychology.¹ The most important work has been done by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, working either with children at a central laboratory, or with groups of pupils at a limited number of schools. The careers of children so tested (the "Test Group") are followed up for two to four years and compared with the careers of similar groups of pupils (the "Control Group"), who have been advised on the ordinary lines of vocational guidance. As a result of the experience thus gained, the National Institute claims that industrial psychology has justified itself as a valuable aid in the choice of a career.²

The Institute says that nearly 50 per cent of those who express their intention of entering a particular occupation prove to be unfitted for it, either because of unsuitable ability or unsuitable character and temperament. If this is true, it is a very serious matter, and we must regard one half of those juveniles who are placed in employment each year as entering occupations for which they are unsuited; the consequent losses to the community in happiness and contentment are incalculable.

The National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment, in their joint report on this matter, stated that in their view the application of psychological methods to vocational guidance is still in the experimental stage (is not that true also of surgery and medicine?); but they recommended that (1) at least one further experiment should be carried out by the Industrial Health Research Board in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour, and (2) that a few local authorities who have undertaken choice of employment duties should be financially assisted by the Ministry of Labour to initiate experiments in the use of psychological methods.

To meet the needs of the situation, however, something much more thorough-going than this is needed. We suggest that in every

¹ In each of the largest Juvenile Exchanges in Germany, for example, there is a trained psychologist, with a fully-equipped laboratory, who tests boys and girls at the request of the Juvenile Employment Officer. "Not all the children coming within the purview of the Exchange are submitted to examination, but those in respect of whose exceptional or limited capacities such a course would seem appropriate, and all boys and girls recommended for employment in industries in which employers require such a test before engaging juveniles." *Joint Report on the Organisation and Development of the Vocational Guidance Service in Great Britain*. H.M.S.O. P. 17.

² For a short account of their experiments in Birmingham, Cambridge and Fife, London, and elsewhere, see the first paper in *A Contribution to the Problems of Vocational Guidance in Great Britain*, published by the Institute.

school there should be a vocational adviser, trained in psychological methods, whose duty it would be to ascertain the children's capabilities and potentialities, in order to assist them in planning their future careers.

These advisers should work in close co-operation with the juvenile employment officers: the vocational adviser to study the child, the employment officer to study the industrial situation; both would co-operate in advising the children as to the suitability of occupation. But while co-operation is essential, it remains true that the final advice on the choice of employment "should be given by the person who is in touch with industrial conditions; no system under which the psychologist would be responsible for giving advice, and the exchange or bureau would be charged solely with obtaining employment in accordance with the advice so given, could ever in our view produce satisfactory results."¹

At any rate, we have to get the child thinking about his career at an earlier age than is now the case. That is the case for a vocational adviser attached to each school who will be in constant touch with children, helping them to take broad provisional decisions as to the type of work for which they are suited.

We therefore propose,

- (2) The appointment, as an interim policy, of a vocational adviser serving a number of schools, with the duty of guiding the children in his (or her) area in the choice of a career;

Preferable to this, however, is the appointment of a vocational adviser attached to each school, with the same function. In either case, the closest co-operation should be maintained between the adviser and the juvenile employment officer. In this way, the placing of boys and girls into suitable employment would be a less haphazard affair than it is now; the boys and girls themselves, industry, and the nation would benefit.

III. THE CREATIVE USE OF LEISURE

The proposals we have put forward so far have aimed (1) at lengthening the period during which boys and girls are placed under educational influences, and (2) at improving the mechanism whereby they are placed in employment. These measures would provide a

¹ *Organisation and Development of the Vocational Guidance Service in Great Britain*, pp. 19-20.

permanent contribution towards the solution of our juvenile unemployment problem and would also improve the capacities and service of boys and girls in their daily work. These are the remedies which from the angle of employment are needed to combat the grosser evils of the problem.

Certain other things remain to be said. Leisure is likely, in the future, to play an ever larger part in the lives of our people. The unemployed boy and girl in attendance at the junior instruction centre, the employed boy and girl at their club at night—these need to be surrounded by educative, cultural, but at the same time pleasant, influences. The dingy club-room and the dirty, ill-lighted instruction centre must go; a plentiful supply of varied equipment must be to hand; a wider view must be taken of the functions of organisations such as these.

Social service often attracts to itself some of the most unpleasant types of men and women; cranks and charlatans, people who desire an easy living, workers who regard their function as a charitable one, intent on making concessions to an unfortunate body of people rather than granting them amenities as their right. Condescension is quickly discovered and resented, and social service will remain suspect in the coalfield so long as it is approached from the charity school point of view. One must hasten to add that this is not the view of its acknowledged leaders, particularly of the National Council of Social Service; but, unhappily, it is a charge which can be made with some weight against many people who are busying themselves in "good works."

Until this temper is changed, until we give, not grudging support to the cultural demands of our people, but our wholehearted co-operation and assistance, recognising our responsibility, as members of society, towards the realisation of these demands, the progress of a nation, moving as one towards an appointed goal, becomes impossible. And in what better way can we perform our duty than by increasing and improving the educational facilities for our young people?

Furthermore, we have to think always in terms of citizenship, in terms, that is, of the citizen's duty towards society and of society's responsibility towards the citizen. Our country will need intelligent men and women in the future as she never needed them before; the world will not be saved from its follies and mistakes by men and women who, in their youth, were proficient only in ping-pong and sewing. Lounging and moping are no substitutes for an honest attempt to grapple with a problem; we may breed a race of physically strong men, only so that they may be annihilated in another catastrophe brought about by their inability to solve the problems of civilisation.

Leisure must, therefore, be seized as an opportunity to do what we have never done before—to make boys and girls self-conscious, to stimulate their desire to know and to understand, to bring to them a realisation of the mistakes of the past, the blunders of the present, and the hope for the future.

It will be far from easy, but the job cries out to be done. We have to persuade young people, insufficiently fed, poorly clad, many of them—most of them, even by ordinary standards—badly housed, strangers to comfort and decency, of their worth to the community, of the contribution to the solution of the community's problems which they alone can make, and of the urgent necessity of them making that contribution.

