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Self-esteem *and* Social Justice? Engaging Young People on the Margins of Education and Employment

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Introduction

This paper is based on findings from two ethnographic studies conducted across two neighbouring local authorities in the north of England. Both pieces of research focused on the lived experience of young people categorised as NEET (not in education, employment or training) or at risk of becoming NEET. The first study took place during 2008-9 and examined the experiences of young people engaged in work-based learning programmes designed to improve participants' 'employability skills'. This research was conducted in four learning sites across the two authorities, and much of the data presented in this paper derives from that study. The second piece of research was a longitudinal ethnography which explored the broader experiences and trajectories of a set of young people, all of whom spent significant periods of time classified as NEET. The fieldwork for the latter study took place between autumn 2010 and spring 2013; its findings frame the key arguments put forward in this paper and inform our understanding of the relationship between education, employment and the economy in contemporary society.

In this paper we focus particularly on training programmes which aim to provide NEET young people with certain attitudes, abilities and dispositions deemed necessary for the workplace. Whilst we recognise that many young people can benefit from building their self-esteem and personal well-being (Hyland 2011), the central argument of the paper is that, if employability programmes and the practitioners responsible for their delivery are to equip learners for socially and economically fulfilled lives, NEET young people and other marginalised learners also require access to significantly different forms of education and training. This, we argue, needs to develop not only learners' interpersonal and dispositional skills but should also expose them to principled conceptual learning and traditional conceptions of skill rooted in a unity of knowledge and action (Simmons 2009). In doing this we draw on Bernstein's (2000) work on pedagogic discourses to analyse and problematise work-based programmes for marginalised young people and to offer an alternative vision for

such learning – a vision which, we argue, offers increased possibilities not only for student well-being but for social justice more broadly.

The paper begins by placing contemporary discourses surrounding NEET young people in their social and historical context, and by discussing the complexities of this category. We then review the research upon which the paper is based, summarising key findings and highlighting some of the tensions and contradictions apparent in work-based learning for marginalised young people. Whilst we acknowledge that tutors are often enthusiastic and committed to the well-being of young people engaged in such training, it is argued that structural, material and cultural factors strongly bound their practice (Thompson 2010). We argue that various factors acting in synergy, including the funding regime, the nature of the curriculum, and certain forms of pedagogy associated with particular assumptions about NEET young people limit not only the scope of learning, but have far-reaching consequences for participants thereafter.

The paper concludes by offering an alternative conception of education and training for young people on the margins of participation. Whilst we acknowledge this would entail significant challenges for policymakers and practitioners, we argue that learners require programmes that both support and challenge them – intellectually and socially. Drawing on Bernstein (2000), it is argued that the acquisition of ‘soft skills’ and personal effectiveness need to be embedded in learning which provides access to more traditional modes of knowledge found in established forms of academic and professional training. Such an approach, in combination with coherent and sustained action to stimulate the demand for labour and for skill is, we argue, necessary if we are to shift from individualised and ultimately limited discourses of well-being and self-esteem to a more holistic model of vocational education rooted in broader conceptions of social justice.

NEET young people – the rise of a problem category

For three decades after the end of World War Two the transition of young people from school to work was relatively straightforward. Although unemployment existed in certain areas of the UK, most young people were able to obtain work consistent with their expectations. The majority left school at the earliest opportunity, often without qualifications, and relatively few young people went on to post-compulsory education. For working-class boys especially, an

apprenticeship was often the goal, but various other forms of work were available across most parts of the country. Either way, the transition from school to work was normally soon followed by leaving home, marriage and parenthood (Ainley and Allen 2010: 21). Although young people's experiences varied according to social class and gender, youth transitions in the UK were at their most condensed and unitary during the 1950s and 1960s (Jones 1995: 23). This situation has, however, altered radically since the 1970s and the mass unemployment accompanying the collapse of the UK's traditional industrial base. Nowadays few young people leave school and enter full-time work at the first opportunity and, for many, access to the traditional signifiers of adulthood has become disturbed or suspended, in some cases almost indefinitely (Ainley and Allen 2010). Social structures appear less fixed and predictable, and reduced opportunities for stable working-class employment have disturbed traditional notions of social reproduction. Although young people often interpret the social world in highly individualistic ways, their life chances remain related to the enabling and constraining effects of gender, ethnicity and social class and the degree of agency which any individual or group is able to exercise remains structured by a range of social, economic and cultural factors. (Rainbird 2000). Furthermore, although class consciousness, at least amongst lower socio-economic groups, has diminished substantially since the 1970s, traditional orientations towards work and education remain important for many young working-class people (Shildrick et al. 2012; Shildrick and Macdonald, 2007).

The term 'NEET' was coined in the mid-1990s to replace the more politically sensitive 'Status Zero', which had previously been used describe young people outside education, employment and training (the disqualification of 16-18-year-olds from unemployment benefit in 1988 made the term 'unemployed' technically inaccurate). Over time the use of NEET as a label has broadened and nowadays is often used in relation to young adults up to the age of 24. Nowadays an increasingly diverse range of unemployed individuals are described as NEET, including teenagers with learning difficulties, young offenders and young people with significant barriers to participation such as single-parenthood or caring responsibilities through to unemployed university graduates. The term NEET therefore conflates a heterogeneous set of young people with different experiences and conditions into an artificially manufactured category. However, whilst NEET is a flawed construct, it is not without value and, despite the technical and conceptual problems associated with NEET as a category, being NEET is often closely linked to a range of significant disadvantages. These include an increased likelihood of long-term negative consequences such as ill-health,

involvement in crime and anti-social behaviour, extended periods of unemployment and other forms of social exclusion.

Leaving such matters aside, the notion of being NEET is rooted in neo-liberal understandings of the nature of the labour market which tend to relate the causes of worklessness to individual shortcomings and personal deficits rather than to broader economic and labour market conditions. This is accompanied by certain assertions about the nature of employment and the economy where, rhetorically, both individual well-being and national competitiveness are dependent on the skills, abilities and aptitudes of the individual worker (Avis 2009). Within this discourse there is an implicit assumption that there is something inherently 'wrong' with NEET young people which prevents their labour market participation – not only in terms of skills and qualifications, but also their aspirations, motivation and other dispositional aspects of 'work-readiness'. Flowing from this, there have, over the years, been a series of initiatives which have aimed to engage or re-engage NEET young people through various forms of pre-vocational and work-based learning. Over time, numerous training courses have been launched and re-launched and, although the names of these schemes often change, essentially they share the same stated aims: to equip participants with attitudes and qualities deemed necessary to compete successfully in the labour market (Simmons and Thompson 2011).

Researching the lives of NEET young people

The research upon which this paper is based was conducted in two neighbouring local authorities in northern England - *Middlebridge* and *Greenford*. In many ways both places exemplify the changing nature of youth transitions within contemporary Western society. Whilst traditionally Middlebridge and Greenford were thriving industrial centres, over the last forty years, both have been greatly affected by globalisation, de-industrialisation and other aspects of economic, social and political change. As manufacturing industry has declined the nature of employment has fragmented and increasingly shifted towards the service sector. Whilst manufacturing still accounts for a higher proportion of employment than the UK average, service sector work increasingly dominates the local economy. Middlebridge has a population of about 400,000 and is made up of two large post-industrial towns, and surrounding villages; Greenford is centred on one major town and its satellites, and has a population of approximately 200,000. Although, historically, both were relatively

prosperous areas, nowadays unemployment rates are above the UK average; around one-third of employment is part-time, and many jobs are insecure and low paid. Young people in particular often experience difficulty in gaining employment. In Middlebridge, about 70 per cent of the population are white British; the largest ethnic minority groups are of Pakistani or Indian descent, although there is also an established African-Caribbean population in the area. Greenford has a smaller ethnic minority population: around 10 per cent are non-white, being mainly of Pakistani descent. As is the case in many other British towns and cities, a significant number of East Europeans and other migrants have come to live in Middlebridge and Greenford over the last decade or so.

The first research project upon which this paper is based explored the experiences of learners and practitioners on employability programmes, and consisted of two phases. Phase one mapped the nature and extent of such provision across both authorities; phase two took place between November 2008 and May 2009 and involved an ethnographic investigation of four case-study sites. Field-work comprised 87 hours of observations and 58 tape-recorded and transcribed interviews (plus 5 unrecorded) with learners, tutors provision managers, and Connexions¹ Personal Advisers. The second study was a larger-scale piece of research with field-work taking place between October 2010 and March 2013. The main corpus of data includes 280 hours of participant observation conducted in various settings including young people's homes, cafés, benefit offices and Connexions centres as well as the premises of work placement and training providers. Seventy-eight interviews were conducted and transcribed, including twenty with Connexions advisers, Jobcentre staff and other practitioners; three with employers; and 54 with young people. Data also includes copies of qualifications and certificates of achievement; minutes of local NEET strategy group meetings; national and local NEET statistics; and course information literature. In total, twenty-six young people participated in the project but, for various reasons, six did not take part after March 2012. Twelve of the remaining participants were female, and eight male; four of the female participants and one male were parents, each with a child aged two or under. Ten had been in care and fifteen lived 'independently'.

¹ Connexions was, until 2011, the integrated advice and guidance service for young people in England aged 13–19. Although Connexions continues to exist in some local authorities, in most places it has been replaced by information, advice and guidance services based mainly upon telephone and web-based services rather than face-to-face contact.

To some extent, our participants constituted an opportunity sample. Contact was made through young people's services, through training providers, and by means of 'snowballing', whereby existing participants put us in touch with others. Nevertheless, the sample provides a range of participants which include representatives of some of the major NEET subgroups such as care leavers, young people with learning disabilities, young parents, early school leavers, and young offenders. Whilst some were academically successful before becoming NEET, most had experienced disrupted schooling and some had few qualifications. In some cases, particularly for those who had been in care, frequent changes of residence had led not only to changes of school, but to being placed in schools with places available due to lack of popularity and/or high pupil turnover. Perhaps the main common factor in our sample is that they were all from working-class backgrounds. In the majority of cases, our participants had lived for most of their lives in areas of significant deprivation².

In both pieces of research photographs and field notes were used to document the environment, use of space, use of time, learner behaviour and relations with staff, learning activities and teaching styles. This enabled as detailed a picture as possible to be constructed, particularly where the experiences of learners were concerned. Although some could express their views and opinions with lucidity, others – especially the young men – were less articulate and interviews alone would have produced more limited data. The case-study sites providing employability programmes for NEET young people are described below.

Middlebridge College: The employability programme at Middlebridge FE College aimed to improve skills and confidence, and to help learners access further education, work or training. Progression to other courses offered by the college was regarded as a strength of this provision. Seven observation visits were conducted and provided 22 hours of data. 14 learners and three tutors were interviewed.

Action for Youth: This voluntary provider offered training in motor vehicle maintenance, engineering and building maintenance. Learners participated in work-related projects, outdoor pursuits and residential activities. Most tutors had an industrial rather than a teaching background. Four observation visits provided 20 hours of data. Interviews with 17 learners, one tutor, a placement officer and an administrator took place.

MGC Training: This private training provider ran Level One qualifications and work experience placements in retail and warehousing childcare, and adult care were offered. Sport and fitness and health and beauty were

² The areas referred to are Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOA): homogenous small areas containing around 1,500 people (DCLG, 2011). Most participants currently live in LSOAs amongst the 10% most deprived in England and typically have lived in such areas throughout their lives.

encouraged by the provider. Four observation visits generated 10 hours of data; interviews were conducted with nine learners, a senior manager, two tutors and an administrator.

Aim for Work: This private training provider ran a flexible programme of work placements and tasters, help with basic skills, and NVQs in administration, retail and warehousing. Five observation visits provided 10 hours of data, and interviews were conducted with 11 learners, one tutor and an administrator. As at *MGC Training*, staff at *Aim for Work* regarded themselves as having strong employer links which helped learners to obtain work placements and progress into paid employment.

Gender distribution varied widely between providers and, although none of these organisations discouraged potential learners because of their gender, patterns of enrolments reflected traditional gender roles. Learners who did not conform to these divisions were in a minority, and sometimes sat and worked separately from other learners. They often did not stay long, leaving for alternative courses, often run by other providers. Those who remained were not necessarily committed to the provider's vocational specialism; for example, one young woman acquiring joinery skills actually aspired to work in animal management. Another female learner, unable to obtain a childcare placement due to previous offending, had begun to learn motor vehicle maintenance at Action for Youth but had disliked it and was working mainly on acquiring the basic skills qualifications she believed necessary to obtain clerical work. The representation of ethnic minorities in our sample was broadly in line with the local population, but well below the proportions in local schools (31 per cent in Middlebridge and 17 per cent in Greenford). Despite lower average levels of educational achievement amongst those of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean descent, there is evidence that young people from Asian and African-Caribbean backgrounds have negative perceptions of work-based learning, particularly lower level programmes (Foskett and Hemsley-Brown 2001).

Findings

Many of the young people that took part in the research faced significant disadvantages and barriers to participation. For example, just under half of the learners were living in one-parent households, compared with a quarter of all 16-17 year olds in the UK (Barham et al. 2009, 27). Many had difficult personal circumstances, including caring responsibilities, domestic violence, youth offending, illness and learning disabilities. The practitioners we interviewed recognised this.

It could be from families that have gone off the rails; it could be from sink estates; it could be from kids in care; it could be from youth offending; it could be young people who simply haven't got an idea of what they want to do with the next stage of their lives ...

(Manager interview, Middlebridge College, 6.10.08)

Well a lot of them come along with personal and social development issues because they are estranged from family and they have mental health issues and alcohol and all stuff like that.

(Connexions PA interview, 8.01.09)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of the learners were difficult to engage but most who took part in our research were actually fairly 'mainstream' young people.

Well in Year 10 I got my predictions for GCSE and they were for A* and a B in English but for personal reasons I stopped going to school ... I would have got good GCSEs and I were proper enthusiastic as well ... I did some coursework though and I got a grade A for that.

(Emma, Middlebridge College, 2.04.2009)

Whilst many had spent periods being NEET, half had experienced paid work, and nearly half had at least one GCSE at grade C or above. Virtually all of them had aspirations for work or further education, and some had ambitions to go on to higher education or professional study. More than 80 per cent of the young people on the programmes we researched came from a household with at least one parent in paid work. Furthermore, those from families without employment were not from households without a history of employment. In fact, the young people we came across in the course of our research came from families not dissimilar from working-class learners more generally. Moreover, most had quite traditional attitudes and ambitions – including finding a job and obtaining the other signifiers of adult life (Russell, Simmons and Thompson 2011).

Although normally well-meaning, the practice of tutors and personal advisors working on the programmes we studied was constrained by structural and material factors, as well as dominant discourses surrounding NEET young people. There are significant constraints and pressures placed upon practitioners working with NEET young people: a curriculum increasingly prescribed, codified and controlled by the state; an intensely target-driven culture; and a funding regime which militates against stability and continuity of provision. Low pay, high staff turnover, and poor working conditions detract from the experience they are able to provide. However, whilst the direction and purpose of education and training is

driven, to a large degree, by social and economic change and the priorities of policymakers, practitioners are not without agency. Indeed, educationalists have an important role to play in mediating and sometimes subverting policy, and there is a long tradition of practitioner resistance and progressive practice in working with marginalised learners - see, for example, the work of Gleeson (1983) on YTS tutors, and Ainley (1990) on TVEI in schools. In our research, we found that tutors were normally caring and concerned about the well-being of the young people with whom they worked, and some found space to engage with young people in constructive and progressive ways.

10.45am Sue starts a discussion about free school meals.

A mobile phone rings, Sue asks [the owner] to put it away. Some of the learners swear and Sue reminds them, 'Language'.

Sue starts the discussion by asking if they think everyone should have a balanced diet. Tom comments that they used to have burgers at school but then they changed it to pasta so he 'nicked off home'. Another learner says he only used to go into school to get his Panini and then he'd go home again. Most of the learners ... think everyone should get free school meals, to alleviate the issue of bullying for dinner money.

(Field notes, 29.01.2009)

Our second study showed that many NEET young people faced significant barriers to finding employment. These included systemic matters such as low levels of demand for labour, especially for young people; the poor quality of much of the work that was available; and the de-motivating effects of repeated compulsory engagement with training which offered few opportunities for meaningful progression. It is, however, important to note that many at least superficially personal barriers to participation are also linked to broader structural inequalities: for example, a lack of viable access to transport, repeated residential re-location, and a lack of childcare support are often related to circumstances over which young people have little control. Moreover, mental health issues, learning difficulties and behavioural problems are not unrelated to systemic disadvantage. Either way, we found no robust evidence to support the notion that inter-generational worklessness or 'cultures of poverty' were a significant cause of youth unemployment.

Some participants were required to return again and again to the same training providers, sometimes repeating virtually identical training programmes. But, in most cases, their aspirations remained broadly similar to those of other young people: most wanted a job, their

own place to live, and eventually a family and other signifiers of adult life. None of our participants said they wanted a life on benefits - although many feared that if they took a job they would soon find themselves out of work again, and consequently lose the benefits they were currently receiving. As Finlay et al. (2010) found in their research, the young people taking part in our study had low *expectations* rather than low *aspirations*. Few had illusions about obstacles facing them, and most thought that obtaining a decent, secure job was unlikely in the foreseeable future. In some cases, a lack of qualifications and experience acted as significant barriers to gaining work. Most participants had attended some form of employability training since leaving school but the strategies they were able to use to search for work were generally ineffective, and were often constrained by lack of money for travel or a disinclination to look past familiar localities. Official channels, such as Jobcentre Plus, rarely led to employment; personal contacts seemed to offer the greatest chance of securing work - although typically they served only to reproduce patterns of low-paid, insecure employment experienced by family and friends.

In a few cases, participants were more focused on building a family rather than education or employment, and some young parents were content to remain on benefits for periods ranging from six to eighteen months, rather than juggle work and childcare. Set against a backdrop of frequent unproductive efforts to find decent work, and the ineffectiveness of the training courses they had undertaken, they could not envisage obtaining a job which was well-paid and secure enough to compensate for losing benefits. For those who gained work, employment was often insecure and, in many cases, exploitative in nature. Many experienced significant tensions between the demands of work and education. Some were expected to work excessive hours; others would accept cash-in-hand work, often at little notice. This not only affected their attendance at college, but potentially placed their education allowance in jeopardy; but whilst such work was insecure and infrequent, it did promise immediate financial gain.

The learning experiences of young people on employability programmes require particular consideration. Typically much the content of programmes for marginalised young people is based upon what Basil Bernstein (2000) described as generic modes of knowledge – or in other words, generalised, de-contextualised activities such as ‘problem solving’, thinking skills’ or ‘learning to learn’. Whilst not without value if accompanied by other forms of learning embedded in particular vocational, intellectual or social contexts, when delivered

without an underpinning core of subject-based knowledge and skills, such activities are of little utility. They become especially problematic when, rather than providing access to new knowledge or skills based upon traditional craft or technical ability, such practices are coupled with an over-emphasis on routine processes such as repeated CV writing, skills audits, and similar activities. There are, after all, only so many times a young person can improve their interview technique or update a CV before a salutary conclusion is drawn: that is, coherent knowledge and skills need to be gained in order to add substance to any softer inter-personal abilities that have been accrued (Simmons and Thompson 2011 p. 171).

It is, at this stage worth, considering Bernstein's work on pedagogic discourses a little further. Bernstein regards a pedagogic discourse as a principle for 'the circulation and reordering of discourses' which have been selected and sanctioned (by agents such as the state, professional bodies and individual teachers) as appropriate elements of a curriculum. Each specific pedagogic discourse therefore derives from a principle for re-contextualizing knowledge (Bernstein 2000 p.32-33). Bernstein distinguishes three types of pedagogic discourse: the *singular* and the *regional* which are associated with high status learning, and the *generic* mode which is of more recent origin and markedly lower status.

The singular mode, he argues, is represented by traditional academic subjects, whilst the *regional* mode is often encountered in modern higher education and is particularly associated with the higher professions, such as law. In contrast, generic modes stem from the 1980s and are linked to the decline of youth employment associated with the decline of traditional industries and changing patterns of work. Notably, Bernstein highlights that this discourse was introduced by re-contextualizing agencies outside the established educational sector – for example, the Manpower Services Commission – and explicitly directed towards experiences of work and life. Young (2008 p.156) notes that generic modes were later extended to all areas of education, as notions of key and core skills, thinking skills and 'learning to learn' took root. Although they may be seen as developing more from considerations of social control than from liberal educational traditions, Gleeson (1989) points out that interventions such as Life Skills and Youth Training were often associated with progressive educational approaches, at least at a local level.

Bernstein views generic modes as an expression of a deeper assumption, based on the concept of *trainability* – the ability to engage, on a continuing basis, in 'the acquisition of

generic modes which it is hoped will realise a flexible transferable potential rather than specific performances' (Bernstein 2000 p.59). However, he argues that ascribing *to an individual* the capacity to continuously re-engage with changing circumstances of work and life is to misrecognize an essentially social process. Such a capacity 'rests upon the construction of a specialized identity ... which is the dynamic interface between individual careers and the social or collective base [and] cannot be constructed by lifting oneself up by one's shoelaces' (*ibid.*). The effect of elevating trainability to become *the* fundamental pedagogic objective is to put a socially empty concept at the heart of education. Taking generic practices from their original social contexts silences their cultural basis, thereby reproducing 'imaginary concepts of work and life which abstract such experiences from the power relations of their lived conditions and negate the possibilities of understanding and criticism' (Bernstein 2000 p. 59).

Conclusion

The *Wolf Review of Vocational Education* (2011) highlighted that many low-level vocational and pre-vocational training programmes provide participants with little or no advantage, and that most employers continue to prefer to recruit those with more traditional qualifications based upon recognised forms of academic or vocational knowledge. In Bernsteinian terms, this reflects a preference for *singular* modes of knowledge represented by traditional academic subjects, or at least the *regional* mode, which is often encountered in modern higher education and is particularly associated with the higher professions. Whilst such forms of knowledge are related to dimensions of social class and other forms of privilege, they also possess explanatory power and enable complex and coherent understanding to be developed in ways which generic modes of knowledge do not allow (Simmons 2009). It is both sad and ironic that provision which purports to help disadvantaged young people to find work, in some ways, contributes to their continued exclusion and, clearly, this is problematic – not only for the young people taking part in such programmes but also for practitioners working with them. If NEET young people are to be given access to coherent knowledge and skills employability programmes and the other forms of vocational and pre-vocational training to which they are exposed need to be significantly re-thought and re-cast in ways which provide participants with explanatory frameworks which go beyond the genericism currently found on many such courses. This would require not only a remodelling of the work-based learning curriculum but substantially revised staff recruitment and retention strategies, remuneration,

and meaningful career pathways all need to be addressed if NEET young people are to receive consistently high-quality learning programmes. Furthermore, if young people are to be provided with access to coherent principled forms of knowledge, staff responsible for teaching and learning need to possess the necessary knowledge and skills to enable this to take place. Practitioners need to be particularly skilful in order to devise challenging yet accessible learning opportunities in a range of contexts. Access to ongoing professional development which provides both knowledge and skills-based learning opportunities is particularly important for those working with learners on the margins of participation (Simmons and Thompson 2011 p. 173).

Having said all this, no training programme however effectively delivered can compensate for a lack of job opportunities. MacDonald and Marsh (2001) argue that the transitions of deprived young people are often marked by cyclical relocations between government schemes and college courses, low-paid, low-skill and often temporary jobs and recurrent unemployment. Rather than being the result of individual deficiencies they argue that this pattern is unexceptional in post-industrial, 'flexible' labour markets. Moreover, Webster et al. (2004) argue that, contrary to official discourse, government-led training initiatives can actually contribute to social exclusion by encouraging a continued supply of labour for low-waged, unrewarding and insecure employment.

If the state is serious about providing meaningful opportunities for NEET young people there needs to be significant change not only in the nature of education and training provided to those without work but in the political economy more broadly. An extensive Keynesian-style programme of public works – restoring housing, engaging in environmental initiatives, and improving local and national infrastructure – would go some way towards stimulating the labour market and creating demand for traditional forms of craft skill (Allen and Ainley 2011, p.19). A range of other measures could also be used to increase the demand for particular forms of skilled labour: for example, statutory licenses to practice across the economy; a system of levies and benefits which encourage employers to promote education and training; and state incentives which reward high quality production strategies. It would be naïve to suggest that the changes in taxation, labour market regulation, and social and economic policy more generally which are necessary to achieve such ambitions are easy or straightforward to implement. Nevertheless, such measures are required if fair and meaningful work and educational opportunities are to be provided young people.

Unfortunately, this is not on the present Government's agenda. Indeed, deep public spending cuts can only damage the organisations most likely to deliver increased employment, and especially highly skilled employment. The changes we propose to work-based learning for NEET young people can only contribute to social justice if they are part of broader political and philosophical realignment and a significant shift in youth employment policies.

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