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"New" Manufacturing Industry:

The Development Area

Factory

by

J. N. Marshall.

An Abstract

This thesis considers the industrial aspects of regional policy, in particular the concept of transferring work to the workers. An in depth study, based in the North-East of England, analyses in detail two "new" factories. These factories are studied in terms of the demands made by groups of managers and employees of their employment. These demands are analysed, both through the working agreement, and a categorisation of 'types' of employee and groups of managers.

The rationale behind such a study is as follows. Links are drawn between the concept of transferring work to the workers and the ideology of "pluralism". It is suggested that the industrial aspects of regional planning have their basis in a pluralist definition of, and solution to the regional problem. Also it is outlined that this pluralist base results in a failure to consider or investigate the details of "new" manufacturing plants. It is assumed by policy makers that "new" industry will solve the regional problem.

To rectify such a failing this study of two "new" plants is carried out. Several tentative conclusions suggest criticisms of the simplistic pluralist approach to "new" manufacturing employment. Doubt is also cast upon the accuracy of the pluralist definition of the regional problem.

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Chapter 1

THE INTRODUCTION

The Introduction

The Worker Reads History

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome
Is full of avenues of triumph. Who reared them up? Over
Whom did the Caesars triumph? Byzantium lives in song,
Were all her dwellings palaces? And even in Atlantis of
The legend the night the sea rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.

Young Alexander conquered India
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the seven days war. Who
Triumphed with him?

Each page a victory,
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every 10 years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many particulars
So many questions.

BERTHOLT BRECHT

This thesis studies in detail the concept of work to the workers within regional planning, and in particular the "new" manufacturing industry provided by this policy. It analyses the historical development of transferring employment to workers in the regions assisted by governmental subsidies. The incentives to, and controls on industry, introduced by government to aid this transfer, are considered. Further, the various bodies interested in regional planning, and the transfer of industrial employment are investigated. It is argued that several dominantly pluralist assumptions are implicit in the definition of the regional problem by these interested parties. Also it is suggested that this pluralist base leads to an oversimplification of the regional problem, as expressed in the concept of work to the workers, which views regional disparity purely in employment terms. "New" manufacturing employment is seen as the solution to regional disparity with little investigation being made of the details of the employment provided. It is simply assumed that "new" firms will provide the right atmosphere for all parties to work together to solve the regional problem. It is argued that this is a dissatisfactory situation. This thesis, therefore, attempts to remedy such a failing, and studies "new" manufacturing employment in the North-East of England. This is done at a micro level in an attempt to shed new light upon an area where there has been little research. Analysis also broadens into a critique of the pluralist definition of, and solution to, the regional problem. The thesis, then, is a study of the area covered by Brecht in his poem, and analyses the 'region' where he poses his questions (see *The Worker Reads History*). It is the story of the employees involved in "new" manufacturing plants, told in their own words. On occasion mere words fail to describe the events and emotions involved, and in this sense the thesis may never achieve its secondary aim, to describe and 'explain' the life of the participants in "new" manufacturing employment.

The thesis is based on an examination of two manufacturing plants which are studied by participant observation. This technique is utilised to provide detailed data on the social processes operating in "new" manufacturing. Both studies were carried out during 1975. In one factory, Power Motors, the period of research began on 2nd January and ended on 28th March. In the other factory, Truck Components, observation extended from 26th August - 26th September. The data collected by observation was supplemented by a questionnaire of redundant employees at Power Motors, standardised questions were asked of employees in both plants, and the private accounts, and public records of both companies were investigated. The two plants were placed in their context by a study of the surrounding local labour market, and an analysis of the trends within their particular industry.

The study of these two plants concentrates upon the demands individuals and groups made of their employment. This represents an attempt to view a "new" firm as a factory attempting to satisfy the demands, needs and expectations of the participants in "new" manufacturing industry. The major tool for such a study is the working agreement in both firms. Such an investigation removes this study from the abstract assumptions of policy documents. Management at the two plants are studied in relation to the demands made of them by head office (both plants were subsidiaries). It is suggested that the actions of head office were a key explanatory variable in managerial policy. This policy in both plants consisted of a demand that the work force increase their efforts (increase the level of the 'effort bargain'). Such a demand was related to a loss making situation in each firm, which produced in management attempts to coerce their employees.

The work force are also studied in detail, and it is emphasised that they have multiple and varied interpretations of work. This led to numerous demands of management concerned dominantly with effort, reward and

status. Yet these demands were constrained. In one factory in particular (Truck Components) the workers under study moderated their demands. This conservatism can only be understood through investigating the past work experience and ideology (based on both work, and non-work experience, and training) of these employees.

The thesis in studying employees in both firms is concerned with job involvement, and individual gains from employment, which are both related to the local labour market structure. To analyse the work force 'types' of employee are constructed and elaborated. These 'types' of involvement in work form a basis for explanation.

By inter-relating the various threads of the above analysis it is suggested that the demands of the work force need not be 'conventional' in managerial terms, and further that the demands of management and employees

conflict in certain areas. Such conflicts, and an analysis of the various demands individuals make of employment facilitate the following tentative conclusions concerning "new" manufacturing employment:

- (1) That "new" employment is by no means the panacea suggested in theory.
- (2) That branch factories, strictly controlled by head office, may be disadvantageous to the North-East.
- (3) That the composition of the work force at both factories may be determined by the policy each firm pursued in their local labour market.
- (4) That the employment provided in these two factories tended to 'deskill' employees.
- (5) That the quality of employment conditions provided by "new" manufacturing industry must be assessed more carefully.
- (6) That power in "new" factories lies in the hands of management, and that this was important in the resolution of the conflict

between the work force and management.

Further, due to this managerial dominance, most problems experienced by the two "new" firms studied may be related to managerial actions, policies and systems of control.

- (7) That the work force in both factories accepted the dominant power relationships.
- (8) That the above exposé suggests there is a need for more critical research into the concept of providing work for the labour force of the North-East of England. Further, there is an even greater need for an assessment of the value of the pluralist explanation of, and solution to the regional problem.

The thesis utilises the following framework for the above analysis. A development of the methodology behind the study is presented in Chapter 2. An analysis of regional policy and work to the workers is presented in Chapter 3. In the work on the two case studies (Chapters 4 and 5) the material is assembled into four sections, The Constraints on Action, A Chronological History, The Data and The Analysis. The chronological statement outlines all the significant events during the observation period. The same events are discussed thematically in the data section. These themes are taken up and utilised in the analysis. The section on constraints examines those structures which were "fixed" during the observation period, and served to affect the action of the actors. A conclusion based upon the data and analysis of Chapters 4 and 5, and relating this to the concept of work to the workers, is outlined in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2

THE METHODOLOGY

The Methodology

Introduction

This chapter deals with the background to the material presented in the following chapters. It outlines the choice of firms and the aims of the study, and provides an insight into the choice of research technique. A history is provided of the observation period itself, together with a record of the ethical stance of the researcher. Further, an assessment is made of the values of the observer. This aims to facilitate an understanding of the thesis which follows, and to provide a measure of the data presented. These values, and the ethical position of the observer are finally related to the problems involved in participant observation, in particular problems of objectivity and involvement. The analysis will proceed as follows:

- (1) The Context.
- (2) Research Aims and Hypotheses.
- (3) The Choice of Research Technique.
- (4) The Method of Approach.
- (5) A History of the Observation Period.
- (6) Research Role and the Values of the Observer.
- (7) Bias, Objectivity and Involvement: Problems in Participant Observation.
- (8) A Conclusion.

(1) The Context

Research was carried out against the following background. The basis of the thesis lies in a project conducted in the North-East Area Study, a department of Durham University, during 1974-76. Within North-East Area Study each year a project, to last two years, is initiated. Research students while working on the project are expected to produce material for their thesis, which is written in the second year. The project in question was entitled 'Employment by New Manufacturing Establishments in the North-East'. It was proposed by the Department of

Trade and Industry, and the Department of Employment, and it studied the micro effects of regional policy, within individual factories, by questionnaire. This questionnaire was conducted among 393 employees in seven "new" firms.⁽¹⁾ The survey considered wide ranging areas including, travel to work, recruitment, training, job satisfaction, labour market behaviour and individual and household incomes.

The choice of firm for the survey was made with reference to numerous factors, in particular the balance between, male and female employees, skilled and non-skilled work, industrial category, areas of situation and labour market characteristics. The most important criteria was an expansion of at least 50 workpeople since mid-1972. One firm chosen using these criteria was Power Motors. In preparation for the survey, and to add to the survey material, it was determined to obtain experience of a "new" firm by participant observation. Power Motors was chosen as the firm of study, because the research team were interested in engineering employment, and while producing automobile components Power Motors also had other features such as a high turnover in personnel which deserved investigation. Research snowballed, the data obtained at Power Motors proved more substantial than expected, and it was decided to investigate another firm using participant observation, and to write a thesis from the results. Observation in Power Motors determined the choice of Truck Components. Power Motors possessed, in the view of the employees, poor conditions of employment. The firm was controlled strictly from outside the region,

(1) The definition of "new" relates to the context of the survey. For a summary of results and definitions see 'Employment by New Manufacturing Establishments in the North-East', N.E.A.S. Working Paper No. 30. In the survey five of the factories were established in or since 1972, while the other two were established since 1958. The sample frame of "new" firms from which the choice for the survey was made was taken from the work of Mr. R. Morley, a summary of which is published as 'Expansion in the North', North of England Development Council, April, 1975.

and this appeared a significant variable in the analysis. Also the employees of the firm were highly distinctive and typical of the Stockland area of the North-East. Truck Components was controlled from outside the North-East. This made it possible to analyse further the branch aspect of "new" firms. Conditions of employment at Truck Components were seen to be excellent by the observer on an initial visit to the firm. Since it was unlikely that Power Motors would be typical of "new" firms in respect of the conditions of employment provided, it was decided to study another contrasting factory. Truck Components was also in a very different area of the North-East (Newtown), and a further practical consideration was that the firm was noted for viewing research applications favourably.

(2) Research Aims and Hypotheses

A typical comment upon the research technique of participant observation runs as follows,

The fieldworker usually does not enter the field with specific hypotheses and a pre-determined research design. To be sure, he does have general problems in mind, as well as a theoretical framework that directs him to certain events in the field⁽²⁾

A common position is that of Lupton, where he entered into "open participant observation" studying output restriction, based on his past experience within factories and a general dissatisfaction with the prevailing literature.⁽³⁾ The position of the researcher at the onset of research in this work is roughly analogous. Work in the overall project, and a personal research interest were centred upon regional

(2). A. Strauss, L. Schatzman, R. Bucher, D. Ehrlich, M. Satshin 'Psychiatric Ideology and Institutions', New York: Free Press, 1964.

(3). T. Lupton 'On the Shop Floor', Pergamon Press, 1963, in particular Chapter 1. In "open participant observation" the observer informs participants of his role as investigator.

policy, and this was related intellectually by myself to an overall theory of development in capitalist societies. Also previous shop floor work within the construction and confectionery industries attracted me to this particular area of industrial sociology. It was determined to combine these two interests, first in a limited way by a small study, and later by thesis. At the onset of the study there was no clear aim. The area under study was new, and the work was basically exploratory. It was, however, hoped to shed light upon the relationship between regional policy, and the individual employee and employer, and to relate this to regional planning, and the transfer of work to the workers. In particular it was hoped to study previously neglected qualitative aspects of "new" manufacturing industry. As the study progressed at Power Motors, and the social situation was analysed more clearly, general areas of importance were singled out. For example, how important was the branch factory as an explanatory variable, and, secondly, why were employees divided, and what relevance had this for power relationships in "new" manufacturing. These areas were examined in some detail within Truck Components. The technique of participant observation was utilised here more efficiently because practice allowed a refinement of the research method. Also as a clearer picture of regional planning emerged the nature of the employment provided by "new" firms, and the interests served by regional planning were investigated.

(3) The Choice of Research Technique

There has been some imprecision in the use of the term participant observation; this section attempts to outline the precise meaning of the technique as used here. Also it attempts to 'explain' the change from survey methodology in the project to the utilisation of participant observation in this thesis. Firstly, the technique itself shall be outlined below.

The researcher in this study acted as a participant

as observer, attending the factory daily, studying events on the shop floor and eating meals in the works canteen.⁽⁴⁾ However, this participation did not include the act of production. Nevertheless, participants were studied and questioned at their work. In the field, observation broadened to include other research methods, including simple observation, standardised questioning and interviewing, the utilisation of documentary source material, work history enquiries and simple reportage.⁽⁵⁾ Recordings were made at first away from the shop floor, but later with respondents' permission they were taken as they replied.

The change from survey methodology to participant observation relates essentially to the type of study which developed during the observation period at Power Motors. Differing kinds of information are collected economically in differing ways; the research problem in question dictates the method of investigation. A survey provides the skeleton framework for analysis, the bones of a structure, this thesis needed more of the actual substance. One example from the survey project places this in full relief. Following the completion of the questionnaire at one particular factory, I was sitting in the canteen when an industrial problem came to the fore. The problem was

(4). R.L. Gold 'Roles in Sociological Field Observation' in N.K. Denzin (ed) 'Sociological Methods', Aldine Publishing Co., 1970. Gold utilises and expands upon Junker's work to outline four theoretically possible roles for the sociologist conducting field work, which range from complete participation, through participation as observer, to observer as participant and complete observation.

(5). This agrees with Denzin who argues that, no single method or field strategy will reveal all the relevant aspects of the phenomena at hand. The participant observer learns to employ multiple methods in his research activities. Documents are collected and analysed; interviews are conducted; informants are sought out for their unique perspectives; and direct participation in the groups' activities is employed. Introspection and direct observation are utilised as well.

See N.K. Denzin (ed) 'Sociological Methods', Ibid.

bonus, the shop steward explained to union members at a meeting,

we got £6 for 1,000 pumps, and we're now doing 2,000 pumps and getting £7.25, we should get £12.

One employee cried out for a £10 a week pay increase, others demanded a work to rule, or a 'go slow'. One girl I had interviewed earlier called to me,

I want to change my answers. I think the pay is low.⁽⁶⁾

This observation of the social process as it unfolds is only possible through observation. Participant observation allows the researcher to compare attitudes and action, to study by "overheards" material omitted by the

(6). The question being referred to here is one in the questionnaire which asks:

"Compared with other jobs around here of similar skill outside this factory, would you say the pay for the job is:

High	1
About Right	2
Low	3
Can't Compare	4

In the context of the survey it was difficult to relate this bonus dispute to the data available. In response to the question:

"How does this job compare with your previous job?"

employees at the factory in question, Wash.1., were more dissatisfied with their work. The average for the remainder of the survey being 55% satisfied while 20% were dissatisfied. But in Wash.1 the totals were 42% and 33%, and this proved a significant difference, the chi-square value of 33.5 being significant at the 5% level when Wash.1 was compared to all other firms. However, there was little evidence which could link this to bonus or remuneration. The "incentive scheme" received no mention in this question at Wash.1. The question:

"What things do you dislike about working here?"

did not produce any significant difference between Wash.1 and other firms in terms of remuneration. Nor was money a dominant grievance within Wash.1 (see Appendix 1). A more important problem was supervision, but the general impression was of well distributed grievances. The major and important responses are tabled in Appendix 1, (there is no mention of the "incentive scheme"). In the question:

survey, and to produce, through constant contact, a fuller understanding of problematic areas, thus facilitating an analysis of the social system under study.

In producing such a full understanding participant observation is well described by Geer,

The participant observer in the field is at once reporter, interviewer and scientist. On the scene, he gets the story of an event by questioning participants about what is happening and why. He fills out the story by asking people about their relation to the event, their reactions, opinions and evaluation of its significance. As interviewer, he encourages an informant to tell his story or supply an expert account of an organisation or group. As scientist he seeks answers to questions, setting up hypothesis and collecting data with which to test them.⁽⁷⁾

(6). "What do you like about your job?"

there were fewer employees satisfied with monetary reward at Wash.1 than in the survey as a whole (again, however, the "incentive scheme" received no mention). This difference did not prove significant at the 5% level (removing Wash.1 from the survey total) producing a chi-square value of 0.8988. Friendliness and job satisfaction were most important (see Appendix 1) Again in the question:

"Have there been any particular issues which have been brought to the notice of either the union/works committee or management?"

of the people answering yes at Wash.1 none mentioned bonus, and monetary issues at 24.3% of the total response were importantly less than the total survey response at 47.1%. This proved to be significant at the 5% level, providing a chi-square value of 5.793. Indeed the dominant issues at Wash.1 concerned supervision, the difference between Wash.1 and the survey being significant at not only the 5%, but also the 1% level (chi-square value 79.70). Of course this predominance of supervision as a grievance may relate to the bonus issue, this may be the way the bonus problem presented itself to the participants. However, the fact remains that without a knowledge of the factory itself it was impossible to make that assumption. Thus, in analysing survey data there are problems of inference. Participant observation obtains data which may shed light upon this. But more importantly participant observation makes it possible to obtain data which cannot be collected by other techniques such as the survey.

(7). Quoted in P.E. Hammond 'Sociologists at Work', New York: Basic Books, 1964.

In other words, and research carried out in this thesis supports such a view, participant observation when utilised successfully broadens to include other research techniques until "it becomes a triangulated methodology", attempting to analyse the social situation from a number of angles.

This broad approach was utilised here because this work attempted to study in detail the employment provided by "new" manufacturing industry. This it was hoped, would shed new light on the policy of transferring work to the workers. Participant observation appeared the most useful and economic technique to obtain the detailed data necessary.

(4) The Method of Approach

Research using participant observation involves several ethical problems. Reportage of results may cause damage to those who provided confidences. In this study "open participant observation" was followed. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the actors. Confidentiality was assured to all in the two firms, irrespective of rank. Entry to both plants was conducted following discussion with management and plant union officials, when the nature of the research was explained. Both parties were given a final report at Power Motors, but at Truck Components this proved impossible due to the changed structure of the company. During the observation period actors were not allowed to read field notes. This generally led to few problems, however, there were two instances when a difficult situation developed. In Truck Components men were intensely interested in work histories. As these were collected men wished to know what others had reported. Similarly at Power Motors non-skilled employees demanded to know what skilled employees discussed at a meeting. Skilled employees at the same time had determined that non-skilled employees should not know the result. Generally it was argued by the researcher to participants that to open notes would breach confidences, which the indiv-

idual in question would not wish broken concerning himself. However, certain individuals believed they had nothing to fear in disclosure, and one instance in particular resulted in Arthur Davis, an operator at Power Motors, being upset by a refusal to be candid.

These comments represent only a general ethical statement, the topic shall be considered again later in this chapter.

(5) A History of the Observation Period

Research does not always develop as a logical, methodological process. It is also a history of frustrations, success, inspiration, depression, false starts and premature finishes. This is especially characteristic of observation. In this study research did not follow the idealised picture of the research process.⁽⁸⁾ Here, on leaving the field, analysis was at a preliminary stage in terms of the overall thesis. Hypotheses were developed and tested in the field, but these were low level considerations. The critical analysis of 'types' and the whole relation to regional policy are post hoc affairs. Vague differences, and concepts were grasped in the field, and expanded through investigation at a later stage. Thus, observation may be bulky unwieldy research technique, and in one crucial area, social experience outside the factory, data was not collected, the importance of this area not being realised until later in the research process.

(8). One such idealized view of research is presented in H.S. Becker 'Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation', in G. McCall and J. Simmons (ed) 'Issues in Participant Observation', Addison-Wesley, 1969. Becker envisages the important analysis of a study progressing during the data gathering process, though a final comprehensive analysis must await the completion of the work. He outlines four stages to research, three in the field, and one outside. (1) The selection and definition of problems, concepts and indices. (2) A check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena. (3) The incorporation of individual findings into a small model of the organisation under study. (4) Final analysis, involving problems of presentation and proof.

A ready explanation for these failings may be found. During observation the researcher was submerged beneath a wealth of data, collection and precursory analysis were the most which could be managed. In the early stages of the research an emphasis was placed upon establishing field relations. The researcher at this stage sacrifices coherent analysis and systematic data collection to the exigencies of constructing a rapport with respondents. Later the action at both factories, and the complexity of events made it difficult to do more than collect data on significant occurrences.

Below an attempt shall be made to outline the major procedures followed during the research period and the analysis carried out, firstly in Power Motors, and then in Truck Components.

(a) Power Motors

Research was initiated with another worker Mrs. Mary Howe. Initially this involved being present on the shop floor, and becoming known. This created certain problems. We explained our role very successfully to one shift. However, it was believed unnecessary to inform the other shift, and it was assumed that information would flow between the two. During the first week of the observation period, however, an operator on the 'B' shift outlined that he believed we were representatives from the local Labour Exchange, investigating the working conditions at Power Motors (men employed at Power Motors left regularly, it was assumed by the men that this might be investigated). This belief had to be countered rapidly by informing participants of our real identity. Also at a much later date close to the redundancy, an operator also accused me of being a managerial spy, and of attempting to produce a viability rating of employees for management. From this accusation, and my reaction antagonism resulted. The situation was only saved by the intervention of another employee who calmed the man. This situation, however, quickly resolved itself, and the angry employee soon became one of our

closest associates. He seemed to use the confrontation as a test of our reliability.

Later the canteen was utilised as a base for operations and writing up, excursions being made onto the shop floor, once in the morning to announce our presence, and then later to follow up a particular line of enquiry, and search for new developments. This could be facilitated by working apart, though it was more usual for notes to be taken in unison. Entry was gained to union and management meetings. However, head office proved more difficult to approach. Bill Allison, the production manager responsible for Power Motors, was antagonistic, because students at head office had created problems. Eventually, following a testing time for Mr. Clasp the manager, it was decided that contact with Allison should be avoided. We, therefore, vacated the factory when he arrived. This accounts for a paucity of head office data in the Power Motors analysis.

During the early stages of research, attempts were made to understand the workings of the organisational whole. From this two problems were presented. Firstly, what was the importance of the allocation of work, and how did this relate to the bonus scheme, and secondly, what was the importance of the social groupings within the firm, and how did they relate to action? The former was pursued by interviewing foremen and operators carefully. This led to a recognition of the lax approach of both foremen to work allocation, and introduced the problem of work attitudes, together with the reaction of employees to the work process and the bonus scheme. These were related to the 'fiddles' men operated. At the time of study this resulted in vague theories of alienation, these were discounted during a detailed analysis of the data later. It was recognised, however, that there was a group of employees who did not approach work in a conventional manner, nor relate effort to reward successfully. An attempt to approach the problem of social groupings resulted in the development of a short schedule, designed to

plot past friendships outside the firm, and compare this with internal relationships. Respondents were asked to name their friends inside the plant, and those employees they had worked with previously. It was possible to make a detailed assessment of all relationships, and two friendship groupings were discovered, which when compared to events at meetings of the work force appeared as opinion leaders on each shift. Both groups occupied the same table in the canteen, though, on alternative shifts. This proved a useful explanatory variable in the analysis of shop floor action. These two groups also proved to be useful in gaining total acceptance on the shop floor. By associating with both it became possible to be accepted more readily by other employees on each shift. Once this confidence was developed it became possible to conduct a series of work history enquiries.

From this point onward research was preoccupied with conflict on the shop floor. Employees were questioned, to suggest explanations for such conflict. Through one investigation a clash between action and attitudes was shown in the redundancy. The observers themselves were involved in this conflict on occasion. George Simmons, a setter who demanded 'last in - first out' in any redundancy, spread a rumour that the observers wanted any redundancies to be decided on a basis of good timekeeping. This spread through the factory and destroyed confidence. Mrs. Howe demanded to meet the plant union representatives, and they announced that the rumour was incorrect. However, the shop stewards themselves betrayed a lack of confidence when they asked the observers not to attend the management/union meetings to decide redundant men. In retrospect this was not surprising considering the manipulation which went on in the meeting (see later analysis). Also Bob Hodgson, a setter, refused to answer any questions in a questionnaire (Mrs. Howe conducted the main survey in Power Motors). He then proceeded to inform employees that the questionnaire was a threat. The situation was only saved by Gordon Wills, the foreman, encouraging men to

participate.

This serves to emphasise the care which was needed to collect and interpret data. By using such care it was possible to bring the observation period to a successful conclusion.

(b) Truck Components

Research was initiated in a situation of uncertainty. Employees believed the firm would close. A constant problem was suspicion, relating both to the uncertainty, and also to the work of another research worker, then completing a study in the factory. He was known to only a few employees, and was generally associated with management, dressing well and expressing opinions which were similar to those of Bill Silver, the personnel manager. The problem was enhanced by the lone position of the observer, who lacked support during the tensions and problems of observation (obviously it was necessary to separate myself from the other researcher as much as possible). There was no canteen or office available close to the shop floor which could be utilised as a base, and the observer was exposed continually on the shop floor, having to make notes there also. Being an individual apart (due to the position of investigator) the observer sought company, resulting in increased data collection, problems of retention and reduced scope for analysis.

Confidence was gradually developed, but the union convenor remained suspicious. It became impossible to gain admission to management and union meetings. This was not surprising considering the political manipulation the convenor attempted (see later analysis). It was later possible to interview some respondents while taking notes, hence the fuller detail in some areas of this study (the ideology of the participants is one area). But it was always necessary to compare such data to informal material. There remained, though, one group of non-skilled men, who remained suspicious. The observer was also involved in a rumour that a stocktake would be performed (by management) using student

labour. This placed me in a difficult position, since I could be singled out as a source for the idea. Luckily the majority of the work force refused to believe the story, and it proved unfounded. However, this did weaken confidence.

The uncertainty on the shop floor was transferred to the observer. Observation was hurried to ensure that the study was completed should the firm close. The collection of work histories was delayed until the latter part of the observation period when confidence was highest. Initial research was again aimed at achieving an understanding of the organisation. This proved problematic, because the management office block was apart from the factory, and it was noticed if the observer was absent from the shop floor. Being seen at the office, undermined confidence. It was, therefore, impossible to study management extensively, and visits were made in early morning, or in late evening, when it could be assumed the observer had only arrived, or was leaving. This avoided surreptitious movement inside the factory.

Despite setbacks gradually questions were asked and hypotheses explaining the data were derived. Divisions within the work force were marked. This was problematic, and remained so until the question of the 'dilutee', an employee from the training centre, provided a key. Most employees held that the number of 'dilutees' within the factory was large, yet work history, and management records only produced a handful of names. There was, therefore, an image, based in reality, of the 'dilutee'. Careful questioning resulted in the discovery of similar images behind other divisions. This did not solve the problem of why such images were divisive. Such a problem was later seen to be related to the conservative reaction of the work force to their situation, and their allocation of blame based on this. It was suggested by some data that the uncertainty within the plant was important, data was collected on this score. Similarly the views of society and the ideology of workers were seen as other

possible variables. Past work experience needed investigation, and this made work histories more important. The family circumstances of each employee were investigated, in case this might relate to a blasé attitude to work? This latter proved unfounded (though family circumstances were important as an explanatory variable), but the work histories did draw attention to a sizeable group of miners, and later analysis suggested this fact, along with other secure working records, was important. Apathy, and reactions to overtime remained problematic. The latter, has still only been partially analysed, though apathy proved more amenable to examination later.

Towards the end of the observation period it became possible to piece together a history of managerial activity within the factory. It became clear that there were groups within management. Further, careful questioning of the participants suggested that there had been cliques in the past, and that there had been an alteration in the nature of these groups. No cause became apparent until later.

The observation period was finally drawn to a close as the takeover was completed. This provided, like the redundancy at Power Motors, a natural conclusion to the period of research.

(6) Research Role and the Values of the Observer

Using participant observation precise techniques utilising the canons of scientific proof are not always possible. Despite various attempts to produce qualitative indices of data reliability there remains a marked subjectivity in the data. Attempts to control this subjectivity have been made in this thesis, it nevertheless remains a problem. Participant observation is both a role and a methodology.⁽⁹⁾ It is necessary to separate

(9). See M. Pearsall 'Participant Observation as Role and Methodology in Behavioural Research', in W.J. Filstead (ed) 'Qualitative Methodology', Markham Publishing Company, 1970. A.J. Vidich 'Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data', again in Filstead (ed), argues the respondent has an image of the researcher which may colour his response. It is therefore vital the observer remain marginal to the study, avoid taking sides and define his role successfully.

and specify these when reporting, for the role of the observer might distort the data. The values of the observer may also affect the methods of research, and the choice of research topic.⁽¹⁰⁾ Thus, this section presents the research role and the values of the observer, facilitating an assessment of the research.

(a) The Role

Observation involved a dual role (one representing the observer to management and the other to the work force), however this should not be oversimplified because there were elements common to both roles. Respondents were informed that I was a student at Durham University, and of the nature of the research. Initially I placed an emphasis upon naivete, to build a rapport, the relationship developing from this was as a confidant, friend, associate and arbiter. With employees I unequivocally identified with the work force in values and culture, on occasion meeting men socially outside the factory. Various poses were utilised to elicit a response, hypothetical questions were asked, or the researcher could play the devil's advocate on a particular issue, and friendly arguments could also be developed on dominant grievances. Nevertheless, information was collected only in the context of a wider relationship. Attempts to identify with management were more difficult. It was possible, though, to develop a relationship on a personal human level, and to sympathise with managerial problems. Generally at Truck Components the role was one of a well intentioned amateur, who knew little of managerial techniques. At Power Motors the observer was also drawn into a therapeutic role as the manager was placed under head office pressure.

(10) G. Myrdal 'Value in Social Theory', London: Kegan Paul, 1958, and again in 'An American Dilemma', New York: Harper Bros., 1944 argues that it is a logical advance to declare the value premises inherent in all research. Similarly M. Stacey 'Methods of Social Research', Pergamon Press, 1969, encourages the observer to realise these values and to draw his own lines and conclusions in research.

However, this above presentation is a simplistic one. The roles outlined above were by no means static or independent of the observation situation. For example during the redundancy at Power Motors roles were at times reversed when the observers were more upset than the actors (for example during the redundancy). Further, employees could hold their own definition of the researcher's role (despite providing one shift at Power Motors with a clear definition of the research role, employees on the other shift believed we were "Ministry of Labour" investigators, see earlier analysis). The student rumour at Truck Components was also complicated by an identification of the observer with students generally, which was caused by an association of the observer with the previous researcher whose role was that of "a student". It was also possible for the observer to be socialised into the situation within the plant. At Power Motors, for example, a door to the canteen, cutting out the deafening noise of production lines, did not close easily. Men continually shouted to others to close the door. During the observation period, the observers found themselves acting in similar fashion. Gradually also standards of personal hygiene and clothing, both associated with desk work, declined as the observer familiarised his surroundings.

(b) The Values of the Observer

At the onset of the observation period I held an idealized view of the factory situation, which was to be restructured as the result of experience. This interpretation was basically anti-management, and it idealized employees' values, in particular solidarity among the working class. At that time my reading of the 'relevancy' debate within geography suggested to me that a greater involvement in society was necessary to produce a more

socially useful discipline.⁽¹¹⁾ It seemed to me that observation was a 'relevant' means of study. These values presented problems for observation. However, this was tempered by a healthy respect for the individual which is related to the ethics expressed earlier.

(7) Bias, Objectivity and Involvement: Problems in Participant Observation.

It has been emphasised in the section on values that all observations were made by a researcher with an anti-management bias, this was undoubtedly a factor contributing to a fuller expression of the role with employees. However, this does not represent a position similar to that of Becker.⁽¹²⁾ It was possible to empathise with managers on a personal level, despite disagreement over politics, managerial confidences could never be broken for this reason. It was also possible to understand, though, not necessarily agree with, the management position. In Power Motors this attempt could be cross checked and bias excluded by checking notes and opinions with Mrs. Mary Howe.

There, however, remains a deeper problem in this work, that of objectivity and involvement. Research in participant observation occupies a point on a continuum, with at opposed poles objectivity and involvement.⁽¹³⁾

(11). The 'relevancy' debate: first coherently articulated by D. Harvey in 'Social Justice and the City', Edwin Arnold, 1973, also found expression in a continuing debate in 'Area', and was the subject of discussion in the November 1974 Institute of British Geographers No. 63. See in particular M. Chisholm, 'Geography and the Question of Relevance', 'Area', 1971, No. 3., B. Berry 'More on Relevance and Policy Analysis', 'Area' 1972 No. 4 and A.T. Blowers 'Bleeding Hearts and Open Values', 'Area' 1972, No. 4.

(12). H.S. Becker 'Sociological Work: Method and Substance', Chicago, Aldine, 1970. Becker argues it is impossible to develop neutral research, it is a question of whose side the researcher is on. A balanced picture is presented by investigating varied aspects of the social structure.

(13). This view is expressed by S.M. Miller 'The Participant Observer and "Over-Rapport"', in G.J. McCall and J.L. Simmons (ed) op.cit.

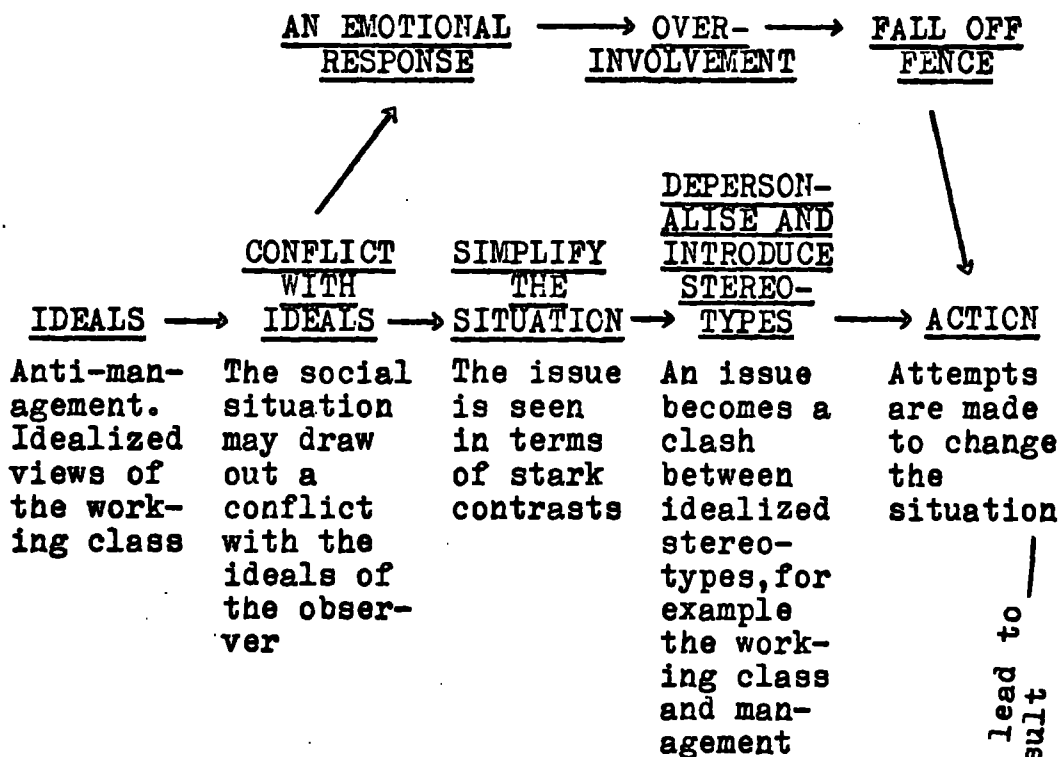
Involvement is essential, the observer must participate. to attain a detailed knowledge of the social situation. However, complete involvement removes objectivity, distorts and affects the situation. But at the other extreme, objectivity includes non-involvement, being an outsider and being apart from the situation. This makes a full understanding of the social situation very difficult.

Thus, the observer must combine both objectivity and involvement, taking up a position on this continuum. This is difficult, actors demand the observer take sides, and an observer has his own moral judgements to contend with. It is nevertheless possible to strike a compromise, and obtain a level of objectivity defined by the observer as satisfactory. In this study over-involvement occurred on only two occasions, and in both cases it was related to the ethics and values of the observer. These were violated by events, anxiety resulted, and the observer influenced the situation. These ideas may be expressed in terms of the models below.⁽¹⁴⁾ They may be understood in relation to the analysis which follows. Being objective involves sitting on an academic fence apart from the issues within a factory. Involvement may result in action to alter a situation and to achieve a desired end.⁽¹⁵⁾ A researcher takes sides in a dispute, and may wish to aid those he identifies with. Or perhaps the action of one participant may be considered to be detrimental to another actor (this analysis relates to the Development of Involve-

(14). These models are the joint work of myself and Mrs. Mary Howe. All analysis and opinions are those of the author.

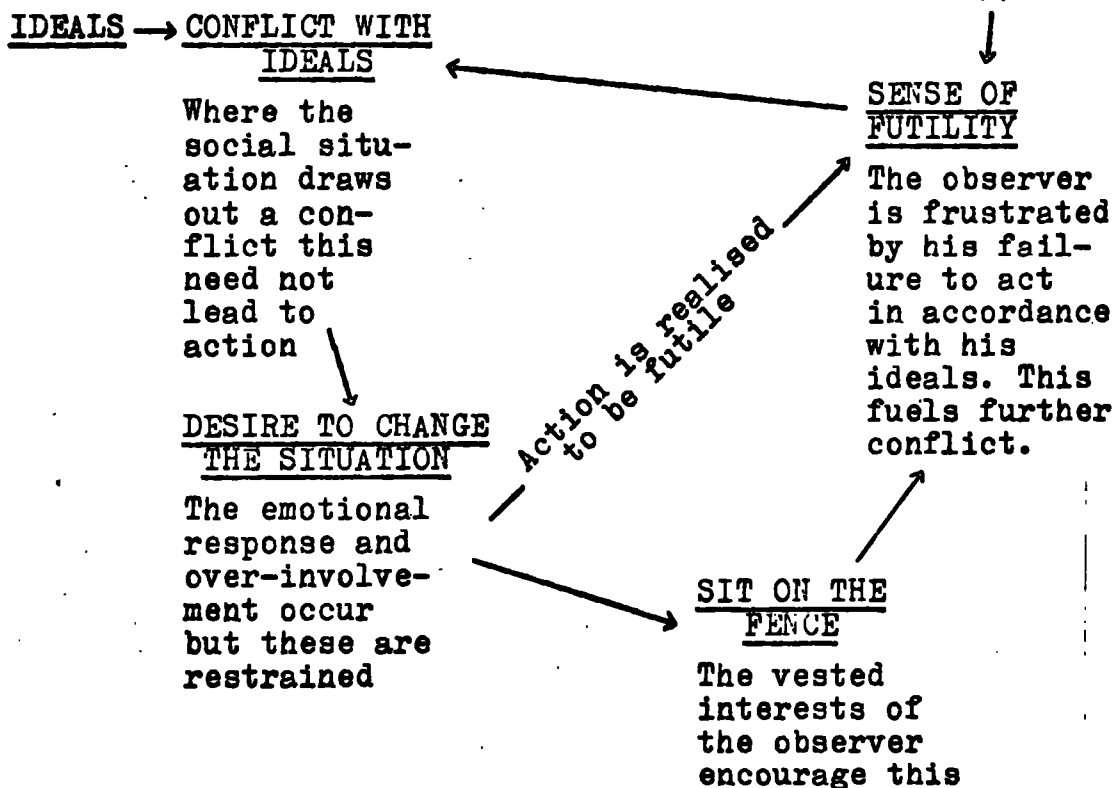
(15). Implicit in this analysis is an assumption made during the observation period, i.e. that action would influence the situation satisfactorily, and that the actors would obey advice given to them. These are both dubious assumptions. To take an example from this study, the work force might be forced to react against management, and the factory close. Secondly, the work force might reject advice given by an observer who by his very education is middle class in their terms. However, since during the observation period these problems were unforeseen they are neglected in the analysis.

The Development of Involvement



Action may not lead to the desired result

The Vicious Circle of Futility



ment). The researcher, however, has a vested interest in remaining on his impartial fence, because to act could jeopardise his study in two particular ways. He risks antagonising the actors which could bring the study to a premature close. In this case, action to assist the work force could result in the manager ejecting the observer. Further, action influencing a situation would receive academic censure, resulting in attacks upon the study in progress. This was sufficient to prevent involvement in all but two of the problems under study. These were, a dispute between the skilled and non-skilled, and the redundancy dispute, both at Power Motors. In the section on values it was emphasised that I expected some form of solidarity among employees. In both these disputes this expectation was violated. Out of the conflict came an emotional reaction in the observer, producing involvement, and action to influence the situation. This emotional reaction was related to a simplification of reality, and to an abstracting of the issues. The actors were seen not as individuals, but as a group of the underprivileged, this was a move from the particular to the general, and to viewing reality in the form of stereotypes.

In the skilled/non-skilled dispute the reaction was to identify with the non-skilled, in one instance in particular at a skilled meeting an operator accidentally entered the room. The skilled briskly informed him to leave, however, Mary Howe rushed to his defence, claiming he knew nothing of the meeting. Again during the redundancy dispute man fought man to retain a job, and we identified with redundant employees. The union representatives within the firm realised this might occur, and wished to avoid our moral censure. Thus, they asked us not to attend meetings with management deciding who was to be made redundant. Following the failure of the Employment Services Agency to provide future employment for redundant men, we approached each employee and made some attempt to aid re-employment. Further interviews were arranged with the Employment Services Agency for any dis-

satisfied employees. Then finally men were given advice on where to apply if they wished to follow up their ambitions to attend technical, or art colleges (this analysis may be related to The Development of Involvement).

Following both events I thought that intervention was futile and that it produced unsatisfactory results. Thus, during the study at Truck Components I remained further apart from events. This, however, trapped me in a vicious circle of futility. While wishing to change the situation, this was recognised as impossible. Remaining objective merely increased the futility, and conflicted with my values. An observer feels a sense of shame when he is a parasite in a social situation, utilising his position for gain, that is data collection for a thesis. The result was stress and anxiety, enhanced by an uncertain conflict situation. This was rationalised in terms of experience, I now expected divisions in the work force and could come to terms with them. Nevertheless, this left a feeling of dejection and dissatisfaction with the technique of participant observation (this relates to The Vicious Circle of Futility).

(8) A Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introductory section emphasising the aims of this thesis, and the methodological background to the study. It now remains to conclude this examination before moving on to discuss regional policy in Chapter 3. It has been suggested in the above analysis that the choice of firm, and the aims of the study were not well planned in advance, nor logically put into practice. But rather that the research process which developed was a disjointed ad hoc affair. A research problem presented itself, that is a study of the qualitative aspects of "new" manufacturing industry, and participant observation was seen as the most practical method of obtaining the detailed data necessary. The problems and practical aspects of implementing such a study have been outlined. Also as a means of assessing the data and analysis which

follows an outline of the areas of bias, and the possible points of over-involvement in the study have been presented. These were linked to a model which presented involvement and objectivity as polar opposites, and this was further related to the actions of the observer on the shop floor. Now it remains to present the data collected during and following the observation periods. Firstly, however, an analysis of the concept of work to the workers shall be presented. This provides the theory behind the main study of "new" manufacturing industry in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3

REGIONAL POLICY AND "NEW" MANUFACTURING
INDUSTRY, THE CASE OF THE NORTH-EAST
OF ENGLAND

Regional Policy and "New" Manufacturing Industry,
the Case of the North-East of England

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the development of transferring work to the workers as the main approach of a regional policy designed to remove uneven regional economic development in North-Eastern England. The various incentives to, and controls on industry, designed to achieve this removal of inequality are discussed. Various advisory bodies which operate within the North-East are considered and their policy documents outlined. A critique is presented of the incentives and controls, as developed in the various Acts, and of several advisory bodies and their reports. It is argued that these Acts, the various policy documents presented and the basic underlying framework of the concept of transferring work to the workers is dominantly pluralist. The way in which this affects the appreciation of the regional problem is outlined. In particular the lack of research into the details of "new" manufacturing firms is pointed out. To remedy this a basis is outlined for a study of two manufacturing plants in the North-East. This also allows a critique of the value of the pluralist explanation of regional inequality. The analysis proceeds in five sections:

- (1) The Historical Development of the Policy of Work to the Workers: a history of regional planning, and the concept of transferring work to the workers.
- (2) Regional Policy Measures: the various expressions of the policy of work to the workers are outlined:
 - (i) Incentives: the incentives on industry to expand.
 - (ii) Controls: the controls on industrial development.
 - (iii) Policy Documents: an outline of governmental thinking.

(iv) Advisory Bodies Involved in Regional Policy

(a) Official Bodies: reports by bodies set up by government.

(b) Unofficial Bodies: reports by bodies of unofficial origin.

(3) Regional Policy: An Analysis: a critique and an overall view of policy is presented:

(i) Governmental Policy

(a) Job Creation.

(b) The Definition of the Regional Problem.

(ii) Government Policy and Ideology

(a) Regional Policy and "Pluralism".

(b) Regional Policy and other Definitions of Society.

(4) The Two Case Studies: the factories are related to the previous analysis, and an insight is given into the text of the thesis.

(1) The Historical Development of the Policy of Work to the Workers

Planning is concerned with the implementation of goals, goals aimed towards the creation of an idealized society. It is orientated primarily towards the future, and it involves a particular way of thinking about social and economic problems. Regional policy is planning in operation at the regional level, attempting to strike a balance between local planning and national policy.

There have been two major philosophical approaches towards the dominant industrial aspects of regional policy. Firstly, the diversion of labour to areas of labour demand, and secondly the direction of work to the workers. The history of both philosophies will be briefly outlined in this section, and the importance of the transfer of work to the workers elaborated. This provides the context for the next section of this chapter which studies the various expressions of the policy of transferring employment to areas of labour demand. However, it must be emphasised at this point that the only major attempt at a policy of labour direction was the Industrial Transference Board set up in 1928. The Board was conceived mainly as catering for the transference of unemployed miners to areas of labour demand. However, it did not propose enlightened policies. In their report it was announced,

It is a bad thing to tell numbers of men and even whole communities that unless they leave all their familiar surroundings they will not be able to earn a living, but we should be shirking every inference from the fact, if we did not emphasise this as the first and strongest of the lessons that our work has provided.⁽¹⁾

Grants and loans were given to cover the removal of individuals to another area, and the setting up of

(1). The 'Report of the Industrial Transference Board', Cmd. 3156, H.M.S.O., 1928.

training centres to train the men. The policy, however, soon fell into disfavour following a peak in 1936 when 28,000 adults were transferred, and as the economy gradually recovered, the numbers rapidly waned.⁽²⁾ Indeed the policy was seen to have several defects. It was believed by some regional experts that the exodus from the depressed areas of any of the more enterprising, or skilled elements of the population might only aggravate the problem, reducing demand and the quality of labour in the regions. Further, even in terms of the Board's aims the policy was unsuccessful because many of those transferred returned to the 'depressed' areas. Gradually the Special Areas Commissioners, who dealt with the 'depressed' areas, lost faith in the usefulness of the policy, and it declined, being replaced by the powers granted in the years following the 1934 Special Areas Act.

The policy of transferring workers to the work has since remained an ancillary arm of the transference of industry. It has, though, played an important role at an intra-regional level and has been utilised to encourage the attraction and growth of "new" industry in the 'depressed' areas. This theme of reconcentration was an important element of Durham County's expressed planning policy in the 1950's when it was decided that a reorganisation of the county's population and social structure was needed. Such a reorganisation was to be achieved by directing employment away from certain centres and towards others.⁽³⁾ However, today the Employment Transfer Scheme provides

(2). See G. McCrone 'Regional Policy in Britain', George Allen and Unwin, 1969.

(3). The County Council of Durham, County Development Plan, 1951 stated its main task as,

to adjust the whole fabric of the settlement pattern (of Durham County) to the likely future changes in employment.

the only remnant of this philosophy.⁽⁴⁾

The direction of work to the workers which replaced the above philosophy had its intellectual birth during the early post war period when the government accepted the core of the Keynesian economic thesis.⁽⁵⁾ Jointly with their stimulation of aggregate demand, government developed the subordinate policy of transferring industry to employees. The latter was a reaction against the cyclical depressions.

(3). The means to achieve this was the categorisation of villages in terms of their potential for expansion and suitability for public investment. This was done on a scale of 'A' to 'D'. In 'A' villages considerable capital was to be invested, and population was to regroup round these centres. It was estimated that in 'B' villages population levels would remain constant, and capital expenditure would be sufficient to retain this level. In 'C' villages there might be an outward movement of population, there would only, therefore, be sufficient capital invested to meet the needs of a reduced population. Within 'D' villages there was a considerable loss of population expected, and there would be no further investment.

(4). The Employment Transfer Scheme provides financial assistance to employees who are unemployed or threatened by redundancy, but have been offered work for which they must move away from home. Lodging allowances, assistance with travel, rehousing and removal expenses are provided to employees, both inside and outside assisted areas.

Certain academics have also been particularly outspoken against transferring work to the workers, e.g. P.S. Florence 'What is Regional Planning For?' in 'Town and Country Planning' Vol. 32, March 1964, pp. 126-30, E.G. West 'Regional Planning: Fact and Fallacy', Lloyds Bank Review, 1966, and H.W. Ritchardson and E.G. West 'Must We Always Take Work to the Workers?' Lloyds Bank Review, January 1964. It is argued that the control of economic development in regional policy may reduce growth, and Florence in particular questions,

Why should we continue the coal-age location pattern into our present oil and electric age..... the area where most unemployment occurs is not the most efficient location of an industry.

(5). J.M. Keynes 'General Theory of Employment Interest and Money', London 1936, is the main work on this theme.

and secular unemployment which had characterised certain areas of the country in the Inter-War years. The first tentative suggestions are recorded in the Barlow Report.⁽⁶⁾ It advised that an embargo be placed on industrial development over a certain physical size in the Greater London area. The Majority Report suggested the establishment of a National Industrial Board to direct industry, while the Minority Report outlined a new government department with powers similar to the Special Areas Commissioner (under the 1934 Special Areas Act these Commissioners were to assist development in the 'depressed' areas). These and other ideas were further articulated in the 1944 White Paper on Employment Policy.⁽⁷⁾ This outlined the high cost of industrial specialisation and suggested the diversification of employment opportunities, thus removing "a lack of proper industrial balance". An area suffered imbalance,

either because it is over-dependent upon a single industry or group of industries which tend to fluctuate together, or because it is predominantly concerned with the export trade, or because it contains industries which provide employment mainly for men or mainly for women, or because its industries are subject to unpredictable changes in demand.

A "proper industrial balance" is not defined, it is only suggested that "the measures required to balance and

(6). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population 1940, Cmd. 6153, reprinted H.M.S.O. 1972. Its terms of reference were,

To enquire into the causes which have influenced the present geographical distribution of the industrial population of Great Britain and the probable direction of any change in that distribution in the future; to consider what social, economic or strategic disadvantages arise from concentration of industries or the industrial population in large towns or in particular areas of the country; and so to report what remedial measures if any should be taken in the national interest.

(7). 'Employment Policy', Cmd. 6527, H.M.S.O. 1944.

diversify industry will, of course, vary from one area to another". Two major approaches were to be utilised in this "diversification", the attraction of "new" enterprises, and a removal of obstacles to labour mobility. The former idea was embodied in the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act which introduced Development Areas, grants and loans (see later analysis).⁽⁸⁾ This represents the firm foundation of the work to the workers concept in government policy.⁽⁹⁾

This policy of transferring work to the workers has operated at an official level in terms of the Acts passed applying nationally, and also at a local level, involving advisory bodies of differing status. Analysis of work to the workers policy, though background material is provided, concentrates here on the post 1960 period. The Local Employment Act remains the main starting point for all legislation continuing into the seventies. Also the North of England Development Council (initially the North-East Development Council), Regional Economic Planning Boards and Regional Economic Planning Councils were all set up in the early 1960's, and they form the basis of the present system of regional policy. Aid has concentrated into two broad fields, incentives offered to industry to expand, and restrictions placed upon industry outside assisted areas. This has been termed the stick and carrot approach. Also the government has presented a White Paper on the North-East. Advisory bodies have been set up and reports produced. Briefly the various areas of this policy will be outlined in the following section with particular reference to North-East England.

(8). The Distribution of Industry Act, 1945, Chapter 36, 'The Public and General Acts of 1945', H.M.S.O. 1946.

(9). A more pragmatic approach had also been made in the 1930's, with the development of the Special Areas legislation, and the setting up of trading estates, in particular Team Valley in 1936. The documents outlined above, however, represent the development of the political philosophy to its logical conclusion.

(2) Regional Policy Measures

This section attempts to outline the major features of the policy of transferring work to the workers (the historical context for this was provided in the previous section). The policy measures which are discussed are divided into four major categories. The incentives on industry to expand in Development Areas are elaborated. Also the restrictions upon economic development elsewhere in the country are outlined. Both these categories are expressions of governmental policy. Government have also published a policy document on the problems of development in North-Eastern England. This is also examined. Finally the reports of advisory bodies set up by government, and also voluntary organisations within the North-East, are studied.

(i) Incentives

(a) Selective Financial Assistance

These have included grants, tax incentives and loans. In assisted areas generally, and the North-East in particular, grants have been made available towards capital expenditure incurred in outlay on new and existing buildings, plant and machinery. This policy was first developed in 1934, selective financial assistance being provided in the Special Areas. These weapons were little used 1934 - 1966. Since 1946 depreciation allowances have been applied nationally to encourage investment. These have also been used selectively in assisted areas, with accelerated depreciation being introduced in 1963. The allowances have been in two forms, which were similar in that both could be taken in the first year, but whereas the initial allowance was deducted from the asset cost for writing down purposes, the investment allowance was not. Both were administered by the Inland Revenue. Grants have also been utilised to cover the cost of workers moving with their firm, both in service sector industry and manufacturing. These involve lodging allowances and removal expenses for key workers, and a grant payable to

the firm per employee moved. A firm could not be eligible for both schemes.

(b) Advance Factories

These have been used to increase the share of industrial buildings in the assisted areas, and to attract industry. Initially older factories were converted following the war, but after a standstill 1948-1959 factories were constructed on industrial estates to order, or by standard specifications.

(c) Industrial Estates

Instituted in 1936-37 the predecessors of the Industrial Estates Corporations set up industrial estates of industrial land available for industry. These corporations, managed as non-profit making concerns, were also used as the site for advance factories which were often offered with a rent free period. Another main inducement for a long period was that the Corporations built the factories and rented them at local commercial market rates. The factories could also be sold or mortgaged. In 1960 three separate Industrial Estate Corporations were set up and the headquarters of the English Corporation was established at Team Valley, Gateshead.

(d) Regional Employment Premium

Introduced in 1967 this involved a refund of Selective Employment Tax, which had been introduced on manufacturing industry and involved a payment to a firm in an assisted area per male employee, and a smaller sum for women and juveniles. There was also a premium added. This was the first regional assistance applicable to all factories and it was equivalent to a regional devaluation (see Appendix 2, section 1, for the rate of subsidy).

(e) Training Assistance

This has been of two types, the development of Training Centres and Industry Training Boards, and the encouragement of employees' training within individual firms. The first major step was £10 million set aside in 1963 for

a retraining programme. Later the 1964 Industrial Training Act set up boards to supervise training nationally in individual industries. Firms have also received financial assistance to encourage training.

(f) Special Development Areas

Instituted in 1967, as a response to the renewed declining situation in coal mining, these areas received discretionary grants, loans and allowances in excess even of those given to Development Areas (see Appendix 2, section 2). The areas involved in the North-East were initially South-West Durham and South-East Northumberland. These areas have since been expanded (both factories under study are in S.D.A.'s). In principle this implies a return to the philosophy of the 1960 Development Districts (see Appendix 2, section 1).

(ii) Controls

(a) Industrial Development Certificates (I.D.C)

The use of building licences was first mooted in the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act. In 1947 under the Town and Country Planning Act the I.D.C. was introduced. For any new development over a set size, which was capable of transference to assisted areas, a certificate was necessary. Certificates were granted more or less automatically in the assisted areas, but only under exceptional conditions elsewhere (though areas of employment weakness outside Development Areas did obtain assistance in 1945-1950, e.g. Portsmouth). The concept was applied to office development in 1965.

The intensity with which these weapons have been used has varied. Appendix 2, section 1 and 2 outlines the main features of policy in the present era and provides the background for the above skeleton.

(iii) Policy Documents

The government has also presented two major policy documents on the North-East. In 1963 a White Paper was

produced. The paper was based upon a previous study, compiled by the office of the Lord President of the Council, aided by the Board of Trade, Ministry of Transport, the Treasury and the Ministry of Labour. The basis of the report was as follows. It outlined the weakness of the employment structure of the North-East. The engineering industry was under-represented in lighter products, and there was a concentration upon the heavier aspects of the steel industry. This weakness was enhanced by the obvious decline in this and other 'basic' industries such as coal mining and shipbuilding. Such an industrial structure was the cause of above average unemployment totals, outward migration and the low activity rate. There was, therefore, a need to diversify the economy and to do this "new" industry was necessary. Much of such industry must of necessity come from outside the region, but there should also be a contribution from local industrialists. To aid both developments, incentives would be given to industry and the social environment improved, because this would attract and retain ambitious industrial concerns. Such expansion was to be concentrated mainly in a 'growth zone' in the east of the region. Development outside the 'growth zone' would languish, but this was a necessary cost for more rapid expansion.

The Hailsham report which followed, proved to be a polished document, and represents one of the most concise statements of policy with reference to the North-East. 'The North-East: A program for regional development and growth', Cmd. 2206, H.M.S.O., 1963. Based upon the above study the region was seen as "in transition". The problem was not one of decline, but rather adjustment. Male unemployment was, however, a major problem, being 4.5% of the registered working population, as compared to a national average of 2.4%. The cause of this was the industrial balance of the region. There was a decline in the employment levels in metal manufacture, shipbuilding and coal mining, while other newer industries were expanding. This, though a sign of health, would involve a painful period of adjustment.

Government action was to encourage such an adjustment, and aid the diversification of the industrial structure. This would, of course, be dependent upon the national economy achieving successful growth, but regional incentives would be used to encourage development (for example the 1963 Local Employment Act, see Appendix 2, section 1). One such incentive was "free depreciation", which allowed manufacturers investing in development districts to write off expenditure at any rate they chose. Building grants and loans, together with grants for the purchase of machinery, were available. Areas of industrial land were provided on estates. Also modernisation of the environment was developing apace, including house construction and slum clearance, education and welfare improvements and schemes for the development of the industrial and commercial infrastructure. These were all necessary to encourage growth. Growth was important and should be pursued "throughout the region as a whole, rather than towards the relief of unemployment in particular localities". This marked a move away from the 'blackspot' policy of the 1960 Act (see Appendix 2, section 1) towards a 'growth zone' policy. 'The growth zone' advocated was a zone east of the then A1 and inclusive of Tyneside and Teesside. The Labour Government, however, quietly scrapped the 'growth zone' shortly after their return in 1964. Washington went ahead, but there was little change for Sunderland and Hartlepool. However, the 'growth zone' policy has remained a prominent feature of the policy of advisory bodies.

(iv) Advisory Bodies Involved in Regional Policy

(a) Official Bodies

When the Labour Government came to power in 1964 they took a 'new' approach to regional policy. The country was to be divided into planning regions, the same virtually as the standard statistical regions.⁽¹⁰⁾ Each region was to

(10). See Parliamentary Debates, Oral Answers to Questions, Regional Economic Planning, Vol. 703, 1964-1965, November 30th - December 11th, December 10th, 1829-1838c, Hansard.

have a Regional Economic Council and a Regional Economic Planning Board. The Council members, to be appointed by the government, consisted of businessmen, academics, trades union officials and professional men from the region. The Boards, however, were almost entirely civil servants from various government departments. Their chairman was from the then Department of Economic Affairs.⁽¹¹⁾ Economic Planning Councils (E.P.C.) were concerned with a broad strategy of regional development, and their principle function was to assist in the formation of regional plans.⁽¹²⁾ They held no formal power. Economic Planning Boards (E.P.B.) were to provide the machinery for co-ordinating the work of government departments concerned with regional planning. Eventually the Councils took responsibility for the presentation of reports, these represent not coherent regional plans, but a shopping list of measures that the council hoped government might sponsor.

The Northern Economic Council has presented two studies of the Northern Economic Planning Region.⁽¹³⁾ First published was 'Challenge of the Changing North', followed in 1969 by 'Outline Strategy for the North'. 'Challenge of the Changing North', Northern Economic Planning Council, H.M.S.O. 1966.

The tone here was one of optimism. There were problems of course,

The problems facing the Northern Region arise from the legacy of capital expenditure incurred in meeting the requirements of a few basic industries, such as coal mining, when they were first established here, and from the changes now taking place in the industrial structure of the region.

(11). The Department of Economic Affairs was later disbanded by the Conservative Government, 1970-74.

(12). These regional plans each dovetailed into a National Plan which plotted the course for the national economy.

(13). The Northern Region consisted of the then counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland, these related to the enlarged Development Areas of the 1966 Act (see Appendix 2, section 1).

The solution was seen in the encouragement of the "right kind" of technological industrial development. "Efficiency", "research", "training" and "technological development" were the keys to an industrial strategy. New forms of government aid should stimulate "technological development" and "research", even among small and medium size firms. Firms should be encouraged to bring with them their research and development departments. Government "research establishments", a "technological university" and a training college for teachers "in technical subjects" should be developed. Training within management and work forces must be increased. Grants should be made available to improve the "efficiency" of industry. Links between industry and the various universities should be encouraged. Investment must also be improved. Such developments were necessary because,

unless the important manufacturing industries within the region can be persuaded to undertake a substantial proportion of the basic development work which underpins their processes, there is a danger that the region will be condemned to mere productive activity of a kind which is becoming obsolete.

In contrast the attraction of "technologically" developed industrial concerns into the region would prove the springboard for development. This springboard must be accepted promptly, jettisoning along with the "old" industrial development, all "restrictive practices".

'Outline Strategy for the North', Northern Economic Planning Council, H.M.S.O. 1969.

The tone here was very different. A "defensive" strategy was outlined to stabilise the region's "job loss". The key was growth in the viable sectors of the economy, this would make good the "job loss" resulting from "industrial change" and later, through the positive approach of locating industry in the most favourable areas, encourage future growth. It was still possible to view long term prospects with confidence, because,

new industry attracted to the region very quickly expands and becomes, in turn, the generator of further employment, as the region's economic base changes and comes to contain an increasing proportion of such growth industry, this 'breeder' factor should considerably enhance the region's employment prospects.

To achieve this desired position a strategy involving three growth strands was outlined. Two expansion strands, one of "major" growth and another of "intermediate" growth were differentiated. A third strand examined those areas where growth was unlikely to take place. The "major" 'growth zone' was similar to that in the Hailsham report, but secondary areas of growth were differentiated where market towns in rural areas should be allowed to develop. The argument which favoured this policy was that,

concentration of this kind makes it easier and less expensive to provide all the essential services which go to make up the infrastructure necessary for industrial growth As new factories become occupied at the central point the range of job opportunities for the whole of the surrounding area becomes wider, and a labour force, possessing a wide diversity of skills, is gradually built up, which in turn helps attract more industry. The variety and diversification of economic activity which is so created acts in the longer term as a safeguard against the effects of industrial change or cyclical downswings in trade, which (as the region knows only too well) can be catastrophic to communities dependent upon a single industry.

By this well organised policy it would be possible to defeat the overriding problem of "industrial change"

facing the region, combat the "job loss" envisaged in predominantly male jobs and produce a base for viable expansion.

(b) Unofficial Bodies

Within the North-East voluntary bodies of unofficial nature have developed. The North of England Development Council (N.E.D.C.) is the major present example. Started in 1961 it was a transformation of the North-East Industrial and Development Association.⁽¹⁴⁾ The membership of this older body included trades union representatives, company managers and private individuals. An executive committee large enough to represent these interests was elected. Its tasks were mainly to provide information, publicity and research capacity. N.E.D.C. revitalised these activities, being based on the eleven local planning authorities, and having a minority representation of local members of Parliament. Its task was to "assist in promoting the sound economic development of the region in the interests of the well-being of its people".⁽¹⁵⁾ This included the promotion of pride and achievement in the minds of people in the North-East, publicising facilities, seeking out industrial development and encouraging growth. This body differs from N.E.P.C. in that it has no official channel for access to government. A grant is provided by the government on the condition that a matching total is obtained from local authorities. In 1971 N.E.D.C. produced a retrospective policy document on the subject of regional policy.

'The North in the Sixties', North of England Development Council, December 1971.

The report presented a reassessment of the effects of regional policy. Regional policy was paying its way, it

(14). For a history of this body and other earlier advisory bodies see J. Cousins, R.L. Davis, M.J. Paddon and A. Waton 'Aspects of Contradiction in Regional Policy: The Case of North-East England', Regional Studies, Vol. 8, pp. 133-144, 1974.

(15). The First Annual Report, N.E.D.C., 5th May 1961 - 31st March 1962, N.E.D.C.

had succeeded on every front except incomes and employment levels. The economic base of the region had moved closer to the national average. Those industries which were highly localised in the area had declined, while the newer manufacturing and service sectors were expanding apace.

Thus,

Regional policy in the North has been successful physically, psychologically and financially. But stronger regional policy would have produced even better results.

This conclusion was based upon the assessment of a series of variables, including unemployment and employment levels, earnings, migration, investment, activity rates and labour productivity. This was compared to the cost involved in the policy itself, assessed as far as possible across the whole spectrum of measures enforced. The result was success, at a reasonable cost.

(3) Regional Policy: An Analysis

Introduction

In the previous section the main expressions of the policy of transferring work to the workers were outlined. This section provides an analysis of work to the workers which suggests that implicit in this is a neglect of the details of "new" manufacturing industry. It also provides the reasoning behind the study of Power Motors and Truck Components. The section will proceed as follows. It discusses, firstly, in (i) Governmental Policy, the main characteristic of the policy of work to the workers in regional planning, that is job creation. Such an emphasis relates to a definition of the regional problem which excludes power and class, or any suggestion that the cause of regional underdevelopment may be the capitalist system itself. Rather the problem is defined in employment terms (a lack of employment), and is related to a historical analysis of the structure of British industry.

But in (2) Government Policy and Ideology it is suggested that this is only one possible definition of the regional problem, and as such, it is ideological. Such an ideology is dominantly pluralist, emphasising that despite differences of interest there remains an underlying consensus on the nature of the regional problem, and the means of a solution. The employment criterion outlined above is suggested to be the agreed means of solving the regional problem (by providing new job opportunities), and all interested parties attempt to influence the way it is utilised. Such a definition of regional disparity, emphasising jobs of any sort as a solution, ignores qualitative aspects. This is only possible if all parties are equally involved, and equally affected by job quality (the pluralist concept of "balance" between opposing groups). However, there are other definitions of the regional problem, and other interpretation of society. Some are outlined. Which matches reality? The analysis proceeds to outline the basis of a study of "new" manufacturing employ-

ment which may be set against the simplistic pluralist definition of "new" manufacturing. This will also allow a critique of the pluralist base of regional policy. It is suggested that such an investigation should proceed at a micro level since this has been largely ignored in the literature, and this leads on to the next section in this chapter, The Two Case Studies. The Two Case Studies suggests the basis for an analysis of "new" manufacturing employment in Power Motors and Truck Components.

(i) Governmental Policy

(a) Job Creation

In this section it is argued that official government action on regional policy has been overtly geared towards job creation. This is a preoccupation which also dominates other regional bodies, both official and unofficial. It also features strongly in discussions in parliament. The emphasis in government statements has altered, but employment is always a key variable. No government for very strong political reasons may allow acute distress to develop in wide areas of the country. Thus, in the late 1920's and also in the 1930's, with recurring unemployment and industrial stagnation, the first efforts to develop a regional policy occurred. Following the War, the fear of further unemployment encouraged the development of the concept of work to the workers. Regional policy as we know it today dates primarily from the actions of various governments, after 1958, to solve recurrent unemployment. During the early 1950's unemployment had been at low levels, and there was a boom particularly in the coal and shipbuilding industries.⁽¹⁶⁾ However, towards the end of the decade deflationary policies designed to combat inflationary pressure, and a delicate balance of payments situation, combined with a trough in the international

(16). See for a development of this theme, A.J. Odber 'Regional Policy in Britain', Part 6 in 'Area Redevelopment Policies in Britain and the Countries of the Common Market', United States Department of Commerce and Area Redevelopment Association, 1965.

trade cycle to produce a decline in certain British industries. Coal output fell, the steel industry ran below capacity and shipbuilding suffered.⁽¹⁷⁾ The result was the 1960 Local Employment Act which still remains the starting point of the present phase of regional policy.

The 1960 Act imposed the criteria of assessing the expenditure involved in aid relative to the employment created, and also developed an explicit unemployment definition of the assisted areas (see Appendix 2, section 1). This emphasis was further reflected in the Hailsham report which defined the problems of the North-East in employment terms. Male unemployment was the most obvious symptom of the North-East's need for special attention. It was the most important problem and was related to the industrial structure of the region. Hence, solving the structural problems of the region's industry would provide a solution to unemployment levels. The 1966 Act acknowledged the importance of unemployment and employment levels in defining Development Areas, and introduced varied measures to improve the situation in these respects. Further, the Special Development Areas of 1967 were a direct response to unemployment levels. Indeed the whole range of incentives and controls operational during this period were designed to stimulate growth and thereby employment in the assisted areas. Such an analysis of the problem is implicit in the advisory reports presented during the period. Only the 'North in the Sixties' questions the status of the unemployment criteria. However, even here the analysis is ambiguous. In the introduction it is announced,

In the immediate short-term jobs are critical,
but not any kind of jobs. In the long term
better jobs and higher incomes are vital.

This appears to suggest a more open approach to the problem, it is not merely "any kind" of job, but also the right quality which is important. Yet later in the same

(17). See G. McCrone 'Regional Policy in Great Britain', op.cit. for further details.

study the question is asked,

Have we enough jobs? This in the eyes of the public is the measure of any economic or regional policy. In recognition of this and a belief that the main direct objective of Development Area legislation has been to try to improve the number and range of jobs available has led to much emphasis in this study being placed on an examination of employment patterns.

Is this then jobs per se, the largest total and variety possible, or does it involve the quality of job? Such a distinction between these two elements is never made in any interpretation of policy. Both political parties are guilty, the problem is jobs, the type and quality of such jobs are assumed to be satisfactory.