For this task are needed the highest qualities of which the more fortunate members of society are possessed. Sympathy and a broad understanding, tactfulness and courage, and above all, a living faith in the ultimate triumph of our endeavours.

We should like to see, therefore,

- (3) Adequate facilities provided for the development of a real sense of citizenship among our juvenile population; real leaders in clubs and other social service organisations, able to call forth the best that is in the young people under their charge; the whole movement making an inspired contribution in this time of opportunity.

Progress along the lines here laid down would, we believe, achieve much that would be of permanent benefit to our fellow-citizens, and, through them, to the State. The necessity for action is urgent; the needs of our boys and girls are clamant. Given the will, we have it in our power to transform life for them from something dismal and empty into something coloured and adventurous, from mere existence into real living. The opportunity will not always be ours; let us take care to seize it before it is too late.

A NOTE ON WAGES

This study has been primarily concerned with problems touching directly on the unemployment of juveniles in South Wales. It has not been considered advisable in a work of this scope to deal, except incidentally, with the question of the wages paid to juveniles in employment, though its importance is fully recognised. Adequate treatment of this theme would, however, need a special investigation which neither time nor circumstances at the moment admit. In this note an attempt has been made to give an indication of the sort of position which fuller research might reveal.

In its discussion of the expansion of the distributive trades, the Industrial Survey suggested that a part at least has been parasitic and not a legitimate growth in response to new demand.¹ "We are convinced that in unorganised trades, such as catering and general distribution, some of the development has taken the form of the employment of girls and boys, who are still dependent upon the earnings of their parents in organised trades, and who are dismissed, without having received any training to fit them for other occupations, when they become old enough to demand a higher wage." That this is true can be supported by enquiry into specific cases.

It seems, however, from the little study we have been able to give this problem—and the results are put forward tentatively only—that a fairly clear distinction can be made between the conditions obtaining in multiple shops and those in the shops of local tradesmen on a small scale. It is in these latter that the habit is most common of engaging youths at low wages, retaining them for three or four years, and dismissing them when they seek a rise in wages. Underpayment is an all-too-common feature amongst young shop assistants; there is the case of a boy, 19 years of age, working behind the counter for a Merthyr grocer, who earned 8s. a week and was dismissed when he asked for a rise. Another boy, aged 16 years, working for the same employer, was paid only 5s. a week and was replaced when he demanded an increase. Personal enquiry among employers and employed has inclined the author to the belief that instances of this kind could be discovered in almost all parts of the coalfield.

On the other hand, it seems that the better conditions which are characteristic of the multiple stores include recognised rates of pay graduated according to age, as well as the chances of definite progression dependent upon the capabilities of the assistant as well as the local conditions of trade.

(1) Consider, for instance, the following wages paid to boys and girls by a multiple firm in Cardiff :

¹ *Industrial Survey*, p. 147.

| | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
|----------|------|------|------|----------|------|
| Boys .. | 12s. | 15s. | 20s. | 25s. | 29s. |
| Girls .. | 8s. | 11s. | 15s. | 19s. 6d. | 22s. |

Young persons in the employ of this firm get nine days' holiday with pay and all statutory holidays with pay ; their week is a 48-hour week.

(2) Another firm, with branches all over the country, states that their Newport shop pays the following average wages to boys in its employ :

| | | |
|--------|----|----------|
| Age 14 | .. | 10s. 8d. |
| 15 | .. | 12s. 8d. |
| 16 | .. | 15s. 1d. |
| 17 | .. | 18s. 5d. |
| 18 | .. | 21s. 7d. |

Normally, boys commencing as errand boys at 14 years should, it is stated, be serving behind the counter at 16.

(3) In yet another retail grocery and provisions store with many branches in South Wales towns, the practice is to pay boys a commencing wage of 8s. per week, girls receiving 6s. This is increased by 2s. a week every half-year until the sum of £1 is reached. If they are efficient a substantial jump is made afterwards. Boys employed in the delivery of bread are paid a standard rate of 9s. a week, with the prospect of being employed later as van men.

(4) The following wage rates apply to an important wholesale firm in Cardiff :

| Age | Grade 1 | | Grade 2 | | Grade 3 | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| | Clerks, salesmen, and saleswomen | | Warehouse workers and packers | | Porters, cleaners, hoist attendants, doorkeepers, and general hands | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 14 | 12s. | 11s. | 11s. | 10s. | 10s. | 10s. |
| 15 | 15s. | 13s. | 14s. | 12s. | 13s. | 11s. |
| 16 | 19s. | 16s. | 18s. | 15s. | 17s. | 14s. |
| 17 | 24s. | 20s. | 23s. | 19s. | 21s. | 18s. |
| 18 | 30s. | 24s. | 29s. | 23s. | 25s. | 22s. |

From these examples it is clear that the conditions obtaining in multiple shops are, in an area such as ours, attractive. They compare favourably, for example, with the wages paid to boys working underground in the coal-mining industry. A weekly wage of 24*s.* is common for boys between 16 and 18 years of age in coal-mines; boys within that age group may receive anything between 15*s.* and 30*s.* in the better-class shops. Colliers' assistants of 14 to 16 years receive wages varying from 14*s.* 6*d.* to £1; errand boys earning from 10*s.* to 14*s.* are not placed in such a disadvantageous position when the difference in working conditions is considered.

When, however, we contrast with this the wages paid to juveniles in the employ of small local shopkeepers, it is easy to realise the truth of the contention urged above: that the multiple shops show up better when conditions are contrasted. In order to throw some light on this question, more than thirty cases of the wages paid to errand boys were investigated in Merthyr Tydfil. The boys were chosen at random, and what is considered to be a very fair sample was obtained, revealing the condition not only in Merthyr but also, it is claimed, in other hard-hit mining towns in South Wales. Some of the boys are still in employment; others are now out of work, and in nearly all cases of dismissal the reason given was that of age—which is, in reality, that of wages.

Of the total number, twenty-two were between the ages of 14 and 16, and only two of these—both in the employ of multiple stores—were receiving as much as 10*s.* per week. Ten of the remainder were paid 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per week, while the rest received sums varying from 3*s.* to 6*s.* These lower-paid boys were working, or had worked, as errand boys for local grocery and provision stores, fruiterers, and drapery stores.

Further, of the eight boys between 16 and 18 years of age whose cases were examined, three were being paid 5*s.* a week, the rest receiving from 6*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*

Also the cases of twenty girls were investigated. Only three were employed as shop assistants, and the wages paid were in each case 5*s.*, 7*s.* 6*d.*, and 8*s.* One girl was receiving 10*s.* per week as a cinema attendant, and the remainder were, or had been, in domestic service. Seven of these were paid between 3*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.*; the wages of the others varied from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* weekly, the normal appearing to be 8*s.*

Now it is not pretended that the results of an investigation over such a small field are really adequate. There is room for a comprehensive enquiry into the allied problems of wages and employment, particularly so far as the changing distribution of juvenile labour is concerned. But surely the existence in the coalfield of sweated juvenile labour has been amply proved, as has the truth of the contention that much of the growth of the distributive trades has been "parasitic." It must be left to future enquiry to reveal the position in greater detail.

APPENDICES

Note.—In order to keep down the cost of printing, many of the tables and appendices which were contained in the original dissertation have been omitted from the published edition. Students of the problem who wish to consult the original study may do so at the Library of the University College, Cardiff, or at the offices of the University Registry, Cathays Park, Cardiff.

APPENDIX I

First Juvenile Employment Questionnaire

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF, WITH THE APPROVAL OF DIRECTORS OF EDUCATION

(1) Information is required relating to all boys and girls *eligible* to leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934.

(2) It will facilitate the enquiry if this form is filled in and returned to the Education Office as soon as possible after the end of the summer term.

(3) Head teachers are asked to pay special attention to those boys and girls who leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934, because it is proposed later on to collect information about the industry and occupation in which each child is employed at the end of three months after leaving school. The necessary form and details of this enquiry will be issued in the autumn, but it is mentioned here in order that head teachers might keep track of school-leavers in the intervening period of three months.

(4) The distinction between "industry," "trade," or "service" on the one hand, and "occupation" on the other hand, should be carefully noted. *The business of the child's employer, not the occupation of the child, determines the industry under which the child should be classified.* Thus, if a clerk is employed by a builder, his industry is A5—"building"; if employed by a railway company he should be placed under C6—"railway services."

Examples :

| Industry, code letter, and number | Branch of industry | Occupation | Sex (M. or F.) | Whether employ- ment is in locality (L), elsewhere in South Wales (SW), or outside South Wales (O) |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---|
| A 1 | — | Dairymaid.. .. | F | SW |
| A 7 | Toffee manufacturer | Machine minder .. | F | L |
| A 13 | Repairs | Mechanic | M | L |
| A 13 | Aircraft manufacturer | Mechanic | M | O |
| C 6 | — | Refreshment room boy | M | L |
| C 9 | Cinema | Attendant .. | F | L |
| D | Textile—artificial silk | Machine minder .. | F | O |

2 LIST OF INDUSTRIES, TRADES, AND SERVICES TO BE USED IN
CLASSIFYING SCHOOL-LEAVERS

*Code Letter
and Number*

A.—Industries engaged in construction, extraction, manufacture, etc.

1. Agriculture.
2. Clothing trades (tailoring and millinery).
3. Boot and shoe manufacture and repair.
4. Bricks, pipes, tiles manufacture.
5. Building and public works contracting.
6. Chemicals manufacture.
7. Food industries (manufacture or preparation).
8. Drink industries (manufacture or preparation).
9. General and electrical engineering.
10. Iron and steel manufacture.
11. Coal-mining.
12. Stone quarrying and mining.
13. Construction and repair of motor-cars, lorries, omnibuses, etc.
14. Printing and publishing.
15. Manufacture of furniture, upholstery, house and shop fittings.

B.—Wholesale and retail trading.

C.—Services.

1. Commerce, banking, insurance, and finance.
2. Local government service (excluding gas, water, electricity, tramway, etc., undertakings).
3. National government.
4. Personal service (domestic, hotel, boarding-house, restaurant, and club service).
5. Professional service (legal, medical, educational, accountancy, etc.).
6. Railway service.
7. Tramway and omnibus service and other road transport.
8. Gas, water, electricity.
9. Entertainments and sports.
10. Laundries, job dyeing, dry-cleaning.

D.—Industries and services not separately specified above.

Please describe Industry or Service.

Please detach and return.

3

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS

Name of local education authority.....

Name of school.....

Type of school.....

(Elementary, Secondary, Junior Technical, etc.)

| | No. of Boys | No. of Girls |
|---|-------------|--------------|
| (1) Number of boys and girls <i>eligible</i> to leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934 .. | | |
| (2) Number known to be taking up employment in the locality on leaving school | | |
| (3) Number who are unemployed but are: .. | | |
| (a) Continuing at school | | |
| (b) Staying at home, and not seeking employment | | |
| (c) Seeking employment and not still at school | | |
| (4) Number known to be proceeding immediately to further education: | | |
| (a) Junior technical schools | | |
| (b) Public or private commercial schools | | |
| (c) Other private schools | | |
| (d) University or college | | |
| (5) Number known to be leaving the district on leaving school: | | |
| (a) for employment | | |
| (b) for non-employment (if not included under (4) above) | | |
| (6) Number about whom nothing is known on leaving school | | |

Note:—The total of 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 should agree with the figures given under (1)

4
**OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS WHO ARE KNOWN
 TO BE ENTERING EMPLOYMENT IMMEDIATELY ON LEAVING SCHOOL**

| Industry, code letter, and number | Branch of industry | Occupation | Sex (M. or F.) | Whether employ- ment is in locality (L), elsewhere in South Wales (SW), or outside South Wales (O) |
|---|--------------------|------------|----------------------|---|
| | | | | |

For code letter and number see page 2.

Second Juvenile Employment Questionnaire

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF, WITH THE APPROVAL OF DIRECTORS OF EDUCATION

(1) Information is required relating to the employment of all boys and girls *who left school* at the end of the summer term, 1934.

(2) Information is sought about the industry and occupation in which each child is employed *on November 30, 1934*.

(3) In completing the forms on pages 3 and 4, the industries in which juveniles are employed should be indicated by the appropriate code letters and numbers. These are fully set out on page 2—e.g. boot and shoe industry is A3, laundry work is C10, etc.

(4) Boys and girls who are "staying at home," i.e. not seeking employment, should be classified under (E).

(5) Boys and girls who are seeking employment but not in employment at the end of November, should be classified under (F).

(6) Boys and girls who have proceeded to some form of further education should be classified under (G).

(7) Returns for *boys* should be made on page 3; returns for *girls* on page 4.

(8) The distinction between "industry," "trade," or "service" on the one hand, and "occupation" on the other, should be carefully noted. *The business of the child's employer, not the occupation of the child, determines the industry under which the child should be classified.* Thus, if a clerk is employed by a builder, his industry is A5—"building"; if employed by a railway company he should be placed under C6—"railway services."

Examples :

| Number of boys | Industry, code letter, and number | Branch of industry | Occupation | Whether employment is in locality (L), elsewhere in South Wales (SW), or outside South Wales (O) |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 2 | A 1 | — | Labourers .. | SW |
| 1 | A 13 | Repairs | Mechanic .. | L |
| 1 | D | Hairdressing .. | Assistant .. | O |
| 4 | F | Unemployed .. | — | — |
| 1 | G | Further education .. | Junior Technical School | — |

2 LIST OF INDUSTRIES, TRADES, AND SERVICES TO BE USED IN
CLASSIFYING SCHOOL-LEAVERS

*Code Letter
and Number*

A.—Industries engaged in construction, extraction, manufacture, etc.

1. Agriculture.
2. Clothing trades (tailoring and millinery).
3. Boot and shoe manufacture and repair.
4. Bricks, pipes, tiles manufacture.
5. Building and public works construction.
6. Chemicals manufacture.
7. Food industries (manufacture or preparation).
8. Drink industries (manufacture or preparation).
9. General and electrical engineering.
10. Iron and steel manufacture.
11. Coal-mining.
12. Stone quarrying and mining.
13. Construction and repair of motor-cars, lorries, omnibuses, etc.
14. Printing and publishing.
15. Manufacture of furniture, upholstery, house and shop fittings.

B.—Wholesale and retail trading.

C.—Services.

1. Commerce, banking, insurance, and finance.
2. Local government service (excluding gas, water, electricity, tramway, etc., undertakings).
3. National government.
4. Personal service (domestic, hotel, boarding-house, restaurant, and club service).
5. Professional service (legal, medical, educational, accountancy, etc.).
6. Railway service.
7. Tramway and omnibus service and other road transport.
8. Gas, water, electricity.
9. Entertainments and sports.
10. Laundries, job dyeing, dry-cleaning.

*D.—Industries and services not separately specified. above
Please describe Industry or Service.*

E.—Boys and girls staying at home.

*F.—Boys and girls seeking employment, but not in employment on
November 30, 1934.*

G.—Boys and girls who have proceeded to some form of further education.

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS

3

Boys

Name of local education authority.....

Name of school.....

Type of school.....

(Elementary, Secondary, Junior Technical, etc.)

| Number of boys | Industry, code letter, and number | Branch of industry | Occupation | Whether employment is in locality (L), elsewhere in South Wales (SW), or outside South Wales (O) |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|--|
| | | | | |

N.B. Please detach and return to the Education Office as soon as possible after completion

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS

GIRLS

Name of local education authority.....

Name of school.....

Type of school.....

.(Elementary, Secondary, Junior Technical, etc.)

| Number of girls | Industry, code letter, and number | Branch of industry | Occupation | Whether employment is in locality (L), elsewhere in South Wales (SW), or outside South Wales (O) |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|--|
| | | | | |

N.B. Please detach and return to the Education Office as soon as possible after completion

APPENDIX III

A. MALES

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS (1931 CENSUS)

| Administrative County of : | Total occupied males aged 14-17 yrs. (inclusive) | Percentage of total occupied males (14-17 years inclusive) engaged in : | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|----------------------------------|---------------|--|---|--|---|--|---------------------|---------------|
| | | Agric- ulture | Mining, and quarry- ing | Metal work | Manu- facture of foods, drinks, and tobacco | Building, painters, decora- tors, etc. | Trans- port and commu- nication | Com- merce, finance, clerks, typists, etc. | Enter- tain- ments and sports | Personal service | All others |
| Carmarthenshire .. | 4,682 | 25.2 | 23.3 | 10.6 | 0.7 | 1.8 | 6.9 | 9.1 | 0.3 | 1.8 | 20.3 |
| Brecknockshire .. | 1,428 | 30.2 | 29.1 | 3.8 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 9.8 |
| Glamorganshire .. | 32,256 | 3.0 | 36.8 | 7.1 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 17.4 | 13.6 | 0.4 | 1.9 | 16.4 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 11,732 | 6.5 | 37.3 | 6.4 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 15.9 | 12.7 | 0.3 | 2.1 | 15.7 |
| The four counties | 50,098 | 6.7 | 35.5 | 7.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 | 15.9 | 12.9 | 0.3 | 1.9 | 16.4 |
| South Wales 1921 Census (14-17 yrs) | 57,283 | 2.7 | 46.0 | 13.5 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 11.9 | 8.9 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 12.8 |

APPENDIX III

B. FEMALES

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS (1931 CENSUS)

| Administrative county of | Total occupied females aged 14-17 years | Percentage of total occupied females (14-17 years inclusive) engaged in | | | | | | | | All others |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------|------------|
| | | Agriculture | Metal workers | Textile and textile goods workers | Makers of foods, drinks, and tobacco | Transport and communication | Commerce, finance, typists, clerks, etc. | Entertainments and sports | Personal service | |
| Carmarthenshire .. | 2,136 | 8.4 | 6.7 | 5.7 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 13.5 | 0.1 | 51.6 | 13.3 |
| Brecknockshire .. | 693 | 1.6 | — | 2.6 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 11.7 | — | 79.4 | 3.9 |
| Glamorganshire .. | 14,911 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 6.9 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 25.4 | 0.2 | 51.1 | 11.3 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 4,717 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 24.1 | 0.1 | 58.2 | 10.5 |
| The four counties | 22,457 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 5.8 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 23.6 | 0.2 | 53.6 | 11.0 |
| South Wales 1921 Census (14-17 yrs.) | 22,506 | 0.9 | 4.6 | 13.9 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 25.7 | 0.7 | 42.6 | 7.4 |

APPENDIX IV

A. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE No. 1 (BOYS)

| Local education authority | No. of boys <i>eligible</i> to leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934 | Percentage of those eligible to leave who remained at school pending employment | No. of boys who <i>left</i> school at the end of the summer term, 1934 | Percentage of those who left school | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|
| | | | | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>f</i> | <i>g</i> |
| | | | | To take up employment locally | To take up employment in other districts | Not seeking employment | Seeking employment but unemployed | To proceed to further education (not secondary schools) | To leave the district, but not for employment | Those about whom nothing was known |
| Breconshire .. | 209 | 31·1 | 144 | 43·7 | 7·6 | 5·6 | 31·9 | — | — | 11·2 |
| Carmarthenshire .. | 505 | 44·4 | 281 | 37·7 | 2·5 | 6·1 | 49·5 | 2·1 | — | 2·1 |
| Glamorganshire .. | 1,489 | 35·1 | 967 | 39·7 | 3·4 | 1·8 | 45·3 | 8·1 | 0·3 | 1·4 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 1,300 | 42·9 | 742 | 50·0 | 2·8 | 1·3 | 35·3 | 10·4 | — | 0·2 |
| Swansea .. | 585 | 44·6 | 324 | 62·8 | 0·4 | 1·5 | 30·5 | 3·1 | 0·4 | 1·3 |
| Merthyr Tydfil .. | 231 | 75·8 | 56 | 57·1 | 1·8 | 1·8 | 37·5 | 1·8 | — | — |
| Llanelli .. | 222 | 66·2 | 75 | 70·7 | — | 1·3 | 25·4 | 1·3 | 1·3 | — |
| Newport .. | 471 | 30·6 | 327 | 26·4 | 1·2 | — | 53·5 | 6·1 | — | 12·8 |
| Port Talbot .. | 122 | 36·9 | 77 | 48·1 | 2·6 | — | 49·3 | — | — | — |
| Neath .. | 154 | 33·1 | 103 | 24·3 | — | — | 25·2 | 5·8 | — | 44·7 |
| Pontypridd .. | 266 | 69·5 | 81 | 19·8 | 4·9 | — | 72·8 | 2·5 | — | — |
| Rhondda .. | 726 | 60·9 | 284 | 34·2 | 4·2 | 5·3 | 40·8 | 13·3 | 1·1 | 1·1 |
| Mountain Ash .. | 254 | 57·5 | 108 | 51·9 | 5·6 | 4·6 | 33·3 | 4·6 | — | — |
| Aberdare .. | 365 | 73·7 | 96 | 39·7 | 1·0 | — | 58·3 | 1·0 | — | — |
| Barry .. | 146 | 70·0 | 57 | 49·1 | 8·8 | 1·8 | 17·5 | 17·5 | — | 5·3 |
| Abertillery .. | 89 | 33·7 | 59 | 42·4 | 1·6 | — | 39·0 | 8·5 | — | 8·5 |
| Ebbw Vale .. | 150 | 40·7 | 89 | 20·2 | 5·6 | 1·1 | 41·6 | 31·5 | — | — |
| Totals .. | 7,284 | 46·9 | 3,870 | 42·4 | 2·9 | 2·1 | 41·3 | 7·4 | 0·2 | 3·7 |

132

APPENDIX IV

B. RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE No. 1 (GIRLS)

| Local education authority | No. of girls eligible to leave school at the end of the summer term, 1934 | Percentage of those eligible to leave who remained at school pending employment | No. of girls who left school at the end of the summer term, 1934 | Percentage of those who left school | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|
| | | | | a | b | c | d | e | f | g |
| | | | | To take up employment locally | To take up employment in other districts | Not seeking employment | Seeking employment but unemployed | To proceed to further education (not secondary schools) | To leave the district, but not for employment | Those about whom nothing was known |
| Breconshire .. | 188 | 30.0 | 132 | 11.4 | 6.8 | 49.2 | 26.5 | — | — | 6.1 |
| Carmarthenshire .. | 476 | 38.2 | 294 | 19.4 | 4.8 | 46.9 | 20.1 | 3.7 | 2.0 | 3.1 |
| Glamorganshire .. | 1,326 | 33.9 | 877 | 13.3 | 5.9 | 41.1 | 36.6 | 2.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Monmouthshire .. | 1,349 | 46.1 | 726 | 20.0 | 9.2 | 30.9 | 34.4 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 2.1 |
| Swansea .. | 583 | 36.4 | 371 | 28.6 | 6.5 | 39.6 | 21.3 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 2.7 |
| Merthyr Tydfil .. | 181 | 55.8 | 80 | 20.0 | 7.5 | 43.8 | 27.5 | 1.2 | — | — |
| Llanely .. | 142 | 45.1 | 78 | 35.9 | 2.6 | 35.9 | 23.0 | 2.6 | — | — |
| Newport .. | 442 | 18.3 | 361 | 12.5 | 1.7 | 9.4 | 58.4 | 8.0 | — | 10.0 |
| Port Talbot .. | 127 | 24.4 | 96 | 12.5 | 3.1 | 30.2 | 45.8 | 6.3 | — | 2.1 |
| Neath .. | 194 | 15.5 | 164 | 21.4 | 1.2 | 24.4 | 12.8 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 39.0 |
| Pontypridd .. | 307 | 74.6 | 78 | 6.4 | 2.6 | 35.9 | 53.8 | — | — | 1.3 |
| Rhondda .. | 781 | 51.5 | 379 | 7.4 | 13.5 | 48.0 | 28.5 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 0.7 |
| Mountain Ash .. | 286 | 55.6 | 127 | 11.0 | 14.2 | 42.5 | 29.1 | 0.8 | 2.4 | — |
| Aberdare .. | 256 | 64.1 | 92 | 4.3 | 13.0 | 46.6 | 34.0 | — | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Barry .. | 151 | 49.0 | 77 | 31.2 | 2.6 | 18.2 | 42.9 | 3.9 | — | 1.2 |
| Abertillery .. | 81 | 29.6 | 57 | 14.0 | 28.1 | 47.4 | — | — | — | 10.5 |
| Ebbw Vale .. | 203 | 52.7 | 96 | 13.5 | 18.8 | 37.5 | 29.2 | 1.0 | — | — |
| Totals | 7,073 | 42.2 | 4,085 | 16.4 | 7.4 | 36.3 | 32.8 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 4.0 |

APPENDIX V

A. INDUSTRIES ENTERED LOCALLY BY SCHOOL-LEAVERS (BOYS)

| Local education authority | | | Boys who left the elementary schools at the end of the summer term, 1934, to enter the following occupations in the locality: | | | | | | | | | | | Total | |
|---------------------------|----|----|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-------------|--|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|------------|
| | | | Agriculture | Building and public works contracting | Manufacture of food and drink | General and electrical engineering | Iron and steel and tin-plate manufacture | Coal-mining | Construction and repair of motor cars, lorries, etc. | Wholesale and retail trading | Transport services | Entertainments and sports | Laundries and job dyeing, etc. | | All others |
| Breconshire | .. | .. | 36.5 | 3.2 | 1.6 | — | — | 33.3 | 1.6 | 19.0 | — | — | 1.6 | 3.2 | 63 |
| Carmarthenshire | .. | .. | 59.4 | — | — | — | 3.8 | 16.0 | — | 11.3 | 1.9 | — | — | 7.6 | 106 |
| Glamorganshire | .. | .. | 13.3 | 4.4 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 3.1 | 34.1 | 1.6 | 31.5 | 1.0 | — | — | 6.3 | 384 |
| Monmouthshire | .. | .. | 11.6 | 5.4 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 27.8 | 1.3 | 39.1 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 6.7 | 371 |
| Swansea | .. | .. | 2.9 | 3.9 | 2.9 | 2.0 | 12.3 | — | 2.9 | 59.3 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 11.3 | 204 |
| Merthyr Tydfil | .. | .. | — | — | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 31.3 | 3.1 | 43.8 | — | — | 6.3 | 6.2 | 32 |
| Llanelli | .. | .. | — | 1.9 | 7.6 | 1.9 | 32.1 | — | 3.8 | 43.3 | 1.9 | — | 1.9 | 5.6 | 53 |
| Newport | .. | .. | 2.3 | 4.7 | 7.0 | 4.7 | 9.3 | — | 5.8 | 38.3 | 3.5 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 17.4 | 86 |
| Port Talbot | .. | .. | 5.4 | 2.7 | — | 2.7 | 16.2 | 8.1 | — | 56.8 | 2.7 | — | — | 5.4 | 37 |
| Neath | .. | .. | — | — | 4.0 | 4.0 | 16.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 52.0 | — | — | — | 12.0 | 25 |
| Pontypridd | .. | .. | 12.5 | 18.7 | — | — | — | 6.3 | — | 56.2 | — | — | — | 6.3 | 116 |
| Rhondda | .. | .. | 1.0 | 2.1 | 5.1 | — | — | 51.6 | — | 26.9 | 1.0 | — | 1.0 | 11.3 | 97 |
| Mountain Ash | .. | .. | — | — | — | — | — | 58.9 | 1.8 | 35.7 | — | — | — | 3.6 | 56 |
| Aberdare | .. | .. | 13.3 | 2.6 | — | 2.6 | — | 65.8 | — | 10.5 | 2.6 | — | — | 2.6 | 38 |
| Barry | .. | .. | 10.7 | — | — | 7.1 | 3.6 | — | 7.1 | 32.1 | 3.6 | — | — | 35.8 | 28 |
| Abertillery | .. | .. | — | — | — | — | — | 88.0 | — | 12.0 | — | — | — | — | 25 |
| Ebbw Vale | .. | .. | 11.1 | — | 5.6 | — | — | 27.8 | — | 44.4 | — | — | — | 11.1 | 18 |
| Totals | .. | .. | 12.4 | 3.6 | 2.3 | 1.7 | 5.5 | 25.8 | 1.8 | 36.2 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 8.2 | 1,639 |

APPENDIX V

B. INDUSTRIES ENTERED LOCALLY BY SCHOOL-LEAVERS (GIRLS)

| Local education authority | Girls who left the elementary schools at the end of the summer term, 1934, to enter the following occupations in the locality : | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | Agriculture | Clothing manufacture | Manufacture of food and drink | Iron and steel and tinplate manufacture | Wholesale and retail trading | Personal service | Laundries and job dyeing, etc. | All others | Total | |
| Breconshire | 6·7 | — | — | — | 6·7 | 86·6 | — | — | 15 | |
| Carmarthenshire | 28·1 | 12·3 | 1·7 | 3·5 | 5·3 | 43·8 | — | 5·3 | 57 | |
| Glamorganshire | 1·7 | 6·8 | 2·6 | 0·9 | 10·3 | 63·2 | 0·9 | 13·6 | 117 | |
| Monmouthshire | 1·3 | 1·3 | 1·3 | 1·3 | 13·9 | 70·6 | 1·3 | 9·0 | 144 | |
| Swansea | — | 5·7 | — | 3·8 | 24·5 | 51·9 | 3·8 | 10·3 | 106 | |
| Merthyr Tydfil | — | 6·7 | — | — | 13·3 | 80·0 | — | — | 15 | |
| Llanelli | — | 7·1 | — | — | 32·1 | 35·7 | 14·4 | 10·7 | 28 | |
| Newport | — | 11·2 | 6·6 | 2·2 | 22·3 | 42·3 | 6·6 | 8·8 | 45 | |
| Port Talbot | — | 33·3 | — | — | 25·0 | 41·7 | — | — | 12 | |
| Neath | 2·9 | 20·0 | 2·9 | 2·9 | 2·9 | 54·3 | — | 14·1 | 36 | |
| Pontypridd | — | 20·0 | — | — | 20·0 | 60·0 | — | — | 5 | |
| Rhondda | — | 14·3 | — | — | 10·7 | 57·1 | — | 17·9 | 28 | |
| Mountain Ash | — | 7·1 | — | — | 7·1 | 85·8 | — | — | 14 | |
| Aberdare | — | — | — | — | — | 25·0 | 25·0 | 50·0 | 4 | |
| Barry | — | 4·2 | — | — | 4·2 | 79·2 | — | 12·4 | 24 | |
| Abertillery | — | — | — | — | 50·0 | 50·0 | — | — | 8 | |
| Ebbw Vale | — | — | — | — | 15·4 | 76·9 | — | 7·7 | 13 | |
| Totals | 3·3 | 7·3 | 1·5 | 1·6 | 14·8 | 59·5 | 2·2 | 9·8 | 671 | |

APPENDIX VI

A. LOCAL OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN DECEMBER OF BOYS WHO LEFT SCHOOL AT END OF SUMMER TERM, 1934

| Local education authority | Occupations in which boys who had left school at the end of the summer term, 1934, were engaged locally at the beginning of December, 1934 : | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-------------|--|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | Agriculture | Building and public works contracting | Manufacture of food and drink | General and electrical engineering | Iron and steel and tin-plate manufacture | Coal-mining | Construction and repair of motor cars, lorries, etc. | Wholesale and retail trading | Transport services | Entertainments and sports | Laundries and job dyeing, etc. | All others | Total |
| Glamorganshire | 8.2 | 4.0 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 4.8 | 41.3 | 1.7 | 29.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 7.0 | 647 |
| Monmouthshire | 9.8 | 2.9 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 3.0 | 40.6 | 1.4 | 32.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 5.1 | 559 |
| Swansea | 1.3 | 2.6 | 3.2 | 1.9 | 10.4 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 61.2 | 4.5 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 11.7 | 309 |
| Merthyr Tydfil | 1.4 | — | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 35.6 | — | 52.0 | 2.7 | — | — | 4.1 | 73 |
| Llanelly | — | 3.0 | 7.5 | — | 34.3 | — | 4.5 | 40.3 | 1.5 | — | — | 8.9 | 67 |
| Newport | 0.3 | 4.8 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 11.0 | — | 3.0 | 50.8 | 4.6 | 0.8 | 2.2 | 15.0 | 372 |
| Port Talbot | 4.3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.3 | 7.2 | 11.6 | 7.2 | 52.2 | — | — | — | 7.2 | 69 |
| Pontypridd | 9.1 | 10.9 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 3.6 | 9.1 | 5.5 | 47.3 | 1.8 | — | — | 9.1 | 55 |
| Rhondda | 1.4 | 1.4 | 2.2 | 0.7 | — | 54.6 | 0.7 | 31.9 | — | — | 0.7 | 6.4 | 141 |
| Mountain Ash | 3.3 | — | — | — | — | 70.0 | 1.1 | 21.2 | — | 1.1 | — | 3.3 | 90 |
| Aberdare | 2.8 | — | 1.9 | 2.8 | — | 63.9 | — | 20.4 | 0.9 | 0.9 | — | 6.4 | 108 |
| Abertillery | — | 3.6 | — | — | — | 89.3 | — | 7.1 | — | — | — | — | 28 |
| Ebbw Vale | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.3 | — | 4.3 | 34.9 | — | 43.6 | — | — | — | 4.3 | 23 |
| Totals | 5.2 | 3.2 | 2.5 | 1.7 | 6.0 | 30.6 | 1.8 | 38.3 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 8.2 | 2,541 |

APPENDIX VI

B. LOCAL OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN DECEMBER OF GIRLS WHO LEFT SCHOOL AT THE END OF THE SUMMER TERM, 1934

| Local education authority | Occupations in which girls who had left school at the end of the summer term, 1934, were engaged locally at the beginning of December, 1934 | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | Agri-culture | Clothing manufac-ture | Manufac-ture of food and drink | Iron and steel and tinplate manufac-ture | Wholesale and retail trading | Personal service | Laundries and job dyeing, etc. | All others | Total |
| 137 Glamorganshire | — | 9.0 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 9.4 | 74.0 | 0.9 | 4.5 | 223 |
| Monmouthshire | 0.9 | 4.0 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 12.5 | 71.4 | 1.4 | 4.4 | 224 |
| Swansea | — | 14.6 | 0.6 | 2.9 | 30.4 | 39.2 | 2.3 | 10.0 | 171 |
| Merthyr Tydfil | — | 6.7 | — | — | 26.6 | 60.0 | — | 6.7 | 15 |
| Llanelly | — | 1.7 | — | 20.3 | 23.7 | 37.3 | 13.6 | 3.4 | 59 |
| Newport | — | 7.7 | 15.5 | 1.4 | 20.3 | 38.6 | 7.7 | 8.8 | 207 |
| Port Talbot | 3.3 | 26.7 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 6.7 | 36.7 | — | 3.3 | 30 |
| Pontypridd | 2.1 | 6.4 | 8.5 | — | 32.0 | 46.8 | — | 4.2 | 47 |
| Rhondda | — | 8.4 | 1.7 | — | 11.9 | 72.9 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 59 |
| Mountain Ash | — | 3.0 | — | — | 39.4 | 57.6 | — | — | 33 |
| Aberdare | — | — | 3.7 | — | 25.9 | 55.6 | 7.4 | 7.4 | 27 |
| Abertillery | — | — | — | — | 41.7 | 58.3 | — | — | 12 |
| Ebbw Vale | — | — | — | — | 11.1 | 77.8 | — | 11.1 | 9 |
| Totals | 0.4 | 8.0 | 4.7 | 2.8 | 18.9 | 56.2 | 3.2 | 5.8 | 1,116 |

APPENDIX VII

(A) ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BOYS AND GIRLS REACHING THE AGES OF 14, 15, 16, AND 17 IN SOUTH WALES¹
(THOUSANDS)

| Ages | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 14 years | 35 | 36 | 36 | 47 | 46 | 40 | 39 | 39 | 37 | 36 | 31 | 31 | 30 | 30 | 28 |
| 15 " | 37 | 35 | 36 | 36 | 47 | 46 | 40 | 39 | 39 | 37 | 36 | 31 | 31 | 30 | 29 |
| 16 " | 40 | 37 | 35 | 36 | 36 | 47 | 47 | 40 | 39 | 39 | 37 | 36 | 31 | 31 | 30 |
| 17 " | 42 | 40 | 37 | 35 | 36 | 36 | 46 | 45 | 40 | 39 | 39 | 37 | 36 | 31 | 31 |
| Total | 154 | 148 | 144 | 154 | 165 | 169 | 170 | 163 | 155 | 151 | 143 | 135 | 128 | 122 | 118 |

138

(B) ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BOYS AND GIRLS LIKELY TO BE AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH WALES¹
AT THE END OF THE YEARS SPECIFIED BELOW
(THOUSANDS)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|
| 14 years | 17 | 18 | 18 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 14 |
| 15 " | 25 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 32 | 31 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 24 | 21 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| 16 " | 31 | 29 | 27 | 28 | 28 | 37 | 35 | 31 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 24 | 24 | 23 |
| 17 " | 37 | 35 | 32 | 30 | 31 | 31 | 40 | 39 | 35 | 34 | 34 | 32 | 31 | 31 | 27 |
| Total | 110 | 106 | 101 | 105 | 114 | 119 | 121 | 116 | 110 | 107 | 102 | 96 | 91 | 90 | 84 |

¹ I.e. Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, and Carmarthenshire.

APPENDIX VIII

TOTAL NUMBER OF JUVENILES PLACED IN EMPLOYMENT (1927-33)

| Juvenile Advisory or Employment Committee | Total placings | | Local placings | | | | Placings in other districts | | | |
|---|----------------|--------|----------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | Number | Number | Number | Percentage of total | Number | Percentage of total | Number | Percentage of total | Number | Percentage of total |
| Aberdare | 754 | 745 | 506 | 67·1 | 313 | 42·0 | 248 | 32·9 | 432 | 58·0 |
| Abertillery .. | 782 | 776 | 164 | 21·0 | 110 | 14·2 | 618 | 79·0 | 666 | 85·8 |
| Bargoed | 891 | 946 | 411 | 46·1 | 166 | 17·5 | 480 | 53·9 | 780 | 82·5 |
| Barry | 462 | 578 | 425 | 92·0 | 534 | 92·4 | 37 | 8·0 | 44 | 7·6 |
| Cardiff | 10,682 | 9,847 | 10,374 | 97·1 | 9,644 | 97·9 | 308 | 2·9 | 203 | 2·1 |
| Ebbw Vale | 318 | 469 | 83 | 26·1 | 183 | 39·0 | 235 | 73·9 | 286 | 61·0 |
| Llanelly | 1,185 | 1,217 | 1,092 | 92·2 | 1,167 | 95·9 | 93 | 7·8 | 50 | 4·1 |
| Merthyr | 749 | 428 | 589 | 78·6 | 212 | 49·5 | 160 | 21·4 | 216 | 50·5 |
| Neath | 541 | 656 | 351 | 64·9 | 455 | 69·4 | 190 | 35·1 | 201 | 30·6 |
| Newport* | 1,746 | 1,920 | 1,734 | 99·3 | 1,830 | 95·3 | 12 | 0·7 | 90 | 4·7 |
| Pontypool | 548 | 899 | 329 | 60·0 | 324 | 36·0 | 219 | 40·0 | 575 | 64·0 |
| Pontypridd .. | 785 | 466 | 486 | 61·9 | 261 | 56·0 | 299 | 38·1 | 205 | 44·0 |
| Port Talbot .. | 771 | 729 | 545 | 70·7 | 441 | 60·5 | 226 | 29·3 | 288 | 39·5 |
| Rhondda* | 841 | 582 | 478 | 56·8 | 91 | 15·6 | 363 | 43·2 | 491 | 84·4 |
| Swansea | 4,063 | 3,847 | 4,034 | 99·3 | 3,583 | 93·1 | 29 | 0·7 | 264 | 6·9 |
| Total | 25,118 | 24,105 | 21,601 | 86·0 | 19,314 | 80·1 | 3,517 | 14·0 | 4,791 | 19·9 |

* The figures for these committees refer only to the years 1930-33.

APPENDIX IX

PLACING WORK OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH WALES SECONDARY SCHOOLS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEES

| Year | Local placings | | | | | | | Placings in other districts | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| | Total number placed locally | Percentage placed in the undermentioned industries and services | | | | | | Total number placed in other districts | Percentage placed in the undermentioned industries and services | | | | | |
| | | Wholesale and retail trading | Engineering | Personal service (including nursing) | Clerks, typists, etc. | G.P.O. | All others | | Wholesale and retail trading | Personal service (including nursing) | Clerks, typists, etc. | Engineering | Clothing trades | All others |
| | | | | | | | A. | Boys | | | | | | |
| 1931 | 45 | 31.1 | 8.9 | — | 35.6 | 8.8 | 15.6 | 39 | 41.0 | 25.6 | 2.6 | 20.5 | — | 10.3 |
| 1932 | 54 | 20.4 | 9.3 | — | 35.2 | 5.5 | 29.6 | 34 | 17.6 | 26.5 | 20.6 | 11.8 | — | 23.5 |
| 1933 | 92 | 15.2 | 4.4 | — | 23.9 | 5.4 | 51.1 | 53 | 17.0 | 28.3 | 3.8 | 26.4 | — | 24.5 |
| | | | | | | | B. | Girls | | | | | | |
| 1931 | 47 | 55.3 | — | 8.5 | 25.5 | 6.4 | 4.3 | 57 | — | 96.4 | 1.8 | — | — | 1.8 |
| 1932 | 69 | 27.5 | — | 15.9 | 36.2 | 7.3 | 13.1 | 86 | 2.3 | 88.4 | 2.3 | — | 4.7 | 2.3 |
| 1933 | 85 | 41.2 | — | 14.1 | 37.6 | — | 7.1 | 114 | 1.8 | 61.4 | 1.8 | — | — | 35.0 |

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