Differences of opinion do exist between Conservative and Labour politicians, the former being closer to the market approach, emphasising growth in the economy as a whole to stimulate investment and remedy the regional problem, while the latter are more interventionist, demanding specific planned action to aid the regions.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, the approaches are not basically divergent, and both in practice develop an uncritical acceptance of the employment criterion. Thus, not surprisingly, the Minister for Industry in the last Labour Government outlined,

One of the Governments' first priorities is to achieve a high rate of new investment particularly in manufacturing industry Equally we must make a sustained effort to eliminate the disparities in employment which have built up over the years between Scotland, Wales and the assisted areas of

(18). See in particular the remarks of Mr. Fred Peart (member of parliament for Workington) on this subject, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 827, 1970-1971, 29th November - 10th December, 7th December, 1128c, Hansard.

England and other parts of the country. (19)

The criticisms of policy made by members of both parties are generally couched in terms of the employment criterion. (20)

This emphasis is also made explicit in the guidelines presented by the then Conservative Government for the Industrial Development Boards to assess applications under Section 7 of the Industry Act (this followed the two years, 1970-1972, when the Conservative Government had hesitated before touching the regional problem. During this period it was announced that no further support would be given to the "lame ducks" of industry). The report outlined that under the 1972 Act,

Projects qualifying for assistance with which the Regional Industrial Boards will be concerned fall into two broad categories:

- (a) new projects and expansions which create employment
- (b) projects, e.g. for modernisation or rationalisation which will not provide extra jobs but will maintain or safeguard existing employment.

..... Assistance will only be provided where there is a benefit to employment. For category (a) cases, account will be taken of the amount of new employment to be provided in determining the amount of assistance.

(19). Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons Written Answer, Vol. 872, 1973-1974, 8th April - 3rd May, 29th April, 827c, Hansard.

(20). One example of a regular criticism made by M.P.'s of government is voiced by Mr. Dempsey (member of parliament for Coatbridge and Airdrie) to Mr. Maudling (The President of the Board of Trade),

Will the right honourable Gentleman bear in mind that the area (Coatbridge and Airdrie) is rated as one of high unemployment? Will he also bear in mind that, no matter how small the industry is, employment is badly needed.

Dempsey used this as an argument for further state aid. Parliamentary Debates, Oral Answers to Questions, Vol. 629, 1960-1961, 1st November - 11th November, 10th November, 1197-1198c, Hansard.

Similarly, for category (b) cases, the employment implications will be a relevant consideration in deciding the amount of assistance to be offered.⁽²¹⁾

This further emphasised the policy outlined in the 1972 Industry Act itself. Under Section 7, which regulated financial assistance for industry, such assistance was to be provided to produce, maintain or safeguard employment in any part of the assisted areas. This section represented the key to the Act.

(b) The Definition of the Regional Problem

The above concentration upon employment and unemployment relates to a particular definition of the regional problem. This section will outline this definition briefly. It will begin with a look at the general definition of the problems involved in achieving growth. It will then examine how this is related to the North-East in particular, and point out that the contrast implied between "old" and "new" industry is little investigated. Nevertheless, it is assumed that "new" manufacturing will solve the region's problems by providing suitable employment. In general, the present definition of the regional problem is as follows.⁽²²⁾ Growth in capitalist societies is often an uneven phenomenon, and the problem of Britain's depressed regions is explained in historical-structural terms. Being the first nation to industrialise, Britain emphasised industrial expansion, buying primary products overseas, especially in the present Commonwealth countries, and specialising in the production of industrial exports in which initially at least there was little competition. British prosperity was built upon the export of textiles, iron and steel, ships and coal. Gradually, though, this

(21). Guidelines for Industrial Development Boards, October 1972, produced in 'Regional Development Incentives', Session 1972-3, (Trade and Industry Sub-Committee) Expenditure Committee, pp. 37-39, H.M.S.O. 1973. These boards were set up under the 1972 Act to advise on decisions involving selective financial assistance.

(22). This analysis depends upon G. McCrone 'Regional Policy in Great Britain' op.cit, and E. Allen, A.J. Odber and P.J. Bowden 'Development Area Policy in the North-East of England', North-Eastern Industrial Development Association, 1957.

policy collapsed, at first imperceptibly as other nations expanded, then in a more pronounced fashion with the over-valuation of the pound in the 1920's drawing attention to strains in those industries most affected by changes in technology and foreign competition. Hence, when the effects of the depression were felt they were by no means uniform, London and the South-East had unemployment levels of about 5%, rising to 15% in 1932-3, while Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the North-East of England had unemployment levels of 12-15%, rising to between 25% and 35%. The result was acute economic distress in these latter areas, where weakened industry was concentrated (the South-East also had the advantage of developing consumer industries). Though the war signalled a return to full employment, the regional problem remained unaltered (despite the efforts between 1945 and 1950) and the recession in the late 1950's produced concerted action to solve the problem. This resulted in the attempts already outlined to influence the mechanisms which determine growth.

In particular the problem in the North-East is that the economy is overspecialised in certain industries, and these must of necessity be run down.⁽²³⁾ These "older" industries are synonymous with a declining market, ineffective management, and outdated technology, producing inefficient plants and insecure employment and displaying antagonism between work force and management. This industry is also one cause of the unhealthy image others have of

(23). Ron Dearing, the former Regional Director for the Northern Region of the Department of Trade and Industry, outlined the situation as follows:

The core of the North's problem lies in the decline in the fortunes of the three industries (coal, steel and shipbuilding) which created its wealth in the nineteenth century..... The decline of the older industry might have been offset by the operation of normal forces had the British economy as a whole been growing strongly over the past 20 years But growth has at best been spasmodic and the economy as a whole has lacked the dynamism to draw redundant resources in Development Areas back into production.

Source: 'The New North' in 'Trade and Industry' 6th December 1973.

the area, including physical rundown and a backward outlook.

"New" industry will solve these problems. To match contraction in one sector, growth will be stimulated elsewhere. "New" firms must be encouraged to expand, no matter their origin or type. Such industries may be grouped into 'growth zones' to enhance the power of investment and to stimulate the advance towards "self generating growth". However, the actual details of the "new" manufacturing employment involved are not considered, except in 'Challenge of the Changing North'. Even here emphasis is placed on only technologically developed establishments, and technological expansion, whatever this may mean. Never are the qualities of "new" manufacturing subjected to careful examination. However, by the very nature of the contrast implied between "old" and "new" the latter should produce technically efficient plants, providing secure employment of a high quality in an atmosphere where it was possible to work together towards a solution of the region's problems.

(ii) Government Policy and Ideology

Introduction

This section 'explains' the link between section (i) Governmental Policy, and "pluralism" as defined by Fox. It suggests that a failure in regional analysis to investigate fully the nature of the "new" employment provided is linked to a pluralist definition of the regional problem. Though there are other definitions of the possible regional problem and other views of society, these are ignored by the pluralist definition. This section then provides a link with (4) The Two Case Studies which sets the scene for a detailed study of "new" manufacturing industry. It is hoped this study will remedy a flaw in regional analysis (the ignoring of the details of "new" manufacturing employment) and also allow a critical study of the pluralist concept as expressed in the transference of work to the workers.

(a) Regional Policy and "Pluralism"

Regional policy, as outlined above (section (1)), presents one explanatory definition of the nature of the capitalist structure, and the problems of industrial growth within it. As such it is ideological.⁽²⁴⁾ This overall view of regional policy is dominantly pluralist.⁽²⁵⁾

Society is seen as a coalition of individuals and groups, each with their own aspirations and perceptions which they feel are valid. With conflicting pressures and tensions one group may consider the actions of another as arbitrary and react accordingly. However, the divisions between parties are not so fundamental or so wide as to be unbridgeable. There exists a "basic procedural consensus". Under the fluctuating cut and thrust of capitalist relations there exists a rock firm foundation of a stable and agreed social system. This is possible because there is a "balance" of power between the various interest groups in society. Fox relates this view to low and high trust relations which are generated by men's exercise of power over others in society.⁽²⁶⁾ He also outlines a "unitary"

(24). J. Plamenatz 'Man and Society', Vol. 2, Longmans, 1963, outlines that a,

theory or opinion which purports to describe some aspects of reality, or a moral or legal rule, or a concept used to express such a rule or to encourage obedience to it, is ideological when its function is to maintain or challenge some part of the social order or of the system of social relations: and a theory or opinion is ideological also when it serves to allay fears and create hopes.

(25). The concept of "pluralism" is expanded with reference to industrial relations in A. Fox 'Industrial Relations: A Social Critique of Pluralist Ideology', 'Man and Organisation', ed. J. Child, George Allen and Unwin, 1973.

(26). See A. Fox 'Beyond Contact: Work, Power and Trust Relations', Faber & Faber Ltd., 1974. Fox outlines a low-discretionary syndrome, where there are low trust relations, close supervision and bureaucratic rules, all generating and reinforcing a circle of suspicion, illwill and sanctions. A high-discretionary syndrome exists where there are high trust relations, moral involvement and a long term obligation of spontaneous support. Two ideological approaches are also examined which attempt to outline social relations as they exist in society. These are "pluralism", and a "unitary" approach. The pluralist approach is akin to the low trust syndrome, and the "unitary" approach to the high trust situation.

approach to social relations. Here common objectives and values are said to exist. The work situation is characterised by harmony and trust. Arising logically from this firm foundation is said to be the need for a unified structure of authority, emphasising managerial prerogatives, and being legitimized by all members of the organisation.

In regional policy government plays an arbiter among competing interests. There are two basic related types of "pluralism". By defining the problem of regional development in employment terms the government then attempts to allocate resources between competing areas (spatial "pluralism"). Conflicts of interest take place not only between the assisted regions for resources, but also between the assisted and unassisted areas over the proportionate allocation for the development areas. This situation exists under both political parties with their similar definitions of the regional problem (see the earlier analysis of this chapter).⁽²⁷⁾ A further recognition of the pluralistic nature of society is to be found in the planning and advisory bodies, consisting as they do of various groups, representing differing interests. This suggests a division of society into divergent groups, for example trades unions and management, all attempting to make their particular view heard (social "pluralism" which is strongly related to spatial "pluralism"). However, all have the common purpose of finding a solution to the regional problem, which they define in similar terms.⁽²⁸⁾

(27). See for example Parliamentary Debates, Debate on Industrial Development Certificates, Vol. 887, 1974-1975, 24th February - 7th March, 25th February, 431-455c, Hansard.

(28). For example the Twelfth Annual Report 1972-1973, N.E.D.C., records that their aim of industrial promotion, involves the council, the Department of Trade and Industry, Local Authorities and Planning Authorities, the English Industrial Estates Corporation, the Trades Unions and the members of parliament in the Region.

I believe this year has seen all these sections being drawn closer together in the common cause of alleviating the problem of unemployment and at the same time, improving the image and health of the Region.

This view is also pertinent to an understanding of the full range of regional planning and in particular the philosophy of work to the workers, since it underlies their whole structure.

A pluralist approach excludes an analysis of power, access to resources and the importance of class in society, these are unimportant explanatory variables. This encourages a historical-structural definition of the regional problem, which ignores these variables and concentrates on industrial development. Once society is viewed in terms of interest groups, attempts must be made to pacify each, or to provide each with a 'fair' distribution of resources. The criteria of employment levels presents a means of doing this. All groups have a common concern in this aspect, therefore, here they can work together. Hence the concentration on employment in policy. The employment criterion relates directly to the definition of the regional problem. As certain industries decline a shake out of labour occurs, this may be countered by expansion elsewhere in the economy. This is linked to the attempt to create a full employment economy (the National Economic Development Council represents one body where the various interest groups meet at a national level to achieve this by reconciling their interests. Thus, breaking the polarisation of the C.B.I. and the T.U.C.). We may more readily understand now why the study of "new" industry is so superficial. There is no need to investigate the details of the regional problem, because in terms of the problem set there exists a "unity of purpose", and a basic consensus. "New" industry, it is believed, will solve the problem by providing the 'right' atmosphere for the parties to work together. Since class and power are excluded the problems in the past are related simply to "old" employment, by replacing this with "new" industry the problem will be solved. The attention of study is directed from the quality of employment provided, because of a basic assumption of "balance" between groups. An acceptance that one group might be deprived and dis-

satisfied would suggest a form of inequality inconsistent with this "balance" (if a group was dissatisfied and a "balance" between them and other groups existed, that group or others acting on their behalf would rectify the situation). Further, it is possible to ignore the quality of employment provided if all parties concerned are equally affected by it. Also once the regional problem is defined in employment terms, this does create various regional groups with differing employment interests, and these groups do struggle in an attempt to achieve what they consider to be a 'fair' allocation of the resources which are available. However, in certain areas there does remain a contradiction. In 'Challenge of the Changing North', published by N.E.P.C., the document encourages all parties to work together in the following manner,

We must first have unity of purpose It is important that all sections of the community should recognise that they have common cause in working for the objectives we have discussed. There is no room in this task for parochialism or for the pursuit of purely sectional interests. We must all accept also the need for hard work and determination We have fallen behind some other regions and an all out effort is needed if we are to catch up. There is no place now for restrictive practice.

This appears closer to a "unitary" approach, emphasising outright consensus. Its source, a body based on a sectional interest, is particularly interesting. An ideal of shared interests also appears to be implicit in the previous quote from the Twelfth Annual Report of N.E.D.C. (note 28). Again in N.E.D.C. Viscount Hailsham outlines,

Your aim (N.E.D.C.) the soundly based and well balanced development of the whole region is precisely the object of government policy. But to be successful it must engage the enthusiasm of all sections of the community

and all the strands of regional economic life.

This assumes "all sections of the community" may be encouraged to "enthuse". But most interesting of all are the remarks of Mr. Arthur Blenkinsop (member of parliament for South Shields), (29)

(To solve unemployment) we need to call what I would regard as sub-regional conferences comprising representatives of the Ministries, local authorities, main statutory bodies in the area and the trade unions to discuss coherent programs for action in addition to the normal work that the local authorities and other bodies are doing. I want to draw in some of the people on the shop floor who have been showing their willingness and eagerness to contribute practical proposals towards helping to overcome the problems ... The N.E.D.C. saw the Prime Minister not very long ago this is an independent body making its judgement after very careful, independent investigation

This appears to suggest that despite a pluralist base, regional bodies may have a "unitary" purpose.⁽³⁰⁾ Thus, it appears that despite pluralist assertions "unitary" appeals are common from interest groups concerned with policy, and this represents an internal contradiction within regional planning.

(29). Parliamentary Debates, Debate on Regional Policy, Vol. 828, 1971-1972, 13th December - 22nd December, 5th December, 768-769c, Hansard.

(30). This analysis excludes an investigation of the differences between local and incoming factory managers. Obviously the interests of the two might differ, the former claiming the latter poach their labour. N.E.D.C. by its very nature would represent the local manager, while the interests of the incomer would be heard by bodies such as the Department of Trade and Industry and the New Town Development Corporations where appropriate.

Further, despite the apparent thorough analysis and concise definition of the regional problem, planning may be associated with failure. A sense of the continuance of the regional problem, despite all efforts to remove it, dominates certain debates in parliament.⁽³¹⁾ The deep seated nature of the regional problem and the continuance of unemployment in assisted areas, serves as a constant reminder of what needs to be done.

(b) Regional Policy and Other Definitions of Society

The dominantly pluralist definition of the regional problem presented in the last section represents only one particular view of society. Gouldner and C. Wright Mills, for example, each argue the importance of a disparity of resources.⁽³²⁾ Society is based, then, on conflict not consensus. In such a conflict the rich and the powerful, through their positions in the power structure, influence government, the media, universities and the political parties. In marginal areas, particularly in industry, pressures mount from below and conflict is more observable. Yet even here the balance of power is seen as heavily weighted in favour of the powerful by the very structural features of the systems of status, reward and control.

Which analysis matches reality? Within this thesis a different approach will be made to the study of regional planning. This approach will investigate the value of the pluralist explanation of, and solution to regional inequality, by studying in detail the "new" manufacturing

(31). See in particular the comments of Mr. Wilfred Proudfoot (member of parliament for Brighouse and Spenborough) Parliamentary Debates, Development Area Debate, Vol. 827, 1971-1972, 29th November - 10th December, 7th December, 1187-1188c, Hansard. Also Mr. John Smith (member of parliament for Lanarkshire North) Parliamentary Debates, Regional Employment Premium Debate, Vol. 855, 1972-1973, 16th April - 4th May, 19th April, 760c, Hansard.

(32). See in particular A.W. Gouldner 'The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology', London, Heinemann, 1971, and C. Wright Mills 'The Power Elite', New York, Oxford University Press, 1959.

employment provided in the North-East of England, which the pluralist explanation assumes will solve the problem of unequal economic development. From this analysis it will also be possible to assess the usefulness of the pluralist definition of the regional problem. In the past studies of "new" manufacturing have been at a macro level, viewing policies in aggregate terms and emphasising the numbers of jobs and the cost of investment.⁽³³⁾ Such analysis ignores the detailed qualitative aspects of such policy. Surely employees require more than just a job? If this is so then the following questions are important. How rewarding are jobs? What is the quality of employment provided? How are "new" factories related to the local labour market structure? These questions and others like them are posed in this thesis. This investigation will be carried out by studying the various interest groups within two manufacturing plants. Regional planning then ceases to be an abstract panacea, but takes shape as a factory attempting to satisfy the demands, norms and expectations of various groups. The results of such a study may be very different to those envisaged in planning documents. By concentrating upon the way in which various groups of actors interpret reality, and by studying their varied interests and demands, the simplistic pluralist approach to "new" manufacturing, involving commonly held values and consensus is open to searching questions. However, operating at this micro scale, though it may produce interesting results, also has problems. No firm conclusions may be drawn. But perhaps this work may provide the basis for further research.

(33). This excludes the work of E.K. Grime and D.N.M. Starkie 'New Jobs for Old: An Impact Study of a New Factory in Furness', *Regional Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 57-67, September 1968. The authors present a study of a "new" factory, assessing the local labour market of the plant in relation to travel to work.

(4) The Two Case Studies

This section provides the basis for a detailed study of "new" manufacturing employment, and it introduces the reader to the following chapters on Power Motors and Truck Components. It suggests that the working agreement serves as a useful means of measuring and discussing the various details of "new" manufacturing industry, and in particular the demands groups made of their employment. Within both the firms studied the working agreement between employer and employee marked the basis of the relationship between them.⁽³⁴⁾ It represents a useful starting point for our research into the varied interests groups in "new" manufacturing. Industrial organisations exist to produce goods or services, and the employer employs others to perform this task. Brown terms this relationship the 'contract of employment'. This involves,

not only the legal rights and obligations linking employer and employee, but also the whole complex of expectations on both sides of such a relationship.⁽³⁵⁾

The contract regulates the buying and selling of labour power. Its determination is, however, never precise. It involves satisfying sets of expectations which produce hidden ambiguities. These ambiguities find expression on numerous occasions and are the very substance of social relations within the factory. Managerial policy in the two factories studied may be best understood in the

(34). For a link between the two firms and the various regional incentives turn to Appendix 2, section 3, where the use each firm make of the various incentives is outlined. This may also be related to section 2 of the same Appendix which outlines the rate of these incentives during the period from the firm's opening to the end of observation. The chapter on Methodology (Chapter 2) presents the background to the choice of the firms and further information on their character. The industrial background of these firms is also presented in section 4 of Appendix 2.

(35). R.K. Brown, 'The Sociology of Organisations', Mens en Maatschappij, pp. 380-398, 1974.

context provided by Baldamus.⁽³⁶⁾ Baldamus outlines, the organisation of industry with all its complexities and diversities, ultimately revolves on a single process: the administrative process through which the employee's effort is controlled by the employer.

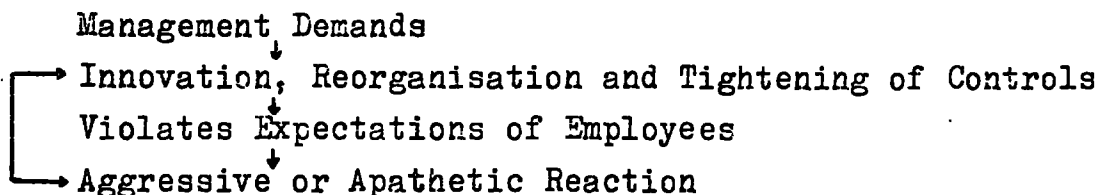
He argues that problems of efficiency are ultimately a problem of effort, and that a variable distribution of effort and reward exist in the context of employment. Though effort is neither measurable nor easily defined in terms of any tangible criteria, management attempt to regulate effort through managerial controls. These controls are used to regulate output, absenteeism, labour turnover and wages, while preventing strikes. Supervision for example remind individuals of the necessity of action. Employees are dismissed when there is a discrepancy between the conduct expected by management and those services actually rendered by an employee.

Since the formal wage contract is imprecise, the details of the arrangement are worked out through interaction between the partners to the 'agreement'. Where the effort required, as subjectively defined by the employee, differs from that demanded by managerial controls, conflict over the 'effort bargain' takes place. In Power Motors and Truck Components management demanded increased effort from their employees. Attempts were made, through a tightening of managerial controls, and verbal encouragement, to ensure an increased return. Management were essentially attempting to alter the 'effort bargain' in

(36). W. Baldamus 'Efficiency and Effort', Social Science Paperbacks, 1961.

their favour. (37)

In both cases this managerial pressure removed characteristics of the factory which the work force regarded as essential. Further, the employees articulated demands of their own. These demands may be related to the employees' orientation to work. The work force are divided in the section on The Analysis (d) in Chapters 4 and 5 into 'types' on a scale of work involvement. The level and 'type' of involvement is related to the strength and direction of demands. These demands emphasise the diversity of the employees' orientation to work. The greater demands come usually from employees more committed to their work. These requirements tended to revolve round a demand for 'indulgency' and status, and together with the demands of management they shall be examined in terms of the extent to which they are satisfied. They may be related to the following scheme:



The vicious circle aspect of this outline suggests that as the work force becomes increasingly aggressive or apathetic, management enforce stricter controls. This in turn

(37). This may be related to the work of W.F. Luttrell 'Factory Location and Industrial Movement', Vol. 1, National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 1962. Luttrell studies the problems of setting up manufacturing plants in new locations, particularly branch factories in the Development Areas. It is based on case studies of plants set up in the period 1945-52. The author suggests that the,

initial costs (of new plant) were usually very high and descended steeply until they levelled off at a figure not very different from that at the other factory (head office); even in cases of very high first year costs this levelling off had usually taken place by the fourth year.

Both the case studies in this work fit into this four year period when management strive to achieve a breakeven situation (see Appendix 3 for Luttrell's table of costs in "new" factories).

ultimately reinforces the apathy and aggression. (38)

Within Power Motors a situation existed which corresponds to the aggressive case. Truck Components is analogous to the apathetic case. The differences between these two reactions are related to the different employment histories of the participants, and differences in the 'types' of employee within the two companies. With this analysis as a guide it is now possible to move to an examination of Power Motors and Truck Components in more detail. In this investigation the reader may bear in mind the argument of this chapter. Links may be drawn between the details of "new" manufacturing, and their neglect in documents expressing the work to the workers concept. Further, as the demands of management and the work force are analysed the situation in "new" manufacturing may be compared to the image of "new" manufacturing implicit in the policy documents. Does "new" manufacturing industry in the two case studies produce technically efficient plants, providing secure employment of a high quality in an atmosphere where it is possible to work together towards a solution of the region's problems? From such an examination it may also be possible to present a critique of the pluralist structure of work to the workers and regional planning.

(38). This schema is an adaptation of the work of A. Gouldner 'Wildcat Strike', Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.

Chapter 4

POWER MOTORS

Introduction

This chapter is organised as follows:

- (a) The Constraints on Action
- (b) A Chronological History
- (c) The Data
- (d) The Analysis

Sections (a) and (b) present the background to the core of this study which is presented in (c) and (d). The material collected at Power Motors was very complex, and sections (a) and (b) are necessary to allow a ready understanding of The Data and The Analysis. (a) The Constraints on Action presents those elements which remained constant during the observation period, and which also affected the participants. (b) A Chronological History outlines the major events of the observation period. These two sections obviously provide a break in the flow of this analysis of the transfer of work to the workers. But this theme shall be taken up again in (c) The Data and (d) The Analysis. Section (c) outlines thematically the issues of the observation period. Finally in section (d) The Analysis, the demands of employer and employee are examined in detail.

(a) THE CONSTRAINTS ON ACTION

The Constraints on Action

Introduction

This section presents the givens, the constraints within which action at Power Motors took place. Though the constraints do not determine action, they provide the context within which social relations developed. Management at the headquarters of the Motor West Group in Southern Town determined the managerial hierarchy at Power Motors, and also Power Motor's position in the overall Group (Power Motors was a subsidiary of the Motor West Group). The work force composition, and the work process were shaped largely by their policies. This situation will be outlined more fully in the following section. There was a trade union organisation representing the employees. Also important in understanding the employees is their industrial background and work experience. These shall both be investigated. The actual nature of the opposition of the work force and management, and their relationship one with another, is also constrained by the working agreement, which will be outlined. The market situation helps determine the trend of management and work force relations, and will also be presented. The argument will proceed as follows:

- (1) The Management Hierarchy.
- (2) The Work Force Composition.
- (3) The Production Process.
- (4) The Trade Union Hierarchy.
- (5) The Industrial Background of Employees.
- (6) The Working Agreement.
- (7) The Market Situation.
- (8) A Conclusion.

(1) The Management Hierarchy

As general manager of a subsidiary firm Ted Clasp had little authority within the Motor West Group. His firm was utilised by the Group as a sub-contractor. Orders were placed with Power Motors, and Clasp was paid for the production at the market rate, defined by Group headquarters. The budget for the subsidiary was also compiled in Southern Town, and Clasp's only definite control was over hiring and firing. Yet, even here he could be overruled. Clasp's immediate superior was Bill Allison, a production manager at Southern Town. Also involved with affairs at Power Motors was Mr. Hallow, the quality manager for the Motor West Group; he was allocated the task of solving the quality problems at Power Motors.

Clasp's role in this structure was that of a production manager and personnel officer. The organisation of the firm he operated in was, however, presented to him by head office. The structure of the work force was as follows.

(2) The Work Force Composition

The total work force at Power Motors fluctuated. A list was compiled on 21st January and the total, including the manager, was 86. This consisted of the following:

Managerial Staff

Manager	1
Work Study Officer	1
Progress Chaser	1
Office Staff	3
	—
	6
	—

Shop Floor Employees

<u>Skilled Employees</u>	<u>'A' Shift</u>	<u>'B' Shift</u>	<u>Dayshift</u>
Foremen	1	1	-
Chargehand Inspectors	-	-	1
Inspectors	2	1	-
Maintenance Electricians	-	-	1
Maintenance Fitters	-	-	1
Setters	6	6	-
Tool Grinders	-	-	2
	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Non-Skilled Employees</u> ⁽¹⁾			
Labourers	1	1	-
Operators	28	26	-
Storemen	1	1	-
	<u>30</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	<u>39</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>5</u>

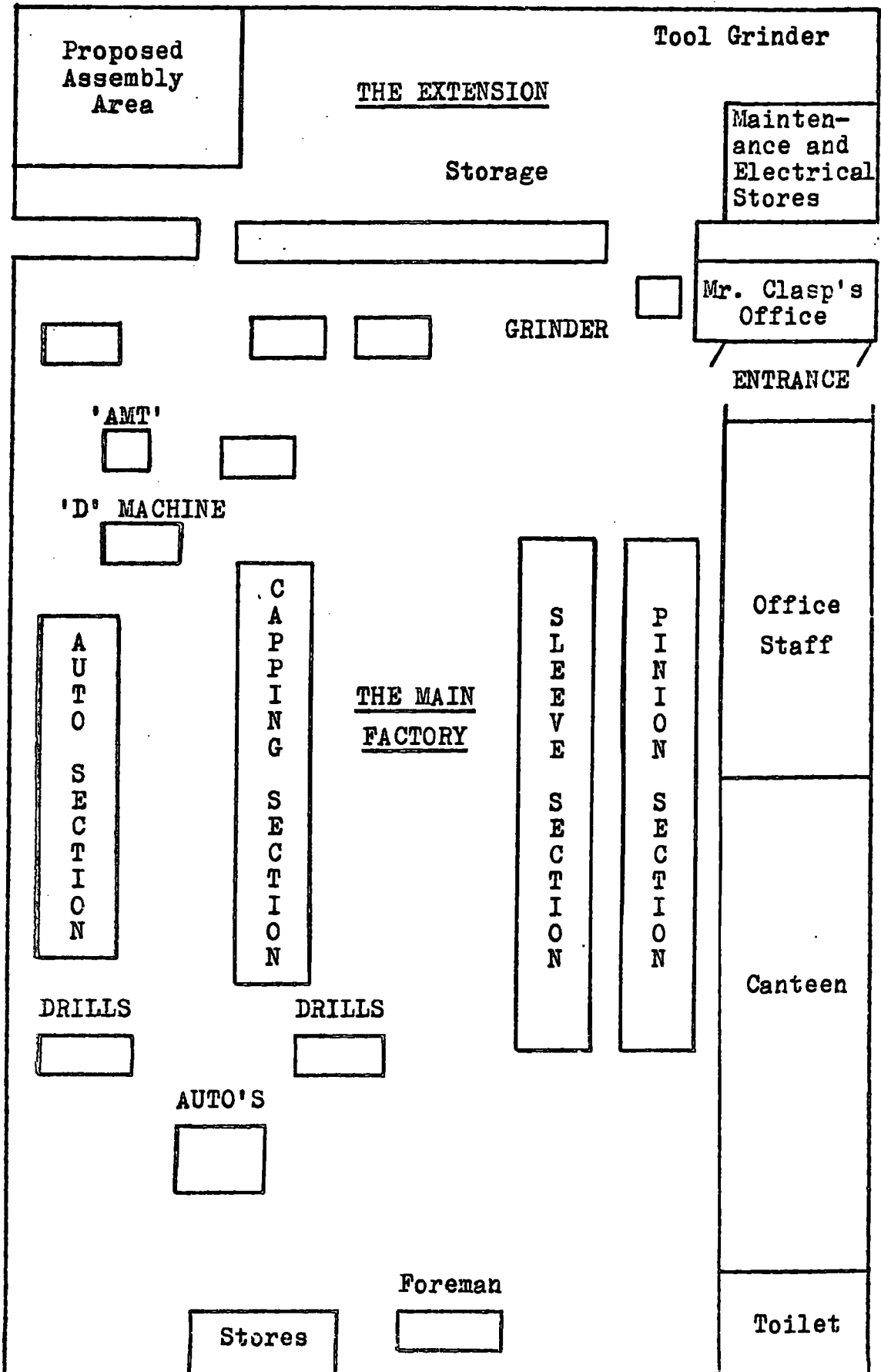
During the observation period as a whole the employees studied, again including Mr. Clasp, totalled 93 (a complete list of all employees at Power Motors during the observation period has been compiled in Appendix 4 for reference purposes).

On the shop floor the tasks of machine operator and setter were inter-related. A machine operator produced components on a machine, while the setter regulated the machine, making it ready to produce. Each machine operator tended at least one machine, and perhaps as many as two or three. A setter had a section of machines, the number of machines often totalling 15 to 20. Inspection checked the work produced, both the first component off each machine, and also a percentage check at the end of the production

(1) The term non-skilled is here, and elsewhere throughout this work, used to refer to those employees who were not skilled, and it might include workers who would conventionally be described as semi-skilled.

A PICTORIAL OUTLINE OF
POWER MOTORS

Figure 1



line. The task of maintenance was to maintain the general equipment of the plant. The storeman controlled both the stores, and the despatching of components at the end of the production line. Officially the task of the labourer was to clean the plant, and provide materials for the operators. In fact he was never able to perform both jobs well because the workload was too heavy (this point shall be further elaborated to explain a demand by employees for better conditions of employment). Among managerial staff beneath Clasp, there was a work study officer whose job was to produce times for the various production tasks, and re-time any job in dispute. A progress chaser was employed to maintain the flow of work within the factory. A general secretary performed administrative duties, while a wages clerk and her temporary assistant calculated payment by comparing the times produced on the shop floor with the required bonus times as set by work study (this number of staff it will be argued in later analysis resulted from a particular managerial attitude which required production with a minimum of costs).

(3) The Production Process

Head office also determined the production process. Power Motors produced varied component parts for an automobile steering unit, which was assembled at headquarters. Theoretically these components were produced by flow line production. The plant was organised round several production lines, named according to the dominant component or machine on that line (see Figure 1). Each operator performed a task as the component moved down the line. However, this was an ideal situation, and practice varied, stoppages in the work making a flow difficult. There were four main components produced in the plant. These were the pinion, produced on that particular line; the sleeve, produced on the sleeve line; the valve body; produced on the auto section; and the capping, produced on the line of that name. Production at Power Motors, then, was very specialised. However, despite this it was possible during

TABLE 1

Billy Corkin (machine operator)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Making technical drawing implements	Few weeks	Moved to North-East
Shipyards - rivet catcher	6 months	Sick
Shipyards	4 months	Hurt and did not wish to return
Errand-boy in a book shop	7 months	--
Shipyards	1 week	-
Army	2 years	Faulty hearing - discharged
Dairy, despatched milk	1 year	Sick
Making brushes in a factory	2 years	Argument with a foreman
Corporation Buses	2½ years	Didn't like shifts
Shipyards, labourer	3 years, 9 months	-
Corporation Buses	2 years	-
Machine operator	5 months	Sick
Sickness benefit, because he was ill	6 years	
Government Training Centre	6 months	-
Machine operator	4 years	More money
Machine operator	2 years	To come to Power Motors

TABLE 2

Tommy Trapp (machine operator)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Laundry worker	3 years	More money
Miner	2 months	-
Machine operator	1 year	Redundant
Miner	2 years	-
Machine operator for an electrical firm	3 years	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	5 months	

TABLE 3
Billy Taylor (Setter)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Apprentice fitter and turner	5 years	Moved to Oxford
Fitter	6 months	Returned to the North-East for a better job
Setter	5 months	Anticipated redun- dancy
Setter in a gear firm	1 year, 6 months	Moved house
Setter in tool firm	2 years	Received house with a new job
Turner	1 year	Too many strikes
Power Motors, setting	6 weeks	Didn't like it
Setting for a precision engineering firm	6 months	Didn't like shifts
Chargehand setter for a tool company	6 months	Anticipated redun- dancy
Setter	4 weeks	Worse than even Power Motors

the observation period to produce pinions on the auto section when the demand from head office for valve bodies declined. This production process was carried out in a factory of some 2,500 square feet, although the plant had been extended somewhat to accommodate a planned expansion (see Figure 1).

(4) The Trade Union Hierarchy

The trade union hierarchy was a branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (A.U.E.W.). There were two shop stewards representing each shift at Power Motors. Nicky Dawson and Tony Sweeney represented the non-skilled and skilled elements respectively on the 'A' shift, while Keith Donald and George Simmons performed the same task on the 'B' shift. John Kiln the convenor was on the 'A' shift. This also allowed Tony Sweeney to represent the dayshift workers since there was an extra representative on the 'A' shift. The union area official of the A.U.E.W. responsible for Power Motors was Harry Wallace. He was introduced into a dispute when stalemate had been reached between workers and management.

(5) The Industrial Background of Employees

The Stockland area of the North-East has a long history of industrial problems and economic weakness. The work force at Power Motors, which was in this area, was not surprisingly very distinctive.

In a changing employment situation, including a decline in traditional shipbuilding, and an expansion in lighter newer industry, men had distinctive employment records. There were differences, particularly between skilled and non-skilled workers, but nevertheless there were elements in common. There was, for example, a wide industrial mobility, but low occupational mobility among most workers. Among almost all non-skilled men, regular job changes were common. There was also a heavy incidence of redundancy (three work histories, one skilled and two non-skilled men are presented in Tables 1-3. They out-

line the trends discussed here). Billy Taylor had been mobile through his own choice, always seeking to better himself. Hence, he moved for reward, because a job was associated with standards he would not accept, or because a new job offered improved prospects. Tommy Trapp in contrast moved more often because of redundancy. Billy Corkin moved very regularly, often for no apparent reason, and often without increasing the reward he gained for his services. These, then, were all characteristics of the workers employed at Power Motors. This does not suggest there were no workers reluctant to change jobs, but certainly they were in the minority. Thus, as a result of this mobility the work force had a particular attitude towards employment. Of importance was their acceptance of redundancy and job mobility, both self induced and forced. These were a regular occurrence in the local area, and men were acquainted with them.

(6) The Working Agreement

The working agreement marks the basis of the relationship between worker and management. The various components of the work situation outlined in this section are drawn together through the 'agreement'. Implicit in the 'agreement' are points of tension and dispute. The 'agreement' at Power Motors stated that working arrangements were to be as follows:

The working week shall be five days with a shift work pattern of:

- (1) Dayshift
- (2) Double Dayshift
- or (3) Three Shifts

Shift rotation shall be each week or each month. Hours of work are given in Schedule III.⁽²⁾

(2). 'The Working Agreement, Power Motors Ltd.'

The hours of work in operation were 6.00 a.m. - 2.00 p.m., and 2.00 p.m. - 10.00 p.m. This operated on an alternating two shift system, with a dayshift working 8.00 a.m. until 4.30 p.m. Some 37½ hours were worked on shiftwork and 40 hours on dayshift. On both there was a 30 minute meal break, but all other refreshments must be inter-related with the work process by the employee. For this a refreshments machine was provided. The two shifts tended to mingle each day for a period of approximately 10 minutes; but setters might have a more prolonged contact since they were supposed to arrive 15 minutes early on the 2.00 p.m. till 10.00 p.m. shift, and leave 15 minutes late on the 6.00 a.m. till 2.00 p.m. shift. This was to facilitate the change of shift. During the course of the observation period these arrangements were subjected to varied interpretation, and were eventually used by management to modify working arrangements following redundancy.

The labour mobility clause, which became a source of dispute, read as follows,

All labour shall be fully mobile within the range of their existing training and any enlargement of that resulting from additional training or qualifications.⁽³⁾

Here again there were widely differing interpretations of this clause, both among management and the work force.

Payment was also regulated by the 'agreement', both in terms of a basic rate, and a system of work measurement. Most payment was calculated by a system of work measurement known as M.T.M.⁽⁴⁾ This applied to the machine operators. The labourers, storemen and skilled workers received a lieu element which replaced the bonus proportion of their wage. Work measurement was carried out by Alan Henderson, the work study officer. He determined whether the operator involved had a long arm or a short leg, timed an

(3). Ibid.

(4). M.T.M: Measured Timed Movements.

operation to achieve an average, and by assessing a set table applied a conversion factor which produced a time for a particular component's production.⁽⁵⁾ This was given in components per hour, and had an inbuilt allowance for relaxation, the washing of hands and other similar activities. The resulting total of components was the target for an operator. If he reached this total he earned 100% bonus. The bonus scale was calculated in terms of a percentage. There was a base rate, below which it was impossible to fall, this was 75% bonus. The base rate amounted to £28.95 on dayshift and £31.84 on shift work. Assessed on an hourly basis this was 72.275p on dayshift and 84.92p on shift work. For each percentage point above 75 payment was directly proportional to performance. Payment was at a rate of 34p per point. This applied until a ceiling was reached at 120%. At 120% the operators wage was increased by some £15.30 over the base rate. The position of an operator on this scale was assessed by a simple calculation:

$$\frac{\text{ACTUAL RATE (components per hour)} \times 100}{\text{ASSESSED RATE (components per hour)}}$$

ACTUAL RATE = the number of components the operator produced

ASSESSED RATE = the number of components the operator was believed to be capable of producing, assessed by work study.

A rate, then, was set for each individual job the operator performed, and his performance was measured against this. The average rate for all jobs was compiled at the end of a week. It was possible, therefore, for a performance upon one particular job to either increase or decrease the total bonus. This meant that an operator was vulnerable to fluctuations in his bonus times which would affect his overall rate. If there was no work an operator could be

(5). The time for a particular operation varied depending on the conversion factor, which related to the physical attributes of the operator.

placed upon 'waiting' time until further work arrived. This paid 80% on the bonus scale, or 34p x 5, added on to the base rate. 'Tooling' time placed a man on 90% bonus, or 34p x 15, added on to the base rate. This became operational when an operator waited for repairs to be carried out on his machine. A cutting tool for example might need replacing, and this could take time. 'Rectification' work, when an operator worked checking components returned to him as faulty, paid 90%. 'Unmeasured' work was paid at a similar rate. 'Unmeasured' work was work for which a rate had not been set. If, however, it remained untimed beyond a four week deadline, payment would increase to 100%. Thus, the payment scheme generated uncertainty in wage rates for semi-skilled operators.

The above was not true for other workers. These employees received a base rate for shifts and day work. But this was enhanced by a lieu element which corresponded to the bonus payment of the operators. This varied according to the job of the employee. The lieu element and base rate of all employees are tabulated below (as well as the rates for the operators).

	<u>Base Rate (£)</u>		<u>Lieu Element (£)</u>		<u>Bonus (£)</u>	
	<u>Shift Work</u>	<u>Day Work</u>	<u>Shift Work</u>	<u>Day Work</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>120%</u>
Skilled Employees	35.19	32.0	11.64	12.42	-	-
Machine Operators	31.84	28.95	-	-	9.55	15.30
Storekeepers	29.26	26.60	6.16	6.60	-	-
Labourers	28.01	25.50	4.01	4.28	-	-

The wage rates in the 'agreement' were valid until August 1975, though the results of the April National Agreement would be incorporated. (6)

(6). The National Agreement was an 'agreement' reached at national level between A.U.E.W. officials and representatives of the Engineering Employers Federation. It regulated the established minima of holidays, overtime rates and payment, together with providing the framework and established principles to be followed in specified shop floor situations. For a more detailed analysis of this, and the published 'Handbook of National Agreements' for the engineering trade, read A. Marsh 'Industrial Relations in Engineering', Pergamon Press, 1965.

The 'agreement' also purported to regulate all areas of discord, through the procedure for the avoidance of disputes. This presented a set series of steps which negotiation must complete to reach a compromise. The negotiation intended to avoid any strikes, lockouts or walk outs. The details of the procedure were as follows:

Stage 1

The operator will raise any problem or grievance with his immediate supervisor, if the issue is not resolved the employee may then raise the matter with his shop steward. Where more than one operator is concerned the shop steward and one of the operators concerned will raise the question with the supervisor. If after two working days no answer has been given or settlement reached:-

Stage 2

The shop steward will then raise the question with the works superintendent. If after two working days no answer has been given or failing settlement:-

Stage 3

A full time trade union officer will raise the question with the manager and if necessary a meeting shall be arranged and answers given within five working days.

Urgent Questions

At Stage 1 or 2, if a problem or grievance is, in the opinion of a foreman or shop steward, so urgent that by the time stipulated, or receiving a reply from management, it is likely to prove an embarrassment, the following stage or stages can be invoked immediately, or supervision inform management immediately.

Termination of Procedure

Both parties accept the principle of resorting to conciliation rather than further stages in procedure. There shall be no stoppage of work

or lock-out, and normal working shall continue until all stages of the procedure have been exhausted and 10 days' notice of intending action has been given and this period has been exhausted.

(7) The Market Situation

The economic situation outside the factory was a constant source of reference during the observation period. While the 'agreement' produced the constraints within which a dispute took place, the market situation determined the direction of the antagonism. If, for example, the market situation was difficult then management would undoubtedly wish to tighten their hold on the plant, and improve the performance of the company. In contrast the work force might look to protect their jobs. In an expanding market situation an aggressive work force might make increasing demands of management.

There were varied definitions of the market situation as this affected Power Motors. This was possible because the market for the company was an artificial one, being set by the demands of the management at Southern Town. However, all knew that the motor industry was on the verge of a crisis. Power Motors produced steering components, therefore, their market might decline too. Contracts with Fords, through an intermediary Gear Machines, were very important to the firm. Aston Martin had closed, which had reduced some work. Jensen held other contracts with Power Motors. Developments here were considered vital to the firm.

Thus, in effect there was, to individuals at Power Motors, an uncertain market situation. The actual details of the market shall be discussed later, since they reflect head office policy, but it is sufficient here to acknowledge that uncertainty was a key feature of management-worker relations (for further details on the performance of the motor trade generally see Appendix 2, section 4).

(8) A Conclusion

The constraints outlined above are important for an understanding of the observation period. It has been suggested that head office control over the firm was strict, this will be developed further. The organisation of the work force emphasised productive employees, and there were few office staff or labourers. A shortage of office staff influenced the position of Ted Clasp the manager. The shortage of labourers had a twofold effect. Firstly, the labourers were unable to maintain the flow of components to machine operators, and secondly, they were unable to maintain a clean factory. Both of these were important as the observation period progressed.

In an uncertain market situation management altered their demands, and this placed a strain upon the specialised production of components by continuous flow line production methods. On this flow depended the bonus of employees. There were other areas of strain and ambiguity in the constraints. Of key importance is the working agreement. The organisation of work on two shifts was interpreted strictly by management, but less strictly by the work force. Again, the labour mobility clause was subject to twofold interpretation. The employees defining a man's work more strictly than management. Wage rates were also questioned. In theory the difference in wage rates between skilled employees and machine operators could be slight. This caused problems. A rise in the cost of living also made the wage rates themselves very important. Thus, as the above outline suggests, there were numerous strains on, and demands made of, "new" manufacturing employment. In the face of such demands the system of negotiation procedure failed to operate successfully, and disputes ignored the ruling demanding a ten day respite in any particular issue. This and other issues will be discussed at greater length in the following sections, and their relationship to the working agreement developed.

(b) A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

A Chronological History

Introduction

Events at Power Motors occurred within an action and reaction framework. They were also complex and inter-related. Therefore, to improve the reading of the text, and to provide a fuller understanding of the study, a short chronology is presented here. Important events are underlined to provide a greater insight into The Data and The Analysis, which both follow the chronology.

Monday, 6th January

A shop stewards' meeting was held. The question of labour mobility was raised. 'Rectification' work was being returned by Motor West, and operators were checking the components as they arrived and correcting faults. This checking was believed by the men to be the task of inspection. Semi-skilled men were moving outside their job grade. It was agreed that a meeting should be arranged with Mr. Clasp, the manager. A vote of no confidence in Wallace was considered and supported. This related to the failure of the union area official to attend two disputes with management. On both occasions the shop stewards had not followed procedure.⁽⁷⁾ It was agreed to begin negotiations for a wage rise. A sub-committee of shop stewards was set up to enter into discussion with management. The shop stewards believed the men needed a wage rise, but there was also the state of the country, and the profitability of the firm to consider. It was acknowledged that the plant labour force was to be allowed to rundown by natural wastage. John Kiln, the convenor, met Ted Clasp concerning the labour mobility question; no solution could be reached, however, and it was agreed to hold a meeting involving Wallace.

Tuesday, 7th January

A meeting was held between the manager, the shop

(7). The procedure for negotiating disputes.

stewards and inspectors. It was explained by Ted Clasp that despite the difficult inspection situation no inspector would be employed to replace Craig Douglas who had left. This act was forced on him because of the rundown in the labour force initiated by Motor West. Mr. Clasp agreed he would consider the question of John Martin, the chargehand inspector, working shifts rather than dayshift to solve this manpower problem. Motor West also wanted to introduce a new 'Inspection Scheme'.

Thursday, 9th January

Another meeting was held between the shop stewards and management on the subject of labour mobility. Wallace, the union area official responsible for Power Motors, was present. Mr. Clasp threatened the shop stewards with excessive 'waiting' time if the components from 'rectification' were not recycled. No agreement could be reached, however. The men demanded increased payment for 'rectification'. Wallace argued that the working agreement needed renegotiation. Clasp said no, and agreed to telephone Southern Town. The basis of the dispute was a vertical interpretation of mobility held by the manager, and the horizontal interpretation of the men. Clasp argued that an operator should perform all tasks up to his present training. The men argued that they should only work in a narrow horizontal band of semi-skilled jobs. The poor quality of components produced at Power Motors was considered. Who was to blame, Power Motors or Southern Town? Mr. Hallow, the quality manager for the Motor West Group, arrived at Power Motors. His presence was related to the advocacy of a new 'Inspection Scheme' by headquarters management. He began carrying out a study of the plant.

Tuesday, 14th January

There was much 'Waiting' time in the factory. The question of non-union membership was raised. It was argued by some men that non-union members should not be allowed to attend union meetings. Mr. Hallow left Power Motors.

Wednesday, 15th January

The new 'Inspection Scheme' advocated by Mr. Hallow was introduced. It was based upon the machine operators. The reaction to it, and the understanding of it by the work force were, however, not that desired by management. It was announced that a new inspector was to be employed by Mr. Clasp. This was related to the economic situation which was not as restricting as had been thought. The inspector, however, was not employed.

Thursday, 16th January

There was another clash on the shop floor over labour mobility. The shop stewards and the manager held a meeting, and the situation was frozen until Clasp visited Southern Town, and Wallace could be contacted. Mr. Clasp was to visit Motor West headquarters next day for a review of his six month contract. His position was in fact confirmed, but the manager was unsure that this would be the case. Mr. Clasp was also considering what he termed a reorganisation of the work force. This involved sacking machine operators, and removing a foreman, Gordon Wills.

Monday, 20th January

There was little work for employees on the shop floor. Men considered the question of redundancy. If such an event occurred the men wondered whether it would be organised on the basis of 'last in - first out', or should bad timekeepers be made redundant first. There was bad feeling expressed by some employees towards non-union members.

Wednesday, 22nd January

Setters' overtime was cancelled. Clasp was aware of Gordon Wills' failings, he criticised him following the foreman's mistake over his instructions concerning 'waiting' time. Clasp had asked Gordon to tighten his handling of 'waiting'. Clasp believed there was too much 'waiting' time on the 'A' shift. The foreman began issuing men with 'tooling' cards rather than 'waiting' cards. This caused

conflict, and a meeting was held between Clasp and a union representative. During this meeting Clasp re-emphasised the need for more effort to keep the plant open.

Monday, 27th January

Non-union members were under further criticism. The skilled men held a meeting where they decided they must increase the wage differential between themselves and the non-skilled. This marked the onset of a skilled/non-skilled dispute. The skilled men believed operators could earn a wage equal to theirs, therefore, they demanded increased payment. At the same time their responsibilities had been increased by a communique from Motor West. The overtime for setters was reintroduced by Ted Clasp.

Wednesday, 29th January

A meeting, called to end the labour mobility dispute, did not take place because Wallace arrived late. Wallace arranged with Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West, to hold a further meeting. Mr. Clasp was now considering increasing the number of operators, and reducing setters in his reorganisation.

Monday, 3rd February

Men began paying their union dues, to assure themselves of union membership because of the increasing belief in the possibility of redundancy. The machine operators held a meeting which demanded any wage rise be 'across the board'. The skilled/non-skilled dispute was enhanced, and there was antagonism between the two groups on the shop floor.

Tuesday, 4th February

The union convenor, and a shop steward met Clasp concerning a wage rise. They were asked to draft a formal demand. Clasp was now considering hiring and firing operators, firing setters and allowing inspection to decline in his new reorganisation.

Wednesday, 5th February

The shop stewards phrased the wage claim, but Nicky Dawson, an operator, and George Simmons, a setter, argued over the skilled/non-skilled question. George announced he was resigning as shop steward, because of a lack of communication. At the same time Clasp was considering a new reorganisation, involving making up a chargehand setter on each shift. Gordon Wills was to be demoted to chargehand, Frankie Liner (the foreman on the 'B' shift) was to be a general foreman, and there was to be a chargehand made up on the 'B' shift.

Thursday, 6th February

Bill Allison returned to Power Motors, expecting a meeting with Wallace to settle the labour mobility problem. Wallace, however, did not arrive. The shop stewards, and convenor had attempted to contact him numerous times with no success, yet Bill Allison contacted him immediately. The workers at Power Motors were furious. Meanwhile a meeting was arranged between Bill Allison and Wallace for the following week.

Monday, 10th February

Kevin Forster was appointed as the new shop steward on the 'B' shift. Keith Donald, the other shop steward on that shift, was considering resignation. A notice was displayed by management proclaiming that all employees who left work early would be marked absent, and only emergency telephone calls would be accepted on Friday after 5.30 p.m. This was the onset of the telephone dispute. The men were very angry. It was determined to hold a meeting next day to decide upon some action. Mr. Clasp also announced that Gordon Wills and Frankie Liner were to change shifts.

Tuesday, 11th February

A work force meeting over the telephone dispute resulted in a resolution that Ted Clasp take down the notice from the board, and remove the various demands he had made. John Kiln, the convenor, informed Clasp of the

situation. Clasp, however, merely argued that his action was necessary due to absenteeism and bad timekeeping. He brought the worst offenders into his office and gave them a lengthy lecture.

Wednesday, 12th February

Ted Clasp determined to increase his labour force, and the employment of operators followed soon after. John Kiln held another meeting of the men, and outlined the stalemate reached with Clasp over the telephone dispute. At the meeting it was determined to walk out on Friday night at 5.30 p.m.

Friday, 14th February

The labour mobility issue was settled by Wallace and Bill Allison. This involved an 'inspection rate', which was paid to an operator who performed 'rectification'. The result was almost unnoticed. At the same time wages were deemed a domestic matter to be settled within Power Motors, by the manager and his employees. The telephone dispute was resolved. A telephone was to be installed in the canteen. The men, however, still walked out at 5.30 p.m. on the Friday. This ignored all negotiation procedure. A telephone was never actually installed.

Wednesday, 19th February

The convenor visited Clasp over the question of wages. The manager asked for time to compile a league table of wage rates in the area. This he was sure would support the mens' case for a rise. It would also provide Motor West with some reference point to assess a just wage. John Kiln, the convenor, demanded a cost of living rise now, and a wage rise in the future, or action would be taken in 10 days. This policy had been advocated by Nicky Dawson, and accepted by the membership at a union meeting on the same day.

Friday, 21st February

Bill Allison visited Power Motors, and agreed to take the case for a cost of living rise to head office.

Thursday, 27th February

The work force were offered a wage rise of approximately £1, which was deemed equal to the increase in the cost of living since the last wage 'agreement'.

Friday, 28th February

Both the non-skilled and skilled employees agreed to accept the cost of living rise, though both groups admitted the amount offered was derisory. Both agreed to negotiate for a further rise. The skilled men held a separate meeting and argued that they should have separate meetings thereafter. This continued the skilled/non-skilled dispute. The skilled men complained bitterly concerning overwork and the depletion of their numbers. This marked the onset of the skilled work to rule. John Kiln informed Clasp of the men's acceptance of the wage rise, he also brought to the manager's notice the question of overwork for Joe Thompson, the storeman. He must do the work of two men, because Bill Barns, the storeman on the 'B' shift, was absent. Ted Clasp agreed to make minor alterations in the storeman's work; but no more. The manager announced that toatpans were to be introduced, they would lighten Joe's load, because they would reduce the packing of components in despatch to a minimum.⁽⁸⁾

Friday, 7th March

At a meeting of all the skilled men it was determined to institute a work to rule if Ted Clasp did not agree to employ more skilled employees. George Simmons, who now wished to return to his position as shop steward, (Kevin Forster had left the firm) was instrumental in this approach. The work to rule ignored procedure, Clasp was given no warning; he was informed at a meeting on the Friday that the work to rule would begin on Monday. Each setter was to tend only seven machines, and each inspector would work on only half the machines. Ted Clasp received

(8). Toatpans: small containers into which completed components were placed.

the demands with an air of resignation. He suggested there might be unexpected results from this action. There would be chaos, and this could not continue long.

Monday, 10th March

There was much 'waiting' time on the shop floor. John Kiln, however, threatened a walk out if Clasp sent anyone home. There was great ill feeling between setters and operators. The conflict was referred to by the men as the "setters' dispute."

Tuesday, 11th March

Bill Allison arrived at Power Motors and arranged a meeting with Wallace. The two met, and redundancies were announced. The firm was to operate a dayshift with a reduced labour force. Wallace informed the men, and ended the skilled work to rule.

Wednesday, 12th March

Ted Clasp informed the 'B' shift of the situation at a mass meeting (the 'A' shift were informed on the Tuesday). Men feared losing their jobs. This was displayed in their questioning of the manager. A union meeting was held, and both shifts decided on 'last in - first out' in any redundancies. Men then struggled to retain their jobs.

Thursday, 13th March

The men were asked in a short questionnaire their opinion on how redundancies should be decided. The results conflicted with the vote of the meeting of Wednesday, 12th March.

Friday, 14th March

The names of the men to be made redundant were announced, the remaining men were to be placed on dayshift.

Monday, 17th March

The wage rise Bill Allison was prepared to offer was announced. It turned out to be approximately equivalent to the loss in shift allowance involved in the work force

reverting to dayshift.

Tuesday, 18th March

The men rejected this wage rise. The offer was considered insubstantial. The shop stewards decided to return to Clasp.

Wednesday, 19th March

The shop stewards met the manager, and Ted Clasp explained to them that the company could afford no more than the wage offer. This comment was made known to the work force. Two separate meetings were held. The skilled men agreed to accept the situation, but negotiate separately for any further rise. The machine operators also accepted. The Employment Service Agency arrived to find work for the redundant employees.⁽⁹⁾ These men felt they received poor treatment from the agency. The redundant workers were also snubbed at a non-skilled meeting.

Friday, 21st March

Some redundant men left.

Monday, 24th March

The dayshift was started.

Friday, 28th March

The last of the redundant men left.

(9). The Employment Service Agency (E.S.A.) was one of three bodies set up under the 1973 Employment and Training Act. The other two were the Manpower Services Commission, and the Training Services Agency (T.S.A.). The Manpower Services Commission's task is to provide individuals with employment suited to their needs. Both the E.S.A. and the T.S.A. form branches of the commission. The E.S.A. provides employment services, while the T.S.A. deals with training.

(c) THE DATA

The Data

Introduction

This section carries the examination of Power Motors one step further. Section (a) and section (b) of this chapter have presented the background to this section. The main issues of the observation period shall now be thematically presented. This task will be performed with reference to the working agreement. It may be recollected that in Chapter 3, section (4) The Two Case Studies, it was suggested that this thesis intended to consider "new" manufacturing employment in some detail, and to assess qualitative aspects of "new" employment provision. It was outlined that individuals and groups in "new" manufacturing plants might be concerned with more than a job. In the detailed employee requirements which were suggested the importance of the varied expectations, norms and demands employers and employees held with reference to employment was also outlined. A reference point for any tensions and strains, caused by these expectations and norms, is the working agreement. The 'agreement' outlines the contract of employment, that is, the terms upon which employees work and employers employ labour. Clauses within this document are defined as problematic by participants, are subject to varied interpretation, and disputes in industry revolve round such areas of ambiguity.

In section (a) of this chapter, 'The Constraints on Action', an outline of these points of dispute in the Power Motors working agreement was included. The conclusion to this section on constraints suggested that the organisation of the factory, which had been developed by head office, was subject to dual interpretation (by men and management), and that remuneration was important. Also that head office managerial decisions were very important, and that in an uncertain market situation management were unable to maintain a flow of work. This affected the bonus returns of their employees. From these various areas of strain in the 'agreement' the negotiation procedure disintegrated. Such a conclusion may now be further

developed.

The demands, expectations and norms expressed through the working agreement (by employers and employees) relate specifically to the model expounded in Chapter 3. Here it was suggested that managerial pressure was placed upon the work force to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', and that the employees in Power Motors and Truck Components reacted to this. The managerial pressure on the work force at Power Motors consisted of an attempt to increase the level of 'effort bargain' through the working agreement (note here the points of tension in the 'agreement' outlined in section (a)). The organisation of the firm was tightened, this related to the uncertain market situation which management needed to combat, but also the loss situation in the firm. There was also a head office component to this position not only were the decisions of head office very important, but their demands differed from those of the subsidiary manager.

The work force reaction to managerial demands was suggested in Chapter 3 to be antagonistic at Power Motors. This relates to the specific demands of employees also expressed through the working agreement (note again the points of tension in the 'agreement' outlined in section (a)). Employees had differing expectations of the effort required of them, and the monetary reward such effort warranted. They, therefore, attempted to enforce such a view on management. Hence, the dual interpretation of the organisation of the factory (the work force required lax working arrangements). Management and employees had differing definitions of status, this enhanced the antagonistic work force reaction to the managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'. Attempts were made by skilled men to force their definition of status upon others. This involved increased monetary return for skilled men. Increased monetary return was also demanded by other employees. Again this placed in jeopardy managerial requirements (by increasing the cost of the level of effort). Under such tensions and demands disputes

fluctuated, bonus became important, and also the negotiation procedure functioned unsuccessfully.

In their attempts to obtain their ends, groups utilised the weapons in their power. For management it was possible to sack employees who did not comply with their demands, and to force others to work through supervisory controls. In the last analysis redundancy was a possibility. The work force could also enforce sanctions, including a work to rule, or a strike to force management to satisfy their demands.

To conclude, therefore, in a situation where management placed increased pressure upon their work force, and received an antagonistic reaction from their employees, all disputes revolved round two particular issues, both of which are ill defined in the working agreement. These two issues are as follows:

- (a) Control over effort.
- (b) The definition of employee status.

A discussion of the two issues of effort and status shall take place in this data section within two basic sections:

- (1) Managerial Policy.
- (2) The Work Force.

Through this division it will be possible to highlight the demands of each group, their expression through the working agreement, where they were complementary, and how they conflicted. The presentation shall proceed as follows:

(1) Managerial Policy

Power Motors was making a loss, management therefore attempted to enforce a strict control over the effort of their employees, and through this control obtain an improvement in the effort provided. This attempt took the form of plans to reorganise the work force, moves to tighten supervisory controls, the removal of any work force deviance (defined in managerial terms) and the weeding out of unsatisfactory employees. No new employees were to be employed, and finally, redundancy was used as a weapon.

There was also a branch component to this situation. Head office management were uncertain of the ability of Clasp, and they believed that his management of the subsidiary might be faulty. Thus, pressure was placed upon Clasp to improve his achievements, and obtain profitability.

This outline shall proceed in the following sections:

Reorganisation in Power Motors

(i) The Quality of Output Question: head office believed the quality of production at Power Motors to be unsatisfactory. Many components were returned to the subsidiary as scrap. Head office, therefore, overruled Mr. Clasp and sent Mr. Hallow, the quality inspector for the Motor West Group, to Power Motors. Hallow introduced a new inspection scheme which attempted to control the work of machine operators more carefully. He believed they were a major cause of the problem. Later a minor restructuring of production was planned to improve the flow of work of machine operators, but it was never implemented.

(ii) Action Directly Concerning the Work Force: here the actions of management were more directly concerned with effort control. Several attempts were made to alter the 'effort bargain'.

(1) Overtime: this was cancelled in an attempt to reduce costs and improve efficiency. But overtime was re-introduced due to a demand for production at head office.

(2) Changes in the Structure of the Work Force: Clasp devised plans to reduce and reorganise his work force. This included at some stage the removal of a foreman, several setters and numerous operators. However, the policy was never fully implemented, and Clasp even employed new workers.

(3) The 'Tooling' Dispute: Clasp attempted to tighten the control of supervision over employees. This involved forcing Gordon Wills, a foreman, to be more careful in his allocation of 'waiting' and 'tooling' time. Clasp was sure Gordon was too lax. The result of one conversation

between the manager and his foreman was a misunderstanding which caused a dispute over the allocation of 'waiting' cards.

(4) The Telephone Dispute: Clasp determined to remove lax attendance and absenteeism. He took one step in particular which was to cancel telephone calls on Friday evenings. He believed employees used bogus telephone calls as an excuse to leave the factory. Men reacted angrily, but Clasp merely lectured the worst offenders on their absenteeism. The result was a walk-out by all employees.

(5) The Redundancy: finally, not satisfied with the results of the above action, and following an assessment of the market situation by Bill Allison, it was decided by head office to enforce a redundancy. There were diverse reactions upon the shop floor. Employees were divided against each other in an attempt to retain their employment.

(2) The Work Force

The work force reacted antagonistically to management attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'. This may be seen in the telephone and 'tooling' disputes outlined in the section on management. However, they also made demands which placed in jeopardy the whole managerial policy of gaining increased effort without increasing costs. Employees demanded increased remuneration and also absenteeism. Further, the question of employee status was raised by the skilled workers. They believed that their position was threatened at Power Motors. This situation was compounded by demands from management that skilled men work harder. The skilled employees viewed this as a further decline in their position. The section shall proceed as follows:

(i) The Work Force and the 'Effort Bargain': this outlines the demands of the work force, and places them in the context of managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'.

(a) The Labour Mobility Dispute: the work force demanded that 'rectification' work, that is the checking of components, should be performed by inspectors, it was not viewed as semi-skilled work. Clasp believed that operators should perform the task. Employees agreed to do 'rectification' only if they were offered increased remuneration. This dispute was essentially an attempt by employees to remove a loss in earnings. 'Rectification' provided 90% bonus, and men demanded and earned more on production tasks.

(b) The Wage Dispute: this represented a more direct demand for increased reward. Men believed that a rising cost of living, and wage increases in other local firms, entitled them to a wage rise. This, however, contradicted the wage section of the working agreement.

(c) The Bonus Issues: employees also demanded in their terms a 'fair' bonus return. The reaction of employees to the bonus question differed (this shall be discussed in section (d) The Analysis). However, due to an uncertain flow of work, employees could not always earn their required bonus. Bonus disputes and 'fiddling' resulted.

(d) The Demand for 'Indulgency': men were regularly absent, and many ended their shift early during the observation period. This tendency was not a recent phenomenon, as an analysis of the firm's records shows. Men in other words demanded that they should work in a lax plant (here again this demand was not equally made by all the work force. This shall be discussed in (d) The Analysis).

(ii) The Work Force and Employee Status: status was particularly important for skilled employees. They considered themselves of greater value than a non-skilled employee. Further, they emphasised their apprenticeship, rather than mere hard work. Believing their status questioned, they reacted by two demands:

(a) The Skilled Demand for Increased Differentials: as has been outlined earlier, the wage differential between

skilled and non-skilled employees was theoretically small. Setters in particular resented this. During the demand for a wage rise skilled men determined they should negotiate separately with management for an increased wage differential. This caused antagonism between skilled and non-skilled workers.

(b) The Skilled Work to Rule: towards the end of the observation period skilled men believed that they were overworked, more skilled men had left the firm than operators. They determined to work to rule until more skilled men were employed.

(iii) Action Related to the Issues of Status and Effort: though not in themselves a demand associated with either status or effort, other issues were related to the above analysis:

(a) The Divisions Between the Shifts: there were marked differences between the two shifts. This was in part the result of their institutionalised separation. But more importantly it was related to differential employee reactions to many of the disputes involving effort and status. Antagonism between groups on each shift resulted. This found expression in bonus issues, attitudes to foremen, the actions of setters and the attitudes of union representatives.

(b) The Reaction to Non-Union Members: as management tightened their control of the company, and threatened employees with redundancy or closure in an attempt to increase compliance with their demands, employees turned against men who were non-union members.

(c) Trade Union Antipathy: there was no unified support for the trade union at Power Motors. It was recognised that there were advantages to union membership, but faults were discerned in the union organisation. Antagonism included a dislike of the union area representative, Harry Wallace. When Wallace failed to attend a meeting, or did not satisfy the demands of employees, he was widely criticised. However, Wallace must attempt to satisfy all groups at Power Motors. This proved difficult due to

their differing requirements, and antagonism towards him resulted. (Wallace also had external factors to consider, for example the situation at other factories).

(3) A Conclusion: a short summary draws the data section to a close, and links this presentation to (d) The Analysis.

The above outline may be related to regional policy. The reader may note the following points and relate these to the data presentation and analysis to follow. These shall again be introduced in Chapter 6 when the work to the workers concept is re-examined.

(1) It is clear that the action within Power Motors was very complex. This contrasts sharply with the simplistic presentation of such "new" industry in policy documents.

(2) What exactly do employers and employees demand of "new" manufacturing employment? To what extent do such demands conflict, and how are they compatible? This relates to the concept of "pluralism" implicit in work to the workers.

(3) Where demands conflict the access of various groups to power in "new" manufacturing is important. This again relates to the concept of "balance" between opposing groups in pluralist analysis.

(4) Of what importance is the fact that Power Motors is a branch factory?

(5) What is the quality of employment provided by Power Motors? The conditions of employment are important here, but also the extent to which the demands of individuals and groups in a development area factory are met.

With these points, emphasised above, in mind we will move on to an outline of the data collected at Power Motors.

(1) Managerial Policy

Reorganisation in Power Motors

As has been emphasised, reorganisation was a constant theme at Power Motors. Head office determined that due to a loss situation the status quo at Power Motors must be altered. Ted Clasp, the subsidiary plant manager, during discussions with me, outlined that he agreed, he argued that any firm must make profits. However, the actions of management which resulted were not the product of a single minded policy. Reorganisation took two forms.

(i) The Quality of Output Question

Power Motors was plagued by a substantial scrap rate. Clasp estimated that 25% of some orders were scrap. Head office budgeted for only 2½%.⁽¹⁰⁾ There were two elements to this scrap rate. Firstly, a local scrap rate, and secondly a scrap rate following the return of components from Southern Town. The local rate was between 1.7% and 2.1% of production, thus it was the returned components from Motor West which boosted the rate. Motor West utilised the subsidiary factory as a subcontractor. As each batch of components arrived at head office a percentage check was carried out. If this produced an unacceptable level of inferior parts the whole batch was returned. These must be rechecked and the useful components transported south once more. With a budget deficit of £2,000 a week the company believed the quality of output must be improved.

The issue was first raised during the early stages of the labour mobility dispute (9th January). Both were related because the labour mobility dispute involved 'rectification', which was a direct result of the unsatisfactory quality of production. Clasp informed the men at Power Motors that quality standards were unsatisfactory, something must be done. Harry Wallace, the union area secretary, and the union representatives within the factory, gave various reasons for such a situation. Could the company be attempting to achieve quantity rather than

(10). The source: the records of Power Motors Ltd.

quality? Machinery was inefficient. Perhaps Motor West applied too stringent a check on components transported from Power Motors? Keith Donald, a shop steward, believed some components were returned which were satisfactory (this was certain to occur due to the checking system, but not all the men realised this). George Simmons, also a shop steward, was unsure of the accuracy of gauges used to check components at both Motor West and Power Motors.

Ted Clasp maintained, however, that the quality standards of the Group had been tightened, and as a result Power Motors no longer produced to the required level. Action was being taken to change this. Mr. Hallow, the quality manager for the Motor West Group was present in the plant. Mr. Hallow had studied the factory prior to the observation period. Clasp had complained bitterly to head office, claiming the quality manager had an unsuitable attitude. Hallow regarded quality control at Power Motors as ineffective, and the factory, which was too far north, as unsuitable. This was not an attitude likely to endear him to a plant manager concerned with the viability of his firm.

However, Motor West ordered Hallow's return to the factory. The quality manager carried out his study from 9th-14th January. His final report criticised the organisation of the plant, and advised changes. Clasp regarded the report as "lies", but a new system of inspection was announced on 15th January. The scheme involved the machine operators. Prior to its introduction the operators checked one component in 10 as they were produced. However, under the new scheme the first component produced was placed in a green box, and the next 10 in a blue container. This produced a 100% check. If the first component was faulty, then the last 10 could be checked before being cleared. It was hoped this would discover scrap at an earlier stage in the work process, and, further, would reduce the actual scrap rate. Inspectors were to be present when a job was timed, and they were always to

check the first component produced on a machine.

However, the actual nature of the reorganisation was very unclear to the work force. The foreman, Gordon Wills, was to inform the 'A' shift what was involved, but the setters were unwilling to listen because it was breaktime, and they asked for extra pay. Gordon refused, so the setters went to him after the break. Gordon then was unwilling to give them any details.

Later a new scheme was advocated by head office. On Friday, 28th February, the introduction of a new container to hold components on the production line was announced by Clasp. These toatpans allowed production to be despatched immediately to Motor West without packaging. The plan was never implemented.

(ii) Action Directly Concerning the Work Force

Management's other policies were concerned directly with the work force. These policies operated in four areas:

(1) Overtime

Mr. Clasp planned to stop all overtime. But his plans were regularly altered. Clasp continually announced overtime would cease due to the economic climate, but later he was forced to introduce Saturday and Sunday working. Further, he removed setters' overtime. At each changeover of shift, setters worked an extra 15 minutes to assure continuity of production. However, within two weeks of this ending the 15 minutes was returned.

(2) Changes in the Structure of the Work Force

Ted Clasp announced on various occasions his plans to reduce the labour force. Gordon Wills, the 'A' shift foreman, commented on Monday, 20th January, that the manager intended to reduce the work force by six men per shift. This was to involve operators being made redundant. Mr. Clasp himself remarked next day that he believed lay-offs were likely. Motor West had ceased all overtime, and

with Power Motors had an excess of 'waiting' time, there must be a cutback.

On 29th January Clasp considered the factory to be undermanned. There were too few operators, but the manager believed four setters might be removed. By 31st January Frankie Liner, the 'B' shift foreman, was complaining of too few operators. On 4th February Clasp outlined the following plan. It involved the hiring and firing of labour. He believed he must act in this fashion to save his job. Eight to 10 operators would be fired, and four setters removed. Inspection would be allowed to decline. More operators could then be employed.

By 12th February Clasp was interviewing men supplied by the Department of Employment. Numerous men were interviewed. Four new employees were started. Yet, on 11th March redundancies were announced (see the section on Reorganisation in Power Motors, (5) The Redundancy). Some 27 employees were made redundant, including the four so recently employed.

Ted Clasp also attempted to reorganise the supervisory structure. Clasp continually criticised Gordon Wills for allowing excessive 'waiting' and 'tooling' time (see next section). He eventually planned to demote Gordon to chargehand, and promote Frankie Liner to general foreman. There was to be another chargehand on the 'B' shift, Terry Allen. This replaced an earlier plan to appoint a chargehand under each foreman. Gordon Wills though, in the eventuality, refused to accept demotion, and Clasp eventually placed Frankie on the 'A' shift and Gordon on the 'B'.

(3) The 'Tooling' Dispute

As part of a campaign to stamp out excessive 'waiting' and 'tooling' time, Clasp informed Gordon Wills on Wednesday, 22nd January, that he should restrict his allocation of 'tooling'. There was a misunderstanding. Next day Gordon gave John Scorer a 'tooling' card when his machine had broken down, yet half an hour later produced a 'wait-

ing' card for the operator. This would effectively reduce his bonus rate from 90% to 80% on the bonus scale. The operator refused the card and contacted John Kiln, the union convenor. The result was a meeting between Ted Clasp, John Kiln and Jimmy Mac.⁽¹¹⁾

Clasp outlined the position, Gordon had been reprimanded for having excessive 'tooling' and 'waiting' on his shift, all his actions resulted from this. The foreman was to make sure bookings on the bonus cards were genuine, and did not involve, as was often the case, an operator booking in a 'waiting' card, because he had earned his quota of bonus. Jimmy Mac claimed that men booked on 'tooling' to ensure the job was performed correctly. Clasp disagreed, for the week ending 17th January the 'A' shift had 18 hours of 'tooling', and 95 hours 'waiting' time, while on the 'B' shift the totals were 14 hours and 56 hours respectively. Jimmy Mac argued, firstly his shift were one setter short, and further that the 'B' shift were breaking machines, which produced 'waiting' time on the 'A' shift. Clasp merely emphasised that the situation could not continue. He asked the men whether the problem was a shortage of setters, or too many operators?

Jimmy Mac then outlined the actions Gordon Wills had actually taken. Clasp was astonished, he had informed Gordon that the first 20 minutes of 'tooling' time was part of an allowance calculated into the bonus rate, it should be discounted. Following this the operator should be booked onto 'tooling'. The manager explained the delicate position within the motor industry; he had merely sought to utilise the work within the factory. It was essential to produce more or cut overheads. The foreman must play his part in aiding production. If 'waiting' time continued, the labour force would be reduced.

Gordon Wills was asked to attend the meeting. Clasp explained to him the facts of the situation. He then

(11). Nicky Dawson, the shop steward for the non-skilled workers on the 'A' shift, was absent. Jimmy Mac took his place.

turned to the union representatives; he outlined that there were two alternatives, employ more setters if they were a problem, or to cut staff if there was insufficient work. The problem of setters would be considered, and their relationship to 'waiting' and 'tooling' analysed. The meeting ended at this point, and Jimmy Mac proclaimed,

Men come here to make money, not produce.

(4) The Telephone Dispute

On Monday, 10th February, a notice was placed by Clasp upon the factory notice board. It stated that in future those men who left the factory early during a shift would be regarded as absent and reprimanded accordingly. No telephone calls would be accepted, with the exception of emergency calls, later than 5.30 p.m. on a Friday.

This met the disapproval of the work force. Clasp in anger criticised the labourer for not effectively cleaning the factory. Elsie Pigg, the secretary, placed a notice reading 'Staff Toilets' on the toilets next to the canteen. The 'A' shift reacted, it was determined to hold a mass meeting next day. John Kiln, the convenor, believed Clasp could not decide what constituted an important call, something must be done. He chaired a meeting of all employees. Most men agreed with his sentiments. Ralph Thomas, an operator on the 'B' shift, maintained,

What's it got to do with him (Mr. Clasp)
if we leave early, we're hourly paid,
he's not paying us 'till 10 (the end of
the shift).

Bill Chaplin and George Osborn (machine operators) agreed. The notice must be taken down, if Clasp refused to accept calls there must be a telephone installed in the canteen. Jimmy Mac, a machine operator, demanded more,

What about action. I think we should
refuse to work Friday afternoons, or
finish early in any case.

George Osborn wanted to follow the negotiation procedure, but Ralph Thomas believed this might allow an emergency to be ignored. George suggested they sue Clasp if this occurred. The meeting concluded with the following decision. John Kiln, the convenor, was to visit the manager, and inform him the men were displeased by his actions. If the manager did not agree to remove the notice, the men were to walk out at 5.30 p.m. on Friday evening.

John Kiln and Nicky Dawson, the union representatives, met Clasp. They informed him that calls were "a mens' right". To Clasp, though, they were a concession, they had been abused, therefore, they would be removed. He could tolerate real emergencies, but production was being effected. Men left the factory following calls, often without the permission of the foreman. There was no discipline in the firm. This was no longer acceptable. The shop stewards asked if the shift times might be altered to provide men with an early finish on Fridays. Clasp believed this was up to the men. Nicky wondered why Clasp stipulated Fridays in particular. Clasp replied that men left early on a Friday most often, on other days they simply did not attend work. At this juncture Clasp outlined that he intended to give verbal warnings to several workers for their lax attitude. Those present on the 'A' shift were called to his office. The men involved were John Scorer, Ernie Ellison, Steve Forest, Nicky Dawson, Jimmy Mac, Jimmy Smiles, Ray Atkin, Bob Scott, Brian Glendening, Alan Corner, Eddie Cuff, Fred Ayre (machine operators), Davey Smith, Kenny Rendal and Newby Holder (skilled men). Clasp addressed those present. There were on average 16 men absent on any one day. By going through the records he was forced to conclude that the men present were all bad timekeepers. Bob Scott and Jimmy Mac believed there should be others warned. The manager promised he would investigate the question of any further warnings. Jimmy Smiles at this remarked,

If its just a verbal warning I want to

get out and get on with the job.

He left followed by Ray Atkin. Jimmy Mac complained concerning the regularity of the buses, and Kenny Rendal believed his poor record was due to Dave Ribald being ill, this had lost him his lift to work. Ernie Ellison maintained he was rarely late, someone was 'fiddling' his records. Clasp cut back,

You've lost a hell of a lot of time.

But Ernie believed this was not his fault, nor was it surprising, what could Clasp expect when,

One shift I was on 'waiting' eight hours. Its not worth coming in.

Other men backed Ernie in this. They would rather lose work than have 'waiting' or 'tooling'. Clasp maintained there should be no 'waiting' or 'tooling', there was plenty of work, it must be Gordon Wills' fault. There was more 'waiting' time on the 'A' shift than on the 'B'. On this note the meeting closed, with Clasp remaining adamant in his position.

Next day the notice was torn from the board by Kenny Rendal. John Kiln, the convenor, reported back to the men. They were not in favour of any alteration of their shift times. Bill Chaplin (machine operator) informed John Kiln,

You don't want to be giving that bloke
(Ted Clasp) anything, John.

Geoff Hobart, a machine operator, held that John should return to Clasp, demand the notice be taken down, and if it was not, leave the office. Nicky Dawson, the shop steward, said this was pointless. Walter Humble wanted a work to rule, this would avoid the loss of income involved in leaving early. Jimmy Mac, though, put forward that the men withdraw their labour at 5.30 p.m. on Friday evening. George Simmons, a setter, remarked that there should be 10 days notice. Paddy McDougal, a machine operator, said that no such warning was given concerning the notice on

the board. Jimmy Mac's motion was accepted on a general aye, but numerous setters were upset by the decision.

George Almond, an operator, remarked that it was all a trivial matter. Kenny Rendal (an inspector) and Alec Duns (an operator) agreed. Men, though, forced them to follow the majority. On the Friday the dispute was settled. Bill Allison, the production manager from Motor West, and Harry Wallace the union area secretary, produced a compromise. There was to be a public call box installed in the canteen. The foreman must be consulted, however, if a man left early. This did not prevent the work force walking out. John Kiln, the convenor, informed Clasp that he could not alter the decision to walk out at such a late date, because mens' wives would have prepared the evening meal for 5.30 p.m.

Though the problem was resolved, a telephone was never installed during the observation period. This did not appear to disturb the employees.

(5) The Redundancy

Dissatisfied with the results of their other policies, management resorted to redundancy. The redundancy was a complex issue, and it laid bare other themes, prejudices and issues within the plant. Absenteeism and lax time-keeping were recurring phenomena at Power Motors, some men resented such behaviour. Another division apparent was between the union and non-union members of the plant. Men resented non-unionised employees. During the redundancy both problems came to the fore.

From the onset of the observation period the work force at Power Motors was allowed to rundown by natural wastage. In periods of work shortage the viability of the factory was questioned. It was at these moments, when 'waiting' time was at a maximum, that the workers considered how redundancy should be decided. Some believed it should be 'last in - first out', and others that it should be decided on the basis of a man's working record.

Redundancy was announced on 11th March. Mr. Clasp explained the position to the employees. Some 20 to 27

machine operators, three setters, one labourer and one inspector must be made redundant, however, the actual details of this were not yet worked out. Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West, had assessed the situation; the long term prospects of the company were worse than expected. The present production levels and labour force could not be maintained. There would, therefore, be single shift working; with a reduced labour force, operating a dayshift. However, the firm was still negotiating increased wages, and a representative from the Department of Employment would visit the factory to provide new employment for the redundant employees.

George Osborn, a machine operator, asked if the redundancies were to be decided on a 'closed shop' basis. Tommy Morley, a machine operator, wondered if this would mean 'last in - first out'. Mr. Clasp explained that this was the common method for making such decisions, but management must ensure the viability of the firm. Tommy Morley responded with a question,

If one man's been here 18 months and another nine months, what happens if one has a better timekeeping?

Clasp explained, this would be decided with the union representatives. But, the actual redundancy was certain, there could be no three-day week, or work sharing agreement. Men raised the question of the labourers. The present total of two was to be reduced to one, this seemed unnecessarily harsh. Arthur Davis, a machine operator, enquired of the possibility of introducing sub-contract work for other firms. Clasp said this was impossible, machines at Power Motors were specialised to one component. Redundancies were certain, but it was a joint venture, and decisions would be reached between management and union representatives.

Following this meeting the men fell into arguments among themselves. George Simmons, a setter, believed Clasp would decide redundancies himself. This was wrong,

it should be 'last in - first out'. Eddie Cox, the electrician, agreed. Others, though, were uncertain. All, however, were disturbed by the prospect of redundancy. Tommy Morley, a machine operator, remarked,

I was going to take my granddaughter to Jersey. I'll have to blindfold her and take her to Seahall (a local holiday resort).

The remark was humorous, but sarcasm and fear for his job lay behind it. Tommy Groan approached the manager, he had been employed to take control of an assembly plant. The plant had never been developed, and now he worked as an inspector. He was the last inspector to be employed in the firm, did this mean he would be made redundant? Clasp agreed to consider the matter further.

Everyone took an attitude towards the redundancy. Some were cynical, Ronnie Nichol, a machine operator, commented upon John Jamey's (a machine operator) age, and his fear of redundancy,

He'll be coming in with his cap on tomorrow He's sending down the town for some 'Formula 16' to dye his hair (to disguise his age).

Others were bitter, Keith Tatler, a machine operator, believed a man's job was secure if he was friendly with a shop steward. But soon conflict began in earnest.

A general meeting of all employees was held to determine the principle to be used to decide redundancy. Ralph Thomas, a machine operator, proposed non-union members first, volunteers next, bad timekeepers and then 'last in - first out'. Jimmy Smiles, a machine operator, and Nicky Dawson, the 'A' shift shop steward, had planned their action the night before. Both were bad timekeepers. Jimmy, therefore, maintained that bad timekeepers should not be on Ralph's list. Nicky supported him, unless an employee had been dismissed he could not be classified a

bad timekeeper. The shop steward proposed a second motion, non-union members first, followed by 'last in - first out'. This was the procedure in the engineering industry, and it was supported by the union. Arthur Davis, a machine operator, questioned this; a man could be reliable, even though he had been in employment only a few weeks. A vote was called and the motion for non-union employees, followed by 'last in - first out' was carried by 26 votes to 15. Next day men were asked by Mary Howe and myself how they voted at the meeting and how they felt on the issue of bad timekeeping. The results were as follows:

	<u>For 'last in - first out'</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Didn't vote</u>	<u>Against 'last in - first out'</u>
How employees felt on the issue	21	3	0	28
How employees voted on the issue	26	0	11	15

Men were asked their reason for any clash between how they felt and how they voted. There were two major reasons for differences. Some said this was because the issue did not concern them. Skilled men in particular did not express their convictions. Dave Ribald, a setter, was leaving and Newby Holder was permanently absent, there was, therefore, unlikely to be more than one redundancy among the setters, and if an inspector was made redundant it would be Tommy Groan. Others voted for 'last in - first out' because it was union policy.

With a recommendation from the work force for 'last in - first out' the shop stewards met the manager. At this stage Keith Donald, the union representative on the 'B' shift, was permanently absent. George Simmons, a former representative, had his attempted return to his position halted by the union area secretary. Thus, only John Kiln, Tony Sweeney and Nicky Dawson represented the

TABLE 4
The Redundant Employees

'A' Shift

<u>Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Non-skilled Employees</u>	
Newby Holder*	(21m) ^s	George Almond*	(23m)
Dave Ribald+	(2m)	John Bolt	(7m)
		Norman Cowen	(Just Started)
		Ernie Ellison*	(14m)
		Ken Hemp	(2m)
		Paddy McDougal*	(12m)
		Ian Macleman	(Just Started)
		Bob Scott	(4m)
		Phil Swindley*	(4m)
		Tommy Trapp	(Just Started)

'B' Shift

<u>Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Non-skilled Employees</u>	
Alan Padget		Alan Corner	(6m)
		Eddie Cuff	(4m)
		Keith Donald	(4m)
		Bob Float*	(17m)
		Tommy Fetcher	(6m)
		Derek Harrison+	(7m)
		Stan Hume	(Just Started)
		Keith Jenner*	
		Andy Long	(4m)
		Tommy Morley	(6m)
		Ronnie Nichol	(5m)
		Ken Proudfoot	(14m)
		Keith Tatler	(6m)
		Mick Valour	(11m)
		Alan Wilkinson	

- There were special reasons for these redundancies, most were non-union employees, but Newby was sacked because he never attended the firm.
- * Paddy McDougal volunteered for redundancy though he was not on the initial list. This allowed Bob Float to remain in employment.
- + Dave Ribald volunteered for redundancy because he was offered alternative employment. Derek Harrison was in a similar position.
- s Length of employment at Power Motors in brackets.

men. None were on the 'B' shift. Tommy Morley, a machine operator on the 'B' shift, announced during break that his shift should elect George Osborn to represent them in these negotiations. His remarks were simply ignored.

The shop stewards related their meeting with Clasp. Union procedure was followed completely, but for Mick Valour, a machine operator on the 'B' shift.⁽¹²⁾ After the first set of negotiations they rang Wallace, the union area secretary. He said,

(12). This was cross-checked on data, collected during the observation period, which listed employees' date of starting, and it proved to be incorrect. This conclusion will be related to the action of Ted Clasp, which shall be explained as this section proceeds. A list of the length of employment at Power Motors for those employees not made redundant is provided below:

Skilled

Terry Allan	(18m)	Kenny Rendal	(9m)
Eddie Cox	(24m)	Keith Roper	(6m)
Tommy Groan	(5m)	Davey Smith	(10m)
Harry Johnson	(21m)	Tony Sweeney	(10m)
John Kila	(18m)	George Simmons	(22m)
Larry Loughlin	(18m)	Billy Taylor	(3½m)

Non-Skilled

Ray Atkin	(12m)•	Walter Humble	(21m)
Tommy Brown	(8m)x	Jimmy Mac	(17m)•
Bill Chaplin	(19m)	George Osborn	(18m)
Billy Corkin	(19m)	Phil Pearson	(10m)x
Nicky Dawson	(17m)•	Billy Reid	(12m)•
Arthur Davis	(9m)x	John Scorer	(21m)
Arthur Dunn	(8m)x	Jimmy Smiles	(23m)
Alec Duns	(4m)x	Ralph Thomas	(18m)
Brian Glendening	(21m)	Alan White	(10m)x
Billy Haghnaught	(7m)x		
Keith Hayot	(4m)x		
Geoff Hobart	(22m)		

By comparing this list with those made redundant in Table 4 it becomes clear that 'last in - first out' was not followed in the redundancy. If Mick Valour's (see Table 4) length of employment is correct then all those in the above list marked (x) could have been made redundant. If the length of employment is correct for Bob Float (see Table 4) all those marked (•) could have been made redundant. It is obvious then that there was some manipulation of the redundancy lists. This may even have gone beyond that outlined by Clasp. It shall be suggested later in this analysis that Clasp altered the starting dates for the following employees:

Billy Haghnaught	(7m)	Keith Hayot	(4m)
Alec Duns	(4m)		

You've got to let Clasp think he's still managing. You've got most of your own way - let him have a little bit of say.

This was how Mick Valour was made redundant. Clasp argued he was an unsatisfactory worker, and the shop stewards accepted this one deviation from the rule. Thus, his name along with 26 others was announced on 14th March (a list of those made redundant is presented in Table 4). Most accepted their fate, Bob Float, a machine operator, forced a rueful smile, and Tommy Morley, also a machine operator, believed it would be difficult for him to obtain another job. Tommy Fetcher, an operator, felt sick, Ronnie Nichol, also an operator, said nothing. Mick Valour, however, questioned the decision, he began enquiring when men began their employment at Power Motors. He approached Tony Sweeney concerning his redundancy. Tony guided him to Ted Clasp. Clasp simply returned him to the steward, and Mick eventually was forced to accept his redundancy. Tommy Groan, the inspector, was not made redundant, he was a special case.

Ted Clasp commented upon the situation. The negotiations with union representatives had resulted mainly in 'last in - first out'. However, he had altered the date of starting on the records of three employees. He had been pleased by the redundancy of Ernie Ellison, a machine operator he particularly disliked. Ernie had allowed his union membership to lapse, but was a good friend of both John Kiln, the convenor, and Nicky Dawson, a shop steward. John Kiln had informed Ernie of his dangerous position prior to the redundancy, but Ernie took no heed. When the redundancies came Ernie enquired of John if he might pay his back dues. John refused, he complained that Ernie was unprepared to pay his dues, yet he wanted union protection. Ernie blamed his redundancy on the method of paying union subscriptions. It cost him 13p in bus fares to travel to the union headquarters.

Clasp also wished to rid himself of Jimmy Smiles,

Mick Valour and Ray Atkin, all machine operators. But he, gave them Jimmy Smiles for Mick Valour, because he at least works when he's here.

It was, nevertheless, unfortunate that Ray had remained. Bob Float and Tommy Fetcher had to be made redundant although both were useful employees, because he wished more strongly to rid himself of Mick Valour. Keith Hayot, Alec Duns and Billy Haghnaught (machine operators) were all 'good' workers, and he had altered their records to retain their services (this fact was substantiated by checking the length of employment each employee had at Power Motors). Many of the problem employees were now redundant, especially Newby Holder (a setter) and Keith Donald (a machine operator), but Nicky Dawson (a shop steward) remained, if he created more problems he would be removed.

During the following weekend (15th-17th March) the factory was burgled and settings on the machines were altered. This held up production, but also one setting on a grinder could have caused a component in the machine to be ejected, thus damaging the operator. This event helped to turn feeling against the redundant employees. Tony Sweeney and Billy Taylor, both skilled employees, believed that Clasp should ask those men made redundant to leave immediately, rather than prolong their employment a further two weeks. Indeed the redundant employees had ceased to be an integral part of the work force. Preparations were being made for their departure.

On Wednesday, 19th March, Employment Services Agency representatives attended the plant. They were to deal with the employment needs of the redundant employees. The following interview was recorded between Perry Maton, who controlled the operation, and Phil Swindley, a machine operator.

Perry Maton began by amassing the particulars of the operator's past employment history. Phil Swindley was a time served fitter and turner who had left his trade. He had been employed at Power Motors for four and a half

months. Perry Maton wished to know the type of employment Phil desired. Phil responded that he hoped to obtain an operating job, similar to his present position as a grinder. He would, of course, return to his trade if possible. Mr. Maton outlined that the Cox Shipyard might require fitters in April, but fitters were not generally in demand. Turners were, but Phil found this boring. Perry Maton then approached the question of retraining,

What about retraining? Electrical fitting has very good prospects at the moment. There is a five month course and 90% of the men on the course get jobs. There is a financial incentive - its £6-7 a week more than the dole. There's transport there and back. All tools, books, etc. are free. It will increase your job prospects.

Phil, however, did not respond and the conversation drifted to wage levels. The machine operator required at least £40 a week in his new job, and this must be within reasonable distance of home. Perry Maton suggested between 30 and 40 minutes travelling time. This was accepted by the operator. Phil then commented that he would take any reasonable employment. Phil had been employed on building sites in the past, but Perry Maton believed this was not a secure employment area at the moment. So Ian again approached the question of retraining,

But if you do training in a centre you get £18 plus related earnings. It'll be a hard six months, but it is another skill. Prospects look good but you can't say for six months in the future. But if you were on the course at the moment (electrical fitting), though, after three months employers are jockeying for position.

Again Phil showed no interest. Mr. Maton proceeded to outline the vacancies in the area. There were vacancies in the

Waterloo area for machine operators and maintenance fitters. At Buterhead and Langton Mill there were similar positions. These Phil believed were too far.⁽¹³⁾ There was also a temporary job stripping out machinery in a Stockland factory, a branch of the Trent Electrical Group, and a marine engineering company also wanted machinists.⁽¹⁴⁾ Phil was interested in the Trent Electrical Group job, but when Mr. Maton contacted the company the vacancy had been filled. At this point the interview was terminated.

Perry Maton carried out further interviews, in a similar vein, emphasising retraining, or the employees' past skills. Two other E.S.A. representatives aided Mr. Maton in his work. He outlined that these men were not specially trained for this task and their interviews, though similar, aroused resentment. George Almond, a machine operator, was anxious, his interviewer did not mention a new factory which was to develop on the Peyton Industrial Estate.⁽¹⁵⁾ This factory, several men hoped, would provide substantial engineering employment. John Bolt, a machine operator, related his interview,

He (the interviewer) asked me what I wanted for a job. I said, 'Anything', and I was told, 'There's nothing doing'.

Nicky Dawson, a shop steward, remarked that Norman Cowen, a machine operator, had terminated his employment at Power Motors, saying the Employment Services Agency would do little,

He'd get out last week and he'd have a head start.

Ronnie Nichol, a machine operator, refused to consider an interview with the Employment Services Agency, and Ernie Ellison, another machine operator, determined to use his

(13). These towns listed are all in the Power Motors area.

(14). Stockland: the town in which Power Motors was situated.

(15). Peyton Industrial Estate: the industrial estate upon which Power Motors was situated.

own initiative.

Proceedings were interrupted while the employees held a mass meeting to determine policy in the next round of wage discussions, Nicky Dawson chaired it. He outlined that Mr. Clasp had agreed to provide redundant employees with a pass out to attend any interviews, also he would pay them for Good Friday if they remained until the Thursday before. However, the rest of the meeting concerned only the employees of the firm, all the redundant men were asked to leave. The meeting went on to discuss Bill Allison's wage offer.

Following the meeting, the agency men continued their work. The Trent Electrical Group subsidiary, Trent T.V., telephoned Power Motors: they required two temporary fitters' mates. Tommy Fetcher and Mick Valour, both machine operators, agreed to attend interviews for these posts, and if unsuccessful to begin retraining at a skill centre. Some men, dissatisfied by their first interview, were re-interviewed. This made small difference, and at the conclusion of the Employment Services Agency's work, only two men had interviews for temporary jobs and a skill centre. Larry Loughlin, Tommy Groan, Kenny Rendal and Dave Ribald, all skilled employees, contacted Perry Maton during the day with enquiries concerning vacancies. Mr. Maton advised them to enquire later at the agency's office.

Next day life at the factory returned to normal. Paddy McDougal volunteered for redundancy and Bob Float was taken off the redundancy list. On Friday, 21st March, seven redundant employees terminated their employment. The following Monday a dayshift was introduced, and the other redundant workers left the firm on Friday, 28th March. This provided a conclusive end to the observation period.

(2) The Work Force

(i) The Work Force and the 'Effort Bargain'

This section is directly concerned with those issues during the observation period when the work force made demands concerning physical effort and the rewards available for effort. The four issues and disputes discussed here, the labour mobility dispute, the wage dispute, the bonus issues and the demand for 'indulgency' may be considered in the context of managerial demands for an increase in effort by employees. The disputes in detail are as follows.

(a) The Labour Mobility Dispute

The working agreement at Power Motors outlined that all men should be "fully mobile" within the range of their "existing training". This was interpreted by management in vertical terms. A man should perform all tasks up to and including his most highly skilled job. To an employee, however, mobility involved working within a strictly defined horizontal job grade.

When faulty components were returned from Southern Town they must be checked, some of the batch might be in good order, because Motor West performed only a percentage quality check. Machine operators were delegated this task, but they questioned the validity of management policy. This was not, however, the first manifestation of the problem.

In the union records, it is recorded in the minutes for 18th March,

- (1) The foreman is to stop setting machines, and doing maintenance and electrical work.
- (2) Eddie and Tony (the electrician Eddie Cox, and the maintenance fitter Tony Sweeney) are to stop driving the fork lift truck and the company car, except under exceptional circumstances.
 - (a) Going to hospital.
 - (b) Going to get their spares.

(c) Using the fork lift for their own work.

(3) Setters were to stop doing maintenance. (16)

Also on one occasion, when management from head office visited the plant, machine operators (semi-skilled) were asked to clean the factory. This had been resented. Prior to the Christmas break in 1974 several semi-skilled men had also refused to clean machines. Thus, it is clear that the 'rectification' issue was not the only mobility problem, however, it was the one most prominent during the observation period. (17)

Following the Christmas break John Kiln, the union convenor, at a meeting of shop stewards, agreed to approach the manager, Ted Clasp, on the issue. This was done, but the two men were deadlocked over the question. The next stage of procedure was initiated and Wallace, the union area secretary, attended a meeting between the shop stewards and Mr. Clasp. Wallace argued the mobility clause allowed freedom of movement only within each job grade. 'Rectification' was not within the job grade of a semi-skilled machine operator. For an operator to perform this task a renegotiation of the 'agreement' was necessary, this would involve increased monetary reward.

Mr. Clasp argued 'rectification' could be performed in the "spirit of the 'agreement'". Such mobility was essential to the working of the factory. The firm was in a difficult economic position, and could not afford to be troubled by a dispute caused by one shift. He outlined the quality problem and the high scrap rate. Reasons for the problem, and schemes to solve it were considered. The shop stewards felt it was Motor West, and not Power Motors who were at fault. They either provided faulty gauges, or were over strict in their checking.

The meeting closed with a disagreement, Clasp agreed to contact Southern Town on the matter. But Wallace made it clear, the mobility clause involved money; the rate for

(16). Source: the minutes, 'The A.U.E.W. Records', Power Motors.

(17). 'Rectification': the checking of components with a gauge.

the job. This was emphasised by Nicky Dawson, the shop steward on the 'A' shift. Men received 90% bonus on 'rectification', and thus it represented a loss in earnings. (18)

On Thursday, 16th January, Gordon Wills, the 'A' shift foreman, placed Tommy Brown, a machine operator, on 'rectification' work. Nicky Dawson, the shop steward, stopped this and next day a meeting was arranged between Nicky, John Kiln, the convenor, and Ted Clasp, the manager. Again Clasp argued that 'rectification' could be performed in the "spirit of the 'agreement'", and no renegotiation was necessary. The union representatives, however, demanded that 'rectification' cease, and the situation be frozen until Wallace could attend the plant. Clasp pointed out that two of his production lines depended upon the recycling of components from 'rectification', if work was not provided production would stagnate, and there would be an excess of 'waiting' time. However, the union representatives remained adamant, and it was decided to invite Wallace to attend the plant. Wallace declined, and demanded to meet a manager from head office. During the next week there was a shortage of work and an excess of 'waiting' time.

A meeting was arranged, so the work force believed, on 6th February, between Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West, and Wallace. Wallace, however, did not arrive at the plant, and the men were furious. A further meeting was arranged for the following Thursday. This was rearranged, and eventually took place on Friday, 14th February. Here the issue was settled. Semi-skilled operators were to be paid a special 'inspection rate' to perform 'rectification'. John Kiln, the convenor, remarked that Wallace used "long words" and not "mens' talk" when the issue was settled. Many of the men were also unsure that the issue was concluded, or indeed what the solution entailed.

(18). 90% was less than a man might expect to earn. The exact meaning of 90% is outlined under (a) The Constraints on Action. However, in this context it is sufficient to grasp that 90% would reduce a man's average bonus total.

The compromise appeared at the time insignificant. Ted Clasp remarked that the whole dispute was "stupid".

(b) The Wage Dispute

In an 'agreement', signed in August 1974, the employees at Power Motors agreed to forego any further Threshold Payments, in return for a cost of living rise.⁽¹⁹⁾ This 'agreement' was to last one year. However, by January 1975 the men believed a wage rise was necessary. At the initial shop stewards' meeting, following the Christmas break, it was agreed to discuss the matter with Mr. Clasp. Clasp instructed the stewards to form a sub-committee to consider the problem.

(19). Threshold Payments, and other aspects of the 'agreement', relate to the counter inflationary policy of the 1970-74 Conservative Government.

30th November, 1972 Counter Inflation Act (Temporary Provisions) H.M.S.O.

The act imposed a temporary freeze, to last 90 days, with a further 150 day extension, on wages and prices.

22nd March, 1973 Counter Inflation Act, H.M.S.O.

This repealed the temporary provisions, and introduced the Price Commission and a Pay Board. These had powers over prices, pay, dividends, rates and rents. The Treasury provided a code of practice for these bodies. Notice of increases, in areas under their control, were to be provided to the respective bodies, and any measure outside the code was to be restricted.

Statutory Instrument No. 1785 'The Counter-Inflationary Policy' (Price and Pay Code) (No. 2).

In the autumn of 1973 the code of practice defined for the above bodies was regulated. The instrument stated on prices,

Prices may not be increased unless there is an increase in total costs per unit of output. No increase may exceed the increase in total costs per unit.

On wages the instrument announced,

No group may receive an increase in pay under a settlement made after 6th November, 1972 less than 12 months after the group has last received a principle increase.

The maximum amount of any increase was to be 7% of the total wage of the employee, or £2.25 per month. Thresholds were provided for. They linked price rises, outlined in the Retail Price Index, to wages. Over a 7% increase in prices, for every 1% rise in the index an employee received 40p per week.

TABLE 5

The District Wage Rates

	<u>Shift</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Semi-Skilled</u>
<u>Sheet metal company</u>	dayshift	£55	£53 (measured day rate)
<u>The Cox Shipyard</u>	dayshift	£50 + (£12.50 bonus)	-
<u>Precision Engineering</u>	dayshift	£42 base rate + (£12 lieu element)	£41 base rate + (bonus)
<u>Tool and Machine Company</u>	dayshift	-	£37.70 base rate + (£10.32 bonus) (measured day rate)
<u>Marl Company</u>	dayshift	£48.50	£48.50
<u>Gear Components</u>	dayshift	-	£28.50 base rate with bonus reaching to £48.80.

The skilled men decided to formulate their own wage claim and this was followed, two working days later, by the non-skilled demand that a wage rise should maintain the existing differential. These events took place between 27th January and 3rd February, almost three weeks after the initial meeting with Mr. Clasp. John Kiln, the convenor, attempted to ignore the divisions, and supervised the preparation of a formalised wage claim. The resulting demand was for a rise to counter the increasing cost of living, to improve the wage rate to cover bonus loss, and to bring Power Motors closer to the wage rate for the district.

At a meeting between Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West, and Harry Wallace, it was agreed that wages be determined internally between Ted Clasp and the stewards. Clasp asked for time to compile a league table of firms' rates for reference purposes (the eventual list compiled is presented in Table 5). Further, in April the wage 'agreement' would be revised to include the provisions of the National Agreement, then under discussion.⁽²⁰⁾ Motor West would also require time to consider budgetary implications. Clasp agreed, the employees had a good case for a rise; the rates in the district had risen sharply. But could they not wait? John Kiln, the convenor, was unhappy at the delay, and Nicky Dawson remarked later with reference to the unexpired wage contract,

Rules are made to be broken, on both sides.

At a meeting of all union members, later the same day, the men demanded action on wages in 10 days, if Clasp refused to make an offer. Nicky Dawson, the 'A' shift shop steward, suggested this 10 days apply only to a cost of living rise, and the men should begin negotiations for an actual rise, once the former was settled. This was agreed virtually unanimously.

(20). The National Agreement set the minimum base rate for payment in the engineering industry.

John Kiln and Nicky Dawson returned to Mr. Clasp; together they hammered out details of the cost of living increase. The men wanted the total cost of living increase allowable since the previous August. This demand was relayed to Motor West. The actual figure was calculated to be £1. The previous wage agreement provided a 7% Phase III rise, a Threshold increase of 5%, and 6% to allow for inflation. This latter 6% was deducted from the total cost of living increase owing to the employees. The total allowable was calculated by extrapolating the Phase III increases to the time of the wage claim.

The £1 offer was taken by John Kiln to a mass meeting of the membership. Geoff Hobart, an operator, was outspoken against acceptance, but the men acquiesced. John Kiln referred the decision to Clasp and opened negotiations for a further increase to achieve parity with the district rate. Separate negotiations were to be held for skilled and non-skilled employees.

These discussions were interrupted by the redundancy, which reduced the work force, and placed remaining employees on dayshift. Bill Allison then produced his one and only wage offer. The increase was as follows:

- £2.58 for skilled employees.
- £2.40 for semi-skilled employees.
- £2.00 for storemen.
- £1.68 for labourers.

However, employees had lost their shift allowance with the move to dayshift. This created the following reductions:

- £2.41 for skilled employees.
- £2.89 for semi-skilled employees.
- £2.22 for storemen.
- £2.24 for labourers.

There was, then, no rise. This produced a mixed reaction among the men. Both the skilled and non-skilled eventually rejected the offer. The non-skilled men asked for a 5p increase per percentage point on the bonus. The

skilled men demanded £50 for dayshift. Both were rejected by management. All employees reluctantly accepted the situation.

(c) The Bonus Issues

(1) Bonus Conflict

Conflict revolved round the bonus system. Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West responsible for Power Motors, outlined the managerial view of the operating system of work control,

The M.T.M. method of measurement is not a bonus scheme, but a method of measurement. It is an internationally recognised synthetic form of measurement and is considered the most sound and most practical use in the engineering environment.

Work measurement, as the above suggests, was a means of managerial control. Alan Henderson, the work study officer at Power Motors, elaborated upon this. Men were basically lazy, if they were paid at 100% bonus, they gave effort valued at only 75%. Personally he would pay them only 75%, but an employee would then work at only 50% effort. To retain a careful control on these trends the working 'agreement' outlined as follows,

Management shall have the right to re-measure work at any time, whether or not there has been a change in method, tool, or material, to establish work content. Re-measurement may take place on new methods simultaneously with manufacture by previous methods.

This was to prevent advantageous rates being used by the work force to their own advantage.

To the employee, the bonus rate obtained determined the weekly wage. Work measurement to an operator was simply a means of obtaining remuneration. What mattered was that he could obtain satisfactory reward. Hence, Alan

Henderson, the work study officer was known as,

The most hated man in the factory.

For the work force the relevant clause in the working 'agreement' was as follows,

All work shall be accepted for issue with standard times or target output. In the event of a dispute, a further production study will be undertaken to verify or amend issued times.

This procedure allowed the machine operator to obtain a satisfactory time on his bonus job. Employees could claim a bonus time was 'unfair'. The job would then be retimed, and amended if the work study officer believed this necessary. Of course the time could be improved or made more difficult.

Bonus was vital to many employees. At the very onset of the observation period bonus cards were an issue at the shop stewards' meeting.⁽²¹⁾ Men complained the completed bonus cards were never returned to them once they had been checked by management. Thus, in a bonus dispute an operator had no evidence to support his claim. Clasp agreed to return cards to a rack on the shop floor within two days of them being checked.

The timing of jobs by work study also provided the work force with an opportunity of controlling their earnings. By slowing the rate of production an operator attempted to fool Alan Henderson when he was timing a job. Unnecessary tasks might be included, safety regulations strictly adhered to, and no short cuts to speed up the production process included. Alan was, however, aware of these actions. Thus, a man could still find himself working on a machine where there was a difficult time. Ted Orwell, for example, was placed on a machine known as "the soddin' grinder". He complained bitterly, the foreman, he believed, was hostile towards him. Eventually the job was retimed, but (21). Bonus cards recorded an employee's production. They were stamped in a time clock to achieve the relevant time for the operation.

Ted was still unhappy, he argued with Gordon Wills, the foreman, but Gordon merely laughed. Nicky Dawson, the shop steward, was involved in the dispute. He could see little that could be done, but he attempted to gain a small allowance for the operator. Clasp, the manager, refused this. The time remained as it was.

(2) Bonus and Work Allocation

On the shop floor, then, there existed varied bonus rates, and jobs which were more physically tiring than others. This made the allocation of work problematic. Yet, the foremen (Gordon Wills and Frankie Liner) who carried out the allocation did so in a lax fashion. Certain men, whenever the flow of work permitted, worked the same machine. Men outlined that this had developed through coincidence and practice. A man would obtain a job on a particular machine, if he liked his work he might return to it each day. The foreman would allow this. Frankie Liner, the 'B' shift foreman, believed the most productive workers would obtain a 'permanent' machine (an operator would go to the same machine). Gordon Wills, the 'A' shift foreman, remarked that if an operator took the same machine each day this reduced the load of work allocation. There were certain advantages for an operator in working the same machine. A man became accustomed to this machine, and the production of components became easier through practice. There was also security on one machine, a man knew what to expect in terms of work. He could then develop a relationship with his opposite number on the other shift. Thus, the latter could inform an operator on the performance of the machine.

However, these 'permanent' machines need not necessarily produce the highest wage rates, there were other jobs which, though they did not possess a continual flow of work, might be utilised to produce high bonus. Men could hope to obtain these jobs by 'floating' between machines. Here there was an opportunity for an operator to vary his job task, thus, reducing boredom. However,

at the same time the operator could be placed upon a 'bad' job. (Thus, there were two alternative employee strategies to obtain bonus. This shall be further analysed in the later sections on Power Motors). This was the position Ted Orwell found himself in, and conflict resulted.

(d) The Demand for 'Indulgency'

Absenteeism was a recurring phenomenon in Power Motors. Prior to the observation period numerous warnings were given to guilty employees. Records of absenteeism were kept during the study, however, the data is very patchy. It did not prove possible to record the information on each day, and in particular prior to 28th January data is sparse. The complete run for the observation period is presented in Appendix 5. Tabulated on a daily basis, the results are as follows:

	<u>'A' Shift</u>		<u>Unknown</u>		<u>'B' Shift</u>		<u>Absent- eeism/ Observ- ation The Rate per Day</u>
	<u>No. Ob.</u> (Days)	<u>Mean</u> <u>Absent</u> (Empl- oyees)	<u>No. Ob.</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>Ab.</u>	<u>No. Ob.</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>Ab.</u>	
Monday	5	6.2	1	7	5	5.6	66/11=6
Tuesday	7	5.8	2	3	5	4.2	69/14=4.9
Wednesday	5	5.2			5	5.0	46/10=4.6
Thursday	6	3.6			5	4.0	44/11=4.0
Friday	3	5.3	1	1	3	5.3	33/ 7=4.7

The level of absence was relatively higher on the 'A' shift. From the period 28th January - 21st March, 46 different employees were absent, 24 being on the 'A' shift and 22 on the 'B'. The level of absence was also higher on the 6.00 a.m. till 2.00 p.m. shift. Absence was a recurring phenomenon each day, only Monday predominating. These results could be a chance occurrence. But the data prior to the observation period, collected by management, confirms the broad spread.

1974-5 Absenteeism
(non-skilled employees)

No. of Occurrences (days)

	<u>Absenteeism with</u> <u>a sick note</u>	<u>Absenteeism without</u> <u>a sick note</u>	<u>Total</u>
Monday	85	95	180
Tuesday	64	90	154
Wednesday	105	95	200
Thursday	97	64	161
Friday	96	116	212

1974-5 Absenteeism
(skilled employees)

No. of Occurrences

	<u>Absenteeism with</u> <u>a sick note</u>	<u>Absenteeism without</u> <u>a sick note</u>	<u>Total</u>
Monday	13	26	39
Tuesday	23	12	35
Wednesday	18	12	30
Thursday	16	6	22
Friday	18	23	41

Late attendance was also widely distributed, both in terms of the employees involved and the days chosen. Early leaving was common on a Friday, this might involve a telephone call to the factory feigning a valid reason for leaving. If a rumour spread concerning another firm employing workers, an exodus occurred to sign an application form with that firm. Figures on the occurrence of late attendance during the observation period are not available. However, late attendance during the period prior to the observation period was as follows:

1974-5 Late Attendance

No. of Occurrences

	<u>Non-Skilled</u>	<u>Skilled</u>
Monday	135	31
Tuesday	184	69
Wednesday	149	57

1974-5 Late Attendance (Continued)

	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>	
	<u>Non-Skilled</u>	<u>Skilled</u>
Thursday	167	56
Friday	160	66

There is, however, no record of the number of employees who left work early, but during the observation period the practice was widespread.

(ii) The Work Force and Employee Status

This section outlines the attempts of skilled employees to enforce their view of status upon other groups in Power Motors. Such demands took the form of attempts to increase the wage differential between the skilled and non-skilled employees, and also demands from skilled men that management reduce their workload. Both demands bore direct relevance to management attempts to increase the level of effort provided by employees without increasing costs. Such aspects shall be discussed below.

(a) The Skilled Demand for Increased Differentials

While all employees believed they deserved a wage increase, the skilled men were especially aware of the district rates, and the inferior position of Power Motors. A wage increase was necessary, but so too was an improvement in the relative position of the skilled man within the factory. George Simmons, a setter on the 'B' shift, asked for a meeting of the skilled men to discuss the wage situation. George was a complex individual, at that time he was shop steward, though he later resigned, due to a lack of communication between himself and both Wallace and the other shop stewards. When he resigned he appeared to have an opportunity of becoming a chargehand in Clasp's reorganisation. Later he returned to his former post of shop steward to deliver accusations which resulted in the skilled work to rule. Mr. Wallace, the union area

secretary, eventually refused to accept George's return to his former post, and George again gave up his position.

However, at the resultant meeting (concerning wages), demanded by George, it became clear that the skilled men believed non-skilled employees, and in particular the semi-skilled operators, were paid too much in relation to the skilled workers. The wage differential should be increased. George Simmons, it turned out, was against any wage rise, and he was supported in this by two others. He argued that the uncertain situation in the firm, and the country as a whole, necessitated caution. But Davey Smith, a setter on the 'A' shift, held an increase was necessary. He suggested a demand of £12.50 per week, and a lower limit for acceptance of £8.50 per week. This view was upheld.

Once news of the skilled meeting became known Jimmy Mac, a machine operator, called for a meeting of all non-skilled employees. This was held one week later. Several non-skilled men were annoyed by the action of the skilled men. Brian West, an operator maintained,

Setters wouldn't have a job but for
the machine operators.

Bob Hodgson, a setter, retorted,

If the setters walked out the whole
place would stop in two days.

He outlined how John Jamey, a machine operator, had broken a machine. Bob attempted to cover his guilt but John had blamed him for the breakage. Now he believed machine operators could not be trusted. George Simmons and Tommy Groan, an inspector, agreed. They believed Jimmy Mac (an outspoken operator) was a "tin god": machine operators could also earn more than a skilled man. Tempers flared and Nicky Dawson, the 'A' shift shop steward, was annoyed. He believed this was playing into management hands. Also John Kiln, the convenor, was in a difficult position, and was caught between two factions.

At the meeting called by Jimmy Mac, Nicky Dawson was

asked, did John Kiln agree with the skilled men. "No", Nicky replied, and surely the important question was the wage increase, should this be 'across the board'? The maintenance of the present differentials received wide support, although George Almond, a machine operator, believed the differential was too great.

As a result of this decision John Kiln and Nicky Dawson met Ted Clasp next day and delivered the case for a rise. Clasp asked for a formal draft of their demands. George Simmons and Nicky argued when the actual demands were being formalised. George believed the,

times out there (on the factory floor)
are really stupid. You can get 200%
on some jobs.

and further,

operators are getting more than setters.

Nicky disagreed, such high rates could not be earned, or if they were, men must work "like Charlie Chaplin". But George maintained,

Mick Valour can (earn more). He can
do 200% by half past nine.

But Nicky countered,

Then he must be playing in an orchestra.
He must have a hey diddle diddle going.⁽²²⁾

The argument was ended by John Kiln, and the wage claim was formalised.

However, this was by no means the end of the dispute. The decision, taken at a mass meeting, to walk out because of the telephone dispute, angered several skilled men. Bob Hodgson, a setter, was particularly aggrieved. Machine operators, he argued, could replace their lost earnings

(22). "Hey diddle diddle": slang for 'fiddle', the booking in of more work on a bonus card than was actually produced. The reference to orchestra relates to the term 'to fiddle'.

through the bonus scheme, a skilled man could not. Further, the non-skilled men were acting irresponsibly.

Following the cost of living negotiations George Simmons again approached John Kiln, the convenor. The question of differentials was being ignored, the cost of living increase was 'across the board', any further negotiations should increase the differential. On 28th February, a meeting was held for all skilled employees. Davey Smith, a setter, wanted an increased differential, but he was unsure how this could be achieved. George Simmons suggested that they should quote a percentage differential. John Kiln asked, would this action not split the men? Bob Hodgson, a setter, scoffed, it was impossible to divide the men; the skilled workers were outvoted 10 to one. In future all negotiations should be separate, to help obtain a differential since setters had greater responsibility. George Simmons agreed, nothing in the 'agreement' prevented separate negotiations. At this Bob Hodgson exploded,

No! And by God, it's time we did
(negotiate separately), because I'm
not going to let a stupid bugger
decide for me when I'm going to strike.

John Kiln asked the setter to explain his remark, Bob replied,

Why that stupid Geoff. He stood there
and took over, and you let him, he's
not convenor. As it is, if some daft
bugger says 'Out', we have no choice.
We've got to go because we're outvoted.

Bob was referring to the telephone call dispute where Geoff Hobart, a machine operator, was outspoken in demanding a walk out.

Tony Sweeney, the skilled shop steward on dayshift, was against this action. He believed there would be no support from the union area secretary, Mr. Wallace. He was ignored. Tommy Groan, an inspector, agreed with Bob

Hodgson, and he encouraged all skilled men to remain silent on the conclusion of this and other meetings. The non-skilled workers should be allowed to negotiate first, then the skilled men could make their demands. This would counterbalance the difference in numbers and the capacity for the non-skilled workers to outvote the skilled element.

However, these actions proved fruitless. The skilled men held separate meetings, but when management dictated the wage rise, they accepted. They determined, though, that future negotiations for a wage increase would be separate, the pay differential must be improved.

(b) The Skilled Work to Rule

On Friday, 7th March, George Simmons, John Kiln and Tony Sweeney, at that time all union representatives, visited Ted Clasp to question managerial policy.⁽²³⁾ They argued that, by allowing the factory labour force to decline by natural wastage, Clasp was creating dangerous anomalies. On the 'B' shift Tommy Greaves was performing the work of two inspectors. Two setters had also recently left the firm. Further, Newby Holder, a setter on the 'A' shift, was absent. Thus, there was an ever increasing workload falling on the skilled men.

Tony and John were less concerned than George Simmons by this situation. But George had the support of the other skilled men. Following this abortive meeting with Ted Clasp, when the manager merely reaffirmed company policy, the skilled men held a meeting. George Simmons suggested each setter should only set seven machines on his section. Inspectors should each cover half the shop only, and there should be a ban on overtime. This work to rule should be enforced until Mr. Clasp agreed to employ skilled men. The motion was passed and John Martin, the chargehand inspector, was called into the meeting. Clasp had informed the skilled men that John Martin would move

(23). John Kiln and George Simmons were both setters and Tony Sweeney was a maintenance fitter.

to shift work from dayshift to cover the shortage in inspection. When questioned on this John outlined that no such agreement was in his contract of employment. The skilled men, therefore, informed him of their decision. George Simmons wondered whether they should give notice of their action, and follow procedure.⁽²⁴⁾ The others said no, and action was scheduled for Monday, 10th March.

John Kiln, the convenor, and George Simmons informed Clasp of their decision later on the Friday. The manager received them with an air of resignation. He asked for time to consult Motor West. This was refused by the union representatives, because George Simmons maintained the issue had been a problem for weeks.

Clasp emphasised the bad economic position of the company. The firm could not function while the skilled men took such restrictive action. In principle Ted agreed with the men; he had informed Southern Town of the position, but they still continued their policy. George Simmons, who led most of the arguments retaliated, "men are not machines", employees could in his view only perform so much work, at present they were being pressed beyond their limits. These actions were against Motor West and their treatment of the work force. The employees at Power Motors were "like poor relations", the firm had been developed in Stockland, the employees must be needed, therefore they had importance. Motor West, though, provided poor equipment and machines. It was now,

time to bite back at the hand that's
supposed to feed us, but never does.

Clasp acquiesced, he would approach Motor West concerning the matter. However, the men,

might get a nasty shock.

Clasp continued,

If the two shifts were merged into one this

(24). Procedure required 10 days' notice before any action.

could improve the situation, but that would create an excess of operators.

Bill Allison, a production manager at Motor West, believed there should be one setter to five operators, it would be up to him to decide.

On Monday, 10th March, the work to rule was introduced. The factory was chaotic. Tony Sweeney, a skilled shop steward, refused to accept the action of his colleagues. John Martin, the chargehand inspector, acted in a similar fashion. The non-skilled men had little work and there was much 'waiting' time. Machines lacked both setters to set them, and inspectors to check the production. Bill Chaplin, a machine operator, declared that if his machine remained unattended he would return home. Ted Clasp telephoned Harry Wallace, the union area official, and he agreed to attend the factory next day. Clasp asked the skilled men to work normally until then, but they declined. John Kiln, the convenor, reported that Clasp had commented to Wallace,

Get a spade, and dig a hole, put Power
Motors in it, bury it, and put R.I.P.
on top.

Tensions and the expectation of a closedown mounted. John Kiln remarked that if Clasp carried out a threat to send men home he would order all employees out. It was announced that Bill Allison would meet Wallace next day to solve the problem. Meanwhile Tony Sweeney received very unfavourable reactions from the other skilled men. He now threatened to resign his position as shop steward.

Following the meeting between Wallace and Allison, the union area secretary informed the skilled men that redundancies were imminent, and they should therefore cease their action. This was done and the work force became involved in the redundancy question.

(iii) Action Related to the Issues of Status and Effort

This section is concerned with those issues related to the demands of the skilled men for status, and the problem of determining the level of effort and its reward (the level of the 'effort bargain'). There were differences in the demands of employees for status, and reward for effort. This may be related to differences between the two shifts of workers. Certain employees also gained reward from union demands while not being a member of the union. Other men resented this advantage. However, the trade union was not highly regarded at Power Motors. This was due to its failure to satisfy the diverse employee demands. Antagonism towards Harry Wallace, the union area secretary, resulted. These aspects shall all be discussed below.

(a) The Divisions between the Shifts

There were five causes of dispute between the two shifts.

(1) The Setters

At the changeover of the two shifts there was conflict over the work flow. George Simmons, a setter on the 'B' shift, outlined how one setter had not repaired a machine which had broken down. This had to be repaired by his opposite number. Setters were supposed to facilitate the smooth changeover of shifts by performing 15 minutes extra work each day. A setter, depending on his shift, remained behind, or attended early. The setter George described merely left a note claiming the machine stopped just prior to the end of the shift.

Such events caused problems between the two groups of setters. Dave Ribald and Davey Smith, setters on the 'A' shift, were subjected to numerous accusations. Dave outlined one instance,

There's been a lot of backbiting between the shifts on Monday we (Dave and Davey) were bawled out for not setting a

machine, but we didn't even run it, it hadn't been touched since Sunday when Frankie (the 'B' shift foreman) ran it. But Clasp believes all Frankie says. We were criticised on Tuesday for a fault in a machine, but we said it was electrical.... The sigmatic, (a machine) we had run it for three hours or so, and when they got it (the 'B' shift) it was all loose. We got the blame, but it was O.K. when we left it. There was a big blow-out..... and we just left.

Disputes went beyond this. Setters were criticised on the basis of their respective abilities. Malcolm Johnson was noted as the setter with a "magic hammer", because of his technique of setting machines. The 'B' shift were especially antagonistic towards Malcolm, though they criticised the 'A' shift setters generally.

(2) The Foremen

During the changeover period the two shifts often argued over the qualities of the respective foremen. Frankie Liner was regarded by the 'A' shift, as over strict. The 'B' shift regarded Gordon Wills as lazy and generally lax. This was important when the foremen changed shifts. The 'A' shift declared they would never work under Frankie, he worked the 'B' shift too hard, he was inflexible and never allowed 'waiting' time. When Frankie did take charge of the 'A' shift Steve Forest, a machine operator, reacted badly. Frankie criticised the quality of the operator's work and called him "an idiot". The operator threw a punch and a fight developed. Steve was sacked by Ted Clasp. The 'B' shift resented Gordon Wills, they were afraid their bonus might be affected by Gordon's lax attitude. However, gradually Gordon, and similarly Frankie too, was accepted.

(3) The Shop Stewards

The union representatives on each shift were differ-

ent. The 'B' shift regarded John Kiln and Nicky Dawson as excessively militant over union membership and labour mobility. Certainly George Simmons and Keith Donald, on the 'B' shift, were more lax. The 'A' shift believed they (Keith and George) were inferior union representatives. Indeed their actions could have disadvantages, because at the time of the redundancy the 'B' shift had no representative. But the image of Keith and George was only partially true, because George proved himself a trouble-maker in several disputes.

(4) The Bonus

Bonus disputes, involving clashes between each shift, were common, and occurred throughout the observation period. As outlined in the section on bonus, the rate for the job was vital to an employee. If that rate was jeopardised disputes could result. Nicky Dawson, the shop steward on the 'A' shift, criticised Keith Donald on the 'B' shift for demanding a job to be retimed. He believed Keith to be lazy, and typical of the 'B' shift workers. Again, Ken Proudfoot, on the 'B' shift who had worked a machine now operated by Ralphy Thomas, maintained the job was timed in the previous November. However, the job was now without a time, and an operator could obtain only 100%. (25) Ralphy took up the issue and the job was retimed, but at a rate above that which Ken Proudfoot remembered. Ralphy complained again, but obtained no satisfaction. Nicky Dawson heard the complaints of Billy Haghnaught, who worked the same machine on the 'A' shift. Now the operator claimed he could not even earn 100%. Nicky felt it was Ralphy's fault and was very antagonistic; Ralphy had destroyed the job time.

Similarly on the 'B' shift Alfie Richardson complained to Frankie Liner, the foreman, concerning the time for a machine. Frankie, though, informed him that Paddy McDougal, on the 'A' shift, had earned 120% at the same

(25). 100% on the bonus scale was the standard rate for work which remained 'unmeasured' for more than a month. See the analysis of bonus under (a) The Constraints on Action.

task. Alfie complained; he was sure Paddy must be booking extra work in, yet there was nothing he could do.

From these and other similar clashes there was constant frustration, and the result was inter-shift resentment.

(5) Personality

Finally there were also differences between the two shifts in terms of the characters of the participants. Members of the 'A' shift considered themselves more outward and sociable than members of the 'B' shift. Ernie Ellison, a machine operator on the 'A' shift, believed his shift had more character; they socialised outside work, while the 'B' shift were miserable. Walter Humble, the labourer on the 'A' shift agreed. He received a £6 Christmas present, the labourer on the 'B' shift received nothing. Machine operators on the 'B' shift were also antagonised by any mistakes the labourer made. One man had informed Tommy Hogarth he should clean the factory more often.

In contrast men on the 'B' shift regarded themselves as being more sensible. Their attitude to work was commendable, while the 'A' shift were wild and reckless. Bob Hodgson, a setter, related that on one occasion he had agreed to demonstrate how to set a machine which the 'A' shift setters were finding problematic. However, when he arrived, on overtime, to perform the task, these setters did not turn in for work. This was typical of the 'A' shift.

(b) The Reaction to Non-Union Members

This was an issue throughout the observation period, but it came to a head during the redundancy. As early as Tuesday, 14th January, though, Tommy Groan, an inspector, commented that at the next union meeting he would demand a show of union cards. In principle Power Motors was a 'closed shop'; however, on the 'B' shift George Simmons and Keith Donald, the shop stewards, did not check union cards regularly. On each shift there were also those men who refused to join the union. Ken Proudfoot, a machine

operator, was one such man. He was aggrieved because the union did not act on a wage disagreement he had with management. He, therefore, withdrew his membership.

George Almond, a machine operator and ex-union convenor, allowed his union dues to fall into arrears. He asked if he might leave the union and then rejoin, but he was informed he must make up the back payments. These were men whom unionised employees resented.

To determine the actual union membership a card check was held from 27th January to 31st January, and again on 4th - 5th March. Union membership gradually increased until only Ernie Ellison, George Almond, Ken Proudfoot and Phil Swindley remained outside the union. Others paid up their dues; these four men, though, were made redundant when the redundancy occurred.

(c) Trade Union Antipathy

Towards the end of the observation period, the employees at Power Motors were asked their opinion of external trade union officials. This was generally interpreted by the men to include Harry Wallace, the union area secretary. Although there was a general acceptance of the trade union as a body, it was never believed to operate successfully. The union was "too weak", or "complacent", and favoured the skilled man, or management. Harry Wallace, not surprisingly, was criticised.⁽²⁶⁾ Geoff Hobart, a machine operator, summed the men's reaction to the trade union,

(26). Respondents were asked, "What do you think of external trade union officials?" Some 60 employees were asked the question. Six thought favourably of the officials, 14 had no view, or were unsure, one refused to answer, while 39 had an unfavourable opinion of them. Of those who looked unfavourably upon the trade union, 16 believed them to be generally poor. These men mentioned the failure of Wallace to attend to the demands of employees at Power Motors. This they believed was due to the fact that the firm was small. Others (3) believed the union was not militant enough, some commented that the union did not work for its members (11), two employees believed the union aided other skill groups, four responses related to Wallace's desire for publicity and two others saw the union as changeable. One other employee saw the union as the scourge of British society.

the union's not any good in the factory,
or really in the area, but it looks
after you in certain respects.

This attitude was based in a history of union activity at
Power Motors.

(1) Prior to the Observation Period

On 6th January the shop stewards at Power Motors held
a meeting. One of the issues was a vote of no confidence
in Harry Wallace, the union secretary. Two disputes
had developed, prior to the observation period, and
Wallace had refused to attend the factory. On both counts
he claimed the men did not follow procedure. However,
John Kiln, the convenor, believed that procedure had been
impossible to follow. In one case, at two days' notice,
an inspector was to be sacked. On the second occasion an
operator, who had received bad treatment from a foreman,
was dismissed. Wallace's attitude was uncalled for and,
hence, the shop stewards supported the vote of no confidence.

(2) The Observation Period

During the labour mobility dispute the employees were
not surprised when Wallace arranged a meeting for 1.30 p.m.
and arrived at 5.00 p.m. However, when later John Kiln
was unsuccessful in an attempt to contact Wallace concern-
ing the next meeting on 6th February, men were angry.
Then Bill Allison a production manager from Motor West,
telephoned Wallace and contacted him immediately. A meeting
was arranged for the following week, but this did not
appease the men. Davey Smith, a setter, remarked,

Wallace is a b-----. We should say
we'll join the T.G.W.U. or the G.M.U.
That'll get him going.

Bill Chaplin, a machine operator, related this event to
his past experience of Wallace,

Wallace is a c-----. Had nine years
experience of him at Gear Components.

He's a good talker, and can negotiate well with management, but he's no good for the men on the shop floor.

Other men agreed with these remarks, though for various reasons. The men were particularly angry that a manager and not an employee should be able to contact Wallace.

(3) A Conclusion

The data collected at Power Motors has been presented in two major sections, one on Managerial Policy and another on The Work Force. This conclusion aims to summarise the main points of this data, before moving on to analyse events more fully (in The Analysis). In the section on management it was clear that the policy followed at Power Motors was not a coherent well-planned one, but was characterised by fits and starts. This may be related to the different emphasis given to elements of this policy by headquarters management and Ted Clasp (this point will be taken up again in (d) The Analysis). Despite these differences, however, it was clear that managerial policy consisted of an attempt to tighten management control of the work force, and increase the level of effort provided by employees.

In contrast skilled employees were concerned predominantly with their status within Power Motors. Non-skilled workers demanded regular bonus returns and a lax plant. Both groups of employees were concerned with the low level (as they saw it) of wages at the firm. Also they were displeased with the quality of employment provided at Power Motors (this point has not been emphasised in the presentation of the data because it did not result in a clear dispute. However, the complaints of the men may be related to head office demands for production without any frills (such an attitude was hinted at in The Constraints on Action) which resulted in pruning non-productive staff, and a reduction of basic equipment and facilities. These points shall be taken up more fully in the next section). There were differences in the articulation of these demands by employees at Power Motors, indeed the situation within the firm was very complex. The following section attempts to 'explain' this complexity more fully. It will concentrate upon the major themes outlined in this chapter, and will be couched in terms of the demands groups made of their employment.

In The Analysis, then, the differing demands of head office and subsidiary management will be further investigated. Also, by presenting firmly the demands of the employees, it will be possible to consider their compatibility with managerial demands. Already it has been suggested that employees demanded a lax plant, and this might be opposed by managerial demands for increased effort. This point will be taken further in the following section by elaborating the exact nature of the demands involved in "new" manufacturing. We will now turn to this topic in The Analysis.

(d) THE ANALYSIS

The Analysis

Introduction

Here, based upon the presentation of the data, an analysis shall be attempted. In the introduction to section (c) The Data it was suggested that the key to a detailed study of "new" manufacturing employment was the contract of employment, or working agreement. This section will make an in depth assessment of the managerial and work force approaches to the 'agreement', and in particular how the demands of management for a restructuring of the 'effort bargain', and the requirements of status and lax working arrangements by certain employees may affect this.

Such an assessment may be related to the concept of work to the workers. A more extensive outline was presented in section (c), but in order to preserve the main points in the mind of the reader during a lengthy shop floor study a short summary is presented below.

- (1) A careful assessment of the demands each group made of their employment could be related to the simplistic approach of policy documents.
- (2) The power of groups in "new" manufacturing might be assessed.
- (3) The importance of a branch factory could be noted.
- (4) An assessment of the conditions of employment provided could be made.

These points are implicit in an analysis which proceeds as follows:

(1) Managerial Policy

The development of management policy at Power Motors is related to head office demands and the position of Ted Clasp.

(i) Headquarters and the Problem of Power Motors: the demands made of the subsidiary by head office are outlined briefly. These are related to the loss situation at the subsidiary, and also the position of the overall Group.

(ii) Ted Clasp's Demands: the problems of the manager are outlined. Clasp attempted to implement head office demands, but also he wished to retain his job. These two elements in Clasp's policy are related. Clasp also held his own view of the firm's problems.

(iii) Management Demands in Practice: the fluctuating management policy during the observation period is clarified by inter-relating the demands and actions of both headquarters and Ted Clasp. This policy consisted of tightening managerial controls; but slowly events began to encourage redundancy. Eventually management utilised redundancy to solve their problems.

(iv) Power Motors: A Conclusion on Managerial Policy: this assesses, firstly the extent to which management demands are met, and secondly introduces a short theoretical outline of the observation period at Power Motors. This latter section provides a link with a similar management section on Truck Components, but also with Chapter 6; a conclusion on management policy and the concept of work to the workers.

(2) The Work Force

A theoretical introduction provides the key to an analysis of both Power Motors and Truck Components. This is then elaborated with reference to Power Motors. Such an elaboration emphasises the demands the work force made of their employment, and the extent to which these were satisfied. A provisional explanation of these diverse demands is suggested. The analysis proceeds as follows:

(i) A Typology of Worker Involvement: the diversity of employees' needs, expectations and desires are related to a typology. The subdivisions of this typology represent the 'types' of employee differentiated in this study.

Four groups of employee are discussed, and the relationship of these 'types' to the empirical data and other studies is assessed.

(ii) The Work Force at Power Motors: the typology is related to an explanation of the data, emphasising the various employee demands. This is divided into sections.

- (a) The Skilled Element: an outline of the demands for status made particularly by the setters is developed.
- (b) The Non-Skilled Employees: the reaction of non-skilled men to managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', and also the demand for 'indulgency' are analysed.
- (c) The Alienated Employees: the limited demands of these men are outlined.
- (d) The Redundancy: finally the work force were divided in their demands, this suggests one source for such demands is the situational context.
- (e) The Situational Context: a preliminary outline of the source for work force demands is suggested. The source of work force demands is important, and is analysed in the following sections in detail because it is related to the demands of management. Management demands appear to relate to the need for profitability. In what sense are the work force demands compatible with the policies of management designed to achieve profitability? To answer this question it is necessary to examine the background and source for work force demands. This point shall be taken up later in the analysis of Truck Components.
- (f) A Conclusion: this section draws to a conclusion the chapter on Power Motors. It outlines that the demands the work force

made of their employment were widespread and complex. Further, it is suggested that these demands might not be totally compatible with the demands of management. This point and others will be elaborated in the following sections.

(1) Managerial Policy

Management at Power Motors articulated no single-minded set of demands. There was an uneasy combination of two similar, though not always complementary policies. These two policies were pursued, one by head office, and another by Ted Clasp, the manager at Power Motors. During the observation period all demands centred upon three particular aspects within the factory:

- (1) A reorganisation of the managerial systems of control.
- (2) Capital outlay on machinery.
- (3) Altering the structure of the work force.

These aspects will be related to a managerial analysis which focuses upon the demands of both head office and subsidiary management.

(i) Headquarters and the Problem of Power Motors

Head office demands were related to the overall Group situation. At a general level an overall questionmark hung over the viability of Power Motors, in the light of the then present economic situation. Here the financial position of the Motor West Group was important. To combat a difficult year in the automotive industry the Group demanded improved efficiency and reduced overheads. This resulted in a 25% increase in sales, and a trading profit which at £3.3 million was up by 17%. Thus, the Group continued its steady expansion.⁽²⁷⁾ At Power Motors this policy appeared to have certain ambiguities. Mr. Clasp was assured by Bill Allison that there was a secure market for the products of his firm; he must produce more efficiently. In contrast, the market might be described as volatile and insecure by other managers at Motor West; there must, therefore, be restructuring within the Group, and perhaps at Power Motors. This could involve either cutbacks in manpower or production.

(27). Source: 'The Annual Report, the Motor West Group', 1975. See Appendix 6 for a complete record of the Group's performance.

The demands for improved efficiency and reduced overheads were particularly poignant at Power Motors, because of the loss situation within the subsidiary. This latter head office were determined to remove. Mr. Clasp must breakeven; he must:

- (a) Improve the quality of production.
- (b) Reduce costs.
- (c) Improve production totals and their delivery.

The output of Power Motors was considered by head office to be sub-standard. There was a high rejection rate at Southern Town, and components were returned to the subsidiary. This must cease; it was essential to reduce the cost of production, because Power Motors was not meeting budgetary requirements. However, production orders must also be delivered promptly. Yet the mix of components would vary, and demands might be at short notice. Hence, increased production and efficiency must be combined with rapid delivery. All these demands were inter-related, and by their implementation would remove the loss situation.

Such demands stemmed from a particular attitude to management. Power Motors was operated on a 'shoe-string'. The number of productive employees was high, relative to the managerial staff, and non-productive employees.⁽²⁸⁾ Similarly employee training was minimal. In theory there was a six week training period, which was increased to eight weeks prior to the observation period. However a setter was placed on a job with another setter for two weeks, and then given the task himself. Further, an operator was shown his task by a setter, and left to his own devices. Management at Southern Town wanted production without frills. Bill Allison, a production manager at Southern Town, was responsible for Power Motors. The factory performance did not match the necessary standards he imposed. He, therefore, set about implementing the demands of head office, and he belittled Ted Clasp, the manager, when results did (28). Productive employees were those directly concerned with the production process, unlike cleaners, labourers, managerial staff and inspectors.

not match demands. However, Allison was unsure of the particular solution for the company's problems.

(ii) Ted Clasp's Demands

Ted Clasp accepted the situation as defined by head office; he must breakeven, because it was impossible to run an unprofitable plant. To achieve this position of profitability he must implement the demands of head office. However, he was under pressure, and his position was in jeopardy. His six monthly contract was renewed during the observation period, on the understanding he improved his performance. Mr. Clasp, though, felt sure he would be sacked. Therefore, another of his aims was to retain his job. Ted argued for a particular policy:

(a) The firm was undermanaged.

Clasp believed he was under unreasonable pressure at Power Motors. The policy of head office, concentrating simply on production, was the cause. It was unreasonable for head office to demand he solve the problems in the firm when he was denied the necessary resources and managerial support. He must have greater support. This support would involve other managerial staff to help in the running of the firm, and also the provision of machinery and equipment when necessary (machinery was provided by head office, but not necessarily that required by Clasp).

(b) The work force.

Clasp placed the blame for the position of the company mainly on the work force. They were the "scum of the earth". Men did not have the pre-requisite training for their present job. Many machine operators, according to Clasp, were not skilled in engineering work; they were "butchers, bakers and candlestick makers". Further, those trained in engineering were unsatisfactory workers. A setter was a "strange animal", and some "could not set a machine". Within the factory there were motor mechanics who could perform the job equally well. Absenteeism, and

timekeeping records were also appalling within the labour force, and it was impossible to manage a firm under such conditions. Clasp, therefore, demanding that he be given freedom to act against the work force.

(iii) Management Demands in Practice

(A) Head Office Policy

As a result of the firm and Group situation the overall policy imposed was one of restriction. To keep costs at a minimum the labour force was to be allowed to rundown by natural wastage. This policy was enforced rigidly (this excludes the setting on of men in February, which shall be explained later). In an uncertain situation it was seen as the only course open at Power Motors. Anomalies soon developed, however. A storekeeper was absent, and the remaining man must manage alone. The number of setters and inspectors were also reduced by natural wastage; this increased the workload of the remaining skilled men, and resulted in the skilled work to rule. Clasp could never appease his employees, because Motor West maintained their policy throughout, but for a brief spell when operators were employed. Such an apparent contradiction may be explained by head office demands for production (this point shall be developed later).

However, head office policy went further than simple restriction. Initially they concentrated upon organisational aspects at Power Motors. This represented one possible solution to the loss situation, and related to their belief that Clasp might in part be a cause of the problems at Power Motors; perhaps he was not managing with sufficient rigour.

The Quality Problem

Mr. Hallow, the quality manager of the Group, was given the task of studying Power Motors. He was to outline any problems in the organisation of the subsidiary, and their relationship to quality control. Ted Clasp was not, however, in favour of such a move. Hallow had visited

the plant before, and Clasp felt him arrogant. Certainly, it was true that Hallow regarded the subsidiary as lax and disorganised.

Later in the observation period the introduction of toatpans was suggested by head office. Clasp complied, although this time without question.

Capital Outlay

Head office did promise Clasp all the support necessary to achieve viability. But this did not involve pouring valuable capital resources into a loss making firm. Clasp must prove Power Motors could be viable. Thus, at a meeting with union representatives Clasp outlined,

Southern Town will face facts. They realise the auto's (a type of machine) are outdated, and that they need new machines. But it takes time and it'll be longer due to the economic climate.

New machines were provided, but these were not ordered by Clasp, requirements were assessed at head office. At head office it was generally accepted that new machinery and investment was a return for an improvement in the firm's profitability.

The Work Force

Towards the end of the observation period it was recognised by head office management that the problem at Power Motors ran deeper than mere organisational problems. Bill Allison was present at the subsidiary on a regular basis, and Clasp's authority was restricted. Allison questioned the viability of the work force. However, he was unsure whether the problem was limited to machine operators or setters. Clasp was investigating the situation.

The Question of Production

Events were interrupted, however. To understand why we need to consider the question of production. As outlined, in the analysis of head office policy, Southern

Town demanded production totals be produced more rapidly and effectively. For this reason when the number of employees rapidly declined, as men left and were not replaced, Clasp was allowed to re-employ machine operators. However, this demand for production was weakened. Bill Allison re-assessed the position of Power Motors relative to the wider Group. He believed the market for the production of Power Motors was no longer secure, production, therefore, was no longer so essential.

The Redundancy

Two elements, then, now encouraged redundancy. The overall strategy questioned the viability of Power Motors, due to the loss situation within the firm. In particular, it was believed that this loss situation was due to the work force. Also, secondly, there was a reduced demand for production. The work to rule of the skilled men provided the spark which began the fire of redundancy, but the two factors above (the belief that the work force were the problem of firm, and the reduced demand for production) made redundancy likely. The skilled work to rule also suggested the work force were not prepared to work under restricted conditions. It was considered impossible to continue, and the result was redundancy. Redundancy at that stage had three advantages:

(a) Industrial Relations

This was a result of the particular industrial situation. The work force demanded a wage rise. A cost of living increase had been presented, but a further claim was in the pipeline. A redundancy was a powerful management counter. The wage rise, and the redundancy coincided nicely. A wage increase for retained employees provided an incentive to accept redundancy. Once the redundancy was accepted, the wage offer was presented. Men would be inclined to accept because of the uncertain employment situation.

(b) Organisation

A redundancy reduced labour costs, and at the same

time introduced a single shift system. This dayshift could be more readily controlled by the manager. The number of working hours could be increased from 37½ hours to 40 hours a week, and with a change to dayshift a pay increase could be avoided.

(c) The Work Force

The redundancy offered an opportunity to improve the quality of the work force. Those unacceptable workers might be removed. This internal matter could be left to Mr. Clasp.

(B) Ted Clasp's Policy

The demands of the manager are entwined in a complex fashion with those of head office.

Clasp and Restriction

The demands of Clasp, defined for him by head office, were not always complementary (see Head Office Policy). To improve the quality of output might restrict production. A reduction in costs involved a restrictive policy, and this could affect the quality and quantity of production. Thus, Clasp made at times contradictory demands. One major example of this was overtime. Clasp wished to reduce costs, hence, a ban on overtime was imposed, which was finally even applied to setters. However, the demand of head office for production meant that Clasp must contradict his own rulings. The attitude of Clasp to both the wage issue, and the labour mobility dispute may be squared with his desire to reduce costs. Both disputes threatened to increase labour costs, the former directly, and the latter more subtly by defining the work of an operator as inspection. Head office, however, were prepared to compromise on wages since it fitted their overall strategy. The labour mobility problem threatened to disrupt the plant; the increment was small by comparison.

The Intensification of Managerial Controls

With only limited authority Clasp attempted to remove

the defects he saw inherent in the work force. He attempted to tighten managerial control over them, and he made a direct approach in his campaign against absenteeism and bad time-keeping. Both problems were, he thought, unacceptably widespread. The manager issued final warnings to offenders. When these failed he announced telephone calls would not be maintained after 5.30 p.m. on Friday evening. The result was an explosive situation. Clasp's policy may be understood in the context of the remarks of Frankie Liner his foreman. Frankie was asked the optimum level of employment in the factory. He gave this by production line. It became clear, by adding the four totals, that there was an excess of operators. Frankie gave the optimum level as 24, however, the actual totals in January were 26 on the 'B' shift and 28 on the 'A'. Seven men had already left the firm prior to these calculations. Thus, Power Motors was overstaffed, and Clasp was covering absenteeism and bad timekeeping. This could not continue if the plant were to be made efficient.

These actions, against what Clasp considered deviant behaviour, were part of a general tightening up of the plant. Men were encouraged to increase their efforts, and they were threatened with redundancy or termination of employment. Thus, there were disputes between setters and management as control tightened (see The Division between the Shifts, in (2) The Work Force, section (iii), number (a) of The Data, for Dave Ribald's remarks on this). As Clasp threatened the foremen, so they in turn were less lenient. Gordon Wills, the foreman, managed to misinterpret this and caused the 'tooling' dispute.

This to Clasp was another sign of Gordon's incompetence. The manager determined to remove the foreman as part of his reorganisation. The actual reorganisation Clasp envisaged varied. When he visited Southern Town he intended to remove Gordon Wills and one shift. At that stage Motor West were uncertain that the work force were the main problem. Clasp was criticised, but his position was preserved, provided he improved his efforts. Grad-

ually Clasp determined that Gordon should be demoted to chargehand. However, Bill Allison interfered, he now felt the problem ran deeper than the foreman. Thus, to avoid needless dispute, Clasp merely moved each foreman to the opposite shift. He still considered a hiring and firing policy of management, but head office needed production, and he only hired machine operators.

Finally, however, with the decline in the need for that production, and the acceptance by head office that the work force was a major problem, redundancy occurred. Clasp added the final touches to head office policy; he altered the employment records of those to be made redundant. This enabled him to retain several of those he considered better workers, while removing the problem employees.

(iv) Power Motors: A Conclusion on Managerial Policy

(a) A Summary

This section attempts to summarise the main themes of this analysis of Power Motors.

The history of the observation period is one of a managerial search for the cause of the loss making situation at the factory. Head office, having demanded improved efficiency and reduced costs, activated policies to achieve this. The quality problem was improved by the end of the observation period through the reorganisations that were introduced.⁽²⁹⁾ Having identified the work force as the cause of their problems, management were also able to utilise a shop floor and market situation to their own advantage. Bill Allison's actions reduced labour costs, and rid the firm of employees considered to be troublesome. Did this also improve efficiency? There is no substantial

(29). However, with respect to the quality problem it should be noted that the reorganisation was not wholly successful. The setters, for example, did not discover its full nature for some time, due to the actions of Gordon Wills, the foreman (see (1) Management Policy, section (i), The Quality of Output Question, in (c) The Data).

evidence on this score, but Wallace, the union area official, and Clasp later argued that it did, at least for a time.

However, Clasp was not so successful. He did not receive the support he required. Bill Allison did attend Power Motors more regularly, but he removed the manager's authority and placed him under increased pressure. Clasp also retained his job, though as he later remarked, this was a dubious success, due to the increasing head office pressure upon him. Yet management did act to remove his employee troublemakers. But this was only a partial success, because his plans for intensifying managerial controls were never fully introduced. Indeed the telephone dispute marked a rejection of one aspect by the men.

(b) A Theoretical Outline

This section attempts to present a temporary summary of the theoretical conclusions suggested by the analysis of Power Motors, and also to provide a link with other comparative studies. The section may be compared with a similar analysis to be carried out in Chapter 5 on Truck Components. In Chapter 3 it was also emphasised that the data to be outlined in both Chapter 4 and 5 could be related to the work of Gouldner.⁽³⁰⁾ Gouldner studied a plant which was part of the General Gypsum Company, which produced various gypsum products. His work analysed a series of changes within the firm, following the introduction of a new manager. Such changes involved the removal of management leniency. Headquarters demanded such an approach from the manager. But the result was resistance from the employees, since this infringed their demand for 'indulgency'. Within Power Motors the firm was unprofitable, this has been suggested by Luttrell to be a feature of "new" firms.⁽³¹⁾ Thus, management became more stringent

(30). A. Gouldner 'Wildcat Strike', op.cit., but also 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy', Glencoe: Free Press, 1964.

(31). W.F. Luttrell 'Factory Location and Industrial Movement', Vol. 1 and 2, op.cit.

to achieve profits. But differences were apparent between Ted Clasp and head office management. Dalton has differentiated management in terms of the cliques which develop within their structure.⁽³²⁾ This shall be pursued at greater length in the analysis of Truck Components. But it is clear thus far that head office at Motor West placed the subsidiary manager under pressure to ensure he produced effective policies. This situation has parallels in the sociological literature. In particular the following studies are important. Paterson in a study of a Glasgow Engineering plant follows the attempts of a new manager to solve protracted work force disputes.⁽³³⁾ The author attempts to pinpoint a change in the view employees have of management, which could account for their eventual acceptance of managerial authority. A further study of managerial authority is carried out by Guest.⁽³⁴⁾ Guest deals with a succession problem similar in kind to that of Gouldner. While searching for a successful means of managing a factory Guest analyses differences in the policies and managerial conditions facing two managers at a plant. He suggests there is a point reached when the organisation of a firm is not capable of changing internally, and it needs an outside force, such as the change of a manager to alter the status quo. Another feature of importance here is that a new manager received increased leeway from head office in his attempt to produce a viable firm. This allowed him to remove the coercive policies of the previous manager.

These studies have obvious relevance to the observation period at Power Motors, however, no attempt shall be made to draw these links to any firm conclusion until the analysis of Truck Components has been completed. All conclusions shall be contained in Chapter 6. However, it

(32). M. Dalton 'Men Who Manage', New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1959.

(33). T.T. Paterson 'Glasgow Limited', Cambridge University, 1960.

(34). R.H. Guest 'Organisational Change', Tavistock Publications, 1962.

may be noted that coercion was a major feature of the management approach to the work force at Power Motors. Employees were to be forced to act in accordance with management perceptions of the working agreement.

This temporary conclusion has importance for our study of work to the workers. The seeming importance of the branch factory component of Power Motors is an interesting feature. Coercion in managerial policy is related to this. Pressure was placed upon Clasp by headquarters to break even, and he in turn placed pressure upon the work force. This appears to suggest that the demands of management conflicted with those of their work force. This runs contrary to the view of "new" manufacturing implicit in pluralist policy documents. In such conflict management used redundancy as a weapon. Does this mean that they have access to the real power in such a situation? Further, as the result of a headquarter's policy of production without any frills there was little training offered to employees at Power Motors, and the quality of the conditions of employment provided also suffered. To what extent is this a typical feature of "new" factories? This issue and the others outlined above will be further analysed later in the study of Power Motors and Truck Components. But for the moment this work moves on to consider the work force at Power Motors in some detail.

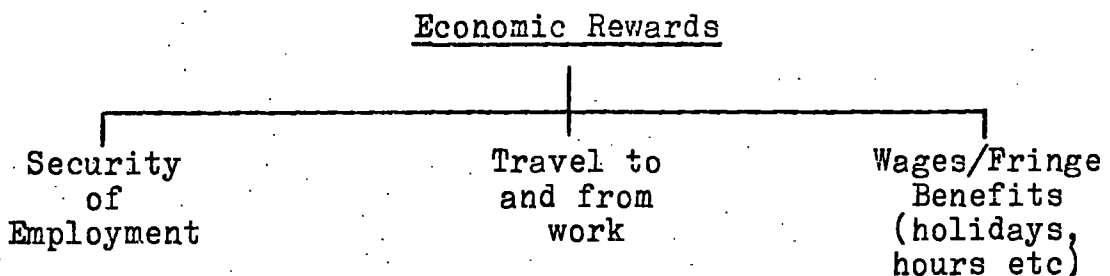
(2) The Work Force

This section is subdivided into two basic sections of analysis, firstly below a theoretical assessment of the employees is presented. Later, in another piece of work the relationship between the typology which is developed, and employee demands, is explored in the context of Power Motors.

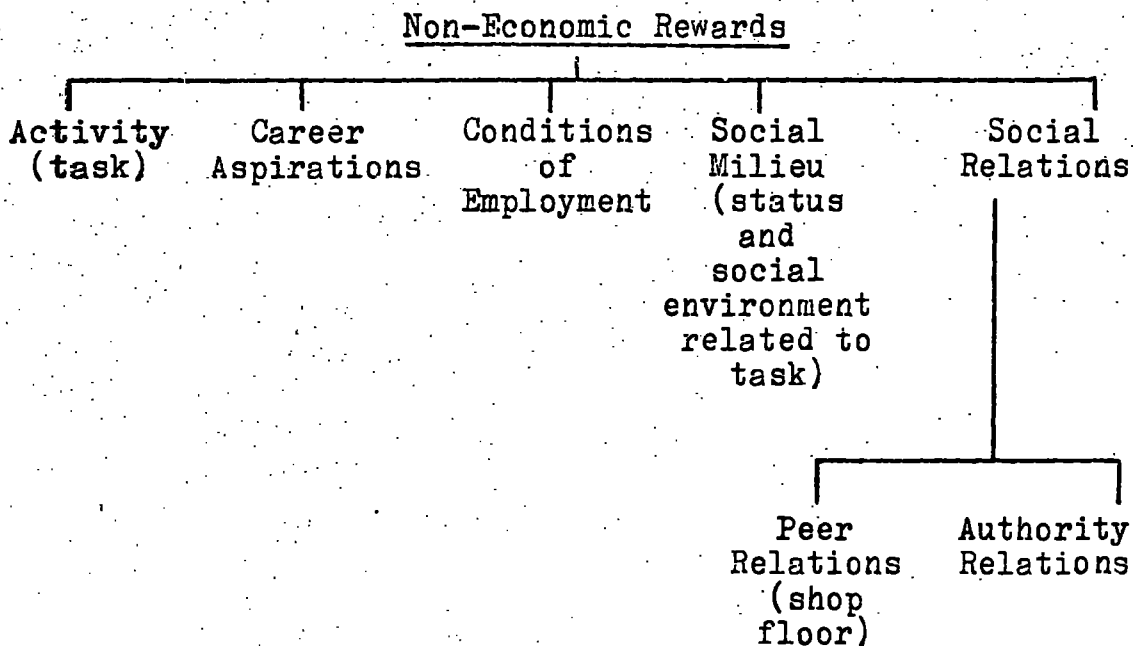
(i) A Typology of Worker Involvement

This section attempts to present a general theoretical introduction to the work force at Power Motors and Truck Components. However, it does relate predominantly to Power Motors, as its position in this analysis suggests. Where generalisations do not apply to Truck Components this shall be noted. Further, another separate section in Chapter 5 will pursue a similar analysis at Truck Components. Both sections (in Chapter 4 and 5) will be utilised as a base to 'explain' the demands employees made of "new" manufacturing employment.

Employees in Power Motors and Truck Components did not have a simplistic interpretation of their employment, and possessed multiple objectives and expectations. This necessitates a broad approach to analysis. Ingham has presented a classification of worker rewards in employment.⁽³⁵⁾ This has been adapted here, and is included to emphasise the various demands and expectations employees relate to their work. The categories themselves are not intended to be mutually exclusive.



(35). G.K. Ingham 'Size of Industrial Organisation and Worker Behaviour', Cambridge University Press, 1970.



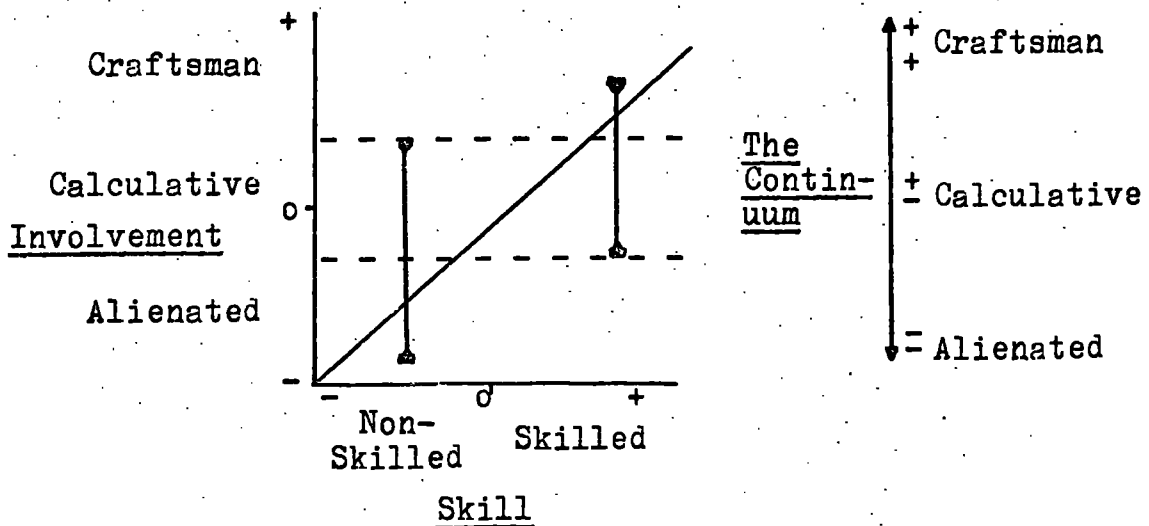
A worker may be orientated in work towards one or all of these categories. The division of rewards into economic and non-economic is, however, important. Ingham believes, the basis for all orientations to work is an instrumental one.

Though this analysis suggests remuneration is important, probably the most important reward of employment; the relationship between employee demands and monetary return is not a simple one. Variation in worker objectives and expectations presents problems for analysis, and employees cannot be seen as having a single stranded approach to their work. Explanation here shall be developed in the form of a basic typology.

The Typology

This involves a two dimensional theoretical continuum, based on an analysis of empirical data, measuring differing 'types' of involvement in employment. The intensity of involvement may be high or low, positive or negative. A high positive involvement at one extreme is the craftsman 'type', while a high negative involvement at another extreme results in alienation. A craftsman is totally concerned with work, it is an end in itself; while an alienated worker does not see work as either an integral

part of his life, nor a means to an end. (36) This theoretical outline relates to reality, skilled men may hold a retrospective craftsman type orientation to work, referring to a time when a man could be totally involved in his work (this shall be taken and elaborated in a section in Chapter 5). Meanwhile the non-skilled employees might possess an attitude to work reminiscent of the alienated worker. This relationship may be expressed graphically as follows:



Between the two opposing poles calculative employees while accepting work as a means to an end do so at varying levels of intensity of involvement. These employees do not gain or expect high levels of satisfaction in their work, but make a bargain with management; demanding returns for deprivation. (37) The level of commitment to work is

(36). This analysis utilises the concepts outlined by A. Etzioni in 'A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations', Free Press, New York, 1965. The author deals with involvement and the extent to which an individual is committed to the organisation. At one extreme there is alienation, at another internalisation of norms, and identification with authority, intermediate between the two is calculative involvement with either a positive or negative orientation of low intensity.

(37). This relies on the work of W. Baldamus 'Efficiency and Effort' op.cit., and his view of work satisfaction as a by-product of an 'effort bargain' made for wages in return for experience of boredom or "traction". Other writers have noted such approaches to work, and a dissatisfaction with the job, for example, H. Beynon and R.M. Blackburn 'Perception of Work - variations within a factory', Cambridge University Press, 1972.

related to the multi-farious returns the worker requires, and the manner in which they are satisfied in work. There are two differing calculative involvements in work, firstly the calculative 'type' of the non-skilled employee, and secondly the retrospective orientation of the skilled man which has calculative characteristics. This may be developed diagrammatically:

		<u>Skill</u>	
		<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Non-Skilled</u>
<u>Involvement</u>	+	Craftsman	Calculative Non-skilled
	-	Calculative Craftsman	Alienated

Employees in both plants may be placed upon this continuum (it will be noted later that in Truck Components it is possible for skilled employees to cross this skill division and be alienated). Each 'type' shall be discussed here at length, and further analysis will relate them to the explanation of the demands the work force made of their employment. The craftsman and calculative craftsman will be discussed together since the latter is a deviation from the former. This will be followed firstly by a discussion of the calculative non-skilled employees, who will be divided into manipulative and passive groups, and finally the alienated employees. But let us begin with the craftsmen.

(a) The Craftsman and Calculative Craftsman

C. Wright Mills has defined a craftsman orientation. (38)
There is no ulterior motive beyond the creation of production, and work to the employee is an end in itself. The means through which this end is achieved are the details of

(38). C. Wright Mills 'White-Collar Worker', New York, 1956, p.220.

the work task, which being meaningful, are not detached in the workers' mind from the production of work. A worker is free to manipulate his own work situation towards these ends. He is able to learn from his work, and develop his skills. There is no division between work and leisure, and the craftsman's livelihood infuses his entire mode of living.

Today such a craftsman is a rare species. Increased mechanisation and specialisation has caused the 'deskilling' of many traditional crafts. Increasingly the distinction between the skilled and non-skilled worker is remembered, and associated especially with the shipyards. Here there was identification with the final product, and control over the work task, indeed the very facets now missing from present work. The stronger the retrospective orientation of the employee, the more extensive and radical his demands, since present employment ranks far below such a retrospective image. This suggests that the closer an employee was to the 'pure' craftsman the greater would be his demands. However, the majority of employees were totally calculative in their approach. These employees could, though, make extensive demands, combining with the more retrospective employees when their interests were threatened. In this respect status is important, and the link between this and wage differentials. Where there remain differences between the skilled and non-skilled employees, these are forcibly maintained, all the more because they are narrowing. Indeed as Beynon suggests marked differences remain between these two groups of employees,

The unionism of skilled men is quite different from the unionism (of the semi-skilled men) The skill controls the job and is solidified in the union ... Nor are (the skilled man's) skills solely physical ones. The union is a collective controller of these skills and creates within union leaders other skills. In his negotiations with the employer he is

able to call upon a variety of subtle arguments as his members have control of the job. A skilled worker has freedom (and) dignity. (39)

As this dignity, freedom and autonomy are attacked the skilled worker fights to retain his position. Training centres are ridiculed, and trainees are resisted. Paradoxically once assimilated into the ranks of the skilled, these outsiders can become the strongest exponents of the skilled argument, all the more because their position within the skilled body is threatened.

Part of the defence of this position involves protecting differentials, and also negotiation with management to determine relative job tasks. This marks a move towards a calculative involvement in work, work being a means to an end, monetary reward. But this does not provide a unity of purpose with the non-skilled worker. Some skilled men achieve this, but it is essentially a compromise of their basic occupational interests. A skilled man emphasises ability, intelligence, craft and skill; these form the basis of his claim to status, a claim which may be jeopardised by the non-skilled emphasising effort as the key to reward. This divergence may be highlighted by following the course of the next section on non-skilled employees.

(b) The Calculative Non-skilled Employees

Production is here a means to an end. Ends may include monetary reward, advancement within the organisation; perhaps the satisfaction of a job well done, or friendly associations with peer groups. Details of the work task only become meaningful in this context. The means are controlled to the extent that it is possible to determine, say the relationship between effort and reward. The work task, however, as the employee sees it, does not develop any skills, though the employee may become

(39). H. Beynon 'Working For Ford', Penguin, 1973.

competent at earning bonus. Links between work and leisure are tenuous, although friends at the plant may socialise outside it. Work, however, decreases in importance in the life of the calculative employee, relative to the 'pure' craftsman 'type' of involvement.

This 'type' is related to that of 'The Affluent Worker', in that work is seen as a means to an end.⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, there are certain differences. All orientations to work are not seen as a deviation from an 'instrumental' one, though due to factors, both inside and outside the work situation, (for example problems in obtaining bonus, and a rising cost of living) monetary reward was a dominant demand among employees. Further, commitment of an 'instrumental' type need not be associated with affectively neutral and mild orientations (as in 'The Affluent Worker'), but may be linked to varied levels of intensity of involvement. It is seen here as less pronounced in highly negative (alienated) involvement, and as the intensity of this negative involvement increases, so the level of demands generally decline. Nor are orientations to work a variable independent of the work situation, long term and unchanging.⁽⁴¹⁾ Evidence on the contrary suggests that orientations can and do fluctuate. However, privatisation

(40). J.H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt 'The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour', London: Cambridge University Press, 1968(a). The dominant orientation to work is defined as 'instrumental', and this is utilised to explain a calculative involvement in work, at a low level of commitment. Work is a means to an end, that is income to support a way of life. Work is not an integral part of this life, but employees react towards it as 'economic' men, minimising effort, and maximising returns. Deviations from this 'instrumental orientation' are the 'bureaucratic' and 'solidaristic' orientations. Within a 'Bureaucratic orientation' work has meaning in terms of service to the organisation, and the resultant career aspirations of the employee. In a 'solidaristic orientation' the 'instrumental' approach is broken down by commitment to a group. Employees identify with a group of workers and this may be utilised as a source of power used against management.

(41). This is a point made by R.K. Brown 'Sources of Objectives in Work and Employment', in 'Man and Organization', (ed.) J. Child, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973.

is related to low intensities of involvement in many cases, but at the most positively negative levels of involvement the 'instrumental orientation' is weakened producing the alienated 'type', and these employees have few attachments within the plants. But to conclude, monetary reward was an important variable in the analysis of Power Motors (and Truck Components). There are, however, two types of calculative involvement in work, these shall be outlined below. These represent differing levels of commitment to monetary reward as an end, and this shall be extended in this analysis to include commitment towards other ends. The commitment to such ends determines the demands employees make of their employment.

(1) Manipulative Involvement

Certain calculative employees (the employees shall be divided into groups later in the analysis) made greater demands of work, were more mobile on the shop floor (at Power Motors), earned and demanded higher bonus levels, and were more involved in trade union activity.⁽⁴²⁾ Within Power Motors such employees joined the firm because of the higher earnings available; these had now declined, and several left the firm. This 'type' were strongly calculative in their approach to work, having earned good reward they took days absence. They were, therefore, utilising work to attain their ends, social activities outside the plant. However, this 'type' could be highly committed in a positive fashion to work; they were well adapted to the deprivations involved, and utilised their employment most effectively (they still, however, remained calculative).

(2) Passive Involvement

This involved a negative involvement in work of a moderately low intensity, and with a low level of commitment; it is a move towards apathy and alienation (this is still however a calculative 'type' of involvement). These men at Power Motors remained on one particular machine

(42). This applies to Power Motors, the situation at Truck Components will be outlined in the following chapter.

('permanent machine'), and had a steady approach to work. They developed an association with men on the opposite shift who worked the same machine, and a system of 'fiddles' developed. They were regularly at work, but were generally less demanding in all aspects of their employment, and less antagonistic towards management. In particular they were less demanding concerning bonus. Also they resented the actions of manipulative employees, in particular late attendance, and absenteeism. They associated these actions with the 'A' shift, and also the union representatives on that shift. Further, they took less interest in the various plant issues (this analysis shall be further elaborated in Chapter 5, Truck Components).

Other employees, however, were even less interested in the issues of the observation period at Power Motors, and were more apathetic. These alienated workers shall be discussed in the next section.

(c) The Alienated Employees

At high levels of negative involvement the connection between means and ends is weakest. Employment is not seen as a means to any end, or at least the end is a minimal one. The details of work are not meaningful, and the worker is overcome by the work process. The process of work controls the individual rather than the opposite, skills degenerate rather than develop and work is a negative element in life; something to be forgotten. The result is alienation. These alienated employees made fewest demands of management, and did not appear to be able to adapt to the rigours of their employment. Unlike the more apathetic passive employees these men were regularly absent. Further, they also totally neglected bonus earnings. Generally they were not part of any well formed group of workers, (unlike passive employees) and were unconcerned by most disputes and issues during the observation period. Alienation has been utilised as a concept in several studies.⁽⁴³⁾ Common to these, and in particular

(43) R. Blauner 'Alienation and Freedom', Chicago University Press, 1944. Frustrated by the lack of meaning

in Blauner, alienation is linked to the production process. Here, though all four dimensions of alienation outlined do exist they are not linked only to the production process. This remains one variable in a wide field of possible factors. Work needs to be analysed in terms of the area of the North-East involved, previous work history, family influences, school, the mass media and the character of the individual. This is by no means an easy task, data is scanty in several areas. Yet possible hypotheses shall be suggested later to explain the negative features of alienation, and the breakdown in the means-ends relationship, and this will be related to a wider explanation of the 'types' suggested here. This shall be done in a section in Chapter 5, Truck Components. But to continue this study of Power Motors, a conclusion to this theoretical section shall be presented before moving on to discuss in more detail the demands of employees.

A Conclusion

It has been suggested in this section that there are three distinct 'types' of involvement in work, a craftsman type of involvement, calculative involvement and alienated involvement. These have been related to a theoretical two dimensional continuum. The craftsman represented a strongly positive involvement in work, where work is an end in itself. It was suggested that skilled employees may hold a retrospective craftsman type of involvement. Calculative employees utilised work as a means to an end. These employees were divided into skilled and non-skilled

(43). in work, the worker turns to non-work activity to satisfy his needs. Analysing four types of industry Blauner saw four dimensions to alienation, a powerlessness resulting from a failure to connect the job to the overall productive process, isolation involving an inability to belong to integrated industrial communities and self estrangement since work is not the mode of self expression. Fieldworkers in the U.S.A. have analysed more fully these aspects, in particular P.L. Berger 'Some general observations on the problem of work' in P.L. Berger (ed.) 'The Human Shape of Work', New York: Macmillan, 1964, and also E. Chinoy 'Automobile Workers and the American Dream', New York: Doubleday, 1955.

TABLE 6

	Work Activity	Leisure	External Rewards	Social Life	Demands	Involve-ment	Trades Union Attitudes	Absent-eeism
Craftsman	The employee is gratified by this	No division between work and leisure	Not important	Mix only with craftsmen	High demands for status, and quality of employment conditions	High positive	Only committed to the extent it serves their interests	Low
Calculative Craftsman	It is only meaningful reward	Tenuous link between work and leisure	Very important	Medium level of mixing	High demands for status when their interests are threatened, and also attempt to retain a job with a high quality of employment conditions	Medium positive	Only committed to the extent it serves their interests	Low
Calculative Non-skilled Manipulative	"	Tenuous link between work and leisure	Very important	Good social mixers	High demands for bonus, quality of employment conditions and 'indulgency'	Medium positive	Highly committed	Deliberately High
Calculative Non-skilled Passive	"	Tenuous link between work and leisure	Important	Medium level of mixing	Relatively low demands for bonus, quality of employment conditions and 'indulgency'	Medium negative	Medium commitment	Low
Alienated	Not meaningful	Clear division between work and leisure	Tenuous link between external rewards and work	No mixing, are individuals	Low demands, only demand a job	High negative	Low commitment	Deliberately High

groups. The non-skilled calculative employees were differentiated according to their commitment to work. Manipulative employees were strongly committed and adapted to their employment successfully. Theirs was an involvement of a moderately positive kind. A negative involvement of a moderately low intensity was found in the passive group. They were less adapted to their employment, less committed to work, and made fewer demands. Alienated employees were involved in a highly negative fashion, were not committed to work, and made few demands. The theoretical actions of all these groups of employees outlined here may be related empirically to events on the shop floor; this has been performed in Table 6 for Power Motors. The details of the analysis of Table 6 shall be described more fully in the following section, (ii) The Work Force at Power Motors. This analysis shall be couched in terms of the demands employees made of their employment, which shall facilitate an assessment of "new" manufacturing industry in terms of employee requirements.

(ii) The Work Force at Power Motors

Based on the diversity outlined in the typology of the previous section, the work force at Power Motors were structured and differentiated in numerous ways. This resulted in diverse demands of the employment provided by management. These demands may be linked to (c) The Data where in the introduction it was suggested that they related to status and the level of 'effort bargain', both of which were ill-defined in the working agreement. It was also suggested in that section that the antagonism expressed towards Harry Wallace, the union area secretary, and Ted Clasp, the manager, was the result of their failure to satisfy such demands. Certainly there was a personalised dislike of Clasp, he was believed by employees to be an ineffectual manager. Rumours of his illicit and shady dealing abounded. This personalised dislike resulted in a rejection of managerial policy. Similarly Wallace aroused resentment. A union area secretary was not part of the work force, he used, according to employees, "long words", and not "mens' talk". In satisfying the multi-farious demands of the men he attempted to maintain union procedure, and sought to integrate Power Motors into a wider scene. The employees were, however, involved in a particular shop floor issue, which might conflict with the policy of Wallace, and hence lead to antagonism. Here we shall outline the way in which this antagonism, and the antipathy expressed towards Clasp, was an expression of frustrated demands. The analysis proceeds in three broad sections, dealing with the skilled, non-skilled and the alienated employees; then culminating in the redundancy dispute, the climax of the observation period. A preliminary assessment of the cause of the diverse demands outlined here will be presented, and an assessment of the extent to which the demands were satisfied will be inter-related to the analysis. The analysis also utilises the typology of worker involvement presented in the last section in an explanation.

(a) The Skilled Element

Skilled employees made two major inter-related demands. Both were linked to status. This may be 'explained' by reference to the typology outlined, and the particular situation within the factory. All of the demands revolved round monetary reward, and increased effort.

In the plant there was no clear division between the craftsman 'type', and the calculative craftsman. The pure 'type', not surprisingly, was absent (it was possible to distinguish its elements through the retrospective attitude of the skilled employees). But Bob Hodgson, Dave Smith (two setters), Tony Sweeney, and Eddie Cox (both maintenance) held strong retrospective orientations. They had strong craftsmen identities; were proud of their skill; involved in their trade, and were insulted by the employment provided at Power Motors. It might be expected that these employees would be most demanding, but of the four, it was Bob Hodgson, and Davey Smith who were most outspoken during the observation period. This can be related to the criticism skilled employees received. Setters were believed to be incapable of performing the necessary production tasks. There was no recognised apprenticeship in setting. In many firms semi-skilled machine operators set their own machines. Garage mechanics, Clasp believed, could perform a setting job, some more successfully than the fitters and turners usually employed. Setting, therefore, was viewed as a task of dubious skill by the manager. Non-skilled workers agreed. When an operator did not produce his bonus, it was deemed a setters fault; he set the machine. When an operator was on 'tooling' a setter must attend to the fault. If a machine were broken; causing 'waiting' time; setters could be blamed. The skilled work to rule was known as the "setters' dispute", and setters bore the brunt of antagonism on the shop floor. This related to the interdependence of the operators and setters. Both were concerned with machines, and on occasion an operator would set his own machine. Witness the remarks of Ray

TABLE 7George Simmons (skilled)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Shipyards, apprenticeship	10 months	Didn't like ship-yards.
Engineering firm, apprenticeship	2 years	Redundant.
Electrical company, apprenticeship	3 years	Finished apprenticeship
'Fiddle' job while UNEMPLOYED	2 months	To start at Power Motors.

The above Table represents the work history George gave when questioned during the observation period. Below is his work history as presented to management on beginning his employment at Power Motors. This sheds doubt upon the length of his apprenticeship training. Both types of work history are available for the majority of employees. Also available are their responses to a questionnaire including a work history. There are differences between the three. Differences include memory slips, deliberate omissions and systematic exclusions. The work histories presented in this study are reproduced from the records of the observation period. It is argued that these histories, including a predominance of sackings and redundancies more likely to be excluded from reports to management, are a more reliable record. By claiming to have finished his apprenticeship before other employees George managed to maintain his status. Why he did not make the same claim of management is unclear. It may have been impossible for him to hide both his 'fiddle' job and his short training period.

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Shipyards, apprenticeship	10 months	-
Engineering firm, apprenticeship	2 years	Redundant
Electrical company, apprenticeship	11 months	-

Atkins, a machine operator, to Dave Ribald, a setter. Ray had approached Davey Smith, and demanded the setter set his machine. Davey remarked that Ray was not on his section. At this Ray stormed over to Dave,

I can do it (set the machine) but I'm not. I don't see why you should get paid for standing around doing now't. I'm not doing your job any more.

The status of setters, then, was heavily questioned, while other skilled employees were under less pressure. Inspectors wore white coats, and performed a respected job, using precise measuring equipment. Maintenance was also recognised as a highly skilled task.

The result was a reaction from those setters closest to the retrospective type. They were aided by George Simmons, another setters. George was a very complex individual, but his skilled status was questionable, and it was unclear whether he actually served an apprenticeship. His resulting actions emphasised the superiority of the skilled man (see Table 7 for George's work history), and, thus, preserved his position. These men, then, took the lead in discussions, and were particularly distressed by the telephone dispute. They believed the non-skilled men had acted senselessly, and this had deprived skilled men of their earnings. A semi-skilled operator could earn increased bonus to cover his losses. Other skilled employees agreed, but the more deeply concerned workers were prepared to initiate action. They believed their status was questioned, and they were, both sensitive to any decline in their position, and seeking to improve their standing.

In particular they reacted to demands for increased effort. The issue of increased effort was a protracted one. It was raised when an inspector left the firm early in the observation period. Also the storeman, Joe Thompson, had an increased workload, due to the absence of Bill Barns on the other shift. But it was not until the restrictive policy of management affected the setters that

action was taken. An increase in effort, while retaining the present wage rate, was a further decline in their position. Operators were not working harder, why should they? Hence, the setters led the skilled employees in demanding that there should be more men employed; until this was agreed a work to rule would operate. When this action was bitterly rejected by other employees, the skilled men were shocked; they had only demanded their rights. Machine operators must be "children", or "idiots" not to see this.

Another expression of these demands for status, and recognition, was the wage demand of the skilled employees. It was believed that semi-skilled employees could earn, through bonus payments, a return similar to that of the skilled man. A wage increase relative to the non-skilled would be a means of increasing status. Hence, the separate wage demands and negotiation. The actual source for the initial demand of a wage increase was a belief that other skilled employees in the area could earn more. At the same time earnings at Power Motors were being eaten away by the increasing cost of living. This produced a demand similar to that of the non-skilled, a straight wage increase was also essential.

Only two skilled employees separated themselves in part from these demands, John Kiln the convenor, and Tony Sweeney the maintenance fitter. John Kiln had much in common with non-skilled employees. His friends were Nicky Dawson, Alan White and Ernie Ellison, all machine operators, and he identified with the non-skilled on various issues. He helped initiate action in the telephone dispute, and wanted unity over wage demands. His reaction was related to his connection with machine operators and his position as convenor (it is interesting to note that past non-skilled shop stewards had come dominantly from manipulative employees, e.g. Jimmy Mac and Geoff Hobart. Only George Almond did not. Also Nicky Dawson, John Kiln's friend was a shop steward. This point will be expanded later, but it seems that the attitudes of certain employees and their

TABLE 8

Nos. of EmployeesAt the Onset of Observation

<u>Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Non-Skilled Employees</u>	
Setters 'A'	6	Operators 'A'	28
Setters 'B'	6	Operators 'B'	26
Other Skilled	<u>8</u>	Other Non-Skilled	<u>4</u>
Total	20	Total	58

Just before the Redundancy

<u>Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Non-Skilled Employees</u>	
Setters 'A'	4	Operators 'A'	28
Setters 'B'	5	Operators 'B'	24
Other Skilled	<u>7</u>	Other Non-Skilled	<u>3</u>
Total	16	Total	55

At the Termination of Observation

<u>Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Non-Skilled Employees</u>	
Setters 'A'	2	Operators 'A'	18
Setters 'B'	4	Operators 'B'	9
Other Skilled	<u>7</u>	Other Non-Skilled	<u>2</u>
Total	13	Total	29

Operators/Skilled

<u>At the onset of Observation</u>	<u>Just before the Redundancy</u>	<u>At the Termination of Observation</u>
2.7	3.25	2.07

Operators/Setters

<u>At the onset of Observation</u>	<u>Just before the Redundancy</u>	<u>At the Termination of Observation</u>
'A' Shift 4.66	7.0	4.5)
'B' Shift 4.33	4.8	4.5 } one shift
Total 4.5	5.77	4.5

links with others might encourage them to be union representatives). The position of Tony Sweeney, the maintenance fitter, fluctuated with the mood of the factory. He was essentially moderate, and Clasp believed him to be the most sensible of the shop stewards. Tony saw a unity of purpose between the employees and management, and attempted to convince others of this. His actions can be related to the above analysis. He was antagonistic towards the non-skilled, and his reaction against the skilled employees during the work to rule may also be related to his dislike of George Simmons, who was prominent in the dispute.

A Conclusion

This conclusion attempts to assess the extent to which the demands of the skilled employees were met. A similar paragraph will summarise the demands of other groups of employee. In the sections relating the two factories to work to the workers (Chapter 6) these summaries will be utilised to assess the concept of "balance" implicit in regional policy. But to return to the summary in hand, the following conclusions may be reached.

In their demands for improved status within the firm the skilled employees were partially frustrated. The wage rise was dictated by head office, following the redundancy. It did not improve the differential or provide a substantial wage increase. This the skilled men accepted, because of the uncertain future of the company. However, Tony Sweeney, Larry Loughlin, John Martin and Eddie Cox gained monetarily. They, being on dayshift, did not lose their shift allowance, and were able to retain the full increase.

But, the former workloads were restored. The redundancy which terminated the work to rule, while removing three skilled employees (one of whom was permanently absent) reduced the non-skilled employees by some 24. This produced a higher proportion of skilled employees to operators than at the onset of the observation period (see Table 8). Setters in particular also achieved an improve-

ment in their position. But the 'B' shift setters while suffering least at the time of redundancy, gained least in the following reorganisation. Another feature of the figures is that while the 'A' shift suffered most in terms of operators in proportion to setters, the 'B' shift setter George Simmons was instrumental in the dispute over workloads, and it was his action which produced a reaction from Davey Smith and Dave Ribald in particular. This would suggest that it was in part the questionable status of George Simmons which produced a spark which fired a smouldering dispute.

(b) The Non-Skilled Employees

Conditions at Power Motors helped emphasise a demand for remuneration. The production process placed an emphasis on the individual machine operator, and the bonus scheme encouraged him to strive for monetary reward. In the country as a whole inflation, and a rising cost of living made employees increasingly conscious of the economic returns of employment. There had been wage increases in the local labour market of Power Motors, and employees were aware of the higher wage rates. The result was varied demands of management. Demands also related to the conditions of employment which resulted from the production first approach of management. There were, however, differences in the approach to these demands. This may be 'explained' with reference to the typology outlined previously..

(1) Manipulative Employees

These employees held a more 'instrumental' approach to employment and determined to earn high bonus earnings. Being mobile on the shop floor involved risk, and earnings could be erratic, however, in the main employees earned 'good' bonus, and expected that this should be so (a list

TABLE 9

Machine Operators (+)

Manipulative Employees

'A' Shift

Ray Atkin
Dick Coombes
Nicky Dawson
Ernie Ellison
Geoff Hobart
Jimmy Mac
John Scorer
Jimmy Smiles
Phil Swindley
Alan White*

'B' Shift

David Shaw
Alfie Richardson
Arthur Dunn

Passive Employees

'A' Shift

Mick Barnett*
Tommy Brown*
Alec Duns*
Brian Glendenning*
Keith Hayot*
Ken Hemp*
Billy Haghnaught*
Billy Reid*
Bob Scott*
Harry Thompson*

'B' Shift

Bill Chaplin*
Eddie Cuff*
Tommy Fetcher*
Bob Float*
Derek Harrison*
John Jamey
Tommy Morley*
Ronnie Nichol*
George Osborn*
Phil Pearson*
Ken Proudfoot*
John Spence*
Ralph Thomas*
Brian West*

* Employees who were not mobile on the shop floor.

(+) It was not possible to divide all employees into these categories, due to lack of information.

of these employees is presented in Table 9). Only Alan White presented an exception; while remaining on one machine, he presented manipulative characteristics. This will be related to his contact with the 'A' shift "mafia" group, to be explained below. These manipulative employees were also particularly demanding concerning the quality of employment conditions provided at Power Motors.

(2) Passive Employees

Passive employees, being less mobile on the shop floor, (see Table 9) were less aggressive concerning bonus. Though they complained over time rates on a job, they did not attack the bonus system by producing regular high bonus totals.⁽⁴⁴⁾ (John Jamey a complex individual was a member of this 'type', while remaining mobile on the shop floor. This was due in part to the work flow, but also John was an unusual operator, having been in Nigeria, and later owning his own business). These employees were also less demanding concerning the quality of employment conditions provided at Power Motors.

As Table 9 suggests there was a concentration of manipulative employees on the 'A' shift. Of those on the 'B' shift two left during the observation period. This relates to the differences between the two shifts. Such an argument is supported by a survey conducted in Power Motors.

Employees were asked, in a questionnaire, who were their
(44). This argument rests upon information given by individuals on their performance. The data is not a complete fit; Keith Hayot for example did produce on one occasion excessively, while being a passive 'type'. However, figures were not always available, and in these cases attitudes expressed by employees were utilised. For employees such as Ernie Ellison, Nicky Dawson, Jimmy Mac, Jimmy Smiles and Ray Atkin the data suggests that these employees required approximately 120% for their weekly bonus rate. Bill Chaplin, Ralph Thomas, Tommy Morley, George Osborn and Bob Float appear in the notes as requiring less bonus, though, they did not usually name a figure. Certain employees did not mention bonus demands to any significant degree. While others were very demanding in bonus disputes. This has also been used to differentiate differing categories of employee.

Friendship Relations in Power Motors*

Alec Duns	I	Alec Duns
Ray Atkin	F	Ray Atkin
John Kiln	F	John Kiln
Nicky Dawson	F	Nicky Dawson
Ernie Ellison	F	Ernie Ellison
Jimmy Mac	F	Jimmy Mac
Alan White	F	Alan White
Geoff Hobart	F	Geoff Hobart
John Scorer	F	John Scorer
Billy Corkin	F	Billy Corkin
John Bolt	F	John Bolt
George Almond	F	George Almond
Keith Hayot	F	Keith Hayot
Billy Taylor	F	Billy Taylor
Jimmy Smiles	F	Jimmy Smiles
Billy Haghnaught	F	Billy Haghnaught
Malcolm Johnson	F	Malcolm Johnson
Norman Cowen	F	Norman Cowen
Tommy Groan	F	Tommy Groan
Brian Glendening	F	Brian Glendening
Davey Smith	F	Davey Smith
Mick Barnet	F	Mick Barnet
Tommy Brown	F	Tommy Brown
Steve Forest	F	Steve Forest
Billy Reid	F	Billy Reid
Phil Swindley	F	Phil Swindley
Dave Ribald	F	Dave Ribald
Bob Scott	F	Bob Scott
Keith Roper	F	Keith Roper
Ken Hemp	F	Ken Hemp
Joe Thompson	F	Joe Thompson
Newby Holder	F	Newby Holder
Fred Ayre	F	Fred Ayre
Walter Humble	F	Walter Humble
Harry Thompson	F	Harry Thompson
Eddie Cuff	F	
George Simmons	F	
Kevin Forster	F	
Bill Chaplin	F	
Ralphy Thomas	F	

(cont'd)

(cont'd)

TABLE 10 (Continued)

The 'A' Shift

George Osborn		Alec Duns
Tommy Morley		Ray Atkin
Derek Harrison		John Kiln
John Spence		Nicky Dawson
Ronnie Nichol	C	Ernie Ellison
Kenny Rendal	CC	Jimmy Mac
Harry Johnson	CC	Alan White
Keith Jenner		Geoff Hobart
Alan Padget		John Scorer
John Martin		Billy Corkin
Terry Allen		John Bolt
Andy Long		George Almond
Tony Sweeney		Keith Hayot
Ken Proudfoot		Billy Taylor
Bob Float		Jimmy Smiles
Larry Loughlin		Billy Haghaught
Eddie Cox		Malcolm Johnson
Mick Valour		Norman Cowen
Arthur Davis		Tommy Groan
Phil Pearson		Brian Glendening
Keith Tatler		Davey Smith
Arthur Dunn		Mick Barnet
Tommy Hogarth		Tommy Brown
Tommy Fetcher		Steve Forest
		Billy Reid
		Phil Swindley
		Dave Ribald
		Bob Scott
		Keith Roper
		Ken Hemp
		Joe Thompson
		Newby Holder
		Fred Ayre
		Walter Humble
		Harry Thompson

F - Close friends at Power Motors.

C - Past colleagues now at Power Motors.

* - This matrix includes all employees present in the factory during the hours of each particular shift, hence dayshift employees are on one of the two shifts. Also Kenny Rendal, who was only on the 'B' shift for this one day is included in that shift.

The 'B' Shift

Alec Duns		Eddie Cuff
Ray Atkin		George Simmons
John Kiln		Kevin Forster
Nicky Dawson		Bill Chaplin
Ernie Ellison		Ralph Thomas
Jimmy Mac		George Osborn
Alan White		Tommy Morley
Geoff Hobart		Derek Harrison
John Scorer		John Spence
Billy Corkin		Ronnie Nichol
John Bolt		Kenny Rendal
George Almond		Harry Johnson
Keith Hayot		Keith Jenner
Billy Taylor		Alan Padgett
Jimmy Smiles		John Martin
Billy Haghnaught		Terry Allen
Malcolm Johnson		Andy Long
Norman Cowen		Tony Sweeney
Tommy Groan		Ken Proudfoot
Brian Glendening		Bob Float
Davey Smith		Larry Loughlin
Mick Barnet		Eddie Cox
Tommy Brown		Mick Valour
Steve Forest		Arthur Davis
Billy Reid		Phil Pearson
Phil Swindley		Keith Tatler
Dave Ribald		Arthur Dunn
Bob Scott		Tommy Hogarth
Keith Roper		Tommy Fletcher
Ken Hemp		
Joe Thompson		
Newby Holder		
Fred Ayre		
Walter Humble		
Harry Thompson		
Eddie Cuff	-	
George Simmons	F -	
Kevin Forster	F F - F F	
Bill Chaplin	F F F - F F F	
Ralph Thomas	F F F - F F F	
George Osborn	F F F - F F F	
Tommy Morley	F F F - F F F	
Derek Harrison	F F F - F F F	
John Spence	F F F - F F F	
Ronnie Nichol	F F F - F F F	
Kenny Rendal	F F F - F F F	

(cont'd)

TABLE 10.
The 'B' Shift (Continued)

	Eddie Cuff	George Simmons	Kevin Forster	Bill Chaplin	Ralph Thomas	George Osborn	Tommy Morley	Derek Harrison	John Spence	Ronnie Nichol	Kenny Rendal	Harry Johnson	Keith Jenner	Alan Padget	John Martin	Terry Allen	Andy Long	Tony Sweeney	Ken Proudfoot	Bob Float	Larry Loughlin	Eddie Cox	Mick Valour	Arthur Davis	Phil Pearson	Keith Tatler	Arthur Dunn	Tommy Hogarth	Tommy Fetcher
Harry Johnson												-																	
Keith Jenner													-																
Alan Padget														-															
John Martin															-														
Terry Allen																-													
Andy Long									C	G														C					
Tony Sweeney														C															
Ken Proudfoot																													
Bob Float																													
Larry Loughlin	F	F					C																						
Eddie Cox																													
Mick Valour																													
Arthur Davis																													
Phil Pearson																													
Keith Tatler					F																								
Arthur Dunn							F																						
Tommy Hogarth																													
Tommy Fetcher				C																	C								

F - Close friends at Power Motors.

C - Past colleagues now at Power Motors.

* - This matrix includes all employees present in the factory during the hours of each particular shift, hence dayshift employees are on one of the two shifts. Also Kenny Rendal, who was only on the 'B' shift for this one day is included in that shift.

"friends" inside the plant, and whom they were acquainted with, prior to employment at Power Motors (see Table 10 for the results, which are divided into two sections one on each shift). Two groups were differentiated on either shift, which were linked by friendly attachments (these two groups may be distinguished as two clusters in Table 10). On the 'A' shift one group consisted of Nicky Dawson, John Kiln, Alan White, Ernie Ellison, and to an extent Ray Atkin. On the 'B' shift Bill Chaplin, Ralphy Thomas, George Osborn, (and to an extent Kevin Forster, George Simmons (skilled) and Derek Harrison) were differentiated. Both groups sat together in the canteen (with the exception of Ray Atkin, on the 'A' shift, and Kevin Forster, on the 'B'). Both were outspoken at meetings, and through their activities were opinion leaders with friendly attachments throughout each shift. However, the 'A' shift group were more demanding of management, more militant over various issues, and more committed to the union. They also personalised their dislike of Clasp more violently than the 'B' shift group, who were generally less aggressive. These differences were observed throughout the observation period, and shall be emphasised in the following analysis of the demands of these two groups of non-skilled employees.

The Demands of the Non-skilled Employees

(i) Labour Mobility and the Wage Dispute

The labour mobility dispute dominated the early observation period. 'Rectification', by reducing the bonus rate to 90%, affected the bonus average; it cost an operator money. This dispute was an expression of a demand for both increased monetary reward, and protection against a possible reduction of earnings. In so far as the latter dominated it was successful, because the 'inspection rate' removed such uncertainty by providing an increment for 'rectification'. However, the dispute had declined in importance before it was settled, the wage dispute being

the major concern of employees. Thus, the demand for monetary reward had taken another form, and remained to be satisfied.

The main driving force behind this demand, and the wage dispute were the manipulative employees. Labour mobility was an issue mainly on the 'A' shift. Frankie Liner, the 'B' shift foreman, remarked that on one occasion George Osborn, while on 'waiting' time, had cleaned the toilets. The 'B' shift opinion leaders did not perceive the dispute as either a means to achieve reward, or an issue of importance. During the wage dispute the passive employees were led by the manipulative workers, in particular John Kiln and Nicky Dawson, the union representatives. They believed an increase in monetary return was essential; not only were Power Motors' employees underpaid, relative to surrounding factories, but also the uncertain flow of work was affecting bonus. However, the wage increase obtained proved to be illusory; employees though shocked could not take action. They saw the situation within the context of the firm's position. The move to dayshift was in itself a wage increase; men could not expect to improve the rate too. Harry Wallace, the union area secretary encouraged them to accept. Men in the factory also disliked shifts. However, a sense of injustice remained among employees, which only the memory of the redundancy served to restrain.

(ii) The Bonus Scheme

Men believed that an operator at Power Motors should be able to produce a legitimate bonus. The highest norm was towards 120%. A man need not work well to achieve 100%, but by continuous effort he should be able to achieve the norm. It was to this end that men attempted to fool work study. When this failed, men used the grievance procedure, and conflict resulted. Though all employees utilised the techniques of the 'fiddle', and the bonus grievance procedure, attitudes to bonus achievement were dissimilar. Passive employees were satisfied with a lower level of

TABLE 11

Absenteeism *

<u>Category of Employee</u>	<u>Total Absence</u>	<u>Nos. of Employees</u>	<u>Absence/Nos. of Employee</u>
Skilled (+)	23	18	1.27
Passive	32	23	1.39
Manipulative	48	13	3.69
Alienated	40	7	5.71

* Excluded from this analysis are employees who, were permanently absent during the observation period, also Harry Thompson a passive employee taken ill during the observation period, and those employees who did not fit into the categories utilised.

(+) It is recognised that this skilled category may be slightly biased, because of the high total of initial employees, which declined during the observation period. Thus, absence for skilled employees was related to the setters and dayshift men in the early observation period (excluding John Martin). Nevertheless, one particular skilled employee was absent for lengthy spells during the observation period, providing a counterbalancing force.

bonus. Billy Reid, for example, commented that he could never remember achieving 100% bonus in the recent past, yet he did not complain. Harry Thompson earned a satisfactory bonus, not a regular 120%. These employees, permanently on one particular machine, utilised the 'fiddle' extensively. One particular grouping involving Ralph Thomas, Bill Chaplin and John Spence, 'fiddled' successfully throughout the observation period. Each operator covered his fellow as they booked-in extra work. 'Permanent machine' operators also developed a system with their opposite number on the other shift, and produced extra components for each other, or organised the component flow for their fellows.

Manipulative employees demanded they should be able to produce bonus of 120%. If there were problems in calculating the bonus, and they were underpaid, such men must receive the balance immediately. When they failed to obtain bonus on occasion, they flogged their machine next day. Ernie Ellison on one occasion produced 160% bonus. This could also enable these employees to relax during other days, and also, when necessary, have time absent. The absenteeism figures can be broken down in terms of individuals (see Table 11). Though there are various factors at work here, and this argument will be developed later, manipulative employees were absent more extensively than their passive fellows. These employees were then demanding a lax plant.

Both groups attempted to protect the norms set up; men must not jeopardise the bonus rate for the job, since work study might retime it, and advantages be lost. Though the techniques of the 'fiddle' varied the passive group were thoroughly organised, and the situation was analogous to that outlined by Roy.⁽⁴⁵⁾ On the 'A' shift Nicky Dawson

(45). See D. Roy 'Efficiency and "The Fix": Informal Intergroup Relations in a Piecework Machine Shop', American Journal of Sociology, 60, Nov. 1954. Also 'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop', American Journal of Sociology, 57, March 1951-52, and 'Work Satisfaction and Social Reward in Quota Achievement: An Analysis of Piecework Incentive', American Sociological Review, 18,

and John Kiln encouraged restriction of output. Nicky Dawson, as the non-skilled shop steward, was particularly influential. He encouraged Alan White and Billy Hagh-naught to under-produce, to obtain a retiming of a job. He was also angered when Keith Donald on the 'B' shift could not achieve a required time, he regarded Keith as lazy. Such laziness jeopardised the job, because if an operator demanded a retime the work study officer could tighten the rate. Nicky was supported in his actions by the 'A' shift "mafia", and restriction of output was the norm on the 'A' shift. Similarly on the 'B' shift the 'fiddle' operated by the leadership group always protected the job, and others such as John Spence, a machine operator, supported and protected the group. It was accepted that the 'fiddle' was valid, but only within limits which did not jeopardise the rate. Skilled employees on both shifts gave such a system tacit acceptance, and on occasion aided an operator by speeding up his machine. To this extent there was co-operation between the skills.

However, the situation was more complex than this. Employees broke the norms of output restriction, thus endangering the job. In particular Paddy McDougal, George Almond ('A' shift employees) Mick Valour and Arthur Davis ('B' shift employees) were declared guilty by their fellows of exceptional output. The two former over-produced. Paddy speeded up the production cycle time of his machine, and George Almond worked exceptionally well. These 'A' shift men may be seen as a derivation of the manipulative 'type', demanding a high level of bonus, and being commit-(45). 1953. Roy discovered, following participant observation in an engineering plant, that "restriction of output" took two major forms. "Goldbricking" where employees restrained their efforts because they felt the time rate on a job unobtainable, or because they were close to their quota of work. Also, secondly, "quota restriction", the limitation of effort on "gravy", or easy jobs. This restriction was enforced by group norms, and expectations, producing pressure on operators not to over, or under-produce. In the elaborate 'fiddles' which developed machine operators were surreptitiously aided by assistance from five "service groups" of employees, who developed an intergroup "ring" to frustrate management attempts to effect new designs of production control.

ted to their work. Mick Valour and Arthur Davis remained on their own machine, and being less demanding were more akin to the passive 'type'. They were less positively involved in their work, but 'fiddled' excessively. Mick possessed a "magic pencil". He commented,

You just get a magic pencil, take any number you make, and multiply by two.

Mick booked in excessive numbers of extra components (as defined by other employees). Arthur Davis was suspended for such action, but returned to his old practices. It is difficult to explain the action of these four conclusively, but certain pointers do exist. George Almond is an interesting case; his approach to work altered during the observation period. Initially he protected the job, but this changed. When asked why, he declared that protecting the job was pointless, because others jeopardised it: you received "egg on your face". During the observation period group norms were under pressure, and men over-produced. Men, normally protecting the job, began to ignore the antagonism of others. Keith Hayot, on the 'A' shift, was an example, and even Ernie Ellison, on the 'A' shift, did discard the norms once. An explanation for this lies in the discontinuous work flow.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This agrees with the

(46). This situation differs from that outlined by S. Cunnison in 'Wages and Work Allocation', Tavistock, 1966. Cunnison argues that individualism is an endemic feature of the garment industry. This she relates to four basic areas, (1) external factors such as competition between firms, and the structure of the union. (2) The social context, emphasising the residence, religion, mobility and craft skill of employees; the community roles of women being most important. (3) The process of the work situation, internal factors affecting the payment of the wage, and (4) social relations, involving conflicts of interest between makers and machinists. These produced,

a fluid and fragmented pattern of association... well adapted both to the support of competitive striving (for groups viewed one another and outsiders largely in hostile terms) and to the containment of such striving (because of the possibility of projecting hostility onto outsiders, particularly onto dominant persons who were used as scape-goats)

work of Lupton. He argues the 'fiddle' was a response to uncertainties in the production process producing dislocation, and making the 'fiddle' necessary. He also sees dissimilar patterns of work flow as a differentiating factor between the garment and engineering industries.

In Power Motors 'waiting' time was excessive, men found it increasingly difficult to earn substantial bonus. This provides a partial explanation for absenteeism during the observation period. Ernie Ellison, a machine operator on the 'A' shift, replied to a jibe of Clasp that he was regularly absent,

One shift I was on 'waiting' eight hours. It's not worth coming in.

'Waiting' time merely reduced an operators bonus, and if it developed beyond a certain level then absence resulted. Harry Thompson, a machine operator, was on 'waiting' time, and previously he had earned reasonable (as defined by the operator) bonus. This enabled him to afford a day absence. He, therefore, failed to attend next day. Other operators, due to a failure to make bonus, left the firm entirely. Alfie Ritchardson was one example. He complained concerning his wage rate, and eventually began to 'fiddle'; but he still left the firm, because of his low bonus rate.

(46). This resulted, together with a belief in favouritism, in a desire to stand alone, which, affirmed a continued belief in the efficacy of individual action.

T. Lupton in 'On the Shop Floor', op.cit., argues that differences between the garment and engineering industry may be related to variation in the internal plant situation, including job layout, the pattern of work flow, the system of job allocation and the length of the operating cycle of production, all interacting with external factors, in particular the "will to control". Collective controls on output require solidarity among social groupings, but solidarity is not necessarily associated with collective controls over output. It is necessary to have the "will to control", and this relates to the workers' assessment of his position in industry. A lack of such will being associated with identification with management, a highly competitive seasonal industry, and a shrewd idea of the prospects elsewhere in a fluctuating trade.

Alfie was a manipulative 'type' employee, therefore more highly motivated, and unlikely to be satisfied by a lower rate. Thus, the change of George Almond's attitude to work, the onset for this section, may be related to the work flow which encouraged individualism, and not solidarity. There is little evidence to suggest an explanation for the other individuals of similar bent, but it is possible that their reaction could have been similar. This does remain, however, an unsubstantiated hypothesis.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that this discontinuous work flow, necessitating extensive 'fiddles', represented a failure on the part of management to meet the demands of their employees for reliable bonus. This was of importance in particular to the calculating manipulative employees. Hence, the frustration of Ernie Ellison, and the departure of Alfie Ritchardson to new employment, both of which are outlined above. Manipulative men were absent due to frustration, while passive employees were prepared to accept a lower level of reward. These demands for reliable bonus then, received no satisfaction during the observation period. True, the redundancy, at the climax of observation, restored the level of setters to operators, removing undermanning. But this was not the cause of the uncertain flow. Supplies of components from head office were irregular (in particular sleeves), and demands varied; this caused the irregular work. Further, pressure was placed by management on the work force to work harder, and this served to tighten the lax plant manipulative employees demanded.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Such a process was enhanced by attempts to intensify supervision, and the telephone issue. Though the telephone dispute ended in compromise, the telephone was never installed, and this made no appreciable difference to the general tightening of managerial controls.

(47). Removing this lax plant was also related to the employee demands for increased monetary reward. Manipulative employees, while acknowledging their monetary reward was insufficient, remained at Power Motors because of the lax plant. The dissatisfaction in both areas represented a major blow to employees.

(iii) The Quality of Employment

The manipulative and passive employees also made demands concerned with the quality of employment conditions provided by Power Motors (as did skilled employees. They together with the manipulative men were most demanding in this area). They had much to criticise. The Power Motors factory was a small one, and contained only basic facilities. In particular the canteen consisted of only a small room, and a few tables and chairs. Also, as has been mentioned earlier, there were only two labourers and these employees, due to their heavy workload, could not maintain a clean factory. Further, Clasp did not always retain a stock of basic equipment, or supplies of first aid material. These increased his costs at a time when he was making a loss (thus, the poor conditions of employment related to the managerial attempts to reduce costs and improve the 'effort bargain').

Employees were antagonised by such a situation, and demanded improvements. The position was discussed by passive employees. In particular Bob Float believed it was a man's right to possess a job with reasonable conditions of employment. However, such employees did not act to complain over the situation. Geoff Hobart did though (a manipulative employee). He was hit in the eye by a splinter of metal, despite his protective goggles. He reacted by storming to Clasp and demanding new goggles, when there were none in stock he threatened to sue the firm if he received another splinter in his eye. Skilled employees also felt their position entitled them to better conditions. Bob Hodgson constantly complained to the foreman, comparing Power Motors to his previous employment. At Power Motors he believed the machinery unsatisfactory, the factory dirty and facilities, such as the canteen, unacceptable. Other skilled men agreed; they remarked that it was an embarrassment to visit the pub for a drink following a shift, because friends complained of the smell on their clothes (thus, the skilled demands here related to their status requirements).

TABLE 12

Alienated Employees

<u>'A' Shift</u>	<u>'B' Shift</u>
John Bolt	Alan Corner
Steve Forest	Keith Donald
	Stan Hume
	Keith Jenner
	Alan Wilkinson

However, these complaints were ignored by Clasp, and the employees were forced to accept the situation. The fact that they did so without a dispute suggests that these demands for improved conditions, outlined above, were secondary to the requirement of a lax plant, improved status and monetary return.

Other employees, however, did not make such demands. These alienated men shall be discussed in the following section.

(c) The Alienated Employees

Employees among the non-skilled rejected the bonus scheme, and the incentive to earn (see Table 12 for a list of alienated employees). These employees preferred non-work to work situations. But work did not involve them in violent frustrations, rather they were apathetic, and their attitude was a negative uncaring one. Work had ceased to be a means to any defined end (a high negative involvement). Hence, absenteeism was high (see Table 11). These employees were individuals, and not part of a well defined group (see Table 10). This Table, however, does not bring out the full extent of their isolation, because employees have not, listed associations with others only friends. But alienated employees, and in particular Alan Corner and Steve Forest had few associations with others. These employees related their feelings of apathy and frustration to the production process.

The Production Process

Steve Forest, a machine operator, talked of the frustrations inherent in the production process. He outlined that an operator could fail to achieve bonus, and become frustrated. This led to a refusal to attempt the bonus target. Frustration was increased, and as the operator

worked less boredom intensified. Thus, less and less production was achieved, and greater frustration was engendered. Terry Allen, a setter, explained events which he did not understand. This may be read in the context of the above,

At one time, though not so much now,
men put tools in the machine, or would
break it for no real reason. One bloke
put a part in a machine backwards...
It was spotted and we had to search
through all the parts 'till they found
the one he'd done it with.

Men, then, said they reacted to the bonus process, it sickened the individual. Keith Donald, also a machine operator, approached his machine. He looked at it, and could not begin to produce. The operator turned away, and returned for his coat, and left the factory. He was asked the reason for his behaviour, and his regular absence, he replied,

You don't know what it's like getting
up at 5 o'clock to come to a job you
hate. I get nothing out of it. I'll
go to the doctor, tell him I've been
sent from work, and get a sick note.
Then, I'll stay on the sick 'till I
get another job.

Thus, there was a total rejection of the calculative goals outlined previously. Alan Corner, on the 'B' shift, was another example. He was regularly absent, and though he worked on occasion; the level of bonus he obtained was not important. Alan was a mobile operator, and his whole attitude was happy go lucky. All alienated individuals were mobile operators.

However, the evidence relating this alienation to the production process is contradictory. Ted Orwell, for example, made similar remarks to the above. He believed he was an appendage of the machine,

You just put one in (a component) and take one out.

Yet he left the firm, not lapsing into the negative alienated state. Similarly Dick Coombes, a manipulative employee described the process of production,

I don't run the machine, it runs me.

Other calculative employees also made similar apparently contradictory remarks. This is a point to which we will return later in Chapter 5.

The Demands

Resulting from this negative approach employees demanded a lax plant, without pressure to produce, or demands to attend work. However, this was not framed in an antagonistic fashion, the whole nature of alienation being apathetic. Only in the telephone dispute did employees react, to combine their actions with those of the calculative men. The result being concerted action over this issue by both groups of employees. The personalised dislike of Clasp (most prominent among manipulative employees), added to the removal of privileges, produced this violent reaction. Yet as in the case of the calculative employees this demand for a lax plant was not met.

The alienated workers also demanded a job. This is a demand which in the last analysis all employees require, however it is more significant in this case, because these employees required little else. This explains why such employees did not leave the firm voluntarily. They demanded a job, simply because to leave would exclude the employee from benefit. Further, registered unemployment involves its own frustrations, affecting not only the individual concerned, but also his family. For example, Stan Hume, an operator on the 'B' shift, believed his marriage would crumble due to unemployment.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Added to

(48). This detail, and the following quotation are taken from the responses to a postal questionnaire, completed by redundant employees at Power Motors. The schedule for the questionnaire is in Appendix 7. Some 29 questionnaires were sent out, and there were 13 replies (three employees

this was the stigma of unemployment, the "dole queue", and the disdain of other employees. Hence for these reasons such employees wished to retain their jobs (despite the frustrations involved). This was not a demand which was met, because all alienated employees were sacked or made redundant. Indeed the redundancy deprived numerous employees of an essential in their life, that is work. Let us now consider the redundancy in more detail.

(d) The Redundancy

In the analysis so far we have assessed the multifarious demands of the work force, and their expression in action. However, in the redundancy, one single demand, the retention of work, produced on the shop floor a multitude of reactions. Work at Power Motors placed an emphasis on the individual. An operator was alone at his machine, and the onus was on the individual setter to maintain the operator. The most extreme expression of this individualist tendency was the redundancy period. While the names of the redundant employees remained unknown, men took action to ensure the safety of their jobs. Men worked more effectively; (in management terms) they enquired of the manager the true situation, and fought desperately to secure their position. Non-union members, it was declared, should be made redundant first. These employees had been resented for some time. When work was short, and 'waiting' had work before they left Power Motors). Stan Hume articulated his feelings while unemployed as follows,

I am bored stiff on the dole, and I have a lot of money troubles...
I don't want to work in another factory, or be stuck behind another machine, but if that's the only jobs that turn up I'll have to....
We are getting on each other's nerves (this refers to his wife)... Our marriage will probably break up again, and this time it will be for good.

time extensive, men discussed the question of redundancy. Redundancy was seen as the obvious answer to work shortage. It was accepted that non-union employees had no claim on employment. But should it then be 'last in - first out'? The view taken on this issue depended on whether the employee was a recent starter, or a poor timekeeper. Some men, who resented the lax attitude of employees to their employment, also made their views heard (these were passive employees). The result was continuous debate and conflict. A decision for 'last in - first out', proved a final cruel irony (because it was not representative of the dominant view). Following the actual redundancy all redundant employees were ignored. They had ceased to be an integral section of the work force. Ted Clasp required inspectors to check carefully those operators to be made redundant, because they could produce scrap production. When Nicky Dawson, a shop steward, chaired a meeting concerned with the employees' wage increase, he dismissed redundant employees as of no importance. There was no unity of interest between redundant and non-redundant men; as Ray Atkin, a machine operator, suggested,

There's nothing you can do. You can't expect a man with a job to walk out for a man who's getting the sack, he might get the sack himself.

Thus, diverse reactions from the work force were a result of the situational context. Solidarity, and concerted action are usually seen as resulting from a coincidence of interest. However, the interests of employees, to retain their job, coincided in the redundancy. But since only certain employees were to be made redundant, employees determined not to be among the redundant men. The result was, for a group of employees, the failure of "new" employment to meet their demands for a job. However, this examination, emphasising as it does diversity stemming from a situation imposed upon the men, provides only one explanation for the multi-farious demands of the work force. The following section analyses other elements in

this situation producing further diversity. This section entitled The Situational Context provides a temporary conclusion to an analysis of the source of work force demands. This shall be taken and further elaborated in a similar section on Truck Components. Such an analysis is important because it relates to the extent that managerial and work force demands may be compatible.

(e) The Situational Context

Elements producing this diversity, excluding the redundancy itself were the firm's market and labour market situations and the working agreement. The working agreement determined the method of payment, the rate and the procedure for renegotiation. The method of payment separated the skilled and semi-skilled employees paying the latter a bonus rate. This produced a situation where the two parties could conflict, especially since in theory the differential between the two was small. The bonus system also helped to produce, together with the two shift system, a source of conflict and diversity. A basic division in the work force was created by their institutionalised separation into two groups. There was little contact between the two shifts, and the contact which existed was at the changeover when any problems in the work process became apparent. The result was, then, that differences in the work force were elaborated into an issue. The separation provided a necessary condition for conflict between the shifts. Such a condition was enhanced by the bonus scheme which provided a source of conflict and diversity.

When a man produced excessive bonus, which jeopardised the rate, this was resented especially by the operator on the opposite shift. Further, if an operator desired

the retiming of his job, this might be prevented by excessive bonus produced by the operator on the opposing shift. It was important for bonus that the operator's machine operated successfully, if it did not, setters were blamed. Hence, alternative groups of setters were drawn into the bonus demands, and the point for an expression of tensions was the changeover period. When machines failed to operate conflict developed, and this was elaborated into differences between the shifts.

All these above aspects were sharpened by the discontinuous work flow, making breakdowns more important, bonus more difficult to obtain, and engendering frustration. However, this fails to 'explain' the differential involvement and commitment towards work which the work force possessed. This will be analysed later in the section on Truck Components, and together with the situational context provides the source of the diverse work

force demands. (49) But first let us conclude this section (49). By introducing this latter element, the differential commitment of employees to work, this approach differs markedly from that of L.R. Sayles in 'Behaviour of Industrial Work Groups', London: Chapman and Hall, 1958. Sayles concludes that the technology of the plant, the way jobs are distributed, the division of labour and the way work flows from one job to another, moulds the type of work groups that evolve in a plant. He divides employees into, (1) Apathetic Groups, least likely to develop concerted action or challenge decisions. (2) Erratic Groups, with deep seated grievances, apparently producing no consistent reaction in terms of group behaviour. (3) Strategic Groups, which are at the centre of important grievances, and objecting to managerial decisions, and (4) Conservative Groups, stable, and least likely to take concerted action without warning.

Sayles relates these differences to technology, concluding,

.... this study suggests that the social system erected by the technological process is also a basic continuing determinant of work group attitudes and actions... We recognise that many persistent industrial relations problems have their roots in the technology of the plant.

Though the analysis of the situational context might be included in the "social system erected by the technological process" the analysis of the source of work force demands which follows later in Chapter 5, hypothetical though it may be, cannot.

on Power Motors.

(f) A Conclusion

To draw the main points of this section on The Work Force together, and to facilitate a ready link as the analysis moves towards a study of Truck Components, a short conclusion follows.

This section on the work force has firstly emphasised the differing 'types' of involvement in work at Power Motors, and secondly related these to action. It has been seen that, in contrast to the simplistic approach implied in policy documents outlining the concept of work to the workers, the work force did make extensive demands of their employment. True they did demand simply a job (which work to the workers provides, assuming there is no redundancy), but this was the least of their demands, made by the alienated employees. Demands for satisfactory employment conditions suggest that a careful study of "new" plants should be made in this area. However, demands for remuneration, reliable bonus returns and a lax plant were more important. In the conclusion to (1) Managerial Policy it was suggested that management and work force demands might conflict. It has been seen, also in that section, that management were attempting to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'. To what extent could these two sets of demands (the demand by management for an increase in the level of the 'effort bargain', and the work force demands for a lax plant and increased monetary return) be compatible? It is in this light that the redundancy may be seen as a management attempt to enforce their policies on an antagonistic work force. However, at this stage of our examination such a conclusion cannot be taken further. An analysis of Truck Components will provide more information on this and other aspects. This will take place in Chapter 5 which follows.

Chapter 5

TRUCK COMPONENTS

Introduction

This Chapter will proceed as follows:

- (a) The Constraints on Action
- (b) A Chronological History
- (c) The Data
- (d) The Analysis

As in Power Motors (a) and (b) provide the background to the main study of (c) and (d). Throughout (a) and (b), which may ignore the question of transferring work to the workers, it may be recollected that the purpose of this Chapter is to analyse further the tentative results of the study of Power Motors. The following points are significant:

- (1) Is the branch factory variable important in Truck Components?
- (2) What are the demands made of the subsidiary factory by management (head office and subsidiary)?
- (3) What are the demands made of their employment by the work force?
- (4) To what extent are these demands compatible (the demands of the work force and management)?
- (5) An assessment of the compatibility of both sets of demands leads us to a more detailed study of "new" manufacturing employment than is usual in the literature.

(a) THE CONSTRAINTS ON ACTION

The Constraints on Action

Introduction

Within the context of Truck Components there were again (as in Power Motors) certain givens which produced constraints on the action of the actors. Being the context for shop floor relations, the constraints are presented in sections which highlight the major features of action at Truck Components. Since much at Truck Components was the result of managerial decisions, the managerial hierarchy will be presented. The work force composition, and the production process, both determined by management are also related. The characteristics of the trade union hierarchy and the employees of the firm are outlined, and an explanation of the determinants of the relationship between management and employee is included. Section (a) proceeds as follows:

- (1) The Management Hierarchy
- (2) The Work Force Composition
- (3) The Production Process
- (4) The Trade Union Hierarchy
- (5) The Industrial Background of Employees
- (6) The Working Agreement
- (7) The Market Situation
- (8) A Conclusion

TABLE 13

COMPANIES IN THE VULCAN TRUCKING GROUP

Truck Components

Vulcan Cranes Limited

" Engines Limited

" Trucks and Equipment Limited

" Trucks Limited

Payne and Stames Limited

Vulcan Trucks (Ireland) Limited

" " (France) Limited

" " (Germany) Limited

" " (Germany) Limited

" " (Sweden) Limited

(1) The Management Hierarchy

The Vulcan Trucking Group was a large company with overseas interests (see Table 13). Headquarters was Leverton, a city in the south of England. The company was a private one, owned by the chairman, Mr. Carr-Shaw. Joe Carrington, the general manager at Truck Components, was directly responsible to the chairman. Also involved in Truck Components were Mr. Wilkinson, the personnel officer at Leverton, and Mr. Lenard the Group secretary. Wilkinson, known by employees at Truck Components as the "axe-man", carried head office instructions to the subsidiary; the redundancy notices he had delivered produced his nickname. Mr. Lenard, the company secretary, attended the factory with Carr-Shaw, and was his major advisor.

Within the context of the overall Group, managers at Truck Components were without power. The firm was a subsidiary, tightly controlled by head office. Prior to the observation period Carrington had the power to decide internal issues where these did not conflict with head office policy, and hire and fire employees. This control was removed following a redundancy on 8th August. A directive was received which prevented any restructuring, promoting or hiring without Leverton permission.

Financial constraints were also most important. Capital expenditure at Truck Components was impossible. Budgetary allocation was decided at Group level, and seen in the context of an overall situation. A budgetary reassessment in June 1975 (see (d) The Analysis) was enforced by head office due to a wage agreement settled at Truck Components; this may have been a factor in the removal of Carrington's authority.

(2) The Work Force Composition

The structure of the firm, at the onset of the observation period, was a direct result of head office

policy. On Tuesday, 26th August, the total number of employees was 97. Of this total 31 were non-skilled men, 48 skilled and 18 managerial staff.

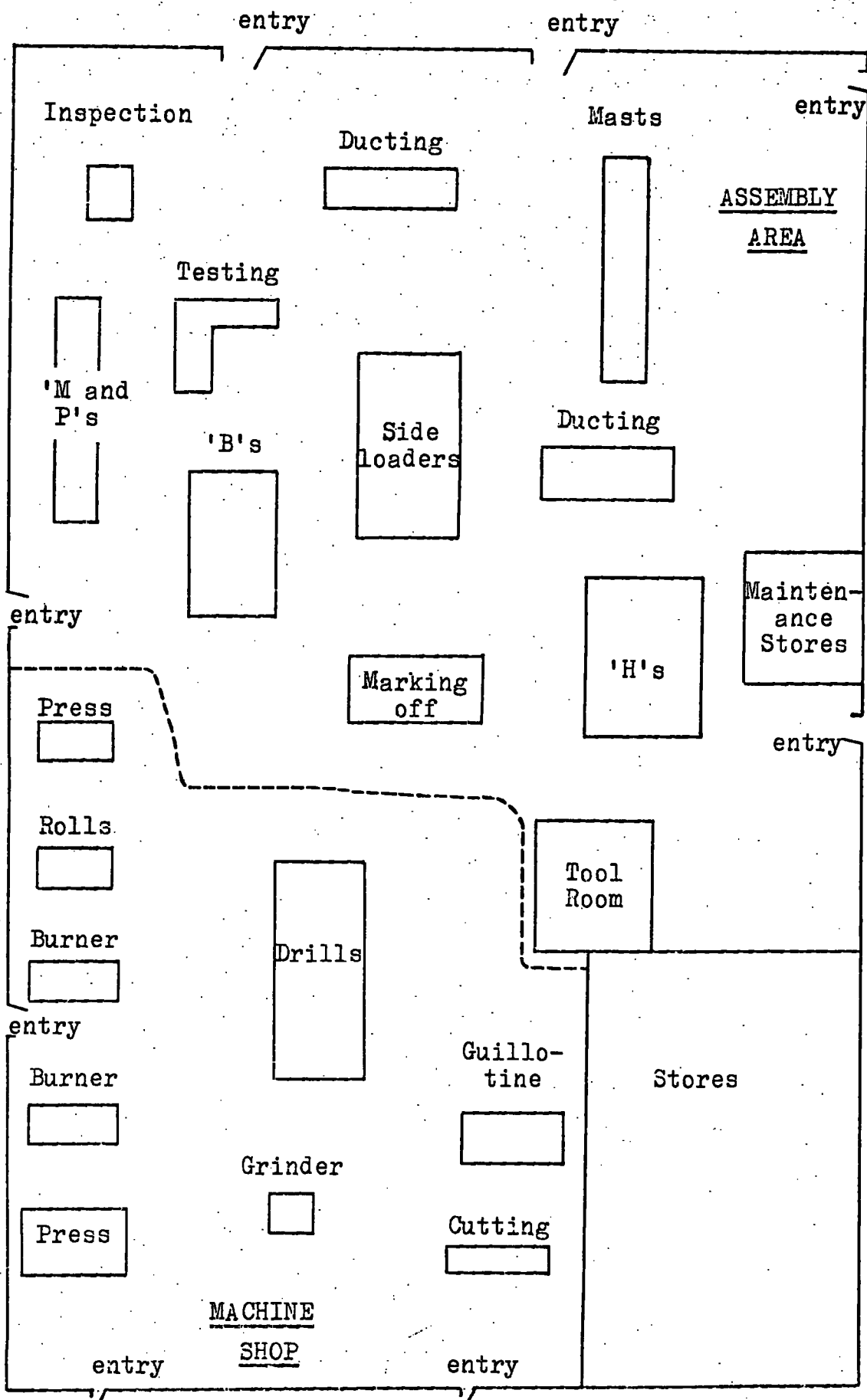
<u>Managerial Staff</u>		<u>Non-Skilled Employees</u>		<u>Skilled Employees</u>	
General Manager	1	Burners	3	Welders	17
Managers	4	Crane Drivers	2	Fitters	16
Managerial Sub-ordinates	8	Fork Lift Drivers	2	Inspectors	3
Secretaries	3	Testers	2	Tool Room Fitter	1
Assistants	2	Storekeepers	4	Maintenance	2
	—	Handyman	1	Chargehands	7
	18	Labourers	2	Progress Chaser	1
		Operators	14	Foreman	1
		Chargehand	1		—
			—		48
			31		

The managerial staff are discussed in greater detail elsewhere (see (d) The Analysis). A short appraisal will, however, be presented here. Personnel had been involved in training, employee grievances, hiring policy and industrial relations. But Bill Silver the personnel officer had been made redundant; his job was defunct, and he was working three months' notice. Materials manager Alan Astin dealt with the purchasing and processing of materials, including production control, and supervision. Accounts under John Smith dealt with the financial aspects of the firm. Manufacturing, controlled by Keith Williams, involved production, planning, work study and maintenance. There were also eight lesser managerial officers who implemented tasks controlled by the major officials. Two assistants and three secretaries performed the paper work. The general manager co-ordinated and guided his various subordinates (see Appendix 8 for a list of these and other employees).⁽¹⁾

(1) These definitions of areas of control resulted from discussions with the managers involved.

Figure 2

A Pictorial Outline of the Production
Area at Truck Components



The majority of the non-skilled work force were concentrated into the machine shop (see Figure 2). These employees consisted mainly of machine operators, who also acted as setters on their own machines, and labourers who aided operators on the larger machines. There were also burners, who cut materials into shape, and four hand operated cranes, utilised by two crane drivers to transport sections of material. There were two fork lift drivers who transported heavy loads of metal, and two testers performed simple checks on the quality of the material produced. Four non-skilled men worked checking the stores of equipment, and there was one handyman. The machine shop was organised by a chargehand, Brian Smith.

The assembly area (see Figure 2) was dominated by skilled men, some 33 in all. Of these 17 were welders and 16 fitters. There were four inspectors (one of whom was a chargehand), who checked and measured the work produced and in the tool room two skilled men (one of whom was a chargehand), worked providing tools, equipment and materials to service the production lines. Maintenance consisted of two electricians, and a maintenance fitter. There were four chargehands in the assembly area, Stevie Halt, Geordie Jap, George Woof and Harry McQuire. A chargehand, Kenny Browning, worked in the tool room; one inspector, Alan Bird, was a chargehand, and John Hogget was a chargehand electrician. There was an overall foreman, Tommy Morton, who left the firm early in the observation period; and a progress chaser, Tommy Went, became the temporary foreman (a complete list of all employees is provided in Appendix 8, for reference purposes).

(3) The Production Process

The production process at Truck Components had been organised by head office to facilitate the mass production of identical units. In theory the production process was a continuous flow line, moving work from the machine shop to the head of the assembly area, and producing units for fork lift trucks. Work was introduced into the machine shop, via the marking off area (see Figure 2 for the areas

of production). In the marking off area the material which consisted dominantly of metal sheets, rods and bars was measured, and the required shape marked in crayon. The machine shop then cut, shaped, drilled and ground the metal. The drill section mainly performed small tasks, producing units which needed precision drilling. Larger jobs which involved cutting and bending were performed on the press, rolls, cutter and guillotine. The cutter and guillotine divided the material into large sections, and the press and rolls produced the correct shape. Burners cut sections of metal into smaller units, and for other precision work there was a grinder.

Work moved through the machine shop into the assembly area, where the construction of fork lift truck 'bodies' took place. In the assembly area, excluding the precision marking off area (where work was introduced), the floor was divided into production lines. The material, which had been cut, shaped and drilled in the machine shop, was introduced at the lower end of each production line, and the materials were assembled by fitters and welders into a section of a fork lift truck 'body'. There were four production lines, each producing a section of the fork lift chassis.⁽²⁾ The 'M and P' line was a small chassis. During the early observation period this was in large demand, but the line was later closed down. The 'H' line was a medium chassis, and the largest chassis produced was the 'B'. A fourth production line constructed masts.⁽³⁾ Sideloaders and ducting were the only two units not produced on a line.⁽⁴⁾ At the head of the assembly area

(2) A "chassis" was the 'body' of a fork lift truck.

(3) A "mast" was the unit on which the forks of the fork lift truck slide.

(4) "Sideloaders" were a large truck, the chassis of which was produced by one welder and one fitter. "Ducting" was constructed for external contract work. It was a highly skilled process involving working from drawings of the unit under construction. Large sheets of metal were welded into units of varying size and shape, depending on external requirements. These units were not for fork lift trucks. They represented an attempt by management to gain new work, to match a declining demand for fork lift trucks.

inspection checked the units produced. Work was transferred from one production area to another by the fork lift, and the hand operated cranes.

During the observation period this flow of work was rarely maintained. This was due to changing head office demands. Head office required that work schedules should be continually altered and restructured; special chassis needed to be produced, and the continuity of production was disrupted.

(4) The Trade Union Hierarchy

There was an alternative trade union hierarchy which paralleled that of management. Within the factory there were three union representatives. Peter Howard represented the non-skilled employees and John Elite the skilled men. Bob Wrote represented the non-productive employees, and was the shop convenor. Peter Howard was absent for much of the observation period, and although Tommy Tail was appointed temporary shop steward, control tended to reside with John Elite and Bob Wrote. The union area official responsible for Truck Components was Owen Richardson. The union (as at Power Motors) was the A.U.E.W.

(5) The Industrial Background of Employees

The men represented by the union (as at Power Motors) were very distinctive. There were two particular groups of employee in Truck Components, but both had elements in common. Firstly there was a large group of ex-miners. Formerly the area had a strong mining bias, and a well developed community tradition. This had been affected by an influx of populace, attracted by the development of Newtown. Also other employees travelled from non-mining areas to Newtown. These men lacked the common industrial bond of the miners. The result was two different groups within Truck Components. These groups, however, had in common a work experience dominated by secure employment. This was

very different to the situation which existed at Power Motors, where employees had occupied many jobs and experienced much redundancy. Thus, workers at Truck Components were little acquainted with insecure employment, and when faced with the uncertain work situation at the factory, they reacted in a distinctive fashion. This shall be further elaborated in (d) The Analysis.

(6) The Working Agreement

Relations between workers and management were regulated by a Working Agreement. The 'agreement' was signed in September 1973, and amended in December 1974. It was to remain in operation until the following December. There was, however, a review of wage rates in June 1975. The structure of the agreement is important to an understanding of the factory. It attempted to regulate various aspects:

Payment

The relationship between effort and reward was regulated by work measurement. A personal index system measured the employees' performance against a pre-determined standard. Each step on a performance index (P.I.) was linked to monetary payment. The performance index was calculated as follows for the working week:

$$PI = \frac{a + b + c}{x} \times 100$$

a = the standard minute value of each component:
the number of components produced by the operator, and compared to the number required by work study (the rate). This tended to be assessed in components per hour (e.g. components produced by the operator per hour / components required by work study per hour). Built into the rate was an allowance (contingency allowance) for the washing of hands, etc. There was a basic rate (the day rate)

TABLE 14

The 'Agreement' December 1974

<u>Performance Index Step</u>	-	<u>Incentive Payment Per Hour</u>
81 - 85		5p
86 - 90		10p
91 - 95		15p
96 - 100		20p
101 - 105		25p
106 - 110		30p
111 - 115		35p
116 - 120		40p
121 - 125		45p

THE REVISED AGREEMENT (June 1975)

"Performance Index

This index will change from the stepped format to one in which all index points from 81 - 110 (inclusive) will carry a value of £0.15p point, and all index points from 111 - 135 (inclusive) will carry a value of £0.0075p point.

A ceiling will be implemented at 135 p.i. and no earnings will go beyond this level."

TABLE 15

THE JOB GRADES

<u>GRADE 1</u>	Toolmaker Maintenance Electrician Maintenance Fitter Welder Fitter Inspector
<u>GRADE 2</u>	Machine Operator Guillotine Operator Burner Operator
<u>GRADE 3</u>	Craneman Fork Lift Driver Storeman Tester
<u>GRADE 4</u>	Handyman
<u>GRADE 5</u>	Labourer

THE DAY RATE

This is the minimum earnings level and corresponds to 80 on the performance index.

Job Grade	1	2	3	4	5
Day Rate Per Hour (80 p.i.)	£1.00	92p	84p	77p	70p

below which bonus could not fall.

- b = the allowed setting up time, compiled by work study, and equivalent to the time necessary to set a machine ready to produce.
- c = actual waiting time, the waiting time clocked in multiplied by .9 since this was paid at 90% performance.
- x = hours clocked on work and waiting time, that is the working week.

This calculation was related to an index based on payment per unit step. The payment per unit was restructured in the June wage agreement (see Table 14). This unit payment was added to an employee's day rate, which was dependent upon his job grade (see Table 15). The day rate (which no employee could fall below) was taken as 80 PI on the incentive scheme which had a ceiling at 135 PI. Skilled men in the assembly area tended to have their bonus assessed as groups because they worked together on one production line. Operators though were assessed individually.

Measurements to achieve the times necessary for the operation of the payment scheme were taken by the use of a stop watch, in a similar fashion to that at Power Motors (see (a) The Constraints on Action). 'Waiting' time paid 90 PI on the bonus scale, as did 'unmeasured' work. However, the task of the non-productive employees was never measured. They were paid at a specific rate of bonus (100 PI, plus one half of the shop average rate above that total). This was added to their day rate. Non-productive employees were those employees who did not work on the production line, or were not directly concerned in production, that is, inspectors, crane drivers, chargehands, toolmakers and the handyman. The wage rates for all employees, tabulated according to job grade, are presented below:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>The Day Rate,</u> <u>40 hrs (£)</u>	<u>100 PI</u> <u>(£)</u>	<u>135 PI</u> (productive employees)	<u>135 PI</u> (non-productive employees)
1	40.00	12.00	25.50	18.75
2	36.80	"	"	"

<u>Grade</u>	<u>The Day Rate,</u> <u>40 hrs (£)</u>	<u>100 PI</u> <u>(£)</u>	<u>135 PI</u> (productive employees)	<u>135 PI</u> (non-productive employees)
3	33.60	12.00	25.50	18.75
4	30.80	"	"	"
5	28.00	"	"	"

Redundancy

The redundancy clause within the 'agreement' regulated arrangements as follows:

If the likelihood of redundancy is foreseen, the company will inform the union, explain the reasons, and in consultation with the union, will give consideration to taking appropriate measures to avoid redundancy the company will notify the union of an inevitable redundancy as soon as possible after the decision has been taken and following the discussions outlined in 'Prevention'.

At this time the areas of the bargaining unit to be affected will be detailed outlining departments, job grades or other categories

At the earliest possible opportunity notification will be given to the employees concerned that redundancy is imminent. The following criteria will be used to select employees to be made redundant, but these are not necessarily in order or priority.

- (1) Employees who have not completed their probationary period of employment.
- (2) The principle of 'last in - first out' based on service within a particular category, grade or department, as detailed in earlier stages.
- (3) The principle of 'last in - first out' based on total company service and subject to an employee's qualifications,

and ability to perform the available work.

- (4) As a result of a reduction in the work force adjustments may be necessary in manning levels between departments, and employees with least service in the affected department will be transferred subject to the employee's qualification and ability to perform the available work.

The Mobility and Flexibility Clauses

These dealt with the range of jobs a man could be expected to perform. Management exercised the right that,

an employee shall be mobile within his job grade (see Table 15 for details of the job grades) in so far as possible without such mobility creating any safety hazard to the employee himself or to any fellow employees.....

Management have the right to assign an employee temporarily without pay adjustment to a job in a higher or lower job grade provided such temporary assignment does not exceed a period of 15 continuous working days. In the event of a promotion extending beyond 15 continuous working days, wage adjustment will be made retrospectively to the first day of the change.

The Negotiation Procedure

The procedure was devised for the regulation of disputes. It was to proceed as follows. A man should inform his shop steward of a dispute and,

- (1) The issue was to be taken to the supervisor - a reply would be given in one day.
- (2) The issue was to be taken to the department manager - a reply would be given in one day.
- (3) The issue was then to be taken to the

production manager and the personnel manager - a meeting would be held in three days, and an answer given in one day.

- (4) The issue was then to be taken to the manager - a meeting would be held in five days, and this decision would be final.

If such an issue became a major dispute, the problem could be taken to the negotiation stage of the procedure. This could be done after stage two, following an agreement between the union representative, and the personnel manager. This introduced a more formal and wider approach to the problem. There were four stages. (1) The departmental manager would arrange a meeting with the supervisor, the elected representative of the employees and the personnel manager. This would be within three days of a request. (2) If this meeting was unsuccessful, a works committee meeting would be held in three days, with the membership necessary to solve the dispute. (3) Following a failure to agree, external groups would be brought in, within 10 days, to a works conference. (4) Finally in the last resort, The Advisory Consultation and Arbitration Service would be brought in.

Hours of Work

The 'agreement' facilitated the working of a day-shift, a nightshift, a double dayshift, three shift working and continuous shift working. In practice a dayshift operated from 8.30 a.m. - 4.30 p.m. There was a 30 minute lunch break, and a 10 minute tea break.

(7) The Market Situation

The product market situation is important to the course of industrial relations. The market situation as defined at Truck Components was as follows. The demand for fork lift trucks had declined. This had been relatively sudden and drastic, as the following table shows:

February - March 1974

March - April 1975

Orders in the
fork lift truck
industry⁽⁵⁾

2,000

200

The Vulcan Trucking Group, despite problems, was increasing its percentage share of the total market. A concerted attack had been launched to increase sales, and this was showing some return. But the Group as a whole was still in a difficult position. There had been a substantial cash loss in the last financial year, and borrowing had taken place to finance the deficit. The bank in providing the loan had required that an employee of theirs, Mr. Boxhall, should join the Vulcan Trucking Group board. This, then, was the context for action at Truck Components (see Appendix 2, section (4) for an assessment of the fork truck market).

(8) A Conclusion

There are several issues implicit in The Constraints on Action presented in this section. It has been emphasised that headquarters management determined the work force structure. They also maintained a strict control of the plant (a situation similar to that at Power Motors). Through this control they broke the redundancy clause (as the men saw it) of the 'agreement' by announcing a redundancy, which did not apply 'last in - first out' strictly, without consultation with union representatives (this shall be outlined in the following sections). This became a source of dispute. Also many of the demands of head office for production disrupted the work flow at Truck Components. This made employees' bonus difficult to obtain, because bonus depended on a reliable flow of work (a situation which was similar to that at Power Motors). At the same time management (as shall be outlined in following sections) demanded employees give more effort

(5). Source: the personnel department of Truck Components. These figures were given as approximations only.

for the same remuneration and hours of work. In this situation the mobility clause of the working agreement became important. Would management enforce increased flexibility among employees to improve production? Further, two men were being forced to operate four cranes, this was deemed excessive by some employees. The men faced with these problems were represented by two skilled employees. One in particular, Bob Wrote the convenor, attempted to utilise his position to serve his own purpose, political dealings with management. Thus, he ignored the negotiation procedure, which had also become partially defunct due to the tight control of head office management.

These issues shall be taken up and expanded as this study of Truck Components proceeds, but first, in the next section, the major events of the observation period will be outlined.

(b) A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

A Chronological History

Introduction

The major events of the observation period are chronologically presented here (as at Power Motors), to facilitate a ready understanding of the study of Truck Components. Key events are again underlined.

Tuesday, 26th August

Employees on the shop floor were apathetic, and they performed little work. Also a work to rule was operating, due to a demarcation dispute during the summer break. Office staff had performed shop floor work. The district officer of the A.U.E.W., Owen Richardson, had been contacted, and he imposed the sanctions. Prior to the break men had been made redundant, this was a major issue. There were also rumours that the factory was to be taken over by A.B.C. Engineering (a local firm). The situation within the firm was very complex, and many employees believed the work to rule had been imposed because of the redundancies.

Wednesday, 27th August

The union representatives met Owen Richardson. They were in favour of removing the work to rule; to help ensure the safety of the firm. Later Carrington, the general manager of the factory, addressed a meeting of the work force. He emphasised that, if the firm was to continue, the men must work harder. This would involve removing the work to rule. There were two reactions among the employees. One reaction was to doubt the security of the firm, and to encourage compliance with managerial will. Another reaction demanded management be punished for their treatment of the labour force. The question of the number of crane drivers within the work force was also raised; two such employees had been made redundant. This meant increased work for the drivers who remained. Finally the problem of labour mobility was introduced by the employees. It was agreed to remove the work to rule if the mobility

clause in the working agreement were altered.

Thursday, 28th August

The union representatives met the manager; the mobility clause was settled, and the employees removed all but a ban on overtime, which was related to the redundancy.

Friday, 29th August

The work rate of employees began to increase. But it was accepted by all workers that production was below pre-redundancy levels. Also John Elite, the shop steward, wished to discuss the number of crane drivers with management. Tommy Morton, the foreman, left Truck Components.

Monday, 1st September

Tommy Batty, a crane driver, was absent, and the union representatives met the manager to settle the question of the number of crane drivers. However, stalemate resulted, and it was agreed to refer the dispute to Owen Richardson, the union area secretary. Tommy Went, a progress chaser, became temporary foreman.

Tuesday, 2nd September

Tension was mounting, and the question of closure was important.

Wednesday, 3rd September

Owen Richardson met Carrington to consider the crane driver problem. Carrington agreed to appoint a crane driver, but Leverton management countermanded the order. Thus, Richardson demanded to meet the chairman of the Vulcan Trucking Company, Mr. Carr-Shaw. Apathy had returned to the shop floor workers.

Thursday, 4th September

Carrington held a chargehands' meeting, aimed at improving production and tightening discipline. It was agreed to hold future meetings regularly. Meanwhile several employees expected further redundancies, and it was rumoured that chargehands were to make a list of

workers to be made redundant. It was also arranged between the union representatives and Carrington that Owen Richardson should meet Mr. Carr-Shaw (the chairman) on the following Saturday to discuss the position of Truck Components.

Friday, 5th September

There was increased pressure on the work force from supervision. The foreman's job was also advertised as vacant. Finally, it was rumoured that A.B.C. Engineering management were to visit the factory next day as a prelude to a takeover.

Saturday, 6th September

Owen Richardson met Mr. Carr-Shaw, and the chairman set a target of £60,000 of production, in terms of sales, to be met in one month, or he would close the factory.

Monday, 8th September

The union representatives were in favour of increased flexibility to improve output, but they received little support from other employees. A mass meeting of all employees was held, to outline the full situation at Truck Components, and to encourage the men to work harder. The union representatives informed the men that Richardson advised a removal of the overtime ban. Richardson, they outlined, was to visit the plant on Thursday to discover the members' views on this.

Wednesday, 10th September

Men began to work harder. All candidates for the foreman's job were given an application form.

Thursday, 11th September

Owen Richardson visited the factory. He asked the work force to work harder, and to remove the overtime ban. The ban was removed, and the men answered with a resounding "Yes" to his plea for greater effort. An A.B.C. Engineering takeover rumour was still important.

Monday, 15th September

At a production meeting for chargehands Carrington asked for greater efforts from the men. A wall chart with production totals was also placed in full view of all employees. A stocktake was announced, to take place on the weekend of the 26th - 29th September; volunteers were requested to aid its execution. However, Bob Wrote, the union convenor, placed a notice next to Carrington's announcement, this outlined that the rates of pay for the stocktake had been set without union consultation. The employees were angry; few volunteered for the stocktake, and the rate for the task was considered by the men to be derisory. It was also rumoured that Truck Components would be taken over by British Leyland, and that the local member of parliament would demand state aid. A short list of candidates was prepared for the foreman's post, and interviews were held.

Tuesday, 16th September

It was rumoured that Hoover might take over Truck Components. Overtime was now made available for all employees (up to a total of 50 hours per man in any four weeks).

Wednesday, 17th September

It was rumoured that George Woof, a chargehand, would be given the foreman's job, and that Bob Wrote, the union convenor, would pass a vote of no confidence in him. The machine shop workers reacted angrily. Apathy was also on the increase, and men were taking longer breaks.

Thursday, 18th September

A.B.C. Engineering were rumoured to be taking over Truck Components. Bob Wrote had been informed of this at a union branch meeting. Carrington announced that the foreman's job was to be settled by Mr. Wilkinson, the personnel officer at Leverton, on a visit to the firm. There were now only two candidates, George Woof and Alan Bird. These two employees were reinterviewed.

Tuesday, 23rd September

It was rumoured that there would be a 30% redundancy, and it was also suggested that Truck Components might close entirely. Another rumour spread that students would perform the stocktaking. But Bill Silver, the personnel manager at Truck Components, managed to obtain enough men to perform the task unaided.

Wednesday, 24th September

Wilkinson, the personnel officer at Leverton, arrived, quashed the possibility of a foreman's appointment, and announced a takeover. This latter must remain a secret within Newtown.

Friday, 26th September

At a meeting of all employees the new management announced the takeover. Carrington, was to be demoted.

(c) THE DATA

The Data

Introduction

Sections (a) and (b) of this chapter have outlined the background to an examination of Truck Components. In this section, to take further the analysis of the transference of work to the workers, the data collected at Truck Components will be thematically presented. As was emphasised in the similar section on Power Motors, the working agreement may be utilised to provide a benchmark of the demands made by management and employees. Different expectations, norms and demands implicit in the 'agreement' were expressed by groups in "new" manufacturing. The working agreement was presented in section (a) The Constraints on Action. Here it was suggested that head office took control of the firm out of the hands of Carrington, the manager at Truck Components (following a reassessment of the wage agreement). This was part of an attempt to enforce their demands upon the subsidiary management and work force. Such action placed increased pressure upon Carrington; he had to achieve viability, and at the same time had little power to do so. Carrington, therefore, attempted to increase the level of effort implicit in the 'agreement', and he placed pressure upon his employees. This pressure took various forms, and will be discussed as follows:

(1) Managerial Policy

(i) The Chargehand Meetings: Carrington hoped to improve production by (a) altering the structure of work, (b) encouraging the men and (c) tightening discipline. These points were emphasised when the manager met his chargehands.

(ii) The Foreman's Job: Carrington attempted to increase managerial control of the shop floor employees by introducing a new foreman. However, this disobeyed head office directives and caused the manager problems.

(iii) The Production Target: head office took a hand in events at Truck Components. Carrington was informed that he must break even; or in a month the firm would close, and he would lose his job. This pressure was transferred in turn by the manager to the work force. The factory, Carrington announced, would close if the men did not improve their efforts. Union representatives encouraged employees to comply with all managerial demands.

(iv) The Stocktake: Carrington announced a six monthly stocktake. Head office had decided the firm was likely to remain unprofitable, and now organised a takeover. Employees were, however, unaware of this. They, nevertheless, complained concerning the wage rate for the stocktake and were unsure of its purpose.

(v) The Chargehand Letters: Chargehands were asked to assess the men under their control in terms of their effort. This was a desperate attempt on the part of Carrington to discover the 'poor' workers among the work force. However, it served merely to antagonise employees.

(vi) The Takeover: the attempts of Carrington to improve the effort of his employees proved unsuccessful. Truck Components was taken over by A.B.C. Engineering, and Carrington was demoted.

Management, as the above suggests, were attempting to achieve profitability. The redundancy prior to the observation period, and the eventual takeover, suggest that management at head office were not satisfied by the results of their attempts to increase the level of effort provided by employees. To understand this it is necessary to analyse in detail the work force, and their reactions to managerial demands. In the section on The Constraints on Action it was suggested that employees possessed secure employment records. Truck Components, however, presented employees with an uncertain employment future. This produced a distinctive reaction among the men.

(2) The Work Force

(A) The Employee Reaction to Managerial Demands

(i) Loss of Confidence on the Shop Floor: men were sure that the firm would close, and had no faith that they or management could solve the problems of the company.

(ii) Apathy on the Shop Floor: thus, believing there was no hope for the firm men were apathetic and did not respond fully to managerial demands for improved effort.

(iii) Rumours on the Shop Floor: a further result of uncertainty were rumours concerning closure.

(iv) Employee Scapegoats: men, faced by an uncertain employment situation, blamed other employees for various unacceptable acts. Thus, the work force was divided against itself.

(a) The Initial Situation: here the divisions were first observed during a dispute over redundancy and mobility. These divisions continued throughout the observation period, and were later analysed more fully.

(b) The Major Scapegoats: there were four major divisions among the men:

- (1) The Non-Worker/Workers Split
- (2) The Productive/Non-Productive Split
- (3) The Skilled/Non-Skilled Split
- (4) The 'Dilutee'/Skilled Men Split

However, not all employees lapsed into a divisive apathy. Employees also made demands of management. Again, as in Power Motors, these demands concentrated into two areas. Several employees attacked management attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain' by demanding increased monetary return. Also skilled men demanded their status be acknowledged by management and other employees.

(B) Employee Demands, the 'Effort Bargain' and Status

(i) The Mobility/Redundancy Issue: a demand by elements

of the work force for action against management because of a redundancy, altered to a dispute over mobility which periodically reared its head. Skilled men felt that their status was being questioned by the mobility clause of the 'agreement' which allowed management to transfer a skilled employee to any job in the factory.

(ii) The Crane Driver Problem: the workload of crane drivers was a bone of contention throughout the observation period. Several workers feared that a shortage of employees in this crucial area would also reduce bonus returns by holding up the work.

(iii) Bonus Disputes: there were various bonus disputes during the observation period. Demands for such bonus came from only a minority of employees. The reasons for this will be discussed in (d) The Analysis.

(3) A Conclusion

A short paragraph, summarises the major elements of the previous discussion, and leads into (d) The Analysis.

The above introductory presentation is similar to that of Power Motors. Is a managerial demand for an increase in the level of the 'effort bargain' a feature of "new" firms? In the implementation of this demand are there again signs of coercion? Is coercion a feature of "new" firms under strict head office control? Again, as in Power Motors, employees reacted against attempts to increase the level of effort in the factory. In Truck Components this resulted in both apathy and antagonism. Why were there these differences between Truck Components and Power Motors? Again the demands of the skilled employees were concerned with status. Is this a constant feature of skilled employees? Further, to what extent were all the demands expressed here complementary? Also is the insecure employment provided at Truck Components a possible feature of "new" manufacturing industry? These

are all questions which may be considered while reading The Data. Later in Chapter 6 such questions will be related to "new" manufacturing industry, and the policy of transferring work to the workers. But first let us take this study of Truck Components further by presenting the data collected at the factory during the observation period.

(1) Managerial Policy

This section outlines the various expressions of the managerial attempt to increase the effort of their employees.

(i) The Chargehand Meetings

Carrington arranged a series of chargehand meetings. The first was on Thursday, 4th September. The manager outlined four problems. Firstly, discipline in the plant was slack; it must be improved. Secondly, the chargehands must instil into the men a belief that the firm had a secure future. Thirdly, there were recurring faults on some materials; the cause must be identified and the problem removed. Finally, when Mr. Carr-Shaw guided David Brown, the manager of A.B.C. Engineering round the factory, he was appalled by the mess; the factory must be cleaned. It was also arranged that further chargehand meetings would be held at regular intervals (this did not occur).

A second meeting was held on Monday, 15th September. Carrington questioned the chargehands on events at a mass meeting the previous Thursday, and he emphasised again the need to tighten supervision. Now that the overtime ban was over Carrington also desired an increase in the total overtime worked. This was set by the union at 30 hours per man, over a four week period. Carrington wanted the total increased to 50 hours. The union representatives were approached, and agreed to the change. Following this further concession, overtime, which had been restricted due to the redundancy, was fully worked. Overtime had been worked generally in the machine shop, but this was now stepped up.⁽⁶⁾ The assembly area worked overtime too, in particular the 'H' line. Production was also reorganised in a minor fashion. One tester was removed from a production line, new ducting work was introduced and the number of masts demanded increased (this was the only attempt at reorganisation, and as such it was a gesture rather than a serious plan). Finally a production chart, measuring

(6). The overtime ban only applied to those job grades where men had been made redundant.

actual production against the necessary target (£60,000), set by Mr. Carr-Shaw, was erected.

(ii) The Foreman's Job

Tommy Morton the factory foreman, left Truck Components after one week of the observation period. He was replaced by Tommy Went, a progress chaser, who had been a previous foreman, but had been demoted during a managerial reorganisation. Tommy was, however, only a temporary replacement. On Friday, 5th September applicants were requested for the vacant post of foreman. There were numerous applicants, in particular Tommy Went, Alan Bird, (chargehand inspector), George Woof, Stevie Halt and Geordie Jap, (chargehands); John Elite, the shop steward, Tommy Stoop, an inspector and Eric Millet a fitter. The applicants were presented with an application form the following Wednesday, which consisted of a two page letter to contain what the candidate believed was wrong with the firm. These were returned, the candidates were interviewed, and the process appeared to stagnate. On Thursday, 18th September it was announced that the problem of actually deciding the foreman was difficult; Carrington would reinterview. Two candidates were selected, George Woof and Alan Bird. The reinterviewing was carried out, and Carrington again announced that no decision could be made, but Mr. Wilkinson, the personnel manager at headquarters in Leverton, who was attending the factory to implement the stocktake would decide the choice for the post. When Wilkinson arrived, on Wednesday, 24th September, he announced the foreman's job would not be filled due to the takeover, which he outlined that day.

However, behind these superficial events Carrington had carried out negotiations with Bob Wrote, the convenor. Carrington made an agreement with Bob, which allowed the manager to avoid a Leverton directive preventing him from either employing or promoting employees. It was agreed to appoint a foreman at the rate for a chargehand, rather than placing him on the salaried staff, which was customary. A special increment would be paid, to produce a suitable wage. As part of the compromise, Carrington allowed the

foreman to be a member of TASS.⁽⁷⁾

When Bill Silver, the personnel manager, heard of Carrington's promotion plans he placed a note on the general manager's desk, informing him of the folly of his actions. Silver believed the agreement would create a new job grade, and provide the union with a foothold in the at present non-unionised staff. The two managers argued, and Carrington hesitated. Silver advised the manager to delay, and hence, the reinterviewing. Carrington, however, went one step further, and announced that Wilkinson would make up the new foreman. As the moment of Wilkinson's arrival approached Carrington was anxious, but eventually the foreman's appointment was quashed by Wilkinson, though it was unlikely he would know of the behind the scenes manipulation.

(iii) The Production Target

Due to his dissatisfaction with negotiations over the number of crane drivers, and the uncertain future for employment at Truck Components; Owen Richardson, the union area secretary, had demanded to meet the chairman of the Vulcan Trucking Group. Thus, on Saturday, 6th September, Mr. Carr-Shaw met Owen Richardson, and the two union representatives at Truck Components. Also present at the meeting were the accountants of Vulcan Trucks and Truck Components, and Joe Carrington. The union representatives commented upon events when they returned to work the following Monday.

Mr. Carr-Shaw was, "ruthless", and had made Carrington appear a fool. Richardson had been disgusted, but Carr-Shaw refused to listen claiming,

I don't know how to run the factory, but
I want it to break even, or you're
(Carrington) out.

(7). TASS: Technical and Supervisory Staff trade union, a section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Carr-Shaw wanted £60,000 of output, in terms of sales; this must be produced in one month, or the factory would be closed. There was to be no gradual increase, and results must be achieved now. The union representatives, therefore, called a meeting of employees on the Monday to discuss the target in detail.

At the mass meeting Bob Wrote outlined the position. The target was £60,000, and it must be achieved. The position of the company was difficult, management were at fault; but so were the men. Most employees were 'good' workers, however 20% did not care, and did not work. This could not continue, because £250,000 had been lost by Truck Components in the last financial year. Carrington had been warned; his position was in jeopardy, he must make the target, and in one month, or the firm would close.

Ray Cart, a fitter, asked if the target total had ever been reached. The answer was "No", between £53,000 and £54,000 was the maximum, and that had been prior to the redundancy. Terry Shean, a fitter, assumed that the firm would close. But the two union representatives assured him that there was enough work to produce the target. Benny Longman a crane driver, remarked that the firm had been only £15,000 below their target prior to the redundancy. That was true, Bob Wrote agreed, but no gradual increase was satisfactory. Carrington, though, would make the target; because he had to. Billy Potter, a welder, thought the redundancy had reduced the possibility of a viable firm. Bob replied that Carr-Shaw had only figures in his head. Billy countered, there was no hope; management wanted to close the firm. The convenor, however, thought the men could make the target; there was a low productivity per man compared to Leverton, and this could be improved. Billy continued to disbelieve. But Bob restated his case; all would be well when the overtime ban was removed. The ban was a result of the previous redundancy. Richardson, the union area secretary, was to attend the plant on the following Thursday, and he would explain the situation from his point of view. His agreement was

needed to remove the ban, and he was discussing the problem at the union branch; the result would be known on the following Wednesday.

Tommy Stoop, an inspector, interrupted; there were less men now than before; how could the production be achieved? Carrington would make it he was assured. But Billy Potter thought Leverton would hinder such attempts. Tommy agreed, head office had not allowed the company to employ a crane driver, even though this would aid production. However, this was unimportant to Bob Wrote, he only saw Carr-Shaw as a "clinical man"; the target must be reached. Carrington would deal with any reorganisation; the union representatives wanted to know if the men were prepared to,

go out the door, or do something. (8)

Geordie Jap, a chargehand, suggested a 10% inspection instead of a complete check. Bob Wrote countered that chargehands were only, "glorified progress chasers". He outlined that a tester could be removed from the production process; his job was being performed twice. There was also much wasted time on the shop floor. Tommy Stoop believed the firm had always been this way; but nothing was ever done, there were only continual threats of redundancy. Jack Nelson, a fitter, wanted to know; could they really make it (the target)? "Yes", the union representatives assured him. But the reduction in the work force: the poor production figures? The removal of sanctions would solve this Bob Wrote informed him.

The discussion returned to the question of the chargehands. They were not enforcing strict working. Stevie Halt, a chargehand, believed there was not enough work.

(8). The reorganisation Bob Wrote referred to, and to which the union representatives and management paid lip service, never materialised on a large scale. Only minor changes occurred. One tester was removed from the production line, and increased numbers of masts and ducting were produced. The production of ducting, however, was forced upon Carrington due to a decline in head office demands for 'M and P' chassis.

George Woof, another chargehand, believed there was insufficient work on his section too. Bob Wrote launched into an attack upon the machine shop workers,

they wander about doing nothing.....
(the) odd few here aren't willing to work. I'm sounding like management, but I don't mean it. You see them (machine shop employees) over the basins in the toilet (during work hours).

Two non-skilled workers responded. Eddie Burley thought machinery was a problem, and Jackie Step was sure a shortage of crane drivers was to blame. Tommy Stoop, an inspector, believed non-workers were a problem applying to all industry. Bob Wrote, however, would not accept this. He again criticised chargehands, and hinted that greater flexibility in working arrangements might be introduced (see the mobility/redundancy issue). Billy Potter and Denis Priest questioned the validity of the management figures which showed a loss. But Bob reiterated,

the ball's in our court.

Something must be done. The handyman, Jack Gardiner, suggested a vote to work harder. Tommy Stoop said this was unnecessary, it could be left to the individuals' conscience. Billy Potter added that men with good consciences could be waiting for a crane. But Tommy Stoop believed there was nothing the men could do but agree to work, and the meeting ended on that note.

As men left the meeting, Jackie Step, a burner, remarked that the target was impossible. Joe Forster, a fitter, thought the men were "f----". Mick Wabs, a welder, complained against Jack Gardiner; while men worked on the shop floor, he did little. Following the meeting Carrington was increasingly present on the shop floor, and he was constantly active where production was slowest. On the following Thursday, 11th September, Richardson, the union area secretary, attended another meeting of the work

force, which discussed the production target and the overtime ban (this meeting had been promised by Bob Wrote).

Richardson provided the context for the meeting. He had been the first union representative to meet managers from Truck Components. There was great potential in the factory, and between 1,000 and 1,500 jobs could be provided. But events were not fortuitous at the moment. Arrangements had, therefore, been made to meet Mr. Carr-Shaw. This had been done, and it was obvious that the chairman was a "kind of animal". Carr-Shaw had arrived for the meeting 25 minutes late, and had taken a "ruthless" attitude. During the meeting he had shown the union representatives the company books, and there was a substantial deficit. This must be removed; Carrington was to achieve a solution. Until now an overtime ban had been operational on those trades where men were made redundant. This applied so these men could be found another job. In the present situation Richardson believed that it would be wise to remove the ban. A.B.C. Engineering were to let 1,000 hours of fabrication work per week, so there was enough work. More work would be forthcoming; if the firm was proved to be viable. There might then be some re-employment of labour. This was important because,

If you (the men) were in my chair for the last few weeks it would make you vomit.

There had been substantial reductions in labour at several local firms. And there was,

a recession coming of the magnitude that the membership cannot realise.

Further, there was unlikely to be any new employment in Newtown before April 1976. Did the work force at Truck Components intend to keep the factory open? Truck Components was vital to retain jobs within the town. Could he (Richardson) have some assurance of the desire of the membership to retain an open factory? The members gave a resounding, "Yes". Richardson was pleased, it was now

possible to, "put our house in order".

But Ernie Ollaf, a welder, was unsure, management had lied in the past, why believe them now? Richardson suggested that there was no alternative. Truck Components had an important name in Newtown, it was a major plant in the town, and it must not close. Men could not afford to tell management to, "get f----". A.B.C. Engineering were important, the work they offered would stabilize the company. At Dudlee's 25% of the labour force were absent; this must not happen at Truck Components.⁽⁹⁾ Ernie Ollaf countered; what did Richardson mean? The union official replied that he believed simply that the men should attempt to improve the situation.

Jack Nelson, a fitter, though morale was low: did Richardson realise the magnitude of the task? Tommy Stoop, an inspector, claimed there was never a regular flow of work. Bob Wrote interrupted; they were planning work reorganisation within management at present (this reorganisation was never implemented). He (Bob) asked for a vote of confidence, and Richardson suggested the members should remove the overtime ban. Billy Potter, a welder, outlined that crane drivers were a problem. Owen Richardson asked if men from the stores would help if necessary: they agreed; others Richardson suggested could also help when needed. The vote for the removal of the overtime ban was passed.

(iv) The Stocktake

On Monday, 15th September, Carrington announced that the usual six monthly stocktake would be enforced on the weekend of the 26th-29th. He placed a list for volunteers to help with the task on the firm's notice board. A special rate was set for the job. It would be £4 for Saturday morning, £3 for the afternoon, £10 for Sunday morning and £11 for the afternoon. Bob Wrote, the union convenor, placed a further notice on the board. This out-

(9). Dudlee Engineering: A firm in Newtown with financial difficulties.

lined that the rate had been set without union consultation. Few volunteers were forthcoming. Men were angry; in the past men had been paid a bonus rate for the job. In particular Bobby Braggs, a welder, argued that if he earned 100 PI he would receive £36.40 for the same weekend.⁽¹⁰⁾

The background to this outburst of anger was that initially the shop floor workers were to receive a larger payment than the office staff. However, the staff complained, and Carrington introduced a basic rate for all those who performed the stocktake. As a result only two names were placed upon the board. Dave Courtney, a machine operator, later withdrew his name, leaving only Ray Strabbs, a welder.

On Monday, 21st September, a rumour spread that students would be used to implement the stocktake. Bob Wrote, the convenor, was angry; but many men refused to believe this rumour. Bill Silver maintained the student rumour initiated as an idea of Carrington. On the Tuesday, however, Silver gave each chargehand a list to take to their men. A note informed them that when A.B.C. Engineering took control of the firm such actions as performing the stocktake would be taken as a mark of a 'good' worker. Each chargehand asked the men individually, and by this method enough workers, including all the chargehands, were obtained for the weekend.

Men, however, were still suspicious, though for rather different reasons. Mick Wabs, a welder, remarked,

George Woof was talking to Joe (Forster),
and he said they were giving top priority
to stocktaking. Everything on the (shop)
floor had to be taken into the stores.

We could be out of a job.

It was believed the stocktake either signalled the closure, or the takeover of the firm. Bill McGraw, a welder, remembered the firm had a stocktake, not every six months,

(10). 100 PI was not considered a large total.

but usually once a year. It was only six months since the last stocktake. Also this stocktake was unusual. John Hogget, a chargehand electrician, summed this up,

They're making a stocktake. They want to know everything, how many tables, the lot. They want to know everything in here from the front to the back gates... it says on the board its the six month stocktake. But that's rubbish, we have one once a year, and not at this time. It's usually of material, not fittings... It's been planned now (the stocktake) for six weeks I'd say..... rumours have been running round the plant for two months.

(v) The Chargehand Letters

On Wednesday, 17th September, Silver handed an envelope to each chargehand. Inside was a request that they should assess each individual on their section, and rate them in terms of effort. The chargehands were shocked, and John Hogget and Kenny Browning refused to accept the letters, and made known to other men the request. There was an angry reaction, and the forms were collected in. Carrington and Silver argued over the issue. Carrington required information on the 'poor' workers within the factory, and he had asked Silver to acquire this. However, he wished the personnel manager to obtain information surreptitiously, perhaps through someone who could be trusted on the shop floor. Silver, Carrington declared, had bungled the affair.

(vi) The Takeover

Mr. Wilkinson, the personnel manager for Vulcan Trucks, announced the takeover of Truck Components by A.B.C. Engineering on Wednesday, 24th September. This was proclaimed formally to all the employees on Friday, 26th September. The meeting was attended by Carr-Shaw, the chairman, and

the company secretary of Vulcan Trucks, Mr. Lenard, David Brown and Mr. Odber, for the new management, Owen Richardson for the union, Jack Black, the local member of parliament, two members of Newtown Development Corporation and Joe Carrington.

Mr. Carr-Shaw addressed the men. He had come to present the facts. Vulcan Trucks had agreed to sell the factory to A.B.C. Engineering. All had been approved by both, the Department of Trade and Industry, and the Development Corporation. The takeover had been initiated because of the difficult situation within the company. It had been decided to cut losses, and give an opportunity to a local company to utilise the factory for the good of the community and local employment. Management must succeed, this had not been done at Truck Components, and there had been a continual loss. Next year it would be impossible for the company to finance such a position. The,

point is to maintain local employment....

Do recognise this and give them (A.B.C. Engineering) a lot of support. A lot has gone on here which is historically wrong... my concern, however, has been that we were competitive.

On that note Mr. Carr-Shaw vacated the stage to David Brown.

The new manager outlined his position. He had purchased Truck Components because he had work to place in the plant. Though the factory was not as efficient as it could be, it was ideal for the purpose of his company. Changes, however, would be necessary, and the co-operation of the work force would be essential in uniting the two companies in harmony. At this point in time there was "no cake" to share, profits must be earned first. However, his factory was a profit making one, and this would provide a base. Even so, profitability in Truck Components must be achieved in three to four months. Work would be produced for Vulcan Trucks during this transitional period, to

provide "short term employment".

David Brown ended his speech, and Carr-Shaw drew the meeting towards a close. Carrington, however, interrupted. He addressed the men. Six weeks ago he had asked the employees to place the company on an even footing, and to achieve profitability. He was sure that if the factory had been allowed to run until the end of the month, £63,000 in total sales value would have been earned,

thank you (the work force) from the bottom of my heart. I promised I'd break even. Well I'm sure we have. Some say the North-East worker is lazy and stubborn, but if you treat them right then there's not a finer set of workers in the country.

The men gave the manager a round of applause. Carr-Shaw, however, was flustered, and did not receive the interruption well. Other members of the group were upset by the gesture of the manager. Mr. Carr-Shaw hurriedly closed the meeting.

The group of dignitaries left, but Owen Richardson remained and addressed the men. There would in the future be more job satisfaction, because a product existed which could be constructed in the plant. David Brown was a local man, and he lived in a council house. He was a working class manager, not a distant managerial figure. Would the men help the situation by removing the bonus system? Billy Bone, a tester, announced he was against it; it would increase wage differentials. Benny Longman asked about the crane drivers. Richardson guaranteed they would not lose their job, despite the fact that David Brown did not use them in the fashion of Truck Components. Ray Cart, a fitter, wanted to know about the possibilities of redundancy. Richardson believed there would be none. Brown would assess each individual on their merits. Tommy Tail interrupted,

But we've been led up the wrong path,

they said if we got £60,000 the gates would stay open. Now we find that he (Carr-Shaw) was negotiating for a take-over at the same time.

Richardson agreed, it was strange, but it had developed without his knowledge; it was above his head. It did appear, though, that the £60,000 target was futile.

The men discussed the phrase "short term employment", used by David Brown; would there be redundancies following the three to four month period? Richardson hoped not, and eventually the men voted to remove the bonus scheme. The observation period, and the life of Truck Components was over.

(2) The Work Force

(A) The Employee Reaction to Managerial Demands

This section outlines four particular employee reactions to managerial demands. Firstly there was a lack of confidence in the firm's future. Secondly men did not work harder. Also an uncertain employment situation at Truck Components was characterised by rumours, and discussions among the employees.

(i) Loss of Confidence on the Shop Floor

During the observation period the future of the firm was unclear. There were several components to this unstable situation.

Distrust of Management

Most men believed management could not be trusted. In the past they had broken their word; they could do so again. Ray Strabbs, a welder, articulated this,

But management here had told lies. They say one thing and do another. On one occasion, it was when we went in for a wage rise, they said, if there was a large rise in the cost of living we could go back in (renegotiate). This was verbal like. But when it came to it, and the shop stewards went back in, because there was a rise in the cost of living - they turned round and said, 'It's not down in black and white, you'll have to wait till December'. That's why now no one believes anything unless it's down in black and white.

The Plant History

This distrust of management was linked to a plant history, vivid in each man's memory. There were three salient points, the three redundancies which had occurred. One redundancy involved salaried staff. This, was described as a reorganisation by management, but the men saw it differ-

ently. It was compared to the present redundancy, which also involved no prior warning. Another redundancy had been a farce. Men were made redundant, due to lack of orders, but with the introduction of contract work, many were re-employed.

An Expectation of Closure

As a result of the plant history men expected the factory to close. When I started my study comments such as the following were common,

How long are you going to be here...
till the factory closes?

You'll have to get a pair of roller
skates, and get round everybody as
quick as possible.

Where you were going to write a
volume, you'll have to write a pamphlet.

The firm was short of capital, and had an inadequate cash flow. All knew this, and commented upon it,

There was a time when wagons (bringing
materials) used to pull up at the front
of the works, not the back where they un-
load, and wait till the office staff came
in, and they'd not drop their load till
they got a cheque in their hand.

Several creditors went unpaid. Not surprisingly men expected a redundancy. In particular Kenny Browning, the tool room chargehand, was very disturbed by the situation. His desire for some further knowledge concerning the future of the firm was strong.

On Wednesday, 27th August, Carrington gave his speech outlining the intent of the firm to remain in Newtown. This calmed Kenny a little, but not other men. George Allen, a machine operator left Truck Components for alternative employment. Further, Ray Cart, a fitter, still held that the firm had been more secure when they had occupied a nursery factory. Ian Swam, a welder, remarked that he worked by ignoring all events outside his job. Also Jimmy

Johnson, a fitter in the tool room commented on Carrington's speech of reassurance,

Aye, that's now (an assurance of stability). We got an assurance today. But the bank can just as easily say, 'Wey there's now't up there', when they've gambled on the stock exchange. (11)

Brian Smith, the machine shop chargehand, elaborated on this. He believed there was not any security of employment at Truck Components, and he was afraid of losing his job. Benny Longman, a crane driver, agreed; he had never had such a 'good' job; he did not wish to lose it.

Thus, men waited for redundancy or closure, and watched for the return of Wilkinson, the personnel officer of Vulcan Trucks, who was known as the "axe man", because he delivered redundancy notices.

The Image of Vulcan Trucks

Allied to this expectation of closure, there was an image of Vulcan Trucks which emphasised the strength, size and ruthlessness of the company at headquarters. John Elite, the shop steward, believed Mr. Carr-Shaw, the chairman, owned most of Leverton; if he closed his factory there the town would be deprived of all employment. Yet, Carr-Shaw could easily do this. He had closed a factory in Ireland. Alternatively he could make a snap decision to build. All trucks for Germany had previously been transported in kits, to be assembled there. But Carr-Shaw decided this was inefficient, and immediately constructed a factory in Germany. This was the type of firm men at Truck Components must deal with. Ruthlessness was the key; Carr-Shaw had sacked his brother because he was not performing a satisfactory job.

The Target

This image of Carr-Shaw, and management at Leverton

(11). The reference here to "the bank" relates to a comment by Carrington. The general manager argued that Truck Components had a secure future in Newtown, because the Group had gained the financial support of a bank; the bank had also placed an employee of theirs on the Vulcan Trucks board.

was substantiated by the £60,000 production target. Brian Lampton, a fitter, believed the firm was now certain to close. Denis Priest, also a fitter, remarked that if the production target were met, this would embarrass management, because they already had large stocks. The target then was merely a ploy to close the firm. Vulcan Trucks did not really need Truck Components; they had occupied the factory to obtain cheap labour for two years, and now they would return south.

Following meetings with their union representatives, and then Owen Richardson, the men still believed the firm would close. The reason varied, but numerous employees outlined faults in the work force, and a few others looked towards failings of management. The A.B.C. Engineering rumour, on 18th September, suggesting a takeover, created further evidence which fueled the fires of doubt and uncertainty. This lasted until shortly before the actual takeover, because men worried if this would result in redundancies.

(ii) Apathy on the Shop Floor

Within Truck Components apathy may be defined as a failure by many employees to respond to a situation in which they were encouraged to increase output. Further, such encouragement could lead to a decline, rather than an increase in effort.

At the onset of the research period, little work was performed on the shop floor. Ron Kirk, a fitter, remarked that this was due to the redundancy. Benny Longman, a crane driver, believed the heart had been knocked out of the men. The speech of Carrington on Wednesday, 27th August made little impact. But gradually, however, men did make greater efforts. They took less time over breaks, and did not converse in large groups during production hours. However, some workers still did not respond, George Wilham remarked,

The place is knackered and I don't

care..... I just wish they'd close it
and let us get the hell out of here....
there's a few of us feel like that.

Similarly Brian Lampton stated that he had no heart for effort.

When the target of £60,000 of production was introduced, increased pressure was placed (by supervision) upon the men to improve their efforts. Initially there was an improvement, but gradually men returned to their old ways. Men were sure the factory would close, and believed that there might be a redundancy. Encouragement to produce had occurred before, and there were constant threats of closure. Kenny Browning, a chargehand, remarked,

It's not just come up this apathy.
When I came two years ago blokes were
saying 'The place'll not see Christmas'.

On Wednesday, 10th September, Jimmy Sad, an inspector, remarked,

I've got to the stage now where if they
want to use threats to close the factory,
they can close it.

However, along with almost all other workers he responded once the A.B.C. Engineering takeover became a certainty. Worked increased significantly, though men still believed there might be redundancies.

(iii) Rumours on the Shop Floor

In Truck Components workers were eager for knowledge of their present situation. Reliable information was at a premium, and rumours predominated.

The A.B.C. Engineering Rumour

This was the major rumour of the observation period. It was suggested that Truck Components would be taken over by A.B.C. Engineering. The rumour began at the onset of the study. Tommy Stoop elaborated upon it, suggesting that David Brown, the manager of A.B.C., was viewing the factory,

and that Mr. Carr-Shaw would meet him. And on Thursday, 18th September, Bob Wrote, the convenor, confirmed the rumour. At a union branch meeting the previous evening, it had been mentioned that there would be a takeover of Truck Components by A.B.C. Engineering. Bob would not reveal his source, but the rumour spread by word of mouth round the shop, and Eric Millet, a fitter, was sure the rumour emanated from the shop stewards at A.B.C. Engineering.

Bob Wrote informed Carrington of the rumour. Carrington, however, merely shrugged his shoulders. George Woof, a chargehand, similarly confronted the manager, but he received no further satisfaction. One rumour among office staff suggested that the two negotiating parties (A.B.C. Engineering and Vulcan Trucks) were already settling figures for the number of employees necessary. On Wednesday, 24th September, it was rumoured that the takeover would result in a redundancy, and the actual men involved would be decided by the shop stewards. The uncertain situation was enhanced by numerous unknown men seen wandering round the factory. Bobby Braggs, a welder, believed they were from A.B.C. Engineering. But Eric Millet, a fitter, maintained they were from Vulcan Trucks.

Finally (on the 24th September), Wilkinson, the personnel manager at Leverton, ended the controversy. He chaired two meetings, involving the chargehands and the office staff, in which he announced the takeover. There must be no publicity, but the details of the affair were to be announced on the following Friday. From this point onward the rumour ceased.

Other Rumours

Other rumours, though short lived, could have significant effects. One such rumour, resulted from Bob Wrote discussing, adjacent to the mast section, the question of the foreman's appointment. At that time it was understood that the job was between Alan Bird and George Woof. Employees on the shop floor felt that George Woof did not possess

the ability to perform the task. Bob Wrote in conversation recollected one occasion when an inspector had been appointed, and the men had passed a vote of no confidence in him. Eddie Hugh, a welder, heard this conversation and spread a rumour that Bob Wrote intended to pass a vote of no confidence in George Woof, if he were appointed foreman. The rumour caused an immediate reaction. The machine shop workers heard it, and determined to pass a vote of no confidence in George Woof. Bob Wrote was placed in a very difficult situation. He approached George Woof, and disclaimed all responsibility for the rumour. Later he also calmed the machine shop workers, and informed them of the 'true' situation.

Other rumours were common. Some were spread with a purpose. Geordie Jap, a chargehand, disliked George Woof. He, therefore, spread a rumour that he was to be made a foreman for A.B.C. Engineering. This was to spite George who hoped to achieve the foreman's post at Truck Components. Certain men were noted for spreading rumours. Tommy Stoop was well known as a gossip. In particular he suggested that Carrington, the manager, would leave. Other employees recognised as talkative by the men were George Wilham, Harry Bellows, Benny Longman, Jimmy Daft (all non-skilled men) and Dasha Hart, Bobby Park and George More (skilled workers). The actual nature of the rumours they spread varied. Redundancy was a common theme; so too was a takeover. It was suggested that Hoover or British Leyland could takeover the firm, or that there might be state aid. Other rumours might also be concerned with the characteristics of some individual.

The Source

The source of these rumours varied. Small instances might be taken and elaborated, or minor occurrences seen as suggestive of some trend. Ray Car, a fitter, believed there might be a redundancy, because the shop stewards remarked that negotiation with management was useless. Other rumours spread by misunderstandings. Brian Lampton,

a fitter, suggested one such instance,

I told a bloke the other day that the chargehands had been given letters. Then a bit later another bloke came back and said, 'Did you tell him that there was going to be a redundancy on the shop?' I said, 'No'. He said, 'Wey you said, there was letters given out on the shop'. A' said, 'Yes, but they were for the foreman's job'.

Other rumours were more mysterious, for example the student rumour. It was rumoured that students were to perform the stocktake. Silver, the personnel manager, believed this rumour originated as an idea of Carrington's, but there was no indication how this rumour spread onto the shop floor.

All these rumours, though, were encouraged by a lack of concrete information, which was enhanced by the secretive approach of Bob Wrote to his negotiations with management. But eventually all rumours died a natural death, to be replaced by the fact of a takeover.

(iv) Employee Scapegoats

Employees were divided against each other, and this related to the apportioning of blame for the position of the firm by the men on groups within the work force.

(a) The Initial Situation

From the onset of the observation period divisions in the work force were apparent. In the initial dispute involving redundancy there were various splits. At this stage it was impossible to analyse fully the various disputes. However, there appeared to be very different reactions to a plant situation. A more radical view demanded that the employees should take action against management, because of their high-handed action in simply announcing redundancy. Others were more afraid for their

job. Each group criticised the other. With the onset of the mobility problem, which was a latent motive in the redundancy issue, the men were again divided by their reaction to the work to rule (the redundancy/mobility dispute is described in section (B) number (i)). The dispute was more of an issue with the skilled men.⁽¹²⁾

Certain non-skilled employees resented the skilled demand for a work to rule. Also attitudes towards monetary reward appeared to vary and this was also a divisive force. A much used comment ran,

They'll do anything in this place for money.

A work to rule, imposed by the union, involved a loss of payment. Overtime had been a regular feature of the plant, its loss was resented by some. Men were said by others to react to the work to rule in relation to their desire for monetary reward. Jimmy Johnson, the tool room fitter, reported an instance where,

Two blokes were going to the meeting, and one said, 'I don't care about the result so long as they get the overtime back'.⁽¹³⁾

Men criticised others for their demands for, or their failure to demand, monetary reward.

All these differences were manifest more clearly later in the research period, and they may be divided into major divisions. It became possible to analyse such differences more fully, and to see disputes as the result of the apportioning of blame by employees for the firm's position. This situation may be discussed as follows.

(12). Later in the observation period men were asked, "Would you accept more mobility, perhaps even 100% mobility, to save your job?" The skilled men responded with 30 'No's', from a total of 40 replies. Only 10 non-skilled men were against further mobility from 21 replies.

(13). The meeting referred to was that concerned with labour mobility, and the removal of the overtime ban on Wednesday, 27th August.

(b) The Major Scapegoats

(1) The Non-Worker/Workers Split

Non-workers, that is, those workers considered by the men to be shirkers, were bitterly resented. A problem of production line work at Truck Components was that the flow of work was outside the control of the individual. Bob South, a welder, when he discussed apathy and depression, had this to say,

Everybody's depressed..... its when you're standing about doing nought. These lads on the 'H's, they tell them to work harder, but they have to stand about doing nought.... when I was on the 'H's I didn't have a job for two weeks.

From such a comment it is clear that it was often impossible to avoid appearing idle. No one though took account of this. Eric Millet, a fitter, announced,

me and my mate worked it out, we did £2,500 worth of production last week. What are the other blokes in the factory doing? There are 60 other blokes in this factory, between them they are only producing £6,000 of production. There must be some lazy b-----.(14)

Jibes were directed at chargehands in particular, and most criticised were George Woof and Stevie Halt. In turn chargehands singled certain men out as non-workers. Dasha Hart, a welder, was a particular target. He was told to increase his efforts by Stevie Halt, but in disgust the welder threw his hammer down. The chargehand reported it, and Dasha was reprimanded. In anger Dasha confronted the

(14). Eric Millet arrived at his figures by estimating the cost of his production, and subtracting this from the total production for that particular week as shown on the wall chart.

chargehand again, but Stevie Halt laughed at him. So in retaliation Dasha hurled a piece of metal at the supervisor. Dasha was saved from a sacking, because no one who saw the event would admit he had hurled anything. The welder claimed victimisation, and only received a further warning.

Some men, believing others to be lazy, began to push them harder. Terry Shean, a fitter, considered Eddie Hugh, a welder, to be lazy. He remembered Eddie saying, when there were two welders on his present job,

Oh, I've only got a £1 less (in wages), and that's for doing now't.

Now, working by himself, Terry believed he often jammed his welding gear to slow the work rate. Terry, therefore, began to increase Eddie's workload, and tempers flared. This was one of several instances of confrontation over workloads.

Benny Longman, a crane driver, complained bitterly that he was overworked. Two crane drivers following the redundancy, attempted the work previously performed by four men. The whole crane driver dispute revolved round this. Yet, to some men the fact that Benny reacted as he did was symptomatic of his poor attitude to work. Others saw this as a fault in all miners. Indeed, criticism was not only against the few individuals outlined here, it was widespread and diverse.

(2) The Productive/Non-Productive Split

There was pronounced ill feeling expressed between productive and non-productive employees. Productive employees believed non-productive men to be lazy and politically conservative in their reaction to all plant disputes. In contrast productive employees were criticised by non-productive men for being purely concerned with monetary reward and bonus returns. One particular issue highlights differences of opinion between the two groups. When A.B.C. Engineering took control of Truck Components

there was some anxiety concerning the fixing of the respective wage rates. A.B.C. were said to have a day rate, but no bonus system. Non-productive men were inclined to accept a removal of the Truck Components bonus system, and the introduction of a day rate, as in A.B.C. However, productive employees fought against such a development. A removal of the bonus rate they feared would reduce their earnings. One of many arguments between the productive and non-productive employees is described below. Kenny Browning, a chargehand, remarked to Peter Lars (a welder) that A.B.C. would remove the bonus scheme. He was prepared to accept that,

David Brown is a hard man.... he'll be
on our backs all the time, not like
Vulcan Trucks.... its the cushiest job
we've ever had.

Peter disagreed and replied,

Aye, for you may be (an easy job)...
he'll (David Brown) have to pay to
get the output.

If a welder received a day rate he would work less, because monetary reward would not then act as an incentive. Kenny believed it was a manager's job to enforce greater effort. The two employees disagreed, and other non-productive and productive employees joined in the discussion.

Such differences of opinion were symptomatic of the relationship between productive and non-productive employees.

(3) The Skilled/Non-Skilled Split

Differences between skilled and non-skilled workers were a common feature of the situation at Truck Components. The skilled worker felt he had made a sacrifice to obtain, through an apprenticeship, his present position. He had invested five years of training in his occupation as a tradesman. Non-skilled men had rejected a similar opportunity. Now they must pay the price, and accept wage differentials. As Terry Shean, a fitter, put it as follows,

you can see both sides, they (non-skilled employees) work hard, but we can say that we've served a five year apprenticeship.

The non-skilled worker disagreed with the skilled employees' assessment, and they might emphasise the fact that they had served an apprenticeship in a declining trade, or suggest that their lack of skill was not their own fault.

Two major differences of opinion were apparent between the two groups during the observation period. One occurred during the meeting of the work force to discuss the production target, on Monday, 8th September. There were problems in production resulting from an uncertain flow of work. Brian Smith, the chargehand for the machine shop, remarked that work did not flow between his area, and the assembly shop. Bob Wrote laid the blame for this on the non-skilled workers,

they wander about doing nothing....

They were the source of the lack of effort visible on the shop floor. This was a commonly held attitude among the skilled employees; non-skilled workers were viewed as lazy. But the outburst from Bob Wrote produced an antagonistic reply from non-skilled men, who resented such an unconstructive attitude. Following the meeting members of the non-skilled group criticised the skilled element as being bigoted and unthinking. Such an attitude finally found expression in an outburst over a particular issue.

When A.B.C. Engineering eventually established control over Truck Components, it was agreed among the men, at a meeting involving Richardson, the area union official, to accept that they should remove the bonus scheme. In discussions on the problem, Billy Bone, a non-skilled man exploded,

I'm against it (removing the bonus system). I'm afraid it will cause greater differentials. They (the skilled men) are getting more and

more all the time.

Richardson silenced him, but this did not remove such feeling among the non-skilled. They had complained for some time over wage differentials. The differences between the two groups then, were likely to continue into the future.

(4) The 'Dilutee'/Skilled Men Split

Skill is a wideranging source of division in the working class.⁽¹⁵⁾ In section (3) a split between the skilled and non-skilled groups at Truck Components was outlined. Another divisive force based upon skill, were the attitudes related to the 'dilutee'. A skilled man at Truck Components ridiculed the 'dilutee' as a man who had obtained a trade through six months work in a training centre. This produced a reaction among 'dilutees' against skilled men.

Ernie Ollaf was a welder in the traditional mould. He was strongly critical of 'dilutees', and voiced many of the criticisms the skilled made of those employees trained at a skill centre. He remarked,

'Dilutees'? They can weld.... but when they get into the specialised stuff they're no good.

Ernie believed that the cause of the conservatism in the work force at Truck Components was the 'dilutee'. They could not think for themselves, and had only an interest in retaining their job.

Many skilled men believed 'dilutees' were given easier work. Also the fact that Truck Components employed

(15). This has caused Giddens to suggest that, far from becoming increasingly homogeneous, the working class has become diversified: the differences in skill level serve as a basis for divisions of interest which cut across the unity of the class as a whole.

See A. Giddens 'The Class Structure of Advanced Societies', Hutchinson, 1973.

such men betrayed the poor nature of the firm; the company obviously could not attract 'skilled' men. Occasionally skilled men appeared less concerned by 'dilutees' when questioned on the subject. They believed 'dilutees' could be 'good' workers, but some were not. Terry Shean, a fitter, was one such example. But when faced with the reality of a particular 'dilutee' finding employment outside Truck Components, Terry exclaimed,

He's only a f----, b----- 'dilutee'.

He was shocked that a 'dilutee' had found suitable work. Other skilled men reacted in a similar fashion when placed in personalised situations. 'Dilutees' then were synonymous with poor workers, and suspicion was cast against anyone who did not have normal ability. Skilled men from nationalised industries were particularly critical of 'dilutees'. They contrasted their 'lines', with the 'skilled' men who claimed their status merely because they had a five year history of employment in one firm.⁽¹⁶⁾ Chargehands in particular were prone to criticism as 'dilutees'.

Thus, it is clear that the criticism of the 'dilutee' was diverse. The results were twofold. Many skilled employees were criticised as 'dilutees', and this produced ill feeling between several work groups. But more importantly 'dilutees' reacted against skilled men, believing their criticism to be unreasonable, and their actions bigoted. 'Dilutees' were particularly aware of their inadequacies, and resented skilled men for making this clear. The result was widespread ill feeling, and a further division in the work force.

(16). 'Lines': a certificate proving a man had served an apprenticeship.

(B) Employee Demands, the 'Effort Bargain' and Status

This section outlines the demands employees made of management. These demands found expression in three major disputes; and will be outlined as follows.

(i) The Mobility/Redundancy Issue

Prior to the annual summer break 22 employees were made redundant. Eleven of this total were shop floor workers, and the others were mainly from the personnel department, and the canteen. Instructions were received from head office, in Leverton, on the Tuesday prior to the break. The general manager, Joe Carrington gave the task of deciding individual names to Bill Silver, the personnel manager. By Thursday plans were completed. Rumours, meanwhile had circulated the plan, and John Elite, the shop steward, approached the manager, asking for an assurance of no redundancies. Despite the assurance which Carrington gave; on Friday, less than an hour prior to the break, the names and positions of those to be made redundant were announced.

During the summer break matters were confused by a number of office staff working on a production mast. Initially it had been planned that a certain number of shop floor employees would be retained during the break, to deal with any urgent demands from head office; Carrington, however, cancelled these plans. Thus, when a request for a special mast was made by head office, there was no alternative but to use staff labour, together with a welder, who handled the mast and welded sections together. However, the welder reported the incident to the official A.U.E.W. representative, and a work to rule was initiated by Owen Richardson, the responsible branch official. The shop stewards at Truck Components were informed, and they in turn reported to their members. No man was to perform any job other than his own. In a factory dependent on flexible working arrangements, this brought production almost to a halt.

These events complicated a difficult situation. Men within the plant were angry, uncertain and confused. Bob Park and Ron Kirk, both fitters, remarked that management

had been "two faced" over the whole question of redundancy. John Elite, the shop steward, was incensed, he had been fooled by the manager, and he now took the redundancy as a personal insult. Kenny Browning, the tool room chargehand, was very worried by the situation in the firm; he felt the factory might close,

The thing about this place is that nothing's permanent. Wires are strung up the wall, not in channels in the ground, and concreted in. You could take the lot out in a weekend. Switches might be tied up with string, or just welded in. You could strip the place out in a couple of days.

Ray Cart, a fitter, however, believed the whole situation related to the economic climate and not management.

Gradually word circulated the plant concerning the work to rule. The two union representatives, however, explained only the bare essentials of the situation. Men, therefore, connected the work to rule, and the redundancy. Finally, it was announced there would be a meeting of shop floor employees on Wednesday, 27th August.

At the meeting Carrington, the manager, addressed the men. He made his position very clear. He had worked his way up, through his trade, to his present post, and he understood how the men must feel. But he needed their co-operation, in what were going to be difficult times ahead. The firm was not too far from breaking even. There had been, however, a loss of £60,000 in the last six months. Thus, the firm could not afford the work to rule, and he must ask the men to remove it. He had a,

firm commitment. I've got this from Mr. Boxhall (a member of the Vulcan Trucking Group board) that Vulcan trucks are here to stay. (17)

(17). Mr. Boxhall was a representative of a bank, placed upon the board, to account for the loan the bank had made to the company. Carrington believed Boxhall was in a unique position to talk to the men at Truck Components. He hoped Boxhall would reassure them of the stability of the firm.

The men could be sure that staff would never work on the shop floor again. However, the work had been done in the interests of the company.

Carrington dismissed the rumours of a takeover by A.B.C. Engineering. A.B.C. had merely enquired if they might use the excess production capacity at Truck Components. An order would probably be forthcoming. Carrington went on to admit that he lied to John Elite over the redundancy question. However, he was constrained in this by head office, and the event had not been certain at that stage. This was not, though the issue, the problem was the work to rule, and the viability of the firm.

The employees met following Carrington's speech. Ernie Ollaf, a welder, upheld the principle of the matter,

I'd like to ask everyone to consider the principle of the thing. Brothers have been made redundant; kicked out before the holidays; what would the men here feel if that was them. Take Swan Hunters: the shipyards are in a worse state than us, yet there's 5,000 out the gate.

There must be action, management should be taught a lesson. Management were,

holding a gun to our head. Are we going to stand for it?

There were cries in reply of, "what can we do?" And, "we'll be doing ourselves out of a job". Bob Wrote, the convenor, believed that if the men walked out management could close the company through a loophole in an agreement with the Confederation of British Industry. Even to work to rule would make it possible for management to remove the money given to the men in a wage agreement. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Other men

(18). The working agreement contained a flexibility clause, outlined in full under (a) The Constraints on Action. Through it the men agreed, for monetary return, to be mobile outside the range of their own job. How far they should be mobile was not settled, and hence the confusion over flexibility.

argued that management were demanding more effort at a time when they were reducing the labour force. And even with an overstretched work force there was still a possibility of further redundancies. Further, Eddie Burley, a machine operator, demanded to know if it was possible to believe management; there had been too many lies in the past.

Benny Longman, a crane driver, outlined the problems that redundancy had created in his job. There were now two employees performing the work previously done by four men. Was there to be increased flexibility to help him; were other men going to operate the cranes? This introduced the problem of mobility. The flexibility clause was disliked. Men were unsure of the actual details of a man's job. How was mobility defined? John Elite demanded,

What do you (the men) understand by mobility..... I want it tied hard and fast. I understand by it that you do your own trade; your own job, and a bit of help to keep the job going. But I don't want a personal view of mobility, but something to go in there with (to see management). Your view.

Employees could not, however, agree on a view. It was clear, though, that the flexibility clause was disliked. There must be some alteration in this. A man could in theory be asked to perform any job within the plant indefinitely. It was proposed that the work to rule be continued until there was some satisfactory resolution of the flexibility clause.

Next day the two union representatives met management. A compromise was hammered out. The phrase in the original clause, "fifteen continuous working days", was altered to "temporary allocation" (see (a) The Constraints on Action). Management also agreed to retain a man on his own job for the maximum length of time. In work allocation they would give priority to the position for which a man had been employed, although a man could be employed in any job

within his grade. On the question of crane drivers, the two men were to utilise all four cranes available, and truck drivers were to aid them by moving materials.

Bob Wrote, the convenor, was pleased with this conclusion. However, men were anxious about the question of mobility within grades. A fitter was in the same grade as a welder, these were different trades. Could a man be transferred between the two? John Elite, the shop steward, believed this was only a theoretical possibility, not a practical probability. George Allen, a machine operator interjected,

That 'agreement' was drawn up when
there was a fully working shop. Flexibil-
ity should cease when men are made
redundant. As union men we should defend
our brothers.

George was supported by Billy Potter, a welder, but the remark was generally ignored. Bob Wrote believed the flexibility clause was written in a document, the workers could not cease to operate it, even due to a redundancy. Tommy Stoop, an inspector, ended this discussion by asking what level of flexibility had been defined. Bob Wrote did not know, the same as before he supposed, but he was not exactly sure. But what was the level, he was asked again? Bob believed there was no level. Tommy disagreed, there was one in the 'agreement'. If there was not, the work force must define one. The convenor believed a definition of flexibility could be obtained by asking a union representative. Ron Kirk, a fitter, then wanted to know if management could only ask a man to perform another job when there was no work on his present task. Bob Wrote outlined that an employee could be placed where the work was most urgent. John Elite added that a tradesman would only move outside his trade in an emergency, and by that time the factory would be about to close.

Ernie Ollaf, a welder, could restrain himself no longer,

We're debating flexibility, but it (the dispute) doesn't come from flexibility, it is from redundancy. That's why there's a work to rule on, because there is men walking the streets. It makes no difference that men are out on the streets? We've got it out of perspective.

Bob and John (the union representatives) both explained that the work to rule related to the demarcation dispute, and that it would be removed if the flexibility clause was improved. The only union procedure which could be initiated following a redundancy was an overtime ban. This was A.U.E.W. policy. Ernie believed a man should not perform the task of an employee made redundant. No, it was not possible, he was informed, the situation was too delicate, any such move would upset the balance of the factory.

At this point Bob Wrote returned to the discussion of the flexibility clause. The amendments were passed virtually unanimously, but the question of the crane drivers caused some dispute. The motion to have the work of four men performed by two was only passed by 38 votes to 20. A general return to normal working was advocated, and this was passed by 53 votes to five; Ernie Ollaf, Jack Gass, Denis Priest, Billy Potter and George Allen voting against it.

Mobility and flexibility problems were raised again, later in the observation period. This was despite the fact that it was comparatively rare for a skilled employee to be forced to move onto a job which was not his own. When Carr-Shaw imposed his £60,000 target, Bob Wrote and John Elite both believed it could be achieved. John remarked, that there was some, "dead wood", in the factory; but men could be made to work. Bob outlined.

They (the men) can accept there's got to be complete flexibility, or they can stay as they are, and close the place. As

Carr-Shaw said, 'There's no three ways about it, just two'.

The possibility of increased flexibility soon spread round the shop floor by word of mouth. It was rumoured that, at the meeting to be held that day (Monday, 8th September), the men would be asked to accept total flexibility; any man would be asked to perform any job. The work force (dominantly the skilled group) were not in favour of such a move. (19) Bob returned to the issue on two occasions in the meeting that day. He suggested there might be increased flexibility throughout the factory, as a means of increasing output. But Tommy Stoop, an inspector, remarked that there would be an increase in flexibility anyway; there was no need to legislate for it. Again Bob asked that inspection be more flexible. Tommy wondered if the men had agreed to increased flexibility. Bob gave no reply. Tommy continued,

I call that (increased flexibility)
doing someone out of a job.

Bob responded,

But its no good saying he's (the
manager) wrong and burying your head
in the sand.

No one replied to Bob's comment, the meeting continued, and the employees (particularly certain skilled men) remained consistently against mobility during the observation period.

(ii) The Crane Driver Problem

The question of overwork for the crane drivers was a continuing theme during the observation period. As a result of redundancies two employees performed the work formerly carried out by four men. As was emphasised in the mobility dispute the question of the crane drivers' workload was raised in a mass meeting on Wednesday, 27th August.

(19). When the men were asked the question, "Would you accept more mobility, perhaps even 100% mobility, to save your job?" There were 40 outright "no's", 18 "yes's", and three were unsure.

Once the mobility question was solved the union representatives were encouraged by employees to press management to resolve the problem of the crane drivers, because work on the shop floor was being help up. On Monday, 1st September, Tommy Batty, a crane driver, was absent; John Elite, the shop steward, under pressure from employees, determined to force the issue with the manager.

Carrington, the manager, argued that it was unnecessary to employ more than two crane drivers. However, with one man absent, production was suffering. Owen Richardson, the union area secretary, was invited to solve the dispute. He arrived on Wednesday, 3rd September, and eventually convinced Carrington to type out an order for another crane driver. The order was typed when Carrington decided he must check the decision with head office. Leverton management, however, refused permission point blank, and Carrington was astonished. John Elite declared later,

Carrington's just a figurehead. He's had all his authority taken off him... they just need a bloke to sign letters up here. I made him out to be a liar in front of Wilkinson (when Carrington said there would be no redundancies, Wilkinson, the personnel manager at Leverton, had administered them the next day; John had then argued with Carrington). Now he'll have gone back to Vulcan Trucks and they've taken away his (Carrington's) authority..... If we go by procedure, official procedure, we go to see the foreman. But Tommy Went's only acting foreman. We go to see Keith Williams; he's not in; he's got an eye infection. Before the holidays when we were on a sticky wicket, Bob Wrote - I had to call him in off the sick, but Keith Williams is off, and he can't come in. Then we see Allan Gettis, he sends us to see Silver. Well Silver's only

got less than two months to run. He could set us up quite nicely. Say anything. He doesn't care he's going. Anyway his car had broken down outside the Red Lion (a public house). Carrington's out on the golf course, and we don't know which one.

The union representatives then were angry, they argued they should take over the plant themselves. It was at this time that Owen Richardson demanded to meet the chairman.

When Richardson returned again to the factory, to ask the men for greater effort (Thursday, 11th September), the question of crane drivers was still important. Men still believed a shortage of crane operators was slowing down the work. Richardson suggested that storekeepers where possible could aid the crane drivers. This was eventually accepted, and others agreed to utilise the cranes. However, only Ray Cart and Jack Nelson among the skilled men operated them between the meeting and the termination of the observation period. Several non-skilled men also utilised the cranes, including Eddie Burley, Tommy Tail, Jackie Step and Ray Toney.

(iii) Bonus Disputes

Several of the work force at Truck Components demanded a satisfactory bonus. This usually involved a rate of approximately 120 PI. However, this could not always be obtained. The results of this were threefold:

Ill Feeling Between Work Groups

There was a certain amount of ill feeling between those able to achieve satisfactory bonus with a degree of certainty, and those who did so only with difficulty. This was particularly typical of the assembly area where groups of skilled men could achieve a high bonus. Ernie Ollaf, a welder, and Jack Gass, a fitter, had worked on the 'M and P' line. Bonus had been difficult to earn, and they had transferred to their present work because it was

more rewarding. But with the introduction of the new P.I. bonus scheme the 'M and P's could earn a reliable and high bonus; Jack and Ernie could not. Both therefore, resented such a situation. (20)

Conflict over Bonus Times and Payment

There were also disputes concerning bonus rates and payment. Groups of skilled men complained concerning their bonus times. The 'H' line was a particular centre for dispute. Production was halted regularly over various bonus issues. Here Billy Potter was very outspoken against management, and was especially concerned with bonus returns. Bill McGraw, Bobby Braggs (welders) and Terry Addiss (fitter) worked together. They were involved in a protracted dispute with management. Working on the 'B' chassis, they produced 11 units per week. but had been programmed for eight, yet their bonus was only 108 PI. They complained, but achieved no satisfaction, so they threatened to cease work. Finally the job was retimed, and they received an extra 10 hours per chassis. They were uncertain whether this was satisfactory, but agreed to accept, because at this time A.B.C. Engineering were about to take control, and they feared losing their back bonus if the bonus scheme was removed.

Machine operators on the drill section also had 'tight' times. There were complaints here too. Chass Hutts exclaimed to a chargehand during one dispute,

What am I supposed to do when I want
a p----. I'll just have to do it in
the trough.

The machine operator was furious. He had been timed over seven components. It had taken three and a half minutes to produce the first one, but by the seventh one this time had increased to four minutes. Yet he had only been given four and a half minutes for each production cycle. Eventually,

(20). The P.I. system was relatively new; it had been introduced the previous March. Prior to its introduction a system based on the total output at the point of departure for Leverton was operated.

though, through his complaints, the job was retimed, and he received seven and a quarter minutes per component.

Disputes were also common when the wages were issued, and each week there were numerous problems to be solved. On one occasion Mick Wabs, a welder, was paid 17 hours short in his bonus. Eddie Burley also lost a day's payment, and the card containing Bob Ingham's bonus was entirely lost. These events produced a cynicism among some men. Mick Wabs commented,

It's a difficult thing to work out
(bonus). Many a time they (management)
have 'to fiddle' the figures to suit
themselves.

Such inconsistencies were clear, due to the group bonus on which some men worked. One man might have less bonus than his colleagues; on occasion all their bonus might differ. In such a situation a whole production line might be in dispute.

'Fiddles'

To ensure some consistency in bonus payment, and generally to boost their bonus, men relied upon manipulation of their bonus totals. This was possible due to the nature of the bonus scheme. There was no certain check on an employee's exact performance. A job card was given to an employee, with a certain number of operations upon it, to be produced at a given rate. The employee filled in the card himself, and returned it to the time office on completion of his work. There was no stamping of a card by a clock time. The only check were the production levels achieved.

Men, therefore, followed certain well established procedures. 'Waiting' time paid 90 PI, this was considered unacceptably low, and it was never booked in. It was simply ignored, or booked in as cleaning, which paid 100 PI. Several jobs were 'unmeasured'. These could be produced at any speed, and the time lengthened to boost the bonus

rate. Another method was utilised by Eric Millet, a fitter; if he produced a large number of components, he booked these down in groups. Usually the larger groups he booked down in at an acceptable time, while a small group he booked down in a rapid time. This prevented the job being retimed, but also boosted the bonus. Eddie Burley displayed ploys used by some machine operators. He speeded him machine up, or transferred components from an untimed operation to timed work. These strategies boosted bonus, and enabled Eddie, along with other employees to maintain their bonus returns during a period of uncertain work flow.

(3) A Conclusion

This section has attempted to present the data gathered at Truck Components in a theoretical form, emphasising that management attempted to achieve an increase in the level of effort implicit in the working agreement. It was suggested that this attempt not only provoked an apathetic reaction among employees, but was also met by alternative work force demands for greater reward (bonus disputes) and status (mobility dispute). This is a situation very similar to that at Power Motors, and it poses some interesting questions concerning the nature of "new" manufacturing industry. Yet again head office played an important role in policy formulation at a subsidiary plant. Pressure on Carrington to produce results was also similar to that on Ted Clasp at Power Motors. Again it seems that head office when dissatisfied could act against subsidiary managers; in this case by issuing a target for production, and a takeover. There were signs too of conflicts between subsidiary managers (Carrington and Silver), and also between subsidiary managers and head office representatives (Carr-Shaw's treatment of Carrington at the meeting with union representatives).

It will also be interesting to relate the various demands employees made of management to the 'types' of involvement distinguished among the Power Motors work force. Further, do the demands of employees contradict the requirements of management? This study will take such an examination further, together with the other components of this detailed study of "new" manufacturing industry, in (d) The Analysis.

(d) THE ANALYSIS

The Analysis

Introduction

This section (as in Power Motors) attempts to outline the demands, expectations and norms which groups in "new" manufacturing industry expressed through the working agreement. The areas of tension within the working agreement were outlined in (a) The Constraints on Action. In (b) The Data these points were re-emphasised and a thematic discussion of the disputes, as they developed round these tensions, was expounded. This section attempts to take that presentation further by analysing in more detail management and work force demands. These demands will be discussed as follows:

(1) Managerial Policy

It is the basis of this section that the demands of management at head office were crucial to an understanding of events at Truck Components. The market situation, relating to the Vulcan Trucking Group, has been outlined in The Constraints on Action. Head office took a particular attitude towards market difficulties, which allied to the reaction of management at Truck Components, produced a complex and fluctuating set of managerial demands. One common element to these demands was pressure on the work force to produce. Employees were to be forced to work harder. The analysis traces two periods in which differing managerial demands found expression.

(i) Managerial Policy Prior to the Observation Period: here the context for the observation period is provided. Prior to the research period two particular policies found expression.

(a) A Restrictive Policy: head office demanded a policy which reduced the freedom of subsidiary managers to a minimum. Further, there should be no capital expenditure at Truck Components; profitability being achieved through increased efficiency.

(b) An Expansionist Policy: a group of managers at Truck Components argued for a policy which emphasised increased production and expansion, based upon local contract work.

(c) Carrington's Position and the Development of Cliques: the introduction of a new general manager in a difficult situation produced the formation of two cliques with competing demands.

(ii) Managerial Policy During the Observation Period: policy during the observation period is related to the pre-observation differences.

(a) Head Office Demands: head office continued their restrictive policy, but were also determined to remove Carrington, who they considered to be incompetent. Finally, this policy of restriction having proved to be a failure, the takeover was implemented.

(b) Carrington's Actions During the Observation Period: faced with pressure from head office Carrington determined to achieve profitability at Truck Components. Thus, he intensified managerial controls, and attempted to increase the level of effort produced by employees.

(c) The Managerial Staff's Reaction to Carrington: as Carrington attempted to increase the efforts of his employees the other managers at Truck Components opposed his policies. This related to the antipathy they felt for both Carrington and his actions, and head office policy.

(d) A Postscript: the meaning of the takeover is outlined, and related to managerial demands. Also the major theoretical implications of the section on management are elaborated. This section, while suggesting that yet again (as in Power Motors) management attempted to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', also emphasises that managerial policy is more complex. Management were divided among themselves, and made contradictory demands. This conflict was, however, carried out ostensibly to improve the viability of the firm.

(2) The Work Force

The typology utilised to 'explain' the work force actions at Power Motors is elaborated and used to develop an understanding of employee demands at Truck Components.

(i) The Typology: at Truck Components, as has been outlined under (1) Managerial Policy (in this introduction), management attempted to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'. This was met by an apathetic employee reaction. Men at the plant also made few demands of their employment, but were intensely concerned for the safety of the firm. An attempt to 'explain' this situation begins with the typology developed at Power Motors.

(a) Skilled Employees: these workers are the major focus of attention, since they were the largest group in the plant. However, they were not a homogeneous unit and a theoretical division into older, young and 'dilutee' employees serves as a basis to divide them into groups. This division is elaborated by introducing a further four variables into the analysis.

(b) Non-skilled Employees: the division between the manipulative and passive groups is continued, and it is noted that the demands made of management stem from the manipulative employees.

(c) Alienated Employees: it is outlined that both skilled and non-skilled men could become alienated. These employees did not link effort and reward.

(d) A Conclusion: the theoretical aspects of sections (a) - (c) are drawn together, and a summary is made of the employee typology, including the conclusions based on Truck Components.

(ii) Employee Demands: An Explanation of Truck Components: this section relates the typology to action. The demands employees made of their employment are outlined. Five demands are discussed:

- (1) The Redundancy Question
- (2) The Mobility Question
- (3) The Crane Driver Dispute
- (4) Bonus Demands
- (5) The Question of a Job

(iii) Work Force Demands and the 'Effort Bargain': despite the requirements outlined in (ii), the employees constrained by the situation at Truck Components, were apathetic and made very few major demands. This is explained by reference to:

(a) Employee Work Histories: the uncertain plant situation at Truck Components shocked workers who had secure work histories. Men did not wish to jeopardise the firm. Hence, they made few demands of management.

(b) Employee Attitudes in Truck Components: men also looked towards the work force as a source of the firm's problems, this was related to a conservative ideology.

(c) Employee Scapegoats: the major scapegoats are outlined. It is suggested that the work force blamed themselves for the problems of the firm.

(d) Blame, Rumours and Apathy: men saw no point in working to achieve a profit when other employees (as they saw it) were not aiding managerial efforts. Hence, men rejected managerial demands to increase their level of effort. This was despite the desire of employees to retain their job.

(iv) The Situational Context: this short section suggests how the demands of employees were linked to the situation within the firm. This relates to a similar section in the Power Motors analysis.

(v) A Conclusion: this section draws the Chapter to a close. The discussion centres upon the source of employee demands, and it makes a connection between Power Motors and Truck Components, finally linking the analysis into the next section of this study, Chapter 6.

Here again, as was emphasised in the analysis of

Power Motors, this section must be seen in the context of an analysis of the policy of transferring work to the workers in regional planning, and the failure (in the regional literature) to investigate the details of "new" manufacturing employment. In reading the text, therefore, points of note which will be analysed later in this study are:

- (1) The importance of head office influence upon Truck Components (as in Power Motors).
- (2) The attempts of management to increase the level of the 'effort bargain' (as in Power Motors).
- (3) The failure of the work force to respond to managerial demands (as in Power Motors).
- (4) The way in which the demands of the work force and management were satisfied or dissatisfied.
- (5) The fact that Truck Components did not provide secure employment.

TABLE 16

THE ACCOUNTS OF TRUCK COMPONENTS

MAY 1975 (£000's)

	ACTUAL	BUDGET	VARIANCE
Sales ⁽¹⁾	(32.4)	54.3	(23.9)
Material Costs	11.1	23.4	12.3
Operating Costs ⁽²⁾	(67.1)	61.2	(5.9)
Commercial Profit	(48.0)	(31.1)	(16.9)
Grants	<u>20.4</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Net Profit ⁽³⁾	<u>(27.6)</u>	<u>(14.9)</u>	<u>(12.7)</u>

JUNE 1975

	ACTUAL	BUDGET	VARIANCE
Sales	(38.2)	55.2	(17.0)
Material Costs	9.0	22.2	13.2
Operating Costs	(62.6)	60.5	(2.1)
Commercial Profit	(34.5)	(28.8)	(5.7)
Grants	<u>15.3</u>	<u>15.1</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Net Profit	<u>(19.2)</u>	<u>(13.7)</u>	<u>(5.5)</u>

JULY 1975

	ACTUAL	BUDGET	VARIANCE
Sales	52.9	49.4	3.5
Material Costs	(16.6)	13.8	(0.7)
Operating Costs	(64.4)	62.9	(1.5)
Commercial Profit	(28.7)	(28.6)	(0.1)
Grants	<u>(14.4)</u>	<u>14.9</u>	<u>(0.5)</u>
Net Profit	<u>(14.3)</u>	<u>(13.7)</u>	<u>(0.6)</u>

(1.) Production in terms of sales.

(2.) Wages, works and administrative running costs.

(3.) Losses in brackets.

TABLE 16 (Continued)

AUGUST 1975

	ACTUAL	BUDGET	VARIANCE
Sales	(30.0)	45.2	(15.2)
Material Costs	3.9	18.5	14.6
Operating Costs	(54.6)	45.8	(8.8)
Commercial Profit	(29.3)	(20.1)	(9.2)
Grants	12.8	10.5	2.3
	—	—	—
Net Profit	(16.5)	(9.6)	(6.9)
	—	—	—

(1) Managerial Policy

This section is divided in to two basic pieces of analysis. A retrospective study is made of the period prior to the research. This is then related to the observation period itself. The analysis is drawn to a conclusion by a summary of the meaning of the takeover of Truck Components by A.B.C. Engineering, and an outline of the theoretical implications of the section.

(i) Managerial Policy Prior to the Observation Period⁽²¹⁾

The problem facing management both at head office, and the subsidiary was how to cope with declining sales, and still maintain profitability. Two alternative policies were proposed:

- (a) A Restrictive Policy
- (b) An Expansionist Policy

(a) A Restrictive Policy

Headquarters demanded a restrictive policy, geared to making Truck Components profitable. The factory was making a substantial loss (see Table 16). Although the figures presented here are only backdated to May 1975 the problem was not a recent one. Truck Components had never achieved a profit since the factory opened on its present site.⁽²²⁾ This loss was now seen by head office as unbearable, because the Group itself was in financial danger due to a difficult product market situation.

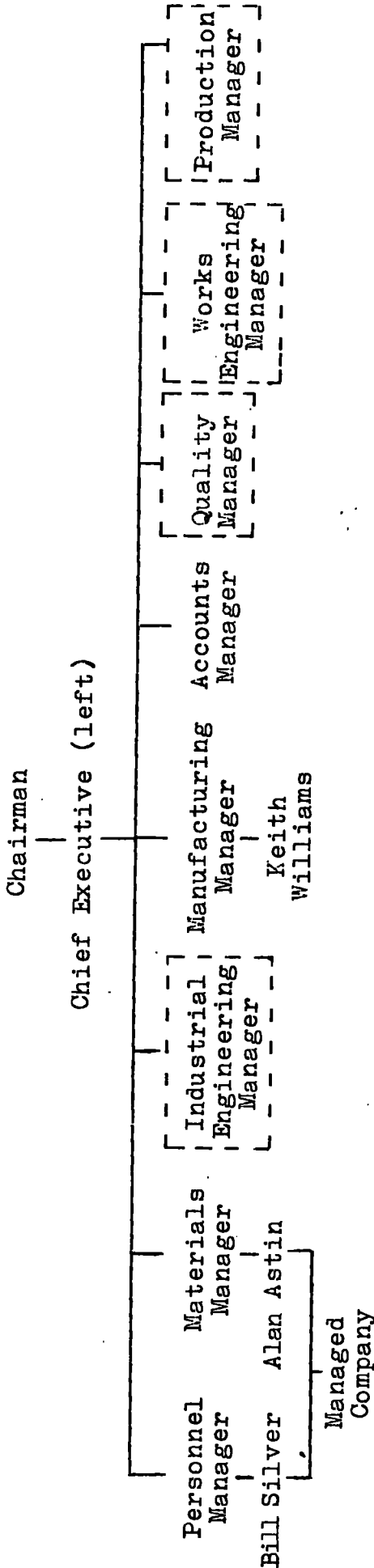
Faced by these market difficulties the Vulcan Trucking Company tightened monetary allocation to the subsidiary. Since budgetary calculations were devised at Group head-

(21). This analysis was constructed by careful questioning of the participants, and the use of the firm's records and accounts. The result is a surprisingly consistent history of events and policy in both the Vulcan Trucking Group and Truck Components, as seen through the eyes of the actors.

(22). Figures are available backdated to April 1973, but due to a change in both the accountant and the method of accounting presentation is impossible.

TABLE 17

THE AUTHORITY STRUCTURE OF TRUCK COMPONENTS*
PRIOR TO THE REORGANISATION



[- - - -]
 [- - - -]

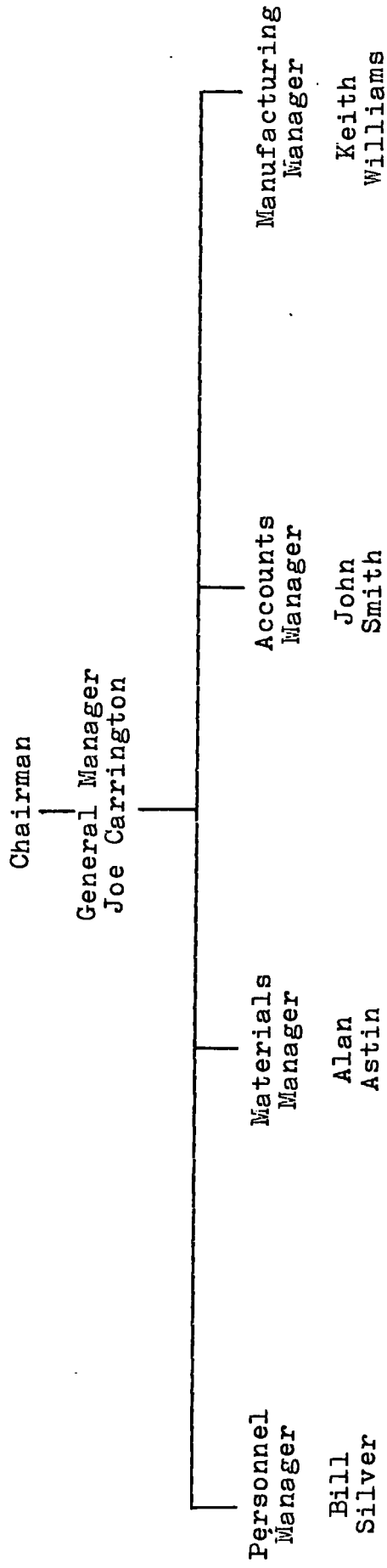
removed in the reorganisation as Carrington arrived.

* This presents the positions as defined by management themselves.

TABLE 18

THE POST REORGANISATION AUTHORITY STRUCTURE

OF TRUCK COMPONENTS*



* This presents the positions as defined by management themselves.

quarters, cash flow was restricted at Truck Components. Bills began to mount up, with stationary, raw materials and food suppliers going unpaid.

Head office also demanded profitability at the subsidiary. This was to be achieved by more efficient production, and reducing costs. The cost aspects of the situation were emphasised by the chairman of the Group on a visit to Truck Components.

During his visit the chairman has confirmed his intention of continuing his operation at Newtown but he had underlined the absolute necessity of trimming costs to a bare minimum, by whatever means possible.

As a measure of current costs it was pointed out that at a breakeven level of £90,000 per month (production in terms of sales value) we require output to the approximate value of

£90,000 = £562/hr.

160 (the total work force)

Our present output of £40,000 per month provided a figure of £40,000 = £250/hr.

160

In rough figures it is costing £312/hr to keep the factory open. (23)

With a declining product market redundancies also became a possibility. These were utilised to reduce costs in March and August 1975. A managerial reorganisation which coincided with the arrival of Carrington was a similar attempt (see Table 17 and 18 for the restructuring involved). An increase in efficiency was also necessary. The efficiency per employee at Truck Components was below that of head office at Leverton. This must be improved. Thus, increased employee efficiency would improve production, and with a decline in costs, the loss situation would be removed.

(23). Minutes of the Works Committee, July 25th, 1975.
Source: the records of Truck Components.

(b) An Expansionist Policy

In contrast Astin, Silver and Williams, managers at Truck Components, believed that only an expansionist policy could achieve profitability. They argued that the restrictionist policy of head office only increased the problems. They suggested that without a large labour force the costs of production could never be balanced by profits, due to the high overheads from a large custom built factory. Management at head office had been forced to extremes in attempts to achieve such a balance. The factory had been assessed upon a smaller unit of rateable value, to reduce the rates paid on those sections not utilised. Areas of the factory had been sub-let, initially for storage, and later a section of the office was leased to another company. Attempts had been made to remove the security firm from its duties on the site, and equipment had been sub-rented to other firms. Yet, all this had failed to alter the basic situation. Increasing sales remained the only way of removing the losses; the firm must expand. Improved efficiency they argued, in the present context, due to cutbacks, and a freeze on capital expenditure, was impossible. Further, Vulcan Trucks presented a false picture. When they demanded increased efficiency, they compared Truck Component's figures with those at Leverton. The latter, however, was an assembly plant, and had greater value added on its production. Hence, Vulcan Trucks management were considered ruthless in pursuing their restrictive policy. Carr-Shaw, the chairman, demanded too much; he drove men to the limit for production. For this reason turnover in management at the Leverton plant was excessively high.

The contrasting policy proposed by Silver, Astin and Williams was as follows. Contract work could be obtained in the locality, and this might be utilised to grow and employ further employees. Only in this way could it be possible to support the large overheads. As evidence for the success of this policy Silver and Astin pointed to a

time prior to the observation period when they controlled the firm (see Table 17 for details).

The firm had been managed by a chief executive in the Group, but he resigned from the company. Silver and Astin then took control of Truck Components until a new manager was appointed. Permission was gained from the chairman to open a private bank account separate from Vulcan Trucks. The managers advertised for local contract work, and recycled the returns from this into Truck Components. This had improved liquidity, and the running of the firm. Thus, when head office ordered lay-offs in March 1975 many of the men had been re-employed later, due to work from the contracts.

However, with the arrival of the new manager, Joe Carrington, this policy had been neglected.

(c) Carrington's Position, and the Development of Cliques

Into this situation of conflicting demands arrived the new manager Joe Carrington. The manager related his position at that stage. The Vulcan Trucking Group was a private company, owned by Mr. Carr-Shaw, the chairman. Under him were a series of executive officers. One had overall control of Truck Components, and had appointed Carrington as manager. The chairman did not consider the choice a good one, but out of respect for the officer supported his decision. This executive, however, had an illness in his family, and now remained in the company on a nominal basis only. The chairman had assumed direct responsibility for Truck Components and found himself with a general manager he did not want. Though Carrington was on a two year contract he believed he was in a weak position, and certainly he received poor treatment from head office management. It was remarked with humour among other managers at Truck Components that Carrington had never received the company car promised, but was forced to use a car with a twisted chassis.

Carrington inclined towards a restrictionist policy.

This was essential to retain his position in the company (head office demanded a restrictionist policy), and it also appealed to his personal inclination. Thus Carrington was involved in a battle on two fronts. Not only was he in a difficult external position, but also, through his restrictionist policy, he was brought into conflict with the expansionist group at Truck Components. This resulted in the formation of two cliques with competing demands. Dalton describes a clique as,

the informal association of two or more persons to realise some end. The end is usually a calculated one, but it may be multiple and differ for some members. (24)

In Truck Components the end for managers was to make the firm profitable, by using all the weapons available to them, and to thus retain their jobs. A clique may arise for various reasons. Dalton lists four, a division of labour, variations in identification with the firm, changes in the industrial community and the compulsion of growth. Truck Components had much in common with the third case. Within a changing market situation, and with a turnover in personnel, men are likely to be drawn together. Both the general manager and the accountant had left the firm, and Carrington and John Smith were newcomers. The other managers had been with the firm almost from the outset. There was here the basis of two cliques. (25) These cliques do not fit easily into any of Dalton's categories, but the

(24). M. Dalton 'Men Who Manage', op.cit.

(25). Dalton outlines three types of clique on the basis of authority within the organisation, (1) The horizontal clique, (2) the vertical clique and (3) the random clique. The vertical clique may be protective, symbiotic or parasitic, depending on the nature of the services rendered between members of differing authority. A horizontal clique may be defensive to adjust to a threat, or it may be aggressive and redefine relationships. A random clique may contain members from varied departments, and pursue varied actions.

closest relationship is to the horizontal clique. The members of such a clique are usually both, from different departments, and of about the same standing in an organisation. Carrington, was of higher standing within the plant, but in the context of the Group hierarchy this was a marginal difference. Thus, it was possible to differentiate two horizontal groups, one aggressive, and the other defensive. The clique of Silver, Astin and Williams was aggressive, and sought to redefine the aims of the organisation. However, their two new colleagues took a defensive stance, and sought to protect the established aims of head office.

Carrington allied to John Smith, the accountant, followed a restrictive policy. The period of Carrington's management began with a reorganisation of office staff, including demotions, and redundancy. This reduced the managerial staff of the firm, which Silver and Astin had expanded to cope with the increase in contract work. Thus, the two groups argued. By June 1975 Truck Components was well behind the budgetary plan (Table 16 outlines the performance of company), and a reassessment was necessary. Management had also settled a wage agreement increasing bonus payments to the work force. It had been hoped that this would increase output, but it was not being shown in the figures. Silver blamed Carrington for the situation; the wage agreement had six months to run, he suggested the general manager should have refused an increase. Management at Leverton had allowed their employees to strike in search of a wage rise, and their 'agreement' was due to renegotiation. Carrington, however, claimed the dispute had been settled by Silver, and it was this decision which displeased his superiors, and led to his being made redundant.

Against this background a meeting was held at Truck Components, to determine new budgetary proposals. John Smith suggested the removal of the personnel department, and Carrington attended a meeting at Leverton with this as one of the proposals. The budget was reassessed, and in August redundancies were announced. Silver was asked by

Carrington to decide which employees should be made redundant. This he did from the Tuesday to the Thursday, prior to the summer break. However, when the decision was finally taken he found himself on the redundancy list. It was at this point that the observation period began.

(ii) Managerial Policy During the Observation Period

(a) Head Office Demands

Headquarters, having witnessed the failure of their restrictive policy, determined to relinquish all responsibility for Truck Components. Thus they entered into negotiation with the manager of A.B.C. Engineering, Mr. David Brown, concerning the possibility of a takeover. Meetings had been held during the summer break, and when the chairman met Owen Richardson and the union representatives on Saturday, 6th September, he was again in Newtown to discuss the takeover with David Brown. A.B.C. Engineering produced heavy trucks, in which, it was argued, among Truck Components management, there was a secure market (see Appendix 2, section (4)). The company also had the financial backing of a large construction organisation, and held contracts with a sizeable machinery firm. But the plant of the present company was too small, Truck Components factory would be a useful acquisition.

Complicated negotiations were needed to arrange the takeover. The relationship of the new company needed to be finalised, both with the Department of Trade and Industry, and the Newtown Development Corporation. To Leverton management, though, the takeover provided a means of removing the losses experienced at Newtown. When exactly the deal was finalised is difficult to ascertain. But negotiations were well advanced when the chairman produced his target of £60,000. Nine days later the stocktake was announced. If the men were correct in their assessment of the stocktake, then, the decision must have been finalised at this stage. The question then poses itself, why the demand for £60,000 worth of production?

(b) Carrington's Actions During the Observation Period

Carrington's actions during the observation period are related to his demand that he should retain his job. At the onset of the research period the manager realised he must breakeven. But he had few resources at his command; capital expenditure was restricted, and he had no power to reorganise the work force. Yet Carrington believed he would lose his job if he did not improve the situation. His anxiety was enhanced by the negotiations for a takeover. The manager had attended one meeting during the break between A.B.C. Engineering and Vulcan Trucks management, and he was sure there would be a takeover. However, he maintained a discrete silence, and would admit nothing to his employees, even following the A.B.C. Engineering takeover rumour of Thursday, 18th September.

Carrington interpreted the chairman's £60,000 target figure as an attempt to oust him from his position. If he failed to reach the target, this would provide an excuse to remove him. His silence on the takeover question may be understood in relation to this belief. If the target was meaningless, except as a tool to remove Carrington, the men would not increase their efforts. But if he remained silent over the takeover the men might achieve his target.

The actions of Carrington during the observation period were entirely consistent with this outline above. He attempted to fulfil an "organic" role as manager, by reversing his former policies which were defensive. This was a reaction to the unstable nature of his position. (26)

(26). T. Burns and G.M. Stalker 'The Management of Innovation', Tavistock, 1961. The authors study industrial organisations, and outline a continuum between "mechanistic" and "organic" management systems, the former being useful for stable conditions, and the latter for unstable conditions. In detail they suggest that the approximation of a working organisation to "mechanistic" or "organic" form is determined by the operation of three variables, the rate of technical and market change; the strength of the personal commitments of managers to the improvement or defence of their status or power, and the extent to which the senior manager can interpret this situation, and adapt the

Prior to the chairman's target Carrington held a meeting of all chargehands. He outlined that the apathy, following the redundancy, must be removed. There must be increased output, and this needed a tightening of discipline. In the mass meeting following the redundancy Carrington had appealed for greater effort from the work force. He now sought to force this reaction. This resulted indirectly in the antagonism between Stevie Halt, a chargehand, and Dasha Hart, a welder, (see section (i) of (b) The Major Scapegoats in (2) The Work Force of The Data).

Following the target, but also to an extent before this, Carrington was regularly present on the shop floor, attempting to encourage the men. Further, increasingly he assumed wider control within the plant. Bill Silver and Keith Williams were given no work to perform. The accountant was absent for much of the observation period, and Carrington handled his job. Finally Alan Astin also had a working organisation to elicit the individual commitment to it he requires. In an "organic" situation there is not a district hierarchy of authority, and the lead is taken by those most qualified. There is a spread of commitment to the organisation, and adjustment and redefinition of the tasks of the individual. Under a "mechanistic" system there is a precise definition of rights and tasks, related to a district hierarchy. The position at Truck Components may be related to this study. Initially the expansionist group demanded an "organic" approach to managerial problems, involving a redefinition of objectives and tasks. Carrington and Smith were against this, but Carrington's attitude changed and he performed an "organic" role as he sought a solution to the firm's problems, while under intense head office pressure.

Burns has also studied cliques and cabals within management, and suggested that their formation relates to a pervasive sense of insecurity, openly discussed by managers, and evident in individual conduct. This he relates to the deliberate policy of the head of a concern in leaving managerial functions ill-defined. See T. Burns 'The Reference of Conduct in Small Groups; Cliques and Cabals in Occupational Milieux', Human Relations 8, pp 467-486, 1955. Thus, it seems likely that the insecurity of the firm encouraged clique formation, and was related to the changing of the manager and accountant. This supports the earlier exposition of Dalton which related the cliques of Truck Components to a changing market situation, and a turnover in personnel. Both in the case of Truck Components appear to have been associated with insecurity of managerial employment.

row with Carrington over the question of their authority. Carrington informed Sid Fawcett and Jack Green, two employees Astin considered to be under his command, to perform certain tasks. This they did, but in so doing neglected instructions from Astin. When Astin discovered this he stormed to the general manager, and demanded they should be sacked. Carrington explained his instructions, with the result that Astin's anger turned on him, and the two managers argued concerning relative authority. Similarly Carrington's influence penetrated to the lower levels of the organisation. He was in constant negotiation with union representatives Bob Wrote and John Elite. The general manager needed their help to encourage production. This close co-operation led to a gradual breakdown in the procedure for negotiation. During these negotiations John Elite, the shop steward remarked, when Carrington could not make a decision over the crane driver question, that the manager had no power. Bob Wrote believed the union representatives might need to control the plant. It was the weakness of Carrington's position (he received no head office support) which produced such a reaction from the shop steward and convenor, and this placed him almost at the mercy of his union representatives.

It was this weakness which made the chargehand letters so important. If Carrington's contract with the Vulcan Trucking Group was terminated, then he must make himself valuable to A.B.C. Engineering. Hence, the manager asked Silver to obtain the names of all those non-workers in the plant. Silver had no interest in obtaining the information, and he merely presented letters to individual chargehands, asking for a rating of each employee under their command. The result was anger among the employees, and an argument between Silver and Carrington, where Carrington complained the personnel manager ought to have proceeded secretly.

Carrington also needed production, and any stoppage on the production line was a problem to be solved. If there was a bonus dispute Carrington promised the worker shop average bonus, and the man would continue to produce. However, the

general manager might not inform Alan Gettis, who dealt with planning and bonus, of his decision. Thus, when Alan calculated bonus payments men were paid at the rate on their card, not what Carrington had promised. This caused part of the bonus problem, Carrington was buying production. Alan Gettis was furious. He remarked,

It's going to be all right next week
I've gone round and asked them (the
work force) all what bonus they want.

Hence, by developing a wider definition of his authority Carrington antagonised members of his staff. Yet, he (Carrington) advocated they should also take an open approach. Their failure to do so, may be seen as the context for Carrington's actions concerning the foreman. Carrington had little support among the office staff. Therefore, to improve production he felt a full time foreman was necessary. The post was advertised on 5th September. However, Carrington did not have the necessary authority to appoint such a man. He, therefore, delved into secret negotiations, and only stalled when it came to the actual appointment. Silver provided him with delaying tactics, and eventually Wilkinson, the personnel officer from Leverton, ended the problem by announcing the takeover.

(c) The Managerial Staff's Reaction to Carrington

With the rejection of their expansionist policy, the staff reaction to the actions of Carrington was essentially ritualistic. They remained concerned with their own jobs, referring to tasks necessary to perform a full days work. This contrasted with the former expansionist policy of Silver, Astin and Williams, which would of necessity have involved commitment to the organisation, and a redefinition of their roles and tasks. Significantly none of the higher management identified with the firm. They agreed that a certain policy should be followed to achieve a viable company, but if it was not pursued, it was deemed the fault of Carrington and Leverton management. Silver outlined that he had been intensely involved with the firm,

but had now lost heart. He had been sickened by the treatment he had received, the uncertainty of his employment, and in particular his redundancy. Others among the staff agreed and Keith Williams remarked that he felt like returning home, and forgetting about work. It is possible to hypothesise that the identification of the staff had been destroyed by the belief that they were not wanted or valued as employees, which was particularly associated with the rejection of the expansionist policy by head office. This change may be followed in the case of Silver. He was the personnel officer, yet prior to the observation period he directed all aspects of industrial relations, and with Alan Astin controlled the firm. The employees remarked, however, that he had gradually taken a less leading role, and since the redundancy had done little. Carrington had broken free from this trend because his job in particular was in the balance (his policy was also restrictionist). In a takeover the managerial staff could expect to find further employment, since A.B.C. were deficient in this area. There was, however, no position for a general manager. The other managers, therefore, displayed apathy tinged with personal animosity towards Carrington, did nothing to aid the manager, and made no further demands of their own.⁽²⁷⁾

(27). Again this analysis may be related to the work of T. Burns and G.M. Stalker 'The Management of Innovation', op.cit. They suggest that the head of a concern exerts a powerful influence over its members and their conduct. He occupies a socially isolated position at the top of the managerial hierarchy. All responses to his actions are filtered through the knowledge that he is in supreme command, and in a position to control the careers of other members of the organisation. The head of a concern may attempt to exploit his position, or escape from it. In so doing he may act in accordance with, or against ideas prevailing in the concern, about what a man in his position may legitimately do. The authors define from this analysis four types of relationship between members of a business concern. (i) A legitimate use of the position of head of a concern. This situation approximates to 'natural' charismatic leadership. The head of a concern takes charge of the situation, and this is seen by other managers as implicit in the role of the head of an organisation. Managers sanction this because of an identification of the head with success, and a view which sees him as the centre

(d) A Postscript

This section attempts to draw to a conclusion the managerial policy outlined previously. Firstly, the meaning of the takeover shall be suggested.

The Takeover

The observation period was concluded by a takeover. Carrington, despite his efforts was demoted to liaison; fortunately he was not made redundant. He was to supervise the production of fork lift trucks by A.B.C. Engineering for Vulcan Trucks. This was, however, only a temporary post. Thus, at the final announcement of the takeover when Mr. Carr-Shaw outlined the position as he saw it, and Mr. David Brown demanded further efforts from his new employees; Carrington interrupted and made his final speech as manager. He had seen any reward for his work

of the company. (ii) There is also an illegitimate use of the position of head of a concern. The beliefs of the head are not shared by his subordinates. Attempts by the head to sustain the role of charismatic or authoritarian leader result in over-playing or under-playing. Over-playing of the role results in complete isolation. There are wayward changes of intention by the head of the concern, outbursts of temper between the head and others, a possibility of dismissals, and a breakdown of normal managerial contact. Under-playing of the role of head of an organisation is less common, but results in an abdication by the head of his position. The centre of gravity of the organisation of the company is transferred to managerial subordinates. There are also two forms of managerial escape from a position of isolation for the head of a concern. (iii) A legitimate means is for the head to involve other subordinates with him. (iv) An illegitimate means is where the head makes a confidant of someone not next in line in the managerial hierarchy. He also plays off individuals and groups, one against another, in order to weaken potential competition for his position.

During the period prior to observation Carrington was alone facing an external threat from head office, and an internal threat from the expansionist group. He attempted an illegitimate means of escape from his position of isolation (iv), involving John Smith in his decision making. During the observation period Carrington attempted, in the face of a threat of losing his job, to escape from his position of isolation through legitimate means (iii). This attempt failed. Carrington, therefore, was forced into an illegitimate use of his authority (ii). He over-played the role of a charismatic leader, causing disputes, antagonism and frustration among management.

vanish, and his speech was one last gesture of defiance. Other dignatories present ignored him, though the work force clapped heartily. All other managers retained their jobs, though Bill Silver was allowed to work out his notice.

A Theoretical Conclusion

The takeover, for head office management, represented a means of removing a continuing liability. It had the advantage that it was less costly than a closure, since the new firm would purchase much of the existing machinery. Head office then achieved the satisfaction of removing one financial problem, and also bought time in which to meet their other commitments. However, the managers at the subsidiary were not so fortunate. Carrington managed to retain his job, but not in his former position, and he was still uncertain of his future. Further, his various policies proved rewardless, because the takeover swept his work away. Though most of the expansionist group retained their jobs; they were left frustrated, and their policies totally rejected. There was of course a possibility that the new firm could follow more successful policies based on growth.

This recognition of differing groups within management, with divergent policies (but the same aim, profitability for the firm), adds a new dimension to the assessment of "new" manufacturing industry. In Truck Components management again attempted to increase the level of the 'effort bargain' (it would appear that this may be a common feature of "new" factories). This involved coercion of managers at Truck Components by management at head office. Also it involved coercion of employees by Joe Carrington. Thus, yet again the branch component appears to be important, and again it is related to coercion. Pressure from head office was transferred through the factory at Truck Components. (28)

(28). This relates to R.H. Guest 'Organisational Change', op.cit., and also A. Gouldner 'Wildcat Strike' and 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy', op.cit. Guest deals with a situation involving coercion in management, and Gouldner

But here this increase in managerial pressure also resulted from an inter-managerial conflict (Carrington for personal reasons hid the fact of a takeover from his employees to increase their efforts), and management subjected their attempts to achieve viability to their own inter-group squables (in particular the expansionist group). This provokes interesting questions concerning the nature of "new" manufacturing employment. Management need not always be concerned with making a "new" factory 'work'. Thus, the pluralist concept of all parties working to solve the regional employment problem appears flawed in this respect. Management may be concerned with their own conflicts rather than the actual firm. The major 'cause' of this situation at Truck Components was head office ruthlessness in placing pressure on Carrington, and antagonising other subsidiary managers. This produced an uncertain coercive situation which shocked the work force. Their reaction shall be outlined in the next section (2) The Work Force.

outlines the relationship between head office, management at a subsidiary and the employees in the subsidiary firm. These points shall be further developed in Chapter 6.

(2) The Work Force

This investigation is subdivided into five basic pieces of analysis. The first section presents a theoretical typology categorising the work force into groups. A second section relates this typology to employee demands. The failure of the work force to make substantial demands is outlined in a third section. A fourth section discusses the relationship between employee demands and the situational context within the firm. Finally, a conclusion draws the the chapter to a close, and discusses the source of employee demands.

(i) The Typology

This section elaborates upon aspects of the previous typology presented in the analysis of Power Motors. The discussion is divided into four sections, one investigates the skilled employees, another deals with the non-skilled men, and a third considers the alienated group. A conclusion draws together theoretical aspects, and summarises the major points. The typology is then utilised to 'explain' employee demands.

(a) Skilled Employees

The predominance of skilled employees at Truck Components moves the focus of attention away from the non-skilled employees (the non-skilled were the focus of attention in Power Motors) towards an assessment of the craftsman elements of the typology outlined in Chapter 4. Within Truck Components the skilled employees were not a homogeneous group. This section outlines three theoretical divisions among the skilled men, which will be later utilised to divide the employees into groups.

- (1) The Older Skilled Man
- (2) The Younger Skilled Man
- (3) The 'Dilutee'

(1) The Older Skilled Man

This employee was closest to the 'pure' craftsman

TABLE 19

Jack Gass (fitter)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
N.C.B., blacksmith	20 years	-
Civil Engineers, fitter	1 year	Redundant
British Steel Corporation	3 years	-
UNEMPLOYED	6 months	
Pipeline work	6 months	To come to Truck Components

TABLE 20

Jack Nelson (fitter)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Farm worker	1 year	Better job
Steelmatal worker	26 years	-
UNEMPLOYED	6 months	
Self employed	5 years	Not enough money, and too much tax
Sheetmetal worker	6 months	Redundant

TABLE 21

Skilled Employees*

The Older Skilled Man (age 50 years+, approximately)

Jack Gass (fitter)
Geordie Jap (fitter, chargehand)
Jimmy Johnson (fitter)
Harry McQuire (fitter, chargehand)
George More (maintenance fitter)
Jack Nelson (fitter)
Ernie Ollaf (welder)
Bill Roth (fitter)
Tommy Stoop (inspector)

The Younger Skilled Man (age 24 years - 40 years, approximately)

Terry Addiss (fitter)	Peter Lars (welder)
Kenny Browning (fitter)	Alan Laws (fitter)
Jackie Braggs (fitter)	Eric Millet (fitter)
Alan Bird (inspector)	Bob Park (fitter)
Ray Cart (fitter)	Denis Priest (fitter)
John Cunningham (maintenance electrician)	Eddie Poult (welder)
John Elite (welder)	Jimmy Sad (inspector)
Joe Forster (fitter)	Malcolm Shaft (welder)
Stevie Halt (welder, chargehand)	Terry Shean (fitter)
Dasha Hart (welder)	Bob South (welder)
John Hogget (maintenance, electrician, chargehand)	Ian Swaine (welder)
Eddie Hugh (welder)	Denis Trotter (fitter)
Ron Kirk (fitter)	Mick Wats (welder)
Brian Lampton (fitter)	George Woof (welder, chargehand)
	Bob Wrote (inspector)

The 'Dilutees' (age below 40 years, approximately)

Bobby Braggs (welder)
Dickie Breaks (welder)
Bill McGraw (welder)
Billy Potts (welder)
Ray Strabbs (welder)
Brian Wopps (welder)
Fred Wrong (welder)

* This list excludes Alan Lambert, Tommy Morton and Tommy Went on whom there was insufficient information.

'type' of C. Wright Mills. Obtaining satisfaction from the job task, and being nearest to utilising work as an end in itself, gratification of the individual. These men held a strong craftsman identity, based upon continuous lengthy, skilled employment. Jack Gass, a fitter is an example, he had 20 years experience as a blacksmith (see Table 19). Jack Nelson also had 26 years with one firm, as a sheetmetal worker (see Table 20). Only Bill Roth of these older workers was employed on the production line. Others had more creative tasks, with a premium placed on individual skill. Bill Roth, however, was satisfied in his job, because he worked with Terry Shean, a fitter, with whom he was friendly.

Past experience was used by these employees to interpret events at Truck Components. Usually the firm was placed in an unfavourable light. Stock comparisons were used, in particular the shipyards, though these men had no experience of such employment. In Truck Components older employees were dissatisfied in particular with the production lines. They argued that an employee could not produce numerous identical units, while maintaining a high standard of quality in his production. Nor could a man identify with a piece of metal to be transported to Leverton. The bonus system was criticised by these men as a farce; a piece rate was considered more applicable. Jack Gass believed the situation was very different in the shipyards, men there followed the history of each ship they constructed; such satisfaction was impossible at Truck Components (a list of these men, and the other two groups of skilled employee below are provided in Table 21).

(2) The Younger-Skilled Man

This group were conscious of their skilled status. It provided them with a job, supplying reasonable employment conditions, good prospects and satisfactory remuneration. Though less conscious of the historical aspects of their trade, they protected their skilled position, because it was their key to a job. Further, they emphasised the ability and intelligence necessary to perform a skilled

task. There was little identification with either the firm, or the product among these employees, nor was it expected this should be possible. Many such men had never worked in employment in which they found the job task satisfying, but they realised that a skilled man would be more successful than the non-skilled worker in finding 'good' employment, because he was more intelligent. Theirs was a definite means to an end approach to work, but the end could be 'instrumental', or for example bureaucratic; requiring advancement in the organisation.

(3) The 'Dilutee'

The position of a skilled man provided for the 'dilutee' an increase in status and monetary return, together with an improvement in job prospects (here there is a more 'instrumental' orientation). All 'dilutees' accepted that they had improved their position, but to do this had been difficult. For Fred Wrong, a welder, this had involved a widespread search for a job. Bill McGraw, another welder, had failed to obtain employment in his home at Hartport. Billy Potter had argued with the boiler-makers union in the Stockland area. All agreed it would be difficult to obtain another skilled job. While skilled employees resented them, 'dilutees' believed in their own ability; they lacked experience, but they were learning constantly.

From this basic outline it has been possible to distinguish groups of employees (see Table 21). These groups may be differentiated further by four variables (the variables may be superimposed upon the basic division already developed in Table 21). These variables are as follows. (1) Whether the men were demanding of management or not. This is based on the extent to which men participated in the disputes of the observation period. (2) Were employees committed dominantly to the job task, or to 'work' as a whole. This relates to the demands employees made of their employment; some men were concerned in their demands (or in their lack of them) only with their

job task, while others broadened their scope to include all aspects of 'work'.⁽²⁹⁾ (3) Were employees politically radical or conservative in their attitudes to their employment, and finally (4) what 'type' of involvement in their employment did each employee possess. The groups of employee differentiated using these variables may be categorised as follows:

(i) The 'Older' Skilled Employees

The older skilled man could produce a demanding skilled approach to the problems of employment at Truck Components. These men were highly positively involved in their employment. Management they believed could not manage and made many mistakes in planning, a skilled employee could perform this task more successfully. Further they argued that the conditions of employment provided at the factory should meet the requirements of a skilled man, and that the principles of a skilled worker must be respected, in particular his control of the job task, and the high value attached to his efforts. Their demands might involve payment, but this was not a dominant requirement. Also though these employees were committed dominantly to the job task, this commitment could broaden to include the issues of 'work', where they felt their valued position was threatened. Employees who fit this category are:

Jack Gass (fitter)

Ernie Ollaf (welder)

Tommy Stoop (inspector)

(ii) The 'Instrumental' Skilled Employees

These employees were similar to the manipulative men at Power Motors. They utilised 'work' as a means to an

(29). This relates to the work of J.H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt 'The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour', op.cit. Here the authors 'explain' employee satisfaction with the employer and the employment situation despite dissatisfaction with their job task, through a prior 'instrumental' orientation. Employees were prepared to accept deprivation in their job task in return for relatively high pay, because this was their main 'work' objective.

end, usually monetary return. They were constantly concerned in bonus disputes, and theirs was a strong 'instrumental' approach to employment. Their demands of employment could nevertheless broaden to include the maintenance and condition of equipment, and also the work flow and the number of crane drivers, which all influenced bonus. These men had a moderate positive involvement in their employment, and were committed to 'work' rather than the job task. Employees in this category were:

Terry Addiss (fitter)*	Eric Millet (fitter)*
Bobby Braggs (welder, 'dilutee')	Ray Strabbs (welder, 'dilutee')
Dickie Breaks (welder, 'dilutee')	Mick Wabs (welder)*
Peter Lars (welder)*	Fred Wrong (welder, 'dilutee')
Bill McGraw (welder, ('dilutee'))	

* Younger skilled employees

These employees tended to be younger skilled men or 'dilutees', and the majority had experience of non-skilled work.

(iii) The Ideological Employees

These men made very wideranging demands of their employment, based upon an anti-management approach to 'work'. They were highly positively involved in their employment. Anti-management feeling was related by them to injustice and power within society, and the need to fight for the 'rights' of the working man. Thus, sackings, redundancy, overwork and a lack of remuneration, all caused by managerial inadequacies, were related to a wider scene and a world view. 'Work' was associated integrally with this world view, employees were committed to 'work' as a whole, and work was seen as an end in itself. There were two such employees:

Denis Priest (fitter)
Billy Potter (welder, 'dilutee')

(iv) The Committed Employees

These employees were mainly committed to the job task, and were involved in their employment in a moderately positive fashion. Employment to them was a means to an end, perhaps advancement in the organisation. Bob Wrote, for example, was union convenor, and was concerned with his ambitious schemes. He pursued his own power game with Joe Carrington, the manager. Stevie Halt, George Woof and Alan Bird were all determined to become the next foreman. Jack Nelson in contrast was concerned with a highly skilled construction of a particular unit, and for him employment was closer to being an end in itself. These men consisted of older skilled employees, and employees off the production line, in particular chargehands, maintenance and inspection (all employees off the production line were younger skilled men except for Jack Nelson). All these men made fewer demands of their employment, and those demands they made were concerned with their job task. This group included:

Alan Bird (inspector)	Jack Nelson (fitter, off the production line)
Stevie Halt (chargehand)	
John Hogget (chargehand)	Bill Roth (fitter, on the production line)
Geordie Jap (chargehand)	George Woof (chargehand)
George More (maintenance fitter)	Bob Wrote (inspector and union convenor)

(v) The Non-committed Employees

These employees were similar to the passive non-skilled workers at Power Motors. They were involved in their employment as a means to an end, but in a moderately negative fashion. Such employees made few if any demands of their employment. They were not committed to the job task, were concerned more with the 'rewards of 'work' (this commitment was at a low level), and wished to retain their employment. This represents a move towards a negative alienated involvement. The employees in this group were predominantly young skilled men and may be listed as follows:

Jackie Braggs (fitter)*	Eddie Poult (welder, 'dilutee')
John Elite (welder and shop steward)*	Jimmy Sad (inspector)*
Eddie Hugh (welder)*	Malcolm Shaft (welder)*
Ron Kirk (fitter)*	Terry Shean (fitter)*
Alan Laws (fitter)*	Bob South (welder)*
Bob Park (fitter)*	Denis Trotter (fitter)*

- Jimmy Sad is the only skilled employee in this non-committed group who did not work on the production line. He represents a case which cannot be explained by the data. Eddie Poult is also the only 'dilutee' in this group. It is impossible to explain why he should not be in group (ii).

- * Younger skilled employees.

(vi) The Conservative Employees

These employees identified with management, and saw a unity of purpose between management and worker. They were dominated by a desire to preserve their employment, and made no further demands of management. They were satisfied with their 'work' and encouraged employees to aid management. There was a 'work' commitment, and they were involved in their employment in a moderately positive fashion. Employees in this group were:

Kenny Browning

Ray Cart*

- * It proved impossible to classify John Cunningham (maintenance electrician) and Brian Wopps (welder, 'dilutee') due to a lack of data. Also in the categorisation of employees, men are differentiated by their dominant traits, some employees showed characteristics of several groups.

Thus, it would appear that at Truck Components the skilled employees were more diverse than at Power Motors. The

TABLE 22
Skilled Employees

	Involvement	Trade Union Attitudes	Demands
'Older' Skilled Employees	High positive.	Committed to union to further the aims of a skilled man.	Attempt to uphold the principled position of the skilled man. This might involve status or a demand for good conditions of employment. They were dominant in the redundancy and mobility disputes, and also required a job.
'Instrumental' Skilled Employees	Medium positive.	Committed to the union to further their demands for remuneration.	Demanded remuneration and were committed to related issues of 'work'. They also required a job.
Ideological Skilled Employees	High positive.	Highly committed to further the aims of the working class. A holistic approach.	Wide ranging demands of 'work', including the requirement of a job
Committed Skilled Employees	Medium positive.	Committed to the union to further the demands of the skilled man, but only so far as it involved no industrial action.	Demands concerning only the job task, and a job itself.
Non-Committed Skilled Employees	Medium negative.	Low commitment to the union. Only active in a nominal capacity.	Demand only a secure job, because they were satisfied with 'work'.
Conservative Skilled Employees	Medium positive.	Anti-trade union.	Only demand a secure job, and encouraged employees to conform to managerial demands. They were satisfied with their 'work'.

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Non-Skilled Employees

	Involvement	Trade Union Involvement	Demands
Manipulative Employees	Medium positive.	High commitment.	Demand substantial bonus, and were anti-management over the redundancy and the crane driver problem. They also demanded a job.
Passive Employees	Medium negative.	Medium commitment which did not involve industrial action.	Demand a secure job.

Alienated Employees were both Skilled and Non-Skilled

	Involvement	Trade Union Involvement	Demands	Social Mixing	Absenteeism
Alienated	High negative.	Low commitment.	Low demands, only a job.	Lower than other employees.	High.

TABLE 23

Non-skilled Employees

<u>Passive</u>	<u>Manipulative</u>
Tommy Batty	George Allen
Billy Bone	Harry Bellows
Arthur Care	Eddie Burley
Dave Courtney	Charlie Hutts
Jimmy Daft	Jackie Step
Joe Hand	
Sammy Higgins	
Bill Ingham	
Benny Longman	
Charlie Mahon	
Walter Martin	
Harry Moorfield	
George Morris	
Arthur Sherrif	
John Snow	
John Swoop	
Tommy Tail	
Ron Toney	
Davey Whit	
Alan Wilkins	
Dickie William	
John Wripe	

'older' skilled employee is closest to the 'pure' craftsman 'type' outlined at Power Motors. This retrospective skilled orientation provided a basis for skilled demands. An 'instrumental' employee was concerned with remuneration as an end in 'work'. The ideological 'type' employee produced a more holistic demanding view, providing a common ground for both skilled and non-skilled employees. At the other extreme, conservative employees made no demands of management, emphasising the satisfactory nature of their 'work'. A committed and non-committed group were committed to the job task, and to their 'work' respectively, with both making few demands (particularly the non-committed group). The demands of all these groups, and their relationship to employee involvement, are listed in Table 22. This Table suggests that both skilled and non-skilled employees may be alienated. These alienated men will be discussed later, but firstly this analysis will assess the non-skilled employees at Truck Components.

(b) Non-skilled Employees

Here again (as in Power Motors) the division between passive and manipulative (calculative) employees is a valid one. The employees are divided into these two groups in Table 23.

(1) Manipulative Employees

Involved in a moderately positive fashion in their 'work' (they were not committed to the job task), these employees used (as at Power Motors) the bonus scheme as a means of satisfying a demand for monetary return. Where they were dissatisfied 'fiddles' developed, or outright disputes. Eddie Burley was particularly prominent in utilising the 'fiddle' of speeding up a machine, and he worked always to achieve high bonus levels. Harry Bellows caused numerous disputes when he did not achieve his required bonus. However, in Truck Components employees were allocated a machine in accordance with the instructions given by a chargehand, who took note of the work flow. There was no possible division between 'perm-

anent' and mobile operators, because the flow of work changed rapidly. Also certain operators like Harry Bellows, a burner, had to be stationary, because there was only one machine for them to operate. Jackie Step in contrast, was a mobile hand burner. On the drill section employees were given one particular machine, and retained it until the foreman declared otherwise. However, there were distinctions which may be drawn between the passive and manipulative men. In particular manipulative employees were less concerned for the safety of their job than the passive men. They were also prepared to jeopardise production because of a dispute. An exception was George Allen. This machine operator left the firm because of its uncertain future, but he also demonstrated a demanding approach to employment, when he was involved in the dispute over redundancy, and earned substantial bonus returns. These employees also demanded that Truck Components management should provide a profit making firm (which passive men did not), and solve their market problems. Manipulative men were also strongly anti-management. It is clear then, that the 'instrumental' skilled and manipulative employees displayed similar characteristics, though not a common purpose. The difference between the manipulative men at Power Motors and Truck Components being that at Truck Components this group were more 'instrumental'. Their ends were more strictly economic, and they were rarely absent, not demanding a lax plant or absenteeism.

(2) The Passive Employees

These were the dominant non-skilled group, and were involved in 'work' in a moderately negative fashion (they were not committed to their job task). They feared unemployment, and tended to be more conservative in orientation than manipulative men; they were also less concerned in the disputes of the plant, and emphasised the satisfactory nature of their employment.. They emphasised in particular working conditions; made few demands concerning bonus

The Skilled Employees

Fred Wrong
Stevie Holt
George Woof
Geordie Jap
Harry McQuire
Bobby Braggs
Terry Addiss
Bill McGraw
Mick Wabs
Jackie Braggs
John Elite
Dickie Breaks
Eric Millet
Jack Nelson
Ray Cart
Joe Forster
Ron Kirk
Brian Lampton
Alan Lambert
Alan Laws
Bob Park
Denis Priest
Billy Potter
Peter Lars
Denis Trotter
Malcolm Shaft
Terry Shean
Bill Roth
Bob South
Darrel Hart
Eddie Hugh
Ernie Ollaf
Jack Gass
Eddie Poult
Ray Strabbs
Tommy Stoop
Kenny Browning

Brian Smith
Harry Bellows
Eddie Burley

[illegible]

TABLE 24 (Continued)

Non-Skilled
Employees

The Skilled Employees

Charlie Hutts
Jackie Step
Dave Courtney
Joe Hand
Dickie Williams
Benny Longman
Jimmy Daft
Bill Ingham
Walter Marl
George Morris
Tommy Tail
Dave Whit
Ron Toney
George Wilham
John Wripe
Tommy Batty
John Swoop
Sammy Higgins
Arthur Care
Billy Bone
Charlie Mahon
Arthur Sherrif
John Snow
Alan Wilkins

Fred Wrong	
Stevie Hall	
George Wood	
George Jan	
Harry McGuire	
Bobby Braggs	
Harry Addags	
Bill McGraw	
Wick Wabs	
Jackie Braggs	
John Elites	
Dickie Breaks	
Eric Miller	
Jack Nelson	
Ray Carter	F
Joe Forster	F
Bob Vink	
Brian Lampton	
Alan Lamhart	
Alan Laws	
Bob Park	
Ben's Priest	
Billy Potter	C
Peter Lars	
Denis Trotter	
Malcolm Sharr	
Harry Shean	
Bill Roth	
Bob South	
Barrel Hart	
Eddie Hugh	
Ernie O'Far	
Jack Cass	
Eddie Pault	
Ray Strabbs	
Tommy Stoop	
Kenny Browning	

F - Close friends at Truck Components

C - Past colleagues now at Truck Components

TABLE 24 (Continued)

The Non-Skilled EmployeesNon-Skilled
Employees

Charlie Hutts
 Jackie Step
 Dave Courtney
 Joe Hand
 Dickie William
 Jimmy Daft
 Bill Ingham
 Walter Marl
 George Morris
 Tommy Tail
 Dave Whit
 Ron Toney
 George Wilham
 John Wripe
 Tommy Batty
 John Swoop
 Sammy Higgins
 Arthur Care
 Billy Bone
 Charlie Mahon
 Arthur Sherrif
 John Snow
 Alan Wilkins

Brian Smith	
Harry Bellows	F
Eddie Burley	F
Charlie Hutts	F
Jackie Step	-
Dave Courtney	-
Joe Hand	-
Dickie William	-
Benny Longman	-
Jimmy Daft	C
Bill Ingham	-
Walter Marl	-
George Morris	-
Tommy Tail	-
Dave Whit	-
Ron Toney	-
George Wilham	-
John Wripe	-
Tommy Batty	-
John Swoop	-
Sammy Higgins	-
Arthur Care	-
Billy Bone	-
Charlie Mahon	-
Arthur Sherrif	-
John Snow	-
Alan Wilkins	-

F - Close friends at Truck Components

C - Past colleagues now at Truck Components

because their demands in this respect were satisfied, and rejected any industrial action. These employees believed that Carrington should be given every aid to gain his objectives, and they recognised that problems at Truck Components were not his fault. Bonus 'fiddles' were also utilised by these employees, but there was no 'system' similar to that operated at Power Motors. These employees like their manipulative fellows were rarely absent.

Where involvement in a negative fashion exceeds that of the passive employee alienation is a result, this shall be discussed in the next section.

(c) Alienated Employees

These employees were highly negatively involved in their employment. They were apathetic, and little concerned by the uncertain employment situation, though this fell short of rejection of an actual job. There was, nevertheless, in their case a break in the link between effort and reward. The actual work task was something hated, and all these employees were regularly absent. There were four alienated employees who included both skilled and non-skilled men

Brian Lampton (fitter)
Joe Forster (fitter)
Dasha Hart (welder)
George Wilham (non-skilled)

Dasha Hart and Brian Lampton were close friends, the other employees were loaners (see Table 24).

Brian Lampton

Brian worked overtime to achieve a minimum norm in payment, but was also regularly absent. To him monetary reward was not of great value. Money bought material goods, clothes and entertainment. Yet Brian was unsure these provided sufficient reward for the work he must do. So he was absent for another day. Why did he work? Brian was not sure, probably because it was easy. He had not

planned that his life should turn out this way,

I was interested in electronics. I wanted to be an electrician. So I sent my form away to a firm to get an apprenticeship. They wrote back, and said that after a year they'd see what I was best at and decide then. So I went and after about two weeks they came up and said, 'You're a fitter, you're an electrician'.... That's just what they wanted at that particular time. It so happened they wanted more fitters than electricians.

From such an arbitrary decision developed his trade, which was to form an integral part of his working life.

Joe Forster

Joe had no wish to work, it held no meaning for him, and he did not enjoy it. Attending the factory was an evil he could bear, but he could not work while he was there. Joe would talk, wander round the factory, or take a newspaper to the toilet to read. He worked with a welder, Mick Wabs, and Mick's rate determined Joe's bonus. When the bonus was not satisfactory Joe would complain, though not strongly and always afterwards with a smile on his face he admitted that he was not worth such reward.

Joe had intellectual interests, he had passed his "higher nationals" (an examination in the N.C.B.), but manual labour, and boring factory work disheartened him.

Dasha Hart

Dasha saw no point to anything. He was never concerned with wages, nor did he attempt to obtain bonus. On several occasions he merely left the factory when he was sickened by work. He might then visit the local Job Centre, but more often the local public house. Hence, during the intensification of supervision in the factory, it was not surprising that Stevie Halt, the chargehand,

should single Dasha out for special treatment. In the dispute that followed the men supported Dasha, because Stevie Halt was a chargehand.

Dasha had wanted to become a dog handler in the police force, but due to a criminal record found this impossible, he now regarded all employment as drudgery.

George Wilham

George never attempted to achieve bonus, and worked at 80 PI on the bonus scale. On occasion he complained concerning his bonus rate, but usually even on an "easy time" he still earned 80 PI. Constantly, though, he criticised the nature of the job, the condition of the factory and the actions of management. These he claimed were the reasons for his lack of effort. Yet he made no attempt to remedy the situation. George had hoped one day he might become a chemist. He had encouraged his son to educate himself and attend university. George regretted not performing more successfully at school.

(d) A Conclusion

This conclusion attempts to summarise the theoretical implications of the above sections. The analysis will be related to the study of Power Motors. It was suggested in the Power Motors chapter that skill and involvement could be placed in a Table as follows:

		<u>Skilled</u> +	<u>Non-Skilled</u> -
<u>Involvement</u>	+	Craftsman	Calculative Non-Skilled
	-	Calculative Craftsman	Alienated

Essentially it was argued that there existed a highly positive 'type' of involvement in employment held by

craftsmen, which were a rare category; and it was suggested that it was more common to distinguish calculative skilled employees. These employees had a medium positive involvement in their employment, and saw work as a means to an end. There was also differentiated among non-skilled employees a medium positive calculative involvement in which employees were well adapted to their employment (manipulative men). Where such involvement slipped (a medium negative calculative involvement) passive employees were differentiated. These men represented a move towards the alienated 'type'. Alienated men with a high negative involvement displayed a breakdown of the means-ends relationship in employment.

However, an analysis of Truck Components suggests that such an assessment is too simple. In the investigation of skilled employees (section (a)) it was suggested that four variables could be utilised to categorise such men.⁽³⁰⁾ These variables were, (1) the demands made of management by employees, (2) the commitment of employees to the job task and 'work', (3) the political motivation of employees, and (4) the involvement of an employee in his employment. The variables were utilised to elaborate upon the simplistic typology presented at Power Motors. It has been suggested in the proceeding sections that employees who were highly positively involved in their employment might be radically politically motivated, or committed to the job task as a traditional 'older' skilled worker. Committed, 'instrumental' and conservative

(30). This excludes the age/skilled status division developed also in section (a), however, this area will be further analysed in (iv) The Situational Context. Here the source for work force demands will be investigated. This represents an analytical study which may be summarised as follows:

social characteristics of the employee (skill, age, previous employment, family, etc.)	Orientation → to work (involvement, rewards, task or 'work' commitment etc.)	→ demands employees made of their employment (bonus, mobility, etc.)
--	---	--

This is a detailed investigation which owes much to Brown's critique of the concept of orientation to work, in particular the approach employed in 'The Affluent Worker'. See R.K. Brown 'Sources of Objectives in Work and Employment', in J. Child (ed) 'Man and Organisation', George Allen and Unwin, 1973.

employees all had a moderately positive involvement in their employment, but with differing commitments to the job task and 'work' (conservative employees were also motivated to be politically right wing). A moderately negative involvement with a low 'work' commitment was also differentiated (non-committed employees). In the assessment of the non-skilled employees it was noted that the dominant division in Power Motors (passive/manipulative) existed again at Truck Components. However, there were no signs of employee mobility to obtain reward, since this was impossible. Rather the manipulative men were involved in protracted bonus disputes, or complained concerning management actions. Passive employees were only interested in retaining their job, and other demands were very low key and secondary (see Table 22). The following Table summarising these conclusions may be developed.

		<u>Skilled</u>			<u>Non-Skilled</u>		
<u>Involvement</u>		<u>Left Wing</u>	<u>Political Motivation Neutral</u>	<u>Right Wing</u>	<u>Left Wing</u>	<u>Political Motivation Neutral</u>	<u>Right Wing</u>
<u>Crafts-men</u>	<u>Highly Positive</u>	-	'Older' Crafts-men	-	-	-	-
	<u>'Work' Task</u>	Ideological Employees	-	-	-	-	-
	<u>Moderately Positive</u>	-	Committed Employees	-	-	-	-
<u>Calculative Employees</u>	<u>'Work' Task</u>	-	'Instrumental' Employees	Conservative Employees	-	Manipulative Employees	-
	<u>Moderately Negative</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Alienated Employees</u>	<u>'Work' Task</u>	-	Non-Committed Employees	-	-	Passive Employees	-
	<u>Highly Negative</u>	-	-	-	-	particularly at Truck Components	-
Alienated Employees							

Dominantly Demanding Employees

Less Demanding Employees

The major developments of the initial Power Motors typology are in the skilled section of the Table. Here the distinctions made at Truck Components have restructured the seemingly homogeneous skilled group. It may be noted that in both sections of the typology (skilled and non-skilled) demands of management arose mainly from those men positively involved in their employment. This excludes particularly the conservative group, and to an extent the committed men, both of whom made fewer demands.

However, a new dimension has also been added to the non-skilled section of the typology by viewing the manipulative and passive employees as committed to 'work' rather than the job task. A connection between the 'instrumental' employees of 'The Affluent Worker' and these calculative men is thus clear (the workers in Goldthorpe et al were committed to 'work' rather than the job task, and this was related to their 'instrumental' orientation, see note (29)). However, the passive group are less successfully adapted to this 'work', and their involvement was closer to the negative features of alienation.

It was also found during an examination of the employees at Truck Components that both skilled and non-skilled men were alienated (no explanation for this has been presented, but this point shall be elaborated later in this chapter). Such a discovery removes the skilled constraint from this category of the typology.⁽³¹⁾

Most of the groups differentiated at Truck Components may be related to a table of friendship associations within the plant. Employees were asked to name their close friends, and their past colleagues, within the factory. The 'instrumental', ideological, 'older', manipulative and

(31). This conclusion is largely analogous to the work of Ingham. Ingham has elaborated upon the conclusions of Goldthorpe et al. He named the 'solidaristic' orientation of 'The Affluent Worker' 'instrumental/expressive', and then developed a distinction between a positive orientation to the organisation and a moral involvement in it, and a negative orientation to and an alienated involvement in the organisation. See G.K. Ingham 'Organisational size, orientation to work and industrial behaviour', Sociology 1, pp. 239-258, 1967.

passive groups may be distinguished as clusters in Table 24. To see how these groups with differing 'types' of involvement in employment may be related to the action of the observation period, this analysis will proceed to outline the demands employees made of their employment at Truck Components.

(ii) Employee Demands: An Explanation of Truck Components

This section outlines employee demands in some detail, and these are related to the typology of section (i).

Employee demands found expression in four major disputes:

- (1) The Redundancy Question
- (2) The Mobility Question
- (3) The Crane Driver Dispute
- (4) Bonus Demands

Also implicit in the actions of the men was a desire for a job which provided security ((5) The Question of a Job).

(1) The Redundancy Question

The context for the onset of the mobility dispute was the question of redundancy. Management gave no warning of their decision to implement redundancies. Ernie Ollaf, Jack Gass, Billy Potter (skilled men demanding of management) George Allen (non-skilled manipulative employee) demanded that the men should take action to prevent management acting in a similar autocratic manner in the future. The manipulative employees among the non-skilled voiced their support, but other employees were concerned for the security of their jobs, and refused to take any action. Hence, the demands for action, made by the 'older' ideological and manipulative employees, were drowned in the mobility question; and they were never satisfied.

(2) The Mobility Question

All skilled employees had an interest in maintaining the distinction between themselves and the non-skilled worker. But at Truck Components a mobility clause in the working agreement allowed management to transfer a skilled employee to any work within the factory. This resulted in a mobility dispute. Men were concerned by the redundancy, but Tommy Stoop (demanding 'older' skilled employee) introduced employees to the question of mobility. To Tommy the mobility clause reduced a skilled employee's status, because a 'skilled man could be placed on any job in the factory. He demanded changes in the structure of the mobility clause

in the 'agreement'. Support was provided by Ernie Ollaf and Jack Gass (both 'older' demanding skilled employees). They were aided by all the more demanding skilled employees (ideological, 'instrumental'). The manipulative employees among the non-skilled also supported their action, because not only did they understand the skilled view, but they themselves were constantly moved under the mobility clause by their chargehand, due to the work flow (which could mean for them a loss of monetary return).

Together these groups convinced others, in particular the skilled employees that action must be taken (the work to rule was continued).

However, the restructuring of the 'agreement' which resulted was negligible. There was no firm line drawn to determine mobility, and the changes in the wording of the 'agreement' were minor. True, in principle an employee could be placed upon another job for only a temporary period, but this did not alter the possibility of continuous mobility. Employees, though, accepted the situation; their shop stewards encouraged this, and the majority of the men being less demanding, having made a gesture over the redundancy, and achieved a nominal success on the mobility issue, decided to follow a cautious approach.

But mobility was not solved as an issue, and the more demanding employees ('older', ideological, 'instrumental' and manipulative men) remained afraid that the problems within the firm might cause management to increase mobility. This the skilled men resented as an attack on their privilege. When all men were encouraged to utilise cranes themselves, rather than wait for a crane driver, all demanding skilled employees declined. Their demands had not yet been satisfied. These feelings were supported by the less demanding skilled men (non-committed and committed employees), a skilled man they believed should not need to operate a crane, but the less demanding men refused to pursue the matter further.

(3) The Crane Driver Dispute

The onset of the crane driver dispute was the problem of overwork for Benny Longman (a crane driver). Benny, despite being a passive employee, complained concerning his workload. His complaint was taken up by demanding employees. The crane driver problem was important to all employees' bonus, and it was essential that there should be a continuous flow of work. Regular support from crane drivers was, therefore, vital. Billy Potter and Denis Priest (ideological employees), together with the 'instrumental' skilled employees, demanded another crane driver be appointed. They were supported by the manipulative non-skilled. The union representatives were forced into action, and they attempted to obtain another crane driver. Carrington, the manager, however, could not meet their demand. Finally Richardson, the union area secretary, encouraged employees to utilise cranes themselves; hence further jeopardising the demands of employees to restrict labour mobility. Thus, yet again employees were not satisfied in their demands.

(4) Bonus Demands

Due to dissatisfaction over bonus returns employee demands concerning payment were a feature of Truck Components. Again (as in Power Motors) bonus norms existed within the factory, but here there was no dominant group enforcing adherence to them. Skilled employees were separated into work groups with a group bonus. Each group had limited contact with other groups, though at break men mixed. Groups restrained output to a norm, which they protected in similar fashion to employees at Power Motors (there was no collusion between various groups in the plant to enforce norms, because each group was self contained in terms of bonus. Semi-skilled operators, for example, set their own machines, and skilled men only needed contact with a crane driver). However, these groups struggled to achieve 'good' bonus due to a discontinuous flow of work. Disputes, therefore, developed between management and

more demanding employees.

Shop stewards John Elite and Bob Wrote attempted to resolve disputes, but their attempts were rejected, and they were viewed with disdain, because union representatives had been of little value within Truck Components in the past. The reaction of Billy Potter, though outspoken, remained typical,

There's our shop steward, wing commander Kite (Bob Wrote) he's a social climber, he comes to me and he says, that bloke in the office is a, 'Jolly good chap'. So he comes to me and he says that its right (the bonus). So I go along with him to the office like, and I point out a few things like, and he finds me another 15 PI mind you. Then he has a look at Peter's (a worker on the 'H' line) bonus and he's got 106 PI not 103 PI. Thats 18 PI. Thats a lot of money. And they only checked two of us, what would have happened if they'd checked all five. But wing commander kite keeps coming and saying, 'He's a nice chappy in the office, give him a bar of chocolate'.

The demands of the 'instrumental', manipulative and ideological employees increased as the observation period progressed and bonus became more difficult to obtain. As outlined in the section on management, Leverton demanded, due to the product market situation, the rapid production of varied units of output. These orders continually fluctuated and there were delays in the work flow, encouraged by a shortage of crane drivers. Further, untimed work was introduced on the production line. Untimed work paid only 90 PI, and this was a further loss in earnings. The continually fluid situation placed a strain upon the staff in the wages and time office, and mistakes were made. Men, therefore, continually questioned their bonus and

disputes were common. 'Instrumental' and manipulative employees were involved in protracted disputes (see in particular, in the bonus section of The Data, the disputes caused by Harry Bellows and Chass Hutts (manipulative), Mick Wabs and the issues on the 'B' line, involving Bill McGraw, Bobby Braggs and Terry Addiss ('instrumental')). This latter group were involved in a dispute resulting from their countering waiting time by 'fiddling').

Also a whole series of bonus disputes revolved round Billy Potter and Denis Priest who controlled the 'H' line. These employees were ideologically motivated. They expressed their dislike of managerial policy by constant pressure to achieve bonus concessions. Bonus payments represented to them an interface between worker and management. The production line could be stopped, production would cease, and a concession would be made by managers. Every week when the bonus cards were issued the 'H' line stopped because of a disagreement, and sometimes if a bonus time were bad, the line stopped during the week. However, due to the intermittent flow of work, their requirements were not met.

Thus, yet again the demands of employees had not been satisfied.

(5) The Question of a Job

This section discusses the only major demand of the less demanding skilled (conservative, committed and non-committed), and passive non-skilled employees. They required that their job at Truck Components should provide them with secure employment. In this demand they were joined by the more demanding employees of all types ('older', ideological, 'instrumental' and manipulative employees). However, Truck Components never satisfied this demand. During the observation period managerial threats, rumours and uncertainty were common. Men related this to a history of uncertainty and dissatisfaction. There had been redundancies, and men believed the firm might close. In this situation Carrington, the manager, maintained a discrete silence on the firm's position. He merely emphas-

ised that the men must work harder and more efficiently. The union representatives endorsed this demand. There was no place in the firm for those who did not meet managerial definitions of a 'good' worker. This managerial demand for an increased level of effort, and the dissatisfaction of the work force demand for a secure job produced a strong reaction among employees. Passive and less demanding skilled employees made few demands of management. These workers were particularly afraid of unemployment; they remarked upon the uncertain job situation in Newtown, and were prepared to perform any task necessary to save their employment. Demanding skilled and manipulative employees, while wishing to retain their jobs did not possess the same fear of unemployment or redundancy. This explains why they continued to make demands which might jeopardise the firm's future (as management saw it). However, all employees apart from the ideological group were divided against themselves. They also became apathetic on occasion; this was particularly dominant among the less demanding and passive employees.

This apathy, and these divisions, related to the demand of employees for a job, and also the apportioning of blame by the work force for the firm's position upon groups within their structure. This shall be explained in the following sections. Such an analysis deviates slightly from our study of the demands of employees; however, this investigation does relate to managerial demands. When the work force did not respond to managerial demands by increased effort this in effect doomed to failure the management attempt to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'.

TABLE 25

John Snow (non-skilled)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Plasterer, apprentice	1½ years	The war
Mines	33 years	Redundant
Confectionary manufact- urer	1½ years	Better job

TABLE 26

Kenny Browning (skilled employee)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Engineering firm, fitter	8 years	More money
Engineering firm, fitter	2 years	Redundant
Chemical firm, fitter	2 years	Didn't like shifts

(iii) Work Force Demands and the 'Effort Bargain'

This section shall argue that the relationship between the uncertain employment situation at Truck Components, the secure employee work histories, and worker attitudes, 'explains' why the work force made few demands of management, and why at the same time they failed to respond to the managerial requirement of increased effort. The analysis begins with an examination of work force work histories; relates these to the ideology of employees and finally outlines the way in which these determined the apportioning of blame by the work force. This blame is linked to apathy.

(a) Employee Work Histories

Employees at Truck Components had a strong vested interest in retaining their employment and most men were relatively satisfied with their work. Allied to this, there was an uncertain employment situation. This resulted in the men making few demands which might jeopardise their job (why demanding and manipulative employees differed in their reaction to the uncertain situation at Truck Components and made demands of management will be outlined later in this chapter). This may be understood as follows.

Employees at Truck Components had secure work histories. There was a group of 17 ex-miners who had lengthy periods of employment with one employer. These men had few redundancies and sackings, and little experience of unemployment. There was also a substantial group of other employees with similar work history characteristics (see Table 25 and 26 for examples of typical work histories).⁽³²⁾ Such employees

(32). Certain employees jeopardise this pattern:

Mick Wabs	Ron Kirk	George Morris
Terry Poult	Denis Priest	John Elite
Billy Roth	Terry Addiss	

It shall be argued in Chapter 6 that these employees had insecure work histories typical of the secondary sector of a dual labour market. Certain of these men were less concerned for their job, e.g. Mick Wabs, Denis Priest and Terry Addiss. Bill Roth may be explained as a special case, his unstable history is exaggerated by a period spent unemployed on redundancy payments. Yet why were

had little experience of uncertain employment similar to Truck Components, and they were shocked and surprised by the continued insecurity (see Appendix 10 for employee work histories).

Employees also appreciated the quality of employment conditions provided at Truck Components. The group of miners remembered employment there vividly with a mixture of love and hate. Associated with pride in their old occupation was a memory of the conditions of mining including the cold, the water and the dirt. To be employed at Truck Components following the mines was a privilege. Other employees agreed with the assessment of these ex-miners. Bobby Park, a fitter, made a common assessment of the employment provided at Truck Components.

This place is like a paradise. The blokes that don't care have forgotten what it was like where they used to work..... you're not pushed to get the work out. I've been standing here talking to you, and no one's said anything. There's not a bonus system, or at least not a proper one. At T.S. Walkers (a former employer) we used to get a time for the job, with so many percent for relaxation and manipulation... we used to come out dripping like that.

Truck Components was considered a lax plant, men wished to retain such employment. Other employees of all 'types' lived close to the factory. This was considered a great advantage, particularly among the non-skilled.⁽³³⁾

Thus, employees had a strong vested interest in retaining their employment. Employees were also shocked

these others concerned for their job to the extent of most men at Truck Components? John Elite as shop steward was involved in the cares of all employees; this may provide an explanation. But for the others it can only be suggested that they were carried along by the dominant attitudes of the plant.

(33). A total of 50 shop floor employees were asked for their address. Some 18 lived in Newtown itself and another six in the adjacent colliery village.

by the uncertain nature of the employment at Truck Components, due to their secure work histories (the marked difference between employee work histories at Truck Components and Power Motors may be seen by comparing Appendix 9 and 10), however, due to their vested interests they did not wish to leave the firm. Thus, employees sought to protect their job by making few demands of management. Further, to 'explain' why the viability of the company could not be improved the work force blamed scapegoats from their own ranks. Why did they look towards themselves to explain the situation? It shall be argued that this is related to employee attitudes.

(b) Employee Attitudes in Truck Components

Employee attitudes in Truck Components (this excludes the ideological employees) were introspective, men concentrated in their analysis of society, work or life upon issues which were close to them.⁽³⁴⁾ They took examples chiefly concerning neighbours, friends and relatives. People who "made it" (advanced in society) were the self employed manual type. A skilled man thought he had "made it" in contrast to non-skilled workers. During the

(34). Runciman argues that,

All societies are inegalitarian. But what is the relation between the equality in society and the feelings of acquiescence or resentment to which they give rise? People's attitudes to social inequalities are seldom correlated strictly with the facts of their own position.

The attitudes of people, their aspirations and grievances are seen as largely depending on the frame of reference within which they were conceived. For example, in a situation of great poverty conservatism may exist. If people have no reason to hope for more than they can achieve they are contented. Yet if a goal of ultimate prosperity is believed possible there could be marked conflict. Deprivation is a relative concept, and is related to the notion of the reference group. The reference group has two functions, it may be that group which the individual compares himself with, or it may be those from whom the individual takes his standards. Individuals are only deprived when they compare themselves to others who have a more suitable position. Employees in Truck Components chose reference groups which were close to their own, and

observation period men were asked to explain the present economic problems of the country, the majority in their explanation chose groups close to theirs. Bill McGraw analysed inflation, and blamed the miners,

Take the miner's strike. This isn't very popular round here, because there's lots of miners about, but the miners brought down the Tory Government by asking for that big rise. The Labour Government gave them it and had to give big rises after that. And thats how we're in the state we're in today.

Boby Park was antagonistic towards those who earned good wages for little effort. Surprisingly he chose the miners as one such group. Others chose similar familiar images.

Education was viewed by the work force as the key to success. Jack Nelson, as a skilled employee, believed that men with a greater intelligence gravitated to the upper classes. Those who did not advance in society did not have the ability to do so. The working class only had themselves to blame for being the lowest rank in society, either they were lazy, or unintelligent. Many were lazy, and this explained the high level of unemployment in the North-East. Others agreed, and emphasised that the North-East was an industrial area where parents encouraged their children to leave school early and enter employment (hence fewer people "got on"). As Ron Kirk outlined, the working class were,

too busy out on the p----- all the time to bother about their children (but it was possible to "make it" if you tried) There's a family next door to us, pretty much the same as us, though further on. They had three children, one was killed in a road accident. The other two though

hence their introspective approach. See W.G. Runciman 'Relative Deprivation and Social Justice', Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

"got on". One's a bio-chemist.

It follows that if the working class are the cause of their own distress, the most derided individual must be the 'doley' (the unemployed man). The myth of the 'doley' is deeply ingrained into working class thought. He (the 'doley') does no work, does not wish to be employed, and spends his unemployment at the public house or gambling. Further, the 'doley' rejects the whole concept of employment and work, hence the severe criticism. (35)

This represents a conservative, introspective ideology (this ideology was not part of the make-up of ideological employees). (36) Thus, it is not surprising that such attitudes should encourage employees to blame themselves and not management for the firm's problems. However, this analysis does not explain why the working class should have an introspective ideology. This relates to the nature of social relations within capitalism. A study of two factories is not enough to answer such a question, but later in this chapter further light will be shed on working class life in capitalism ((v) A Conclusion). But to return to the issue in hand, when an uncertain employment situation within the company placed stress upon the

(35). A similar conclusion was reached by H. Beynon 'Capitalism and the Working Class', unpublished seminar paper given at Durham University. The paper analyses the contradictory nature of working class experience in capitalism. Beynon suggests that employment for the working class is a sacrifice, and those who reject this sacrifice (the 'doley') are severely criticised.

(36). Billy Potter and Denis Priest (ideological employees) were dominated by managerial antagonism, and they did not turn towards work force failings to explain the problems of the company. However, this fact should not be interpreted to assume that the introspective attitude of employees represents more than a necessary cause of the failure of the work force to react to managerial demands for increased effort, or that it was the only cause of the blame which the work force attributed to other employees. Thus, ideological employees also feared unemployment less, and were also more confident of their ability than the passive and less demanding skilled employees. Yet other demanding skilled and manipulative employees who were antagonistic towards management did blame other workers for the firm's position. This finding is difficult to

work force, they therefore, reacted in line with their dominant attitudes and placed the blame upon scapegoats from their own ranks for the poor performance of the company.

(c) Employee Scapegoats

Werbner has argued that in tribal societies there are distinct ritualised rules for fixing responsibility for illness or sorcery.⁽³⁷⁾ A pattern was also apparent in the blame attributed to groups at Truck Components.⁽³⁸⁾ The blame which was allocated by employees was the cause of divisions in the work force. The divisions were as follows:

- (1) The Non-Worker/Workers Split
- (2) The Productive/Non-Productive Split
- (3) The Skilled/Non-Skilled Split
- (4) The 'Dilutee'/Skilled Men Split

The blame which was apportioned to each group was based in a hard nucleus of fact which was expanded and elaborated

explain. It seems that employees might be anti-management within the factory while being ideologically conservative outside it.

(37). R.P. Werbner 'Sin Blame and Ritual Mediation', in M. Gluckman 'The Allocation of Responsibility', Manchester University Press, 1972.

(38). The analysis of this thesis concentrates upon an interpretation of the images employees held of others, and relates this to the allocation of blame by the work force. The meaning of the image is analysed in relation to the social situation within the firm at that time. There is no attempt to present a psychological interpretation of the structure of the various components of the image. This is not considered essential to the purpose of the study. For a general approach to such a psychological interpretation P.B. Warr and C. Knapper 'Perception of People and Events', Cambridge Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, 1968 is a useful work. The authors analyse perception, and place it in its context. They develop a perceptual system, relating the character of the perceiver to the stimulus received, the stored information and the response of the individual. For a general review of the literature specifically on stereotyping N. Couther, I. Robinson and H. Krauss 'Stereotypes: a review of the literature 1926-1968', Journal of Social Psychology 84, pp. 103-125, 1971 is useful.

into a distorting image. Men concerned for the safety of the firm considered any group which might jeopardise this a threat. There are certain similarities between this finding and the work of Frankenberg.⁽³⁹⁾ In particular Frankenberg found that in a football club in a Welsh village which was split by sectional interests, strangers were made responsible for decisions to which blame was attributed. Thus, in Truck Components (with one exception to be outlined later) employees followed a pattern of blaming individuals in another section or group of the work force for the firm's position. These groups were a threat to their interests, and the men blamed, though part of an overall employee group, were differentiated from those individuals apportioning blame. There was in particular an elaborate non-worker image held by many men which caused a division in the work force.

(1) The Non-Worker/Workers Split

Within Truck Components there was a small group of men for whom the link between effort and reward was very tenuous (alienated 'type'). These employees worked slowly or intermittently, and might return home during the work period. Many other workers were on occasion apathetic towards the employment situation at Truck Components (this is to be explained later in this chapter). Further, the work flow was erratic and outside the control of the individual. Employees could be idle against their will. From this core of fact an image of the non-worker was constructed. There was little agreement on who were the non-workers. However, there were two elements to the image, a generalised picture of a group "out there" who

(39). R.J. Frankenberg 'Taking the blame and passing the buck, or the carpet of Agamemnon', in M. Gluckman 'The Allocation of Responsibility', op.cit. Frankenberg suggests that in modern society individuals blame someone who is both within their sub-system (group), and within an over-riding system. In particular he studies five situations, the war time cabinet, the football club, the family firm, a rate fixer on the shop floor and the relationship between a psychiatrist and the law courts. These briefly elaborate his original thesis.

did not work, and the individual non-worker singled out for criticism.

Bob Wrote and John Elite as union representatives, made many sweeping remarks concerning non-workers. Bob Wrote remarked that,

a quarter of the shop are lazy b----s
and three quarters are hard-workers.

John Elite thought that all those who did not work at the required rate should be placed on a job with a 'good' man, who would set the pace for the task. Men classified non-workers by the time they spent in the toilet, and it is at this point that the general image becomes more specific. There was, however, much variation in the actual names mentioned. Men not only named workers from differing occupational groups, but also men they worked with, and even friends. (40) Eddie Burley, a burner, for example criticised his best friend Jackie Step. Jackie he believed, only worked when given a bonus time. Benny Longman, a crane driver remarked concerning a fork lift driver on whom he relied,

If he was down the pit I'd run him.

I'd not be the only one. If he

couldn't do a fair days work then I'd

(40). This is an exception to the rule of responsibility allocation. Men appeared to demand that individuals closest to them share the burden of the uncertain plant situation. They were most critical of such employees when they did not conform to their idea of a 'good' worker. E. Marx 'Some social contexts of personal violence', in M. Gluckman 'The Allocation of Responsibility', *ibid.*, makes a similar point. Marx studied violence in Maalothe, an Israeli township. Two types of cases are outlined by the author. (1) Where attempts were made to coerce persons to yield up their resources by deliberate and controlled use of threats and violence. (2) Also ineffective violent assaults on persons on whom no concrete demands were made. In the second case, constrained by circumstances the individual is in difficulties he cannot resolve. He appeals to others to act on his behalf, picks someone close to him, and then forces him by violence to share the burden. There are marked similarities between Marx's analysis and the situation at Truck Components. The example of Terry Shean (fitter) threatening Eddie Hugh (welder) (see the discussion of non-workers, in the data section (2) The Work Force, section (A)) is a clear case of this type.

say, 'Go find someone else to work with, I'm not carrying you.

Also chargehands were subjected to widespread criticism. In this sense there was a link between 'dilutees' and non-workers. If a man could not perform his job then he must be a 'dilutee'. This fact also made him a non-worker, since this could be related to laziness.

Thus, from a hard core of fact an elaborate image was constructed. Employees blamed non-workers for the firm's problems, and it was suggested that this explained the failure of the company to make profits. Hence, men were divided against each other because the definition of non-workers was very diverse. Men also blamed either productive or non-productive workers for their lack of effort or foolish militancy.

(2) The Productive/Non-Productive Split

Both the productive and non-productive groups were on different rates of payment. Workers on the production line were paid under the bonus scheme, while the non-productive employees were paid at a shop average rate (see (a) The Constraints on Action). Some non-productive men were also more conservative than other workers. Kenny Browning, the changehand in the tool room, was one example, and he was particularly outspoken during the period following the redundancies. From these facts an elaborate image was constructed.

Non-productive workers were said by productive men to have an 'easy' job (this explained their desire to retain their job and their conservatism), this was related to the fact that they did not operate under the bonus scheme. They were also linked openly to non-workers. Benny Longman, a crane driver, was said to be lazy. Kenny Browning, the chargehand, was criticised as a 'dilutee' (which was synonymous with a non-worker). The failings of non-productive men were also utilised to 'explain' why productive employees, despite their efforts to make the firm viable, could not do so. For their part the non-productive employees

considered the productive workers to be militant, constantly concerned with monetary reward, and liable to be drawn into disputes over bonus. This, they believed, often restricted the production of the plant, and made it difficult to earn profits. Thus, here again an image of one group by another was used to apportion blame, and this caused a further division in the work force.

(3) The Skilled/Non-Skilled Split

Divisions between the skilled and non-skilled are a common feature of industrial life. The interests of the two occupational groups can, and do conflict. A skilled man places emphasis upon his ability, his increased job prospects, and the more satisfying job he obtains through his trade. While a non-skilled worker relies upon effort and hard labour. This breeds differences in attitude and outlook. In Truck Components such differences were elaborated to produce an image which was used to apportion blame.

Skilled men believed non-skilled workers could not perform certain jobs within the plant satisfactorily. These tasks might require some element of skilled training, which was lacking among the non-skilled at Truck Components. Ernie Ollaf, a welder, remarked that no one could work the guillotine; material was,

tapered when it should be straight,
and straight when it should be tapered...
A bloke I worked with down the pit
started here as a handyman; the crane
driver left and they asked him to do
it, and so he did.... get these blokes,
they've been lorry drivers, or something
like that and they say they'll have a go,
and they say right you're a centre-lathe
turner. But there's still a certain
skill to it.

This attitude related to the skilled man's emphasis on his ability, and it was this which gave him confidence that he

would obtain further employment.

In contrast, this confidence produced, among the non-skilled, a conviction that skilled men held a carefree attitude to work. Despite the difficult economic climate Tommy Tail, the guillotine operator upheld that,

the welders and fitters up the top end of the shop think to themselves, 'Well, I can always get a job with Forster Down' (a local factory). Whereas we can't get jobs so easy. Of the skilled men I'd say welders are the top dog; in this country anyway, maybe in the world at the moment.

Billy Bone, a non-skilled man, believed that the action of the skilled men was often mere restrictive practice. This he related to their emphasis on being time served, and their resulting lazy attitude,

they (skilled men) stand about for a few years, and they think they've got a right to do that for the rest of their life.... its eaten into British Industry.

Thus, from this and other distortions of fact an elaborate image was constructed. Skilled employees blamed non-skilled inadequacies for the firm's problems, while non-skilled workers claimed that the skilled men, due to their carefree attitude, restrictive practices and laziness had caused the loss situation.

(4) The 'Dilutee'/Skilled Men Split

It is natural for the skilled employee, when the gap between himself and the non-skilled is narrowing, to resent the 'dilutee'. The 'dilutee' is a threat to the livelihood of a skilled man (retraining increases the number of skilled men). Resentment was elaborated in Truck Components into an image. Skilled men blamed 'dilutees' for the position of the company. In Truck Components only seven employees could be identified as 'dilutees'.⁽⁴¹⁾ Yet despite this⁽⁴¹⁾. This was done by comparing work history records, collected on the shop floor during the observation period,

small number relative to the total work force, the 'dilutee' image was strong. It was believed that a 'dilutee' could not match the standards of a skilled man. Their production was sub-standard, and management was forced to place them on easy jobs. Not surprisingly, 'dilutees' kept a low profile in such a situation. This only elaborated the image which had developed. Men related an occasion when a representative from a local Skill Centre uncovered several 'dilutees',

When the Training Centre bloke came round, blokes were hiding behind the screens. One bloke he saw, and he said, 'How you getting on, I'm glad to see you got a job'. The bloke had thought he was the 'bees knees' of Truck Components, and thought he could weld.

Men believed there could be many such 'dilutees', as yet uncovered in the plant.

The result of such an image was that 'dilutees' blamed skilled men for a prejudiced approach to work. The skilled man was believed to be a major obstacle to the progress of the firm. While the skilled man blamed the inadequacies of the 'dilutee' for the firm's losses.⁽⁴²⁾

with managerial records. It is unlikely that either presents a 'true' account, but they agree upon the number of 'dilutees'.

(42). This represents a situation which contradicts other research. K. Hall and I. Miller 'Retraining and Tradition: The Skilled Worker in an Era of Change', George Allen and Unwin, 1975 suggest that the 'dilutee' is accepted without undue antagonism by the skilled worker. They acknowledge, however, that retraining is most successful in an expanding economy, and that in a depressed economy the craftsman might resent the intrusion of skill centre employees. Thus, the job insecurity at Truck Components, allied to secure employee work histories, may be a distorting factor. Nevertheless, A. Flanders 'Trade Unions and the Force of Tradition', University of Southampton, 1969 suggests that employees have an interest in making their skill scarce as a protection against threats to their status and job security. H.H. Clegg, A. Fox and A.F. Thomas 'A History of British Trade Unionism Since 1889', Clarendon Press, 1964 also chronicle the history of trade union resistance to 'dilutees'.

It shall be argued in the following section that this image, and the blame which was related to it, together with other such images and blame, led to a rejection of managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'.

(d) Blame, Rumours and Apathy

In sections (a), (b) and (c) it was argued that employees had a secure work history. This resulted in a shocked reaction to the uncertain employment situation at Truck Components. Therefore, employees made few demands of management, because they wished to retain their job. However, employees also had an introspective ideology, and this caused them to look towards themselves to 'explain' the firm's problems. This resulted in the utilisation of scapegoats to apportion the blame for the firm's losses. The apportioning of this blame, it shall be argued in this section, caused apathy and disillusionment among employees, and resulted in a rejection of managerial demands to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'. This shall be elaborated below.

Having defined the problems of the firm as stemming from groups in the work force, employees were particularly conscious of the actions of these men. When management encouraged employees to work men believed this pointless. Management continually demanded effort, but other groups in the firm never gave support (as the employees saw it). What then was the point in working? Therefore, the result of the apportioning of blame among employees was to create apathy. Such a feeling was most pronounced following a rumour suggesting a redundancy or takeover.⁽⁴³⁾ Dasha

(43). These rumours were the product of a crisis situation; that is, a break in the routine of work (an uncertain fluctuating situation at Truck Components), and men must adjust to a continually changing environment. So long as the environment of the employee remained problematic there was a demand for rumours. These rumours were produced through the collective participation of numerous employees, attempting to define the possible situation. Rumours spread rapidly through the grapevine, being utilised on occasion

Hart (a welder) recounted one particular example,

I spread a rumour one day that Carr-Shaw was coming to close the place. It was the first time he'd been up. Him (Terry Shean) and Eddie (Hugh) were going hellish. But they stopped, just like that. They never did a stroke for the rest of the day. The trouble was the rest of the shop did the same. It got down to Harry Bellows (a burner) and he just stopped.

It was this apathy that Joe Carrington attempted to remove by encouraging men on the shop floor, and by tightening supervision. This was never highly successful, because employees held no faith that the situation might be changed. It had all happened before, and men had never reacted favourably in the past. Only when the final rumour, concerning A.B.C. Engineering, turned out to be fact did work begin in earnest. Men worked harder to disassociate themselves from non-workers, and to prove to the new management that they were a valuable employee. Yet again men were reduced to striving individuals by the situational context. Man vied with man to maintain the work rate. Let us now, as in Power Motors, consider the situational context for employee demands at Truck Components.

by individuals for their own ends (Geordie Jap for example attempted to utilise a rumour to hurt George Woof). This agrees with the work of T. Shibutani who describes a rumour as;

a communicative pattern that develops when men are involved together in a situation in which something out of the ordinary has happened, and pool their intellectual resources in an effort to orientate themselves. They conceive of rumour as a collective enterprise that gets its organisation and direction in the collaboration of a multitude of persons.

See T. Shibutani 'Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumour', Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966.

(iv) The Situational Context

In (e) The Situational Context (in the analysis of Power Motors) it was suggested that the work force demands at that plant related to three major situational areas.

(1) The redundancy threat caused men to strive as individuals to retain their job. (2) Further, the product market decline produced varied management demands of their employees, and attempts to restructure production requirements, which resulted in a discontinuous flow of work. (3) Also the working agreement of the firm regulated the payment of skilled setters and non-skilled operators in such a way that the skilled men could feel the differential was insufficient. This cause of dispute was enlarged by the organisation of the production process, which involved a close connection between operators and setters. Finally the institutionalised separation of employees on to two shifts, with a short changeover period, encouraged the conflict.

Again, within Truck Components, the situational context was important, but on this occasion it 'explains' the lack of demands employees made of their employment. There are three areas here which merit discussion. Firstly, the product market, secondly the organisation of production and thirdly the working agreement. (1) In Truck Components there was a declining product market (as at Power Motors). All employees were unsure of the firm's future (due to their secure work histories), and the particular features of the work force combined with the insecurity relating to the product market decline to produce an apathetic employee reaction, which made relatively few demands of management. (2) The organisation of production is related to the uncertain product market situation. Management organised production upon a continuous flow line. But head office demanded diverse production requirements which could only be met by a destruction of the continuous flow of work. With production requirements being continually restructured, bonus was difficult to obtain. Hence the bonus demands of the ideological, 'instrumental' and

manipulative employees. However, there was no dominant bonus norm maintained by employees implicit in these demands. Employee groups were very diverse, and this seems to be a key variable here, but the organisation of production based upon the group, reinforced differences between employees. (3) The working agreement was also an important element in this situation. In Truck Components skilled/non-skilled differences did not lead to any concerted demands. This may be related to the common bonus scale removing a major source of antagonism. Also the perceived wage differential was greater than at Power Motors. The fact that the non-skilled employees complained most concerning the differential suggests employees believed it favoured the skilled. Further, the organisation of the bonus scheme was lax and this allowed passive employees to satisfy their bonus requirements. The 'agreement' also regulated the mobility clause, which the skilled men found so distasteful, and it stated that redundancy (which was to be organised by 'last in - first out') would not be announced without prior warning. Demanding skilled ('older', 'instrumental' and ideological employees) and manipulative employees were antagonised when they believed management misused these clauses.

However, this analysis (nor the study of Power Motors) has not considered the source of the varying 'types' of worker involvement in their employment. These were important in determining the demands employees made of management (as is the situational context). Such a consideration relates to the study of the work to the workers concept. An important criteria of the pluralist definition of "consensus" is that employer and employee requirements should be compatible. It has been suggested in the analysis of Power Motors that management attempted to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', and that this was met by an aggressive work force reaction. It has been outlined in the analysis of Truck Components that again management attempted to increase the level of effort provided by their employees. It remains to summarise the

work force reaction to this demand. This shall be developed in the first part of section (v). In the second part the demands of the work force will be studied in more detail, and their source outlined (at both Power Motors and Truck Components).. Having tied the treads of this argument together in a concluding summary this study will proceed to draw the main points of this whole thesis together in Chapter 6.

(v) A Conclusion

This final concluding section to the analysis of the work force at Truck Components and Power Motors concentrates upon the source of employee demands. Such a study completes the final link in the chain of the investigation of both factories. Having concluded this analysis the thesis will then attempt to draw all disparate points of this study of "new" manufacturing industry together in Chapter 6. However, before such a task is attempted section (a) will conclude the study of the employees at Truck Components.

(a) Truck Components

This chapter on the work force at Truck Components has outlined differing 'types' of involvement in work, particularly among skilled men. It has suggested that related to this involvement are differing commitments to employment (commitment to the job task and 'work'), and it has been emphasised that in Truck Components only certain demanding skilled employees, and manipulative non-skilled men made substantial demands of management. In so far as these demands were for additional crane drivers, increased bonus returns and reduced mobility they appeared to conflict with managerial requirements of an increase in the level of the 'effort bargain'. Additional employees increased costs, as did improved bonus returns. Reduced mobility would also restrict output.

The above situation has much in common with that at Power Motors. In the study of Power Motors it was emphasised in section (f) A Conclusion, that managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain' appeared to be rejected by a demanding work force. At Truck Components the work force apathy and failure to respond to managerial incentives (related to the secure work history and introspective work attitudes of employees) produced a similar result. Employees appeared to reject managerial demands for an increase in their effort. This poses interesting questions concerning the nature of "new" manufacturing industry. Are all "new" manufacturing firms

a battleground for managerial attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'; their success depending on the response of the work force? Again in Truck Components (as at Power Motors) management once they failed to increase the efforts of their employees removed the source of the problem (as head office management saw it this was the factory itself); in this case a takeover was utilised and not a redundancy. The continual threat of such an event, or even a closure, jeopardised work force demands for a secure job. These and other points will be discussed more fully in the next chapter which relates Truck Components and Power Motors more fully to regional planning, and the concept of work to the workers by filling in the details of "new" manufacturing industry. But first new light may be shed on the relationship between managerial demands to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', and work force requirements by considering more closely the source of work force demands at Power Motors and Truck Components.

(b) The Demands of the Work Force at Truck Components and Power Motors

(1) The Introduction

The situational context at both Power Motors and Truck Components has present the variables which affected employee demands within the factory. In both sections it was suggested that the approach of employees to their work was also important. This section outlines in some detail the source of work force demands in so far as this could be discerned from a study of two factories. Answers shall be attempted to the following questions. Why were there varying types of involvement in work? What was the cause of the diverse work force demands of employment? And what is the relationship between the various employee 'types'? The following Table produces a summary of the possible areas of analysis:

Labour Market Experience

<u>Work Experience</u>	<u>Past Work Experience</u>	<u>The Home</u>
Events, and action at Power Motors and Truck Components	Events, and action in past work history	Parental attitudes and example with reference to job experience
<u>Social Milieu</u>	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Education</u>
Peer groups, the environment of the area, and the social activities undertaken. Social mobility and travel.	Whether the individual is introverted or extroverted, has a long term or short term approach to planning life.	The educational experience of the individual. This may determine, firstly the transfer into employment, and the reactions to it.

The data from Power Motors and Truck Components emphasises diversity in employee demands of work, and also varied 'types' of involvement in employment. In the studies of Power Motors and Truck Components it was also suggested that management appeared to impose their demands on a work force reluctant to meet their requirements. Further, in the diversity of employee approaches to work at both factories 'conventional' values, as defined by management, did not appear to be widely diffused and accepted. Such a suggestion relates to the work of Box.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Using his interpretation there is no reason to assume that employees should make demands of work which are compatible with the demands of management. The extent to which employees do hold 'conventional' 'types' of involvement in work depends upon the influence of those areas of analysis outlined above, but it is by no means to be expected that employees should hold such orientations.

(44). S. Box 'Deviance, Reality and Society', Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971. Box analyses the nature and functions of deviance, and relates this to a critique of the structure and maintenance of society. He argues that previous work on deviance, by searching for a special motivational explanation for delinquency, something which persuades the individual not to be moral, is wrong headed. Box argues that men are born free to break the law and only when special circumstances exist do they refrain from doing so. Society as a whole, and those who have a stake in the continuance of the system cannot afford such diversity. Therefore, they attempt to persuade individuals that they should restrict their activity to certain defined areas. Such an approach may be made to the study of Power Motors and Truck Components.

Using the technique of participant observation in a factory presents problems for a further development of this theme. Data is lacking for example on the influence of the home and the school. Though an authoritative statement is impossible, certain tentative suggestions will be made here concerning the source for the demands of the work force, and finally a conclusion shall relate this analysis to Chapter 6.

(2) An Analysis

The areas of analysis outlined in section (1) are utilised below to investigate the source for work force demands of their employment.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Two basic pieces of analysis are included. (1) The Skilled Employees, and (2) Non-Skilled Employees and a Possible Explanation of Alienation. (3) A Conclusion draws together the main points of the section.

(1) The Skilled Employees

An important variable in an explanation of work attitudes is the work situation, and employee experience in the labour market. This is supported by a study of the skilled employees. In the investigation of Power Motors (45). This analysis by its very nature only scratches the surface. A wealth of material exists in the sociological literature investigating the source of employee orientations to work. Both work and non-work factors are emphasised. Ingham argues that economic rewards are likely to develop in accordance with the type of industrial experience of the worker. See G.K. Ingham 'Size of Industrial Organisation and Worker Behaviour', op.cit. In A. Fox 'A Sociology of Work in Industry', London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971, the author investigates the aspects of work experience, personal ideology, cultural values, family relations and community and work group associations, which all determine "work philosophies". Lockwood has also developed a distinction between three 'types' of worker, and relates differing social consciousness to varying community relationships. See D. Lockwood 'Sources of variation in working class images of society', Sociological Review, 14, pp. 249-267, 1966. Also based on this original article an SSRC conference was held entitled 'Conference: The Occupational Community of the Traditional Worker', SSRC Conference, Durham, 1972 (ed) M. Bulmer, Routledge direct editions, London, 1975. However, the analysis of this thesis concentrates upon the purpose of our investigation, a study of the details of "new" manufacturing industry. The source of work force demands is important here for an assessment of the relationship between managerial and work force demands.

(Chapter 4) it was suggested that the demands of skilled employees were related to the strength of their retrospective orientations, and also their relative status. This represents a combination of past work experience, and present work situation. Such an analysis may be further elaborated with reference to Truck Components. Skilled employees at Truck Components remarked that they had never worked mass producing large identical units in a group on a production line before, and they regarded the work as low skilled. Fitters considered the work to be plating, and outside their range of work. Sheetmetal workers, who had worked plating, regarded the work as fitting. Welders found working on a production line, depending on others, with an erratic work flow, and under pressure to produce, frustrating. Thus, 'older' skilled employees with a high positive involvement in employment worked off the production line. The non-committed skilled employees, who worked on the production line, were less committed to their 'work', and this may be related to the frustrations involved in working on the production line.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Thus, these employees made few demands of management, because they were less committed to their employment (this analysis excludes an explanation of the ideological group, these and other employees who were demanding of management will be investigated later in this study). The committed employees, who were committed to the job task, and worked off the production line also made few demands. This was related to the insecure situation at Truck Components, allied to previous secure employee work histories. But skilled employees who were demanding of management (ideological, 'older' and manipulative 'types') broke free from such constraints, were committed to either 'work', or the job task, and made demands concerning these areas. Firstly

(46). This fails to 'explain' Jimmy Sad, an inspector with a moderately negative level of involvement in 'work', and who while working on the production line, made few demands of management. Also the 'instrumental' workers had a strong 'economistic' 'work' commitment, were moderately positively involved in their employment, and worked on the production line. They shall be explained later in this analysis.

this relates to their home circumstances.⁽⁴⁷⁾ For skilled men where less problematic home circumstances corresponded to one particular aspect of the work situation, low status demands were made. Employees who were demanding of management were of questionable status within the firm.

These employees may be divided into four major work groups, and five individuals. Ernie Ollaf and Jack Gass worked together on ducting (a unit of production), Ernie was a welder and Jack a fitter. Billy Potter (welder), Denis Priest (fitter) and Peter Lars (welder) worked together on the 'H' line (see Figure 2). Bill McGraw, Bobby Braggs (welder) and Terry Addiss worked together on the 'B' line. Eric Millet (fitter) and Dickie Breaks (welder) also worked together, but Mick Wabs, Ian Swam, Fred Wrong, Ray Strabbs (welders) and Tommy Stoop (inspector) did not form part of a work group.

In Truck Components (as in Power Motors), there was an hierarchy in the attitudes of employees towards the skilled trades. Inspectors and maintenance were well respected, their status was accepted both by fellow tradesmen, and non-skilled employees. Fitting was also considered a useful trade. Welders, however, were treated with scorn.

(47). A questionnaire was conducted of employee home circumstances. Two employees who were less demanding of management (conservative employees) had home circumstances which made them particularly susceptible to unemployment. Kenny Browning had three children, and a non-working wife. Ray Cart had two children and a non-working wife. In contrast, employees who made demands of management (ideological, 'older' and 'instrumental' employees) had two types of home commitments. Either their commitments were light, or their commitments were very heavy. In the first case unemployment was not such a severe blow, and in the second men received more substantial social security payments if unemployed. Examples of this trend are:

Fred Wrong (married and wife working), Ernie Ollaf (five children and a non-working wife), Tommy Stoop (married and wife working), Bobby Braggs (married and wife working), Mick Wabs (his father-in-law had offered him alternative employment), Dickie Breaks (married and wife working) and Eric Millet (married and wife working, one child). This analysis can be applied to manipulative employees. Eddie Burley had two children, one of whom was working, and a wife who also worked, Jackie Step and Chass Hutts had one child and a wife who worked, and Harry Bellows was married with two children, but both worked.

Welding was considered a dubious skill. It was suggested that there was a large demand for men with an ability to weld; this demand had outstripped the supply of 'good' welders, and many employees in this trade were of poor quality. Thus, welders possessed little status, and these employees were dominant in all disputes, taking the lead in confrontations with management. Billy Potter was a welder, and he was also a 'dilutee' who resented the questioning of his skilled status. He was the opinion leader on the 'H' line, and he was supported particularly by Denis Priest, who was criticised by others for his work and skills (both Denis and Billy were ideological employees). Ernie Ollaf, a welder, was also the dominant partner in his relationship with Jack Gass. Both were blacksmiths, and were not time served welders or fitters ('older' skilled employees). On the 'B' line Bill McGraw and Bobby Braggs were 'dilutee' welders, and Terry Addiss was a fitter of dubious repute, having had experience of non-skilled work ('instrumental' employees). Dickie Breaks was a 'dilutee' welder, and Eric Millet was a fitter with lengthy experience of non-skilled work ('instrumental' employees). Fred Wrong and Ray Strabbs were also 'dilutee' welders ('instrumental' employees). Tommy Stoop ('older' skilled employee) was an inspector, however, and appears initially to contradict the above analysis. But, he was also a former shop steward, whom the men believed had failed in his work. He needed to restore his old standing. Mick Wabs, Peter Lars and Ian Swam ('instrumental' employees) were all welders who had served their time at the same factory, and their previous firm was of low repute among other skilled employees. Indeed Mick, Peter and Ian had all left this firm due to the conditions of employment provided there. Their status was, therefore, also questioned.

These numerous employees reacted to any questioning of their status by making demands of management, which when met would display a recognition of their skilled position. They also worked harder to prove their ability. The particular demands these employees made depended upon

their past experience. Ernie Ollaf, Jack Gass and Tommy Stoop possessed a long history of skilled employment. They, therefore, took a principled retrospective skilled orientation towards their employment. Billy Potter and Denis Priest related their actions to 'socialist' beliefs. Billy was from a "socilaist family", and remembered their advice. Denis' father had been a "Labour man". Both related their employment experience to their early upbringing (the influence of the home is here important). Terry Addiss, Bill McGraw, Bobby Braggs, Dickie Breaks, Fred Wrong, Ray Strabbs and Eric Millet had an approach to work similar to that of the non-skilled manipulative employees ('instrumental'). This may be related to their experience of non-skilled work. But, Mick Wabs, Peter Lars and Ian Swam are more difficult to explain. However, their previous employment (they all worked together) may be important. (48)

Thus, it may be concluded from this assessment that skilled employees are most demanding of management when their status is questioned (and have certain types of home circumstances). This may account for the positive involvement in employment displayed by these employees. Positive involvement may, however, be destroyed by work on a frustrating job task. However, status is not the only cause of positive job involvement since few committed and conservative employees had questionable status. But in a (48). The analysis of skilled employees who made demands of management, presented in this section, provides an insight into the antagonism felt by such employees for supervision. Stevie Halt and George Woof (two chargehands) received most criticism; Billy Potter for example remarked,

see that lanky crawler (George Woof), he's walking hand and glove with management. When you see the likes of him associate with management, and getting on, you wonder if they know ow't.

Stevie Halt and George Woof were employees of dubious status, and were criticised as 'dilutees'. The antagonism demanding employees expressed towards them related to the status of the chargehands. Similarly Bob Wrote (union convenor) was believed to be a baker by trade, not an inspector (he refused to provide his work history when asked). These three men, despite questionable status had achieved positions of authority (these positions of authority satisfied their demands for status), and this aroused the resentment of other employees with questionable status.

TABLE 27

Alan Padget (setter)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Shipyards, apprenticeship	5 years	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	1 week	-
Engineering company, turner	3 years	Redundant
Engineering company, turner	-	Didn't like manager
Engineering company, turner	2 months	Returned to the North-East
Shipyards, fitter	1 year	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	3 months	-
Electrical company, fitter	6½ years	Redundant

situation where their status is questioned employees make greater demands of management; the specific orientation an employee chooses being based on past experience. The retrospective craftsman orientation is one reaction among several possible attitudes towards employment. This is dominant among older skilled employees, and those with a tradition of skilled experience, but is being broken down by the influx of younger and 'dilutee' workers. This does not, however, provide a unity of purpose among skilled and non-skilled employees, because the interests of the two groups diverge. One emphasising skills and another effort.

(2) Non-Skilled Employees, and a Possible Explanation of Alienation

This section considers the source for the demands of non-skilled employees, but broadens to analyse the problem of alienation among skilled and non-skilled groups. Again this investigation begins by considering the areas of analysis outlined in (1) The Introduction (as in The Skilled Employees). Such a study may present little concrete evidence.

An analysis of non-skilled employees concentrates upon the differences between passive and manipulative men. Work experience, it might be hypothesised, could be an important variable. It might be suggested that the experience of redundancy and unemployment could weaken positive involvement in the job, engendering frustration, and thus explaining firstly the passive, and finally the alienated employees. Conversely employees, such as the manipulative men, could become increasingly demanding as the result of the 'unfair' redundancy experience. The former theory appears to receive support from a study of Alan Padget, a skilled employee at Power Motors. Though a calculative 'type' this man was closest to the alienated worker, and he possessed a history of redundancy and unemployment (see Table 27). No other skilled worker had such a work history in Power Motors, and therefore there was no alienation. Yet, also in Power Motors John Bolt

TABLE 28

John Bolt (non-skilled)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Pop factory	2 years	Not enough money
UNEMPLOYED	14 months	-
Bakery	9 months	Sacked for bad timekeeping
UNEMPLOYED	6 months	-
Brickworks	3 months	Sacked because he was not interested
UNEMPLOYED	2 weeks	-
Iron foundary	4 weeks	-
UNEMPLOYED	-	-

TABLE 29

Joe Forster (fitter)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Period of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
N.C.B., apprentice fitter	5 years	Married and moved house, therefore changed colliery
N.C.B., fitter	5 years	Bored

(non-skilled), an alienated employee, had moved jobs regularly, and redundancy was not a cause (see Table 28). Joe Forster (skilled), an alienated employee at Truck Components, does not fit this analysis (see Table 29). Joe had no experience of redundancy or unemployment. Indeed in neither Power Motors or Truck Components are there any significant internal differences in past work experience between each non-skilled 'type', or between alienated and calculative employees (see Appendix 9 and 10 for a list of employee work histories). There remains the possibility that events at the two factories had caused differing 'types' of involvement in employment. This has been suggested as a cause of conservatism and apathy at Truck Components, but there is no such further evidence. There is no suggestion that the expectations of employees were jeopardised at Power Motors by the employment situation there, and there is as yet no explanation for the higher demands of the manipulative employees (though it has been suggested that these employees at Truck Components feared unemployment less due to their home circumstances). Thus, it is clear that an explanation of employee attitudes to work must look elsewhere.

Another area of analysis which might be important is the social milieu of employees. Differences here could result in differing involvement in employment. However no significant variations could be discerned. Employees had been mobile and travelled outside the region, others were intent on rising through the social class hierarchy. But there was no pattern.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Nor were there any dominant character differences, despite the boisterous "mafia" group at Power Motors.⁽⁵⁰⁾

(49). This does not support the findings of M. Dalton, D. Roy and O. Collins in 'Worker Response and Social Background', Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 55, 1947. The authors relate deviant reactions to incentive payment systems, in particular 'rate busting', to the differing values of workers from rural and urban backgrounds.

(50). Alienated employees had few friendly attachments, but they did appear to retain friendly associations outside the firm. Also one alienated employee Keith Donald (Power

Thus, there remains only two further areas of analysis; the influence of the home and education. Here again evidence is slight. However, during the visit of the Employment Services Agency to Power Motors non-skilled employees voiced ambitions to work outside their particular trade. Such desires stemmed from passive and alienated men only. Alan Wilkinson, a machine operator, hoped to become a librarian, Bob Float, another operator, wished to attend technical college. Other operators also had such 'dreams'. Mick Barnet hoped to attend art college, and Alan Corner wished to enrol on a computer course. But these employees, though their desires were sincerely felt, did not have a serious faith in their ability to implement such 'dreams'. This was a belief supported by the Employment Services Agency. Men were urged to continue in their present field, based upon past experience. A machine operator was best suited to similar work. Men were encouraged by the Employment Services Agency to retrain, but in trades close to their present occupation. Yet non-skilled men despised the skilled group at Power Motors; skilled and non-skilled work being very similar. Mick Valour and Tommy Fetcher agreed to join a retraining course, only because the alternative was unemployment.

It seems, therefore, that passive and alienated employees at Power Motors had frustrated ambitions. This observation gains support from an analysis of Truck Components. The alienated employees at Truck Components were all dissatisfied; they had made past demands of their working life which had been frustrated. Dasha Hart wished to be a dog handler, Brian Lampton an electrician, Joe Forster an academic and George Wilham a chemist. It is possible to suggest that alienated employees lapsed into this state because employment did not satisfy their needs and expectations.

Again in Truck Components the non-committed skilled Motors, operator) lapsed into a deeper state of alienation (surely this was not a character change). His friendly attachments appeared to decline, and no cause for this could be discerned in the situation at Power Motors.

men and the passive non-skilled had 'daydreams'. These employees all held an idealised picture of the 'fiddle' job. The 'fiddle' job was seen as a means of escape from their work at Truck Components. Here there were no pressures to produce, no production line and no supervisors. A man could earn a living quite successfully, simply by his own ingenuity. John Elite, the shop steward, recalled when he had been unemployed for a lengthy period. He had agreed to work as a painter and decorator, helping friends in their home. People then hired him to perform similar tasks. Eventually he made out an order book, obtained a friend to help him, and invited contracts. Ron Kirk, a fitter, knew a man who, to earn extra money while unemployed, had worked in the construction industry. When contracts ran out he began "scrapping" with several bricklayers, and soon owned a lorry, and developed a business. These images did not occur among employees with a higher positive involvement in employment. Such men saw the 'fiddle' job as an alternative to unemployment, but not as a means to escape employment itself. Yet the more negatively involved men did not attempt to implement their 'dreams', because of the risk involved in unemployment. (51)

Having excluded all areas of analysis except the home and education, how do we explain the behaviour outlined above? Alienated employees had frustrated ambitions, and other negatively involved men wished to escape from their present employment. It will be argued in the following paragraphs that these features may be related to differential preparation for employment. Such a suggestion is purely tentative, but it explains the lack of other substantial differences between employee groups. However, it is necessary to rely at this point upon the work of other (51). These 'daydreams' may be related to the work of Chinoy. The author suggests that dissatisfaction with work is linked to a 'dream' of owning a farm. This removed the frustrations of employment by providing a hope of escape. Such dreams at Truck Components appeared to be associated with fewer demands of work, and are linked to a reaction against the production process. See E. Chinoy 'Automobile Workers and the American Dream', op.cit.

authors.

It has been concluded that the home, and in particular the mother, are particularly important in determining the jobs individuals take, and the expectations they have of employment.⁽⁵²⁾ Carter has elaborated upon this discovery suggesting that,

The home is fundamental: its general atmosphere orientates children towards particular levels of employment, and the school-leavers' attitudes towards work are affected by the outlook of other people at home who are employed.⁽⁵³⁾

Other workers have suggested that school is important. Liversidge has argued from a study of two Leicester schools that school influences the expectations of pupils, and that this may affect their future.⁽⁵⁴⁾ At school it is implicitly accepted that certain pupils will enter certain types of employment, depending upon their ability. Pupils are

(52). See for example M. Young and P. Wilmot 'Family and Kinship in East London', London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1957. The authors here discuss the problems of education in the working class community of East London.

(53). See M.P. Carter 'Home, School and Work', Pergamon Press, 1962. The author investigates the various factors affecting the choice of work by school leavers, and also considers the transition from school to work.

(54). W. Liversidge 'Life Chances', in 'Occupational Choice' (ed) W.M. Williams, George Allen and Unwin, 1974. In detail Liversidge argues,

the general picture that emerges from this study is one of startlingly accurate appraisal of life chances by the children, and a shrewd appreciation of the social and economic implications of their placing within the educational system... previous experience may be of great importance in shaping the school-child's expectations of the future, the most potent force operating is undoubtedly the experience through which the child passes during his involvement in that part of the education system to which he has been assigned.

This conclusion is supported by E.T. Keil, C. Riddell, and B.S.R. Green 'Youth and Work: Problems and Perspectives', in 'Occupational Choice' (ed) W.M. Williams, *ibid.* They argue that despite some over-optimism in the precise job possible, the child on leaving school has an overall accurate knowledge of his particular job range.

socialised into accepting these types of jobs. Ashton has argued that,

in the course of their passage through the school, young people acquire different frames of reference that direct them towards different types of occupation, their experience of which reinforces the frame of reference originally acquired at school. (55)

Based upon the evidence presented by Ashton, and the other works listed above it is possible to suggest that employees at Power Motors and Truck Components received differing forms of socialisation at home and school. Passive and alienated employees appeared to be less satisfied with their employment, and less well adapted to it, hence their 'dreams'. It is possible that these men were less satisfactorily socialised into accepting their employment. Manipulative non-skilled employees were more successfully adapted to their work, and hence utilised it to satisfy their own ends. However, this does not 'explain'

(55). D.N. Ashton 'The Transition From School to Work: Notes on the Development of Different Frames of Reference Among Young Male Workers', Sociological Review, Vol. 21, pp. 101-125, 1973. From a sample of workers who left school in 1960-62 Ashton argues that there exist two types of channel through school, one leads to "careerless occupations", and another, through the higher streams of modern schools, and the middle streams of comprehensive school, to the opportunity of a "working class career". The former pupils due to the organisational structure of the school are labeled "dunces" and "layabouts", they conflict with authority, and are considered suitable for semi-skilled labour. They are, therefore, set tasks orientating them to this type of work. With no future through exams they are concerned with the here and now. Other pupils, however, are allocated positions in school of an intermediary nature, and tasks training them for skilled manual work are provided. When they leave school semi-skilled manual work is beneath them since they have achieved within school; managerial posts are beyond them, therefore, they form the skilled manual element, accepting the dominant belief that young men must have a career.

the non-committed employees at Truck Components. The evidence suggests that work at Truck Components had been the cause of their negative involvement. Yet these men also utilised the 'daydream' as an expression of their frustrations. Thus, the same result could be caused by two very different processes. Also differences between skilled and non-skilled employees result not only from school or the home, but from socialisation in employment. 'Instrumental' employees may also owe their orientations to their experience of non-skilled work. Finally the status skilled men acquired at work was suggested to be important in section (1). Therefore, it seems that the source of work force demands and attitudes to work are indeed diverse. No final conclusion will be attempted here, but with reference to the purpose of this section (an elaboration of work force demands, which is useful to our comparison of employee and management requirements) a short conclusion will be outlined.

(3) A Conclusion

In this analysis of the source of work force demands section (a) has drawn to a conclusion the study of Truck Components. Section (b) considered possible sources of employee demands. This summary draws together points implicit in these employee demands.

It was suggested in both factories that management and work force demands appeared to conflict; management attempting to increase the level of the 'effort bargain', and the employees making contradictory demands. Such demands, this study of two firms has suggested, were made dominantly by employees with a high positive level of involvement in employment. A medium positive level of involvement in employment could also result in demands, though this depended on the commitment and ideology of the employee. A task commitment produced relatively limited demands relating to this area only, while 'work' commitment could produce broader demands of a wider area. Employees with a conservative ideology made few demands. Similarly

employees with a negative involvement in employment made less demands, but here again their actions might contradict those of management. This was particularly true of alienated men, who only attended work intermittently, and when present did not respond to managerial attempts to increase their efforts (indeed they did not link effort and reward). Only the moderately negatively involved men made few demands of management (non-committed skilled and passive non-skilled), and also linked effort and reward. These men responded to a limited extent to managerial attempts to increase their effort. It seems ironic that men less well adapted to their work, and less successfully socialised into their employment should be most suitable to managerial requirements.

Further, it was also observed in this study of two firms that in a situation where men need not necessarily make demands consistent with managerial requirements employees were encouraged to deviate from a 'conventional' management required norm. Gains were to be made by 'non-conventional' actions. By breaking such conventions as regular production and attendance, men achieved a lax working situation, and increased social activities outside the plant. Also through 'fiddles' men maintained bonus requirements at a time of intermittent work flow. Employees followed such strategies when they possessed a willingness to be 'unconventional'. This was related to confidence in their ability, and a belief that they would not be reprimanded. However, employees with an uncaring attitude also failed to respond to any management initiatives.

Nevertheless, a 'non-conventional' work strategy could be limited by employee commitment to the firm. Where employees believed 'non-conventional' actions might jeopardise the company they reacted 'conventionally.' A conservative ideology, seeing a unity of purpose between work force and management, would also produce a 'conventional' employee reaction. Beliefs too are important, in particular work ethics. A belief in the sanctity of work and effort aids management attempts to produce a 'conventional'

employee strategy towards employment. Also an acceptance of the inviolability of managerial decisions eases the task of management. Finally, it is also clear that management may be able to manipulate the social situation to ensure that 'unconventional' employee strategies are kept to a minimum (for example insecurity at Truck Components produced few employee demands of management). Socialisation at school and in the home may also encourage particular employee strategies. In this thesis, however, analysis concentrates upon the work place. Let us now (in Chapter 6) make a final assessment of both firms under study, bringing into focus the clashes between management and work force demands. This summary here will then be linked to the question of "pluralism" in regional planning, and the outline of "new" manufacturing employment implicit in the concept of transferring work to the workers.

Chapter 6

REGIONAL POLICY AND CONFLICT IN "NEW"
MANUFACTURING

Regional Policy and Conflict in "New" Manufacturing

Introduction

In Chapter 3 it was suggested, following a study of the policy of transferring work to the workers, that in the context of a dominantly pluralist approach to regional problems and analysis, "new" manufacturing industry was little investigated. It was assumed in regional planning documents that "new" firms would solve the regional employment problem. A simplistic view that all parties in "new" establishments would work together in the atmosphere of a "new" plant to solve the problem of economic imbalance was also implicit in the regional literature. This finding served as a point of reference for a study of two "new" firms, investigating "new" industry in practice. Analysis has been conducted in terms of the demands groups made of their employment, and a benchmark for the expression of these requirements was found in the working agreement. By this means "new" manufacturing industry ceased to be the abstract panacea outlined in policy, and became a factory attempting to satisfy the demands of numerous groups of employees and managers. This study has now been completed, and it remains to outline the major conclusions of the analysis.⁽¹⁾ It is obvious, however, from a casual glance over the pages describing the two case study factories that, despite the assumptions of policy, "new" manufacturing industry is not a simple solution to the regional employment problem.

A continuing theme of this study has been that neither the demands of the work force, nor the requirements of management, were wholly satisfied. In the initial review of the two factories, presented in Chapter 3, it was suggested that management attempted to increase the level

(1). It may be necessary in this outline to restate points already emphasised in previous pages, but where possible the analysis here will depend on conclusions reached earlier in the work.

of the 'effort bargain'. This outline has been elaborated further in (a) The Analysis, of Power Motors and Truck Components. Also it was suggested that in both plants head office management played a key role in determining policy and action. This final chapter attempts to take such a point one step further, and relate the attempted increase in the 'effort bargain' to managerial policy at head office level, and to seek out regional policy conclusions in so doing. Further, analysis will be extended to include a general critique of managerial policy.

Also in the initial review of the two firms (again in Chapter 3) it was suggested that managerial attempts to increase the efforts of their work force resulted in employee antagonism and apathy. In a more detailed study of the work force in Chapters 4 and 5 this antagonism and apathy was investigated more fully. Such a study suggested that, not only were work force demands apparently contrary to management requirements, but there was no reason to assume that employee demands should be 'conventional' at all (by managerial standards). This Chapter will assess carefully the demands expressed by the work force in Chapters 4 and 5, and outline ways in which they contradicted management requirements. It will also be emphasised that the work force position (and the position of a manager in a subsidiary firm) was a weak one, and that power lay in the hands of head office management. Further, it will be suggested that managerial policy, directed by head office, may be the major 'cause' of the problems of the two subsidiary firms. This is far from a basic "consensus" between groups demands (social "pluralism"); also where demands appear contradictory the parties making them should have equal power (the pluralist theory of "balance"). Both assumptions, it will be suggested, are questionable.

The above outline has obvious importance for an assessment of "new" manufacturing industry, and the pluralist assumptions implicit in regional policy and analysis. Further secondary conclusions will also be made. The concept of growth poles will be questioned. Also the quality of employ-

ment provided by the two factories will be examined. The training of employees at both firms will be criticised, and it will be suggested that employment in the factories of this study has 'deskilled' employees. Finally, it will be outlined that there is a need for more critical research into "new" manufacturing industry, and the pluralist explanation of regional problem.

This chapter will proceed as follows:

- (1) Power Motors: an assessment of the Stockland factory is presented.
- (2) Truck Components: an assessment of the Newtown factory is presented.
- (3) A Conclusion: this draws the analysis to a close.

(1) Power Motors

(a) Management Demands in Power Motors

Ted Clasp, the manager, operated throughout the observation period, with a definition of the situation provided by head office. Profitability must be achieved rapidly. Clasp argued that the cause of many problems at Power Motors was the work force. Eventually it was determined by head office that it was not Clasp's handling of the situation, but rather the work force themselves who were to blame. But in dealing with the employees, and the loss situation generally they gave Clasp little leeway, because he was on trial, and possessed little authority. Yet headquarters management demanded results. Clasp, therefore, had no alternative but to dictate policy to his employees; the manager demanded that they increase the level of their effort, and they were coerced into working harder. To Clasp the actions of the work force (in rejecting the improved 'effort bargain') were irrational, and illogical. If they did not respond to managerial initiatives they must be the "scum of the earth". Head office concluded, and Clasp agreed, that the lack of a satisfactory response from employees must result in redundancy. A reduction in the work force presented an opportunity

to rid the factory of the most unfavourable employees. There was no attempt to seek a cause for the mens' conduct.

(b) The Work Force Demands at Power Motors

The work force demands of their employment, in the face of these management requirements, were opposed to any increase in the level of the 'effort bargain'. Employee demands were very diverse, as was emphasised in the definition of work force 'types', but they may be developed as follows:

(i) Skilled Employees

The demands of the skilled employees were twofold; they demanded a full recognition of their status by management, which involved an improved pay differential relative to the non-skilled employees, and also a restoration of their former workloads. Their efforts to achieve a wage increase were crushed by Bill Allison because this conflicted with the managerial requirements of reduced costs. Management, however, acknowledged that the skilled employees were overworked, this produced inefficiency, and their former position was restored following the redundancy.

(ii) Manipulative Employees

The demands of these employees contradicted those of management. Demands for a lax plant, and the freedom to utilise work to their own ends, including as it did absenteeism and late starting, opposed management's desire for efficiency. The managerial 'attack' on the work force represented a tightening of controls on these employees (also included here are alienated men, see (iv)).

(iii) Passive Employees

These employees were defined by management as 'good' workers. Their more restricted demands, their regular attendance and their steady approach to work resulted in management defined efficiency.

(iv) Alienated Employees

Here again work force demands, and management actions

and desires, are in direct conflict. The alienated reaction to work; rejecting the 'effort bargain', and being regularly absent, was incompatible with increasing managerial demands for improved effort.

(v) Conditions of Employment

The demands of most employees for improved conditions of employment also conflicted with managerial requirements for production without frills. There were few non-productive staff, and this made it impossible to maintain the facilities required by the men. Also Clasp either did not apply to head office for equipment and stores, or refused to purchase them himself, in an attempt to keep costs down.

(vi) The Redundancy

It is clear that in case (ii) and (iv), and also to an extent in (i) and (v) that management and work force demands conflicted. Management solved the situation by redundancy. Was there any alternative? In the final analysis the answer must be "no". Certain members of the work force demanded freedom from strict managerial controls. To allow such a lax plant was inefficiency to management. A satisfied group of employees and an efficient firm could not both exist under the prevailing system at Power Motors. However, the actual clash resulting in the redundancy might have been postponed (here we are positing a hypothetical situation) if management had removed their own inefficiencies. If they had altered their own systems of control (see section (c) on A Cause of the Factory Conflict) the freedom of their employees might have been greater. Instead they chose to jeopardise the demands of all employees for a job, by redundancy. It is ironical that the skilled employees should cause the final clash at a time when production was in less demand, because their requirements were most satisfied by management in the post-redundancy reorganisation, though their wage demands were left outstanding.

(c) A Cause of the Factory Conflict

The situation of conflict presented in (a) and (b) may be tentatively related to the actions and systems of control employed by management. They, however, failed to realise this. Two key elements of head office policy in organising Power Motors had been the bonus scheme, and continuous process production. The introduction of these at the plant could not be questioned. This policy continued during the observation period, as Bill Allison, the production manager at Motor West emphasised (see his comments on this under (c) The Bonus Issues, in the Power Motors section (c), The Data, (2) The Work Force). These two elements (bonus scheme and continuous process production) were but one facet of a policy which emphasised production and output, and which cut non-productive staff to a minimum (see (1) Managerial Policy in (c) The Data of the Power Motors section). Tools, general equipment and services were in short supply. Head office did encourage Clasp to demand any equipment he needed, but at the same time he was under firm financial constraints. Clasp was, therefore, forced into undue economies. This was manifest on the shop floor in various inadequacies of supply. One typical example developed as follows. Davey Smith was setting Nicky Dawson's machine. He removed a screw from a cutting tool; Nicky wondered why he did not obtain a new one. Davey explained there were no tools in stock, and remarked,

What do you think this is, an
engineering shop?

This was a common remark, and was related to a general antagonism towards management. But a shortage of services was not the only cause of this antagonism. For a fuller understanding it is necessary to understand the consequences of the bonus system and continuous process production.

The bonus scheme failed to act as an incentive for the work force. This was due to managerial demands as fed from head office. These demands resulted in a series of fits and starts with demands for production being followed by

work shortage. It has been outlined that there were too many employees at Power Motors (see the remarks of Frankie Liner, in the section on (1) Managerial Policy in (c) The Data). These men were employed, at head office instructions, to meet an expected demand for production. Such a demand failed to materialise; men were, therefore, placed on 'waiting time'. This problem was not too severe due to high absenteeism. However, work was also being re-structured to meet changing requirements. In particular the auto section was altered to pinions. This caused disruption. Machines were being reset, and this produced stoppages which held up a whole production line. Further, the flow of work provided by head office was generally uncertain. During the labour mobility dispute, 'rectification' work was designed to meet a production gap. However, the men rejected the work, and excessive 'waiting' time resulted. But it seems unlikely that this rejection was a significant act, because such stoppages were regular. Added to this the actions of the foremen were important. Frankie Liner, the 'B' shift foreman, concentrated upon maintaining a flow of work, while Gordon Wills, on the 'A' shift, emphasised production. The result was greater waiting time on Gordon's shift (Gordon's actions may be understood in terms of the demand for production at Power Motors). But even Frankie could not prevent disruption.

When faced with contradictory demands from management continuous process production broke down. Bonus became difficult to obtain, and absenteeism, and 'fiddles' were encouraged. Antagonism between operators and setters, and the two shifts generally, was sharpened, and finally the bonus scheme failed to act as an incentive.

The work force, however, also saw the incentive scheme as a differential. In ideal conditions the machine operator could earn a return similar to that of a skilled man. This antagonised the skilled men, and allied to management pressure on workloads finally caused their work to rule. Meanwhile, the problems over bonus encouraged the machine operators in their demands for a wage increase. Finally,

TABLE 30

Billy Reid (machine operator)

<u>Job/Firm</u>	<u>Length of Employment</u>	<u>Reason for Leaving</u>
Building firm, apprentice bricklayer	1 year	Poor money
Newsagent, shop assistant	5 months	Poor money
Sales assistant	7 months	-
Trainee displayer	7 months	Poor money
Building firm, scaffolder	2 weeks	Redundant
Engineering firm, machine operator	2 months	-
UNEMPLOYED	1 month	
Labourer	2 months	-
UNEMPLOYED	1 year, 2 months	
Labourer	6 months	-
Labourer	2 months	-
Labourer	2 weeks	Redundant
Labourer	2 months	-
Labourer	1 month	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	1 month	
Training Centre	6 months	To obtain a job
Engineering firm, capstain lathe setter operator	4 months	More money
Engineering firm, capstain lathe setter operator	6 months	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	1 month	
Labourer	1 month	Redundant
UNEMPLOYED	5 months	
Maintenance and security officer	6 months	Sick
Machine operator	2 weeks	To come to Power Motors

open antagonism against management resulted; the telephone dispute being merely one expression. During the skilled work to rule George Simmons, a setter, at last pointed to head office as a cause of the problems in the factory. He approached the manager with,

Its (the dispute) against the way Motor West treat the factory - we appreciate you're (Ted Clasp) under constraints, but we are like poor relations.... if we weren't necessary we wouldn't be here... our standards (quality of output) are higher than they (Leverton management) say. They are keeping us in the dark.

It is ironical, then, that the redundancy at Power Motors can be related to a failure on the part of management, and head office in particular, to understand their employees, and the nature of their grievances. It is paradoxical also that only the work force realised this.

(d) The Local Labour Market of Power Motors

The actions of management and their systems of control are, however, only one cause of the work force demands. The approach to work of the employees themselves was also vital. This section will argue that management policy (in particular hiring policy), and the nature of the employment provided at Power Motors were important in determining the characteristics of the work force at the factory, and this will be related to hiring policy in Stockland, and also to dual labour market theory. Such an analysis suggests that management by their actions, may have caused the demands employees came to make of them. This section and its conclusions must, however, be treated as a hypothesis.

Employees at Power Motors displayed irregular employment records (see for example Table 30 for the record of Billy Reid, a machine operator). Numerous employees changed jobs regularly. Billy Reid explained why he moved. It was,

early on because I wanted money.....
then later I could only get bad jobs.

This was supported by the words of Arthur Dunn, a machine operator,

When you're young you move about a bit... you tend to get all the shit, can't get a good job.... So when you get older you get p---- off easily - get sick because you can't get on.

Men did not wish to remain in a job which was to them unsatisfactory. This was true of all 'types' of employee. However, regular mobility could have serious consequences. There is evidence in the data that certain men were trapped in employment they did not desire (see for example the alienated employees), yet could not escape from their work. To understand this it is important to consider the remarks of Frankie Liner, the foreman. He summed managerial policy towards hiring,

They (employees) come here from the dole - maybe had six jobs in the last year, with a few weeks in between. We don't want to know them. On the other hand we don't want to know those people who've been doing the same job for the past 14 years. They come here and expect everything to be the same.

Frankie advised Ted Clasp, and aided the manager in his attempts to achieve a profit making situation. It may be assumed that his ideas agreed well with Clasp's view. Ted Clasp himself complained that Power Motors could never attract the employees he desired. Assuming that the employment policy at Power Motors was dominant in all management in Stockland town, interesting theoretical implications are suggested. Perhaps the explanation for the inability of employees to escape from their present range of employment lies in the policy of management, because the majority of the work force possessed erratic

work histories. Further, once an employee is made redundant he may begin a downward cycle in job prospects. The 'last in - first out' rule implies that such an employee may be first in line for redundancy again, thus, encouraging a disjointed job history. This development would of course be most common among those employees who changed employment regularly. Further, an employee, because of one lengthy job could, through management policy, be forced downwards in this cycle of insecurity and job change. The remarks of Ted Clasp, and his inability to attract satisfactory employees, implies that such employees were syphoned off into other plants. We have here then a suggestion of two possible labour markets, one able to attract, in managerial terms a 'good' employee, and the other, of which Power Motors was a part, attracting those employees with irregular work histories. Outward job mobility from the secondary labour market would be slight, due to the managerial policy operative (a refusal to accept men with disjointed or very stable work histories), however, downward mobility need not be so.

These theoretical assumptions receive some support from the data collected at Power Motors. Men applied for numerous jobs with various firms, but with little success. The few employees who had been more successful were generally skilled. Yet Dave Ribald, a setter, outlined that there were problems even for a skilled man,

A. Evans (a shipyard). You've got to have had your father working for them before you get a job.

The shipyards generally were regarded as the best employers; men, however, found employment there difficult to obtain. Alan Padget, a setter, had been employed at Cox's yards, but he described events there in the following terms. Men watched the firm's contract order board daily, knowing that this would mean the difference between keeping and losing a job. As men constructed an engine, and the board still showed no further orders a redundancy was expected. However, it was accepted, due to 'last in - first out',

that the redundancy would be selective in effect. Thus, while employment was relatively secure for many, for others it was not so.

This then is symptomatic of a dual labour market, which cuts across both industry, occupations and even firms. Such an analysis may be linked to the work of Norris on Sunderland.⁽²⁾ A questionnaire was administered to all members, aged 15-71 years and not in full time education, of a random sample of households in Sunderland Borough. A follow up was carried out of those characterised by low pay, disability and subemployment. By studying subemployment Norris hoped to analyse recurrent unemployment, countering the trend in official employment analysis which suggests that real unemployment is less than the unemployment totals. Politicians examining unemployment statistics have tended to suggest that a large proportion of those people on the unemployment register are "between jobs" (that is they are on the register for less than one month), and secondly they have emphasised that a significant number of those people on the register for longer than one month are either not genuinely unemployed (that is they are working), or they are not genuinely seeking work (that is they are voluntarily unemployed), or they are virtually unemployable and should be reclassified as such. In contrast Norris argues that the conventional dismissal of the short term unemployed as fictional, that is, "between jobs", and, therefore, not a social problem evades the issue of recurrent unemployment. His analysis proceeds to investigate the different characteristics of subemployed, unemployed and employed individuals. Age, health, training, education and various characteristics of their work histories are held not to be the overriding cause of sub-

(2). G. Norris 'Subemployment in Sunderland,' Part I, 'Subemployment and Labour Market Structure', unpublished report for the Social Science Research Council, 1974. Subemployment, as defined by Norris, includes (i) Those individuals who had been unemployed for four weeks or more in the last 12 months, (ii) those individuals who had been employed part-time because they were unable to find full time work, for eight weeks or more in the past 12 months, and (iii) individuals who had a combination of unemployment and involuntary part-time employment which was the equivalent of four

employment. Norris, therefore, investigated a group at 'risk', that is those men employed or subemployed who left a job in a two year span between 1971 and 1973. In this group redundancy was a key reason for leaving a job, and the relationship between it and other characteristics of the subemployed determined the extent to which these characteristics were displayed.

Norris argues that redundancy predominates among the manual unskilled worker, because of the over representation of certain types of job separations among this group. Though not a new conclusion he relates this to employer behaviour, the labour market structure and the opportunities which are available to an employee. The structure of the labour market is seen in neo-Marxist terms, and a dual labour market is hypothesised.⁽³⁾ The primary sector of a structured labour market contains a set of jobs organised in terms of skills and rewards. Only the lowest levels are filled from outside the organisation. Secondary sector jobs are low skilled, require little training and provide the worker with few skills. The separation of these two markets is strong, though it cannot be seen only in terms of inter-industry and occupational divisions; the markets

weeks unemployment, where two weeks involuntary part-time employment was counted as equal to one weeks unemployment.

(3). Dual labour market theory is not highly developed, but it suggests that the labour market may be divided into two or three sectors, usually merely a primary and secondary sector. Primary sector jobs have relatively high earnings, good working conditions and a high degree of security. Secondary jobs have relatively low earnings, poor conditions and prospects of advancement and a low degree of job security. A useful expose of the theory and other related labour market work is to be found in D.M. Gordon 'Theories of Poverty and Underdevelopment', Lexington, 1972. Bosanquet and Doeringer also argue from an analysis of recruitment, promotion, training facilities and wages, that there exists a dual labour market in Great Britain. The authors suggest that disadvantaged workers in a dual labour market earn less than their more advantaged fellows, and that the gap between the groups may widen with age or labour market experience. See N. Bosanquet and P.B. Doeringer 'Is There a Dual Labour Market in Great Britain', Economic Journal, pp. 421-435, 1973.

cut across both industries and firms. Primary sector employers require workers who not only have the skill qualification to carry out jobs, but also have a long term commitment to the firm. Thus, the primary sector would exclude employees with irregular employment experience.

Norris suggests a dual labour market exists in Sunderland, though this is by no means simple. He hypothesises markets for male manual workers as follows; the skilled, the semi-skilled and the unskilled. This hierarchical grading is he believes related to job security, security being structured in the labour market, there being more redundancy, more jobs, less skill and more unemployment among employees in the secondary sector.

Norris' work may be compared with the data on work experience collected from employees at Power Motors. However, it is not possible to analyse the data in relation to Norris' "one month in the last year" statistic, because employees have usually been employed for this period. But viewing their work histories as a whole, it was possible to single out those employees with recurrent unemployment (see Appendix 9). Section 1 presents those non-skilled with more than one month unemployment during every 12 months work experience, together with those who are likely to have such a characteristic.⁽⁴⁾ These employees had higher levels of redundancy and sackings than average, more irregular employment and short terms of employment with any one employer. Only one skilled employee had such a characteristic history, and he obtained his trade through a skill

(4). Using such a criteria has the disadvantage that one lengthy continuous period of unemployment may provide a misleading average. However, the figures presented in Appendix 9 have been tabulated to include the number of unemployment periods, thus, providing a clearer picture. Throughout the analysis there is little evidence that the systematic differences outlined result from factors such as disability or age. Only three employees had any physical disabilities, and the 'subemployed' (my definition) consisted of employees at every stage of the life cycle. Thus, there appeared to be no difference between the 'sub-employed' and the other employees on the question of age.

centre (see Appendix 9, section 2). Skilled employees generally suffered less redundancy, held jobs longer and were less susceptible to sackings and unemployment (see section 3). There were two exceptions, Billy Taylor and Alan Padget, though neither had unemployment records comparable with the 'subemployed' (my definition). Billy had moved employers regularly, usually to achieve more rewarding employment, especially in terms of monetary return. Alan Padget had been unfortunate and had a strong predominance of redundancy. Billy Taylor in particular had difficulties in obtaining further employment. In his last job application he was informed by the employer that he failed to obtain the post because of his continual job mobility. Alan Padget also realised his work history would meet employer displeasure. These two employees may be seen as workers slipping gradually from the primary to the secondary sectors of the labour market. Indeed apart from the small core of skilled employees the majority of workers had uncertain histories. If employees with a month or more as unemployed in the year prior to employment at Power Motors are included the 'subemployed' (my definition) total widens. The non-skilled employees had generally disjointed work histories, redundancy and sackings representing 40.3% of all reasons for leaving. Only a small minority of these workers appeared to have untypical characteristics. George Almond, Ralph Thomas, Phil Pearson and Derek Harrison are four operators who are unusual in these respects (see section 4).

Thus, this analysis, when taken in conjunction with the work of Norris and the earlier evidence of this section, suggests that the employees attracted by Power Motors were generally typical of those from the secondary sector of a dual labour market. Hence, another major 'cause' of the situation at Power Motors, and the labour force attracted by the firm, may be the labour market structure. A question, however, still remains. Why did Power Motors occupy a position in the secondary sector of a dual labour market? It is possible to suggest that this was related

to the nature of the employment offered at the firm. Firstly, the work was mainly non-skilled, conditions of employment were poor and at the time of observation remuneration was considered low. Secondly, the factory provided insecure employment, both in terms of actual redundancies, and the psychological pressure of uncertainty; any primary sector employee would be encouraged to leave. However, it seems unlikely that the causation would be so simple. It is possible that the employees attracted to Power Motors were the only type available. All "new" firms tending to recruit from a mobile group of employees; Power Motors may have been forced by the labour market structure into the secondary sector.

But the choice of Stockland as the site of Power Motors was a positive management decision, made following careful consideration. Bill Allison outlined the following factors which influenced the choice,

It is difficult to establish the complete factors on the determination of the location since this was carried out by a previous managing director, but several sites were considered..... Stockland was chosen because of the availability of an industrial estate, close to a housing estate, the size of the factory was suitable and expansion was available..... The manufacturing process of our product requires that most productive workers are of a semi-skilled nature who have the ability to, carry out simple loading and unloading of machines, be trained in the use of quality control equipment. With regard to the skilled trades we - (the company) require the use of the normal electrical and mechanical tradesman for maintenance of machine tools plus machine tool setters, which would be available in an area which has skilled machining of an engineering nature.

Thus, this managerial decision, carefully taken (together with the local labour market structure), produced a factory with a labour force typical of that in the secondary sector of a dual labour market. This problem may have been enhanced by the type of firm Power Motors was (dominantly non-skilled employees, etc.); which attracted specifically secondary employees. But it can be concluded that head office decisions may have helped produce the distinctive labour force at the factory. This poses important questions with reference to regional policy, these will be taken up later, but first a conclusion to Truck Components will be considered.

(2) Truck Components

(a) Management Demands in Truck Components

Here again (as at Power Motors) head office played a significant role in determining the policy and requirements of management, by enforcing a restrictive set of demands upon the reluctant managers at Truck Components. This restriction was a means to solve the crisis within the firm, but also later to demote Carrington, the manager. Such a policy created tensions and strains within Truck Components' management, and cliques developed among managers as subsidiary staff fought, either to overthrow head office restriction, or to support the demands of headquarters. The aim of these cliques was to improve the viability of the firm, but their intergroup disputes were tinged with personal animosity. Also, by constantly interfering in the affairs of the subsidiary, headquarters undermined the authority of local management (see (ii) The Crane Driver Problem, (c) The Data, section (2) The Work Force). This created suspicion and ill feeling among shop floor employees.

Further Carrington held no major decision-making power outside a routine supervision of the work force; his control had been removed by head office. His only alternative to preserve his position (when faced by pressure from headquarters' management) was to encourage the work force. In a situation where he needed rapid results, he was forced to resort to coercion, threats and a tightening of managerial controls. Carrington demanded, then, a speedy response from his employees, and an increase in the level of the 'effort bargain'. Thus, he was ever present on the shop floor.

(b) The Work Force Demands at Truck Components

Management demands for an increase in the level of the 'effort bargain' were contradicted, firstly by the requirements of sections of the work force, and secondly by the apathetic reaction of many employees to their employment situation. Carrington, due to his difficult position relative to head office (but also because of their restrictive policy), could neither satisfy employee demands, nor force the men to meet his requirements.

The manager was directly concerned with production, and how to increase the output of the firm. However, he did not have control over the flow of work since this was related to the demands of head office. Nor was he able to influence the major decisions such as redundancy which both antagonised the men, and produced the insecure features of employment displayed in the plant. Carrington's demands for production to pacify head office meant he could not satisfy the requirements for status of the skilled men. This would involve reducing flexibility, and the manager hoped to increase job mobility to improve production. Also at the extreme, skilled demands for status might require Carrington to remove employees with dubious skills from the firm (which was beyond the limits of his control). The demands of employees for regular bonus related to the flow of work, which Carrington could not control. This flow could not always be maintained due to diverse head office requirements, and Carrington was forced to attempt

to 'buy-off' manipulative, 'instrumental' and ideological demands (for increased monetary return) by promises of satisfactory bonus. These promises rarely satisfied the men because they were not always backed up by payment. However, the ideological men and the manager would always be in direct conflict, because these employees questioned the validity of every managerial decision; their action over bonus, being only one expression of this. But in theory Carrington could satisfy employee demands for additional crane drivers, because this would improve the flow of work. However, more staff also increased costs, and head office would not allow this.

Finally, the demands of all employees for a secure job were never met. Carrington was concerned with his own job security rather than that of his employees. Indeed he had no control over the extent to which head office requirements produced a firm with secure employment prospects. Thus, the ruthlessness of head office restriction, when added to the secure work experience of employees, indirectly produced the apathetic employee reaction to Carrington's demands for an increase in effort.

Therefore, increasingly the importance of head office decisions are emphasised by this examination of Truck Components. Eventually head office determined to remove their responsibility for the subsidiary. Was this a correct decision? This question is difficult to answer; but the majority of managerial staff at Truck Components felt it was not, and saw the takeover as another expression of head office inadequacy. Indeed it will be emphasised in the following section that head office policy as a means to achieve profitability had been proved bankrupt. The decision to implement the takeover was merely a means of removing their (head office) own responsibility for the situation.

(c) A Cause of the Factory Conflict

A simplistic explanation for conflict in Truck Components could outline the product market situation (see

Appendix 2, section (4)), and view the conflict within the factory, as a direct result of the deterioration of this market, and managerial attempts to avoid an inevitable closure. The takeover might then be viewed as an adequate solution to a difficult situation. However, it will be argued here that the management reaction to the product market was at fault. A policy of restricting subsidiary managers, and exhortating the work force to produce was bankrupt; this had been proved by the previous failure to achieve profitability.⁽⁵⁾ Head office, though, continued such a policy. Yet overheads, despite attempts to reduce them, remained relatively fixed, and the work force could not produce the output necessary to maintain the plant. Further, no widespread investment, or organisational restructuring was possible (due to tight head office control). And finally improving efficiency and reducing the labour force never appeared likely to solve the problem of a large plant with high fixed overheads.

Thus, management in a crisis simply placed the onus on the work force, and they demanded increased effort. Also they neglected to relate the divided and apathetic nature of their employees to their own actions, in this case the pressure of insecurity. The divisions among the work force fed the ensuing lethargy, and together with the apathy itself were related to the policy of management. Management had encouraged employees before, the men saw little return for their efforts (they believed this was due to groups in the work force), and questioned why they should work now. Carrington, however, could not understand such actions, he believed them incredible in such a crisis situation.

(5). The weekly cumulative totals of production in terms of sales during the attempt to reach the £60,000 target were as follows:

29th August - 5th September	5th September - 13th September	13th September - 21st September
£8,400	£19,700	£34,900

Source: the accounts of Truck Components.

TABLE 31

Edham Rural District*The Rundown in Mining

<u>Colliery</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Black Colliery	2255	2300	2490	2047	1709	
Castle Head Colliery	55	33		8		
Dam Colliery	3809	2375	2596	2348	2311	
Deaf Head Colliery	966	966	580	593		c1967, e 430
Edham Colliery	3199	2759	2886	2752	2447	
Ham Colliery	4425	4048	3880	3172	1975	
Moor Colliery	3332	3032	2880	2303	1506	
Seahead Colliery	2776	1540	1570	1423	1035	
South Hope Colliery	1395	1119	1245	953	609	
Baldwin Colliery	2050	1837	1830	1128	783	c1972, e 780, r 435
Thorn Colliery	1 473 2 1186	473 1186	} 1380	1340		c1970, e 879, r 269
Vane Hill Colliery	393	1460			1626	
West Camp Colliery	1 833 2 980	833 980	} 1030	849		c1968, e 493, r 151
South Grange Colliery	1412	1412			675	c1962, e 583, r 300
	26539	26353	25097	21272	14001	

c - closure
e - employment
r - redundancies

* The district in which Newtown was situated

Source: W. Douding, Research Officer, Durham Miners Association, Durham City.
Unpublished data, using the returns on colliery maintenance and the colliery year book.

TABLE 32

Fig. 13.1 Newtown's Industrial Development in 1969

Firm by Product/Activity	Approx. year of establishment in Newtown	Employment as at 30.9.69.		Notes
		Male	Female Total	
Wool Spinners	1955	295	170	465
Clothing	1956	86	490	576
Wood Wool	1959	-	-	Liquidated 1962
Potato Crisps	1960	309	392	701
Ladies Belts	1963	6	39	45
Men's Shirts	1964	20	398	418
Fire Surrounds	1964	30	9	39
Industrialised Building	1964	30	2	32
Zip fasteners	1964	36	107	143
Wallpaper	1964	109	31	140
Cabinet Making	1964	11	-	11
Cabinet Making	1964	25	2	27
Butane Gas Distribution	1964	11	3	14
Car Components	1965	16	52	68
Lingerie	1966	61	392	453
Scientific Glassware	1966	15	-	15
Light Engineering	1967	25	2	27
Knitted Fabrics	1967	64	11	75
Wire Ropes	1968	23	2	25
Coil Winding	1969	4	33	37
Small Meats	1969	5	7	12
Synthetic Resins	1969	20	4	24
Machinery-optical equipment	1969	15	5	20
Upholstery	1969	N/A	N/A	Closed
TOTALS		1,216	2,151	3,366

The source of employment figures was a review produced by Newtown Development Corporation, these figures are as at 30.9.69.

(d) The Local Labour Market of Truck Components

As The Constraints on Action (section (a) in Truck Components, Chapter 5) suggested the work force at Truck Components were very distinctive; they possessed work history records which were dominantly secure, with few periods of unemployment, and few jobs. This was related in (d) The Analysis to the shock such employees experienced when faced with an uncertain employment situation at Truck Components. Also since employees were proud of their skilled record, those men with suspect skilled work histories or status, were criticised. Thus, these suspect employees made demands of management to ensure their skilled position was recognised.

Here again (as in Power Motors) this distinctive work force may be the result in part of a specific set of management policies. This may be understood by a consideration of the wider scene of Newtown. The new town was initially constructed to provide good homes for an expanding mining population, but with an influx of "new" manufacturing industry, the centre was seen as providing a new balance of employment as mining declined (see Table 31 for the extent of this decline). However, industrial growth was slow, and by the end of the 1950's the only major firms in the town employed women. Attempts to alter this situation failed, and by 1969 the position remained substantially unchanged (see Table 32). As Table 32 suggests there was a shortfall in male employment, particularly in the engineering industry. The prospect of a "new" plant owned by the Vulcan Trucking Company seemed to offer an improvement in this situation. The firm provided male engineering employment, mostly skilled labour; and it had extensive plans for expansion. Hence, the "new" firm received preferential treatment; a custom built factory, with all necessary facilities, a two year rent free period, and a prime corner site on an industrial estate. Truck Components was the showpiece of the corporation, a sign of the town's success, and a hope for the future. Bill Silver, the personnel manager at Truck Components, received numerous firms interested in Newtown

factory sites, and he advised them on how Truck Components had developed. Publicity surrounding the company expanded this image. A local paper announced in May 1972 that Truck Components were,

starting with possibly 100⁺ employees in the first year, rising to 600 plus in the first development phase, up to 1,500 jobs could eventually be created if the company takes up an option on adjoining land.

This was an image encouraged by the company. The general manager announced a glowing picture to the Development Corporation. The minutes of the meeting record,

The general manager reported that contracts for the construction of a factory for the Vulcan Trucking Group, had now been arranged for the initial factory of approximately 250,000 square feet, and the deed of option in respect of an area capable of expansion of 500,000 square feet of further development.... In the initial development the company estimated that the employment potential would be 750, first year 100 rising to 200 in the second year, 350 in the third year and thereafter to 750.⁽⁶⁾

This image, the fine conditions of employment, the good rates of remuneration, the dominant position of the firm in the labour market and a careful hiring policy enabled Truck Components to attract a labour force which was very distinctive (Appendix 10 presents a record of employee work histories). Most significant is the regular appearance of work histories (as compared to Power Motors). The length of job is greater and the occurrence of redundancy, unemployment and sackings are fewer than at Power

(6). Minute number 364, May 1972, Newtown Development Corporation records.

Motors. This is not confined to the skilled labour force, indeed the stability is most marked among non-skilled employees. Only seven employees fall into the 'subemployed' (my definition) category, and of these six are skilled. Two of the six are special cases. One took three years unemployment to utilise extensive redundancy payments, and another had an early period of unemployment when searching for an apprenticeship. Other 'subemployed' men worked in the Stockland area. The stability of the non-skilled work force suggests in part a predominance of former miners, but it also points to the fact that Truck Components was able to attract workers typical of the primary sector of a labour market; men who desired advancement and possessed a long history of stable employment.⁽⁷⁾

Despite attracting these employees Truck Components failed to develop as expected. Management were surprised by market developments, and gradually introduced restrictive policies. Employment totals rarely exceeded 160, and a key feature of the factory was insecurity of employment. Men were also made redundant, and some were re-employed. Truck Components then, was essentially more akin to a firm in a secondary sector of the labour market. Hence, the shock of the work force when faced with uncertain employment prospects.

Thus, yet again (as in Power Motors) it appears that the local labour market structure, allied to a specific policy of management, may have been important in determining the work force obtained at Truck Components, and then in turn the demands made by these employees. This point will be taken further, along with others, in the following conclusion.

(7). There is a possible hint here too that instability of employment may be a feature of engineering. The non-skilled employees had less experience of this work, hence their stable employment. Further, the skilled group did have more irregular work histories when their work experience was solely in the engineering trades. However, whether this was a feature of the engineers' ability to move at will, or the unsatisfactory nature of engineering employment is difficult to say. Perhaps also we are noting differences between the Newtown and Stockland areas.

(3) A Conclusion

Introduction

This summary attempts to draw the various strands of the research together, and to make a comment upon the dominantly pluralist view of "new" manufacturing industry presented in regional planning documents (see Chapter 3). In contrast to the simplistic analysis of "new" manufacturing, presented by the official and unofficial regional planning sources, this work has viewed in detail the various interests which groups have in "new" industry, and the demands they make of their employment. Sections (1) and (2) of this chapter suggested that management at head office may have 'caused' the conflict which was observed within the two firms studied here. This conclusion will be further elaborated in the following section. Analysis also broadens to consider other points, implicit in earlier areas of this study. But first the problems inherent in this final conclusion will be considered.

A Problem of Analysis

In this final summary there exists a research problem which makes careful analysis difficult. There were numerous important variables operating within the two factories studied. It remains, even at this stage of the investigation, very difficult to distinguish clearly the consequences of each. For example, in the two firms what are the consequences of "newness", and what the effects of "branchness"? Of what importance is the bonus scheme and the production process, which could operate anywhere? Also, what might a study expect to find in any firm in an area of high unemployment? The analysis conducted here cannot control for all these variables. This creates a very confused cause-effect relationship. Despite these problems certain themes will be outlined in this final summary. But it must be emphasised that many points remain hypothesis to be tested, and conclusions from the research must be tentative and hedged about by uncertainties.

While accepting this premise an attempt to clarify the investigation which follows this section will be made. A brief appraisal of failures in managerial organisation and planning, and industrial institutions will be presented. These are failures which could occur in any organisation. Such an outline will simplify the following summary.

In both firms managerial policy was characterised by ruthlessness and failure. The work force was defined as the 'cause' of the loss situation, to the exclusion of other factors, and this policy, once employees did not respond to management demands, encouraged a redundancy, a takeover or a closure. Also in Truck Components the attitude of headquarters management towards Carrington did not help the viability of the company, nor improve relations with subsidiary managers. Further, managers (at Truck Components) appeared more concerned with internal rivalry than saving the firm. And finally, within Power Motors, there was a lack of forward planning by head office. The redundancy followed demands for production, simply because Bill Allison had neglected to consider the long term implications of the Power Motors situation earlier. Another failure was that of the 'procedure' for negotiating disputes. The diverse demands of employees could not always be met through the 'procedure' mechanism. This was particularly true at Power Motors where not only did disputes by-pass the official trade union representative, but also many demands could not be met using a 10 day 'cooling off' period.⁽⁸⁾

(8). Such an analysis is supported by the work of H.A. Turner, G. Clark and G. Roberts 'Labour Relations in the Motor Industry', George Allen and Unwin, 1967. The authors in discussing strikes in the motor industry conclude that these events,

express human expectations and aspirations which arise naturally in the contemporary social and economic context, and to which there has been a failure of organisations - trade unions, employers' associations and management structures - to accommodate themselves. Fundamentally, we conclude, the recent strike-proneness of the British car industry (and we see no reason to think this conclusion is not more generally valid) reflects a failure of institutions.

These few points are not the only extraneous variables affecting the conclusion of this thesis. The decline in the product market of each firm was also significant (this has been discussed at length earlier). Also several of the work force characteristics at both factories may be common to older established firms in particular areas of North-Eastern England. However, it may be argued that these criticisms do not fundamentally alter the relationships posited in the following sections. Prudence, though, must encourage care in any generalisation.

Demands in "New" Manufacturing Industry: An Appraisal

It was suggested in section (1) and (2) of this chapter that the demands employees made of their employment conflicted with the requirements of management, in that under the operating circumstances management must act against their employees to achieve their aim of profitability. Such a conclusion relates to the assessment of "new" industry by Luttrell, outlined in Chapter 3.⁽⁹⁾ During a four year loss period it is possible that management in all "new" firms would attempt to obtain viability by increasing the efforts of their employees. In our two case studies this tendency would merely be intensified by a decline in the product market.

During the presentation of the source of work force demands it was suggested that employees need not possess 'conventional' attitudes towards work (as defined by management). This may be an observation which has importance

(9). W.F. Luttrell 'Factory Location and Industrial Movement, op.cit. Luttrell suggests that "new" firms may take four years to achieve profitability. Thus, an increase in the 'effort bargain' may be a feature of "new" firms; as management attempt to achieve viability. This study suggests that to aid their attempts to achieve profitability management also formed cliques which protected and developed their own interests. In "new" firms where management attempt to improve the 'effort bargain', and there is uncertainty associated with "newness", these groups may be encouraged as a means of coping with an unstable fluctuating situation.

for all industry, but it is particularly significant in "new" manufacturing establishments where management demand an increase in effort. In the firms studied skilled employees were determined to protect their status (a feature of all skilled employees?), and non-skilled men were concerned to maintain a particular level of effort and monetary reward in their employment (a feature of all non-skilled employees?). Both demands conflicted with managerial requirements. Apathy at Truck Components compounded this situation, making it even more difficult for management to improve the level of the 'effort bargain'. Further, work force requirements of a lax plant were to management mere inefficiency.

Thus, within the context of our study it is possible to suggest that "new" manufacturing firms are characterised by conflict and divergent group aims. This conclusion differs markedly from the ideal pluralist view of all parties united by an underlying "consensus". In retrospect it is difficult to understand how both "new" factories operated at their observed levels considering the absenteeism, late attendance, managerial mistakes and apathy. Do regional subsidies, then, finance inefficient firms?

The Branch Factory

It has been suggested in section (1) and (2) of this chapter that head office policy was a key explanatory variable, and that it appeared that headquarters management may have 'caused', through their strict control of events, a coercive, punishment centred approach to management. This analysis is supported by the work of Gouldner.⁽¹⁰⁾ Gouldner studied an American gypsum firm, and he analyses the introduction of a new manager, whose task was to restore managerial control over a lax plant. Headquarters management demanded increased production to meet market demands. The manager, finding it impossible to meet these demands initiated a reorganisation. Both the work force

(10). A. Gouldner 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy', and 'Wildcat Strike', op.cit.

and local management resisted, there was a strike, and the manager was demoted. These developments within the factory were seen by Gouldner as a result of head office initiatives when faced with a particular market situation.

Further corroboratory evidence is provided by Guest, who has studied a plant which was transformed from a company beset by difficulty and riddled with hostility, to a thriving concern; following the introduction of a new manager.⁽¹¹⁾ In studying this transformation Guest was concerned with possible organisational change, and attempted to outline a generalised theory of management. This does not concern us here in detail, but it is significant that a change in head office policy culminated in decreasing pressure upon the subsidiary manager. This allowed an increase in managerial leeway which produced changes in the plant. Guest suggests that the previous interference of head office prevented the manager from performing the dual role of managerial authority; representing head office to his employees, and also representing the employees of the subsidiary in meetings with headquarters management.

The results of both studies may be applied successfully to our work here. Managerial room for manoeuvre was slight within both subsidiaries (as in Guest). The subsidiary managers were also under pressure to achieve rapid results, and head office forced them into a certain line of action (as in Gouldner). This produced a coercive style of management which was linked to insecure employment conditions, and desperate attempts to increase the level of the 'effort bargain'; because head office demands were unsatisfied.⁽¹²⁾ Does this shed doubt upon the viability (11). R.H. Guest 'Organisational Change', op.cit.

(12). This relates to the work of T.T. Paterson 'Glasgow Limited', op.cit. Paterson deals with another succession problem, when a new manager achieves industrial peace in a strife torn plant. Here Anderson, the manager, notes the difference between dictating to the work force, and using authority the work force accepts. At Power Motors in particular the work force did not accept managerial authority as legitimate. Thus, it may be suggested that coercion of employees may not be a successful management tactic.

of a branch factory under strict head office control? However, such a simple conclusion is not possible. "Branchness" is not only a feature of "new" manufacturing plants in a development area. But it may be hypothesised that in "new" branches the problem of strict head office control might be exacerbated. A "new" firm would almost certainly run at a loss; this would encourage head office control in an attempt to improve the 'effort bargain'. Also a "new" firm would be small; certainly in the early stages of its development. Head office might resist the temptation to set up a duplicatory organisation. As such a firm expanded this earlier control might be perpetuated. Size of organisation in "new" firms has been linked by Luttrell to managerial structure.⁽¹³⁾ A careful study is needed of the number of branches attracted as "new" industry in North-Eastern England, in particular their size and degree

(13). Here again the work of W.F. Luttrell 'Factory Location and Industrial Movement', op.cit., is very important. Luttrell investigates a great variety of managerial situations. Though he suggests that size is not an important locating factor he emphasises that it is an important variable in any justification for independent management. He outlines five major categories of factory. Organisational type 'A', the subsidiary branch, which kept maintenance and services to a minimum, being 'fed' materials from head office. This was of necessity small and simple, and usually located quite near to its parent. Type 'B', the intermediate semi-independent branch, had some managerial facilities, though it was never independent. There was also some complete manufacture, which was unknown in 'A'. The actual plant was near enough for a ready visit. Type 'C', the self contained and virtually independent branch, had a full managerial organisation, and was designed to be large enough to carry these overheads. It also carried out the complete process of production and could be located anywhere. Type 'D', the main production factory, developed from 'C' where the independent branch became the main manufacturer in the group. A type 'E' was less common, and located adjacent to a market area.

Power Motors appears to be closest to type 'A', yet the firm was located at some distance from the parent factory. Attempting to enforce strict head office control might, therefore, be a difficult operation; did this cause planning and production problems? Truck Components was designed as type 'C', but failed to achieve this position. Head office attempted to enforce an 'A' style control over a managerial structure and factory size designed for 'C'. Does this 'explain' the cliques, and the failure due to excessive overheads?

of independence.

The Pluralist Theory of "Balance" in "New" Manufacturing Establishments

It has been suggested in previous sections of Chapter 6 that in "new" manufacturing establishments the demands of certain groups conflict. This sheds doubt upon the value of the pluralist view of "consensus". In this section the concept of "balance" between interest groups will be assessed. It will be suggested that real power lies dominantly in the hands of head office management, and that in contrast the employees, while accepting this situation, were weak and divided. In this context a study of the interests served by the transfer of "new" manufacturing establishments will be made, and finally the meaning of the "unitary" appeals of management will be outlined.

Power in "New" Manufacturing Establishments

In sections (1) and (2) of this chapter it was suggested that, firstly, employee demands might be related to management systems of control, and secondly that an important variable in determining the characteristics of the employees attracted to the firm (and hence their demands) might be managerial policy. Both were implemented by head office. Head office policies were also viewed as a key explanatory variable in both factories. This suggests that in a situation where conflicting demands were made by various groups in "new" manufacturing industry, head office were a dominant force and more able to implement their requirements. Where necessary decisions were made (by head office) without consultation with subsidiary representatives (the takeover and stocktake at Truck Components). And if dissatisfied head office could impose their will upon the branch factory employees (redundancies at both firms). Management at Vulcan Trucks were even able to ignore the working agreement, and its pronouncements on redundancy (as the men saw it). And, indeed finally capital is flexible (as suggested by the takeover at

Truck Components); head office could always close the firm.

The Work Force in "New" Manufacturing Establishments

To combat the actions of management, and to implement their demands, the work force requires unity of purpose and action. At both factories this depended upon the following variables:

(a) The Work Force

These are factors common to all the working class. They may be divided into factory and non-factory variables.

(i) Within the Factory

Divisive Factors

(1) The skill level of employees and their relationship to the production process. This is related to status.

(2) The occupation of employees, and their past work experience.

(3) Ability, and the attitude towards work of the individual employee.

Solidaristic Factors

(1) Common past work experience, for example the dominance of manual work, or the predominance of a subordinate position; subject to the demands of management.

(2) A common relationship to the production process.

(ii) External Influences

Divisive Factors

(1) Status, the position of the individual in society, and his related role.

(2) Age and position in the family life cycle.

(3) The school and the home.

Solidaristic Factors

(1) Place of residence, the neighbourhood and common local experience.

(2) Culture, the regional identity, and north versus

south antagonism. The latter being associated often with hostility for the middle class.

(3) The school and the home.

(b) The Management

Operating upon the above were factors relating to managerial power and controls:-

- (1) Insecure employment
- (2) The payment system
- (3) The shift system
- (4) The flow of work
- (5) The negotiation procedure
- (6) The product market situation as interpreted by management

The combination of all these various factors determined the relationships between employees in the work force. In particular, during the observation period, the employees were divided against each other. This related to their diverse requirements of employment, their divergent orientations towards work and the situational context within the firm (as produced by management). Differences were apparent between the various skill categories, the numerous work groupings, the major leadership groups and among various cliques based upon work attitudes.

Further the evidence suggests that though some employees were demanding of management these requirements were usually institutionalised into trade union economism.⁽¹⁴⁾ In both case studies the work force were concerned with their market bargaining power, and not with the control of the factory. Employees demanded a minimal control, for example the ability to regulate earnings. But only

(14). Perhaps the most important assessment of this situation is A. Giddens 'The Class Structure of Advanced Societies', Hutchinson, 1973. The author, avoiding the constraints of a rigorous Marxist approach, suggests that "revolutionary consciousness" results from important "post feudal" elements within the capitalist structure, and that a "conflict consciousness" (trade union economism is one element in this) is the normal employee reaction in capitalist society.

in the telephone dispute at Power Motors did they reach beyond this to demand freedom from managerial controls. Even here, however, the violence of the dispute related to antagonism for Clasp the manager. Also, an analysis of Truck Components suggests that many employees were ideologically conservative. There was no basis for radical action seeking control of the plant. Men were dominantly introspective, observing the faults of fellow workers, not management inadequacies. This encouraged divisions on the basis of the interest groups within the work force. Thus, it may be suggested that in "new" manufacturing plants only marginal issues are being resolved. Pressures mount from below, yet privilege is essentially accepted on the shop floor.⁽¹⁵⁾ Employees have been socialised by a multitude of influences. As C. Wright Mills suggests,

The goals for which interests struggle are not merely given: they reflect the current state of expectation and acceptance. Accordingly, to say that various interests are "balanced" is generally to evaluate the status quo as satisfactory or even good; the hopeful ideal of balance often masquerades as a description of fact.⁽¹⁶⁾

(15). It may be argued that this situation is common to all industry. Within industry various interest groups have differential access to power and authority; a situation which is re-enforced by the systems of reward and status. The whole structure being perpetuated through an acceptance by all groups of the status quo. Fox suggests this in his critique of pluralist ideology; see A. Fox 'Industrial Relations: A Social Critique of Pluralist Ideology', in J. Child (ed) 'Man and Organisation', op.cit. Nevertheless, it may also be argued that an imbalance is particularly a feature of "new" branch firms. A "new" firm by its very nature breeds uncertainty, because a "new" organisation is being constructed from scratch. In such a situation employees are less inclined to make demands of management. Further, in a branch with a distant head office employees find it particularly difficult to make any demands felt. Psychologically it may also be difficult for a branch manager to deal with representatives from a large all powerful organisation. In contrast a branch firm is expendable to head office, and managers may dictate to subordinates at a distance; while maintaining a strict control.

(16). C. Wright Mills 'The Power Elite', op.cit.

An Assessment of the Effects of "New" Manufacturing Industry

In the context of the unequal conflict outlined above it is possible to consider regional planning once more. Which groups gain most from the transferring of work to the workers? It has been suggested that Power Motors might be part of the secondary sector of a dual labour market in which employees were trapped. Further, it was hypothesised that Truck Components served to provide a downward channel for primary sector labour. In such a situation an employee may terminate his employment, but this does not solve the problem. Yet an employer (head office) who receives the subsidies, may attempt more successfully to control the work force and satisfy his own demands (using his power).⁽¹⁷⁾ In particular he may use his employee resources to satisfy a demand for production and profit.

The quality of employment provided by regional planning also becomes increasingly poignant when considered in terms

(17). N. Bosanquet and P.B. Doeringer 'Is There a Dual Labour Market in Great Britain', op.cit., suggest that management have the power to choose the labour market position their firm occupies,

From the firm's decisions about wage levels follow certain consequences about the quality of labour attracted and about turnover. In a sense, the dual labour market hypothesis is based on an extension of this approach. Production, market and technological conditions within an industry will give a certain bias to choice, but firms still have latitude to choose a "high" or "low" strategy with respect to a whole set of employment and training conditions.

If this is so management may be able to determine the labour they obtain in their factory, and, hence, the industrial problems these employees produce. This analysis is supported by some evidence in sections (1) and (2) of this chapter. But, as was emphasised in these sections, such a conclusion must remain a tentative hypothesis. For example, the analysis of Power Motors must accept the probability that in an area of industrial change and decline like Stockland it is possible that few satisfactory employees (in management terms) could be attracted by any hiring policy. Perhaps also "new" firms must recruit from the secondary sector, because they are new to the area, and attract mobile employees.

of the interests and demands of groups in "new" manufacturing establishments. Power Motors, through managerial policy, provided unacceptable conditions of employment (as seen by employees). Insecure employment was a key at Truck Components, and management action encouraged this. In both case studies training grants were utilised by the firms (phased out under the 1973 Employment and Training Act). But Power Motors had no training scheme, and the official training period did not operate. Truck Components, while receiving a similar grant, effectively "deskilled" employees (by placing skilled men on production line work). Further, the negative levels of involvement of some employees in work suggest that the firms failed to satisfy employee demands. This of course relates to the surrounding labour market, and the net of social relations outside the plant. But despite this acceptance it may be suggested that employees in the two "new" manufacturing establishments studied were not satisfied in six major areas of their employment:

- (1) Security of employment
- (2) Continuity and level of earnings
- (3) Quality of employment conditions
- (4) Job satisfaction and involvement
- (5) Access to control over power relationships (in a limited sense only)
- (6) In terms of the demands for a lax plant and a recognition of status

However, it is difficult to imagine how certain demands, in particular those of alienated employees, could be met and yet still produce an effective form of industrial production. Also it must be accepted that at Truck Components the lack of employee demands relates in part to a desire to retain the quality of employment conditions provided at the plant (which men demanded). But no employee studied here met the managerial apotheosis of the satisfactory worker, and this bodes ill for efficiency under present forms of production. Even passive employees could be criticised for insufficient production. An

amalgam including both the aggressive production of the manipulative 'type', and the steady undemanding characteristics of the passive men seems closest to the managerial ideal for non-skilled workers, while the individual committed to his job, with secure status and a conservative ideology is closest to the managerial ideal skilled employee.

"New" Manufacturing Industry and the "Unitary" Appeals of Management

Thus, to conclude this section it may be suggested that a study of two "new" firms outlines three basic flaws in the pluralist view of "balance" between competing interests. Firstly, it has been suggested that power in "new" manufacturing establishments lies with head office management. They are more able, in a situation of conflicting interests, to obtain their ends. The employees were in contrast neither unified nor demanding. This imbalance may be perpetuated by the transfer of work to the workers, and head office using their control are more likely to utilise the firm to serve their interests.⁽¹⁸⁾

Such an assessment allows us now to clearly understand the importance of the "unitary" appeals of management. In a situation where "pluralism" does not fit perfectly with reality, and a "low trust" situation breaks into conflict, individuals attempt to inspire compliance from others by appeals for a unity of purpose. During the observation period management at both plants made such appeals as attempts to coerce the work force increased.⁽¹⁹⁾ However,

(18). This examination excludes an assessment of the plight of the subsidiary plant managers. Clasp and Carrington did not hold an enviable position. Deprived of real control of their destiny, they were held responsible for the problems of the firm. In retrospect their position was analogous to that of their employees.

(19). One such example of a "unitary" appeal is the speech of Carr-Shaw to employees following the takeover at Truck Components. Here the chairman specifically related events to the local area,

We've (Truck Components) been in a difficult situation, we have cut our

in a subsidiary firm the "low"trust" situation, with head office at a distance, makes managerial decisions appear arbitrary. In our case studies this was enhanced by coercion, and the resulting antagonism made "unitary" appeals appear fallacious.

A Summary

The assessment of "new" manufacturing employment in this chapter makes it impossible to view the policy of transferring work to the workers as an easy solution to the regional unemployment problem. It is clear that the conceptualisation of "new" manufacturing establishments in policy documents is over simple. This study has gone a small way towards redressing this failing, through a detailed assessment of two "new" firms. Three major conclusions have been reached. (1) It has been suggested that the pluralist concept of "consensus" does not account for the conflict in "new" establishments over the 'effort bargain', and that "new" firms do not appear to provide an atmosphere in which all parties work together to solve the regional employment problem. (2) Also it has been emphasised that a "balance" of power does not describe successfully the situation in the two firms studied. Head office management may control subsidiary plants. (3) Finally it has been recognised that branch factories under strict managerial control may be of dubious value to development areas. Other subsidiary conclusions have also questioned the quality of employment provided in "new" firms, the position of "new" companies in the local labour market, and the value of training grants.

losses and we've given our approval to a local company with a local record to utilise the company for Newtown and local employment... the point is to maintain local employment.. Do recognise this and give them (A.B.C. Engineering) a lot of support.

More research, however, needs to be done. One particular area is that of 'growth zone' theory. The two case studies suggest that the argument for diversification of the economic base through "new" industry concentrated in one area may be flawed. Providing employment typical of firms in a secondary sector of a dual labour market, both firms studied merely reinforced the dependence of the North-East on this particular type of employment (such employment is assumed to be typical of "old" industry in planning documents).

Research is also needed into the definition of the regional problem. This analysis has posited certain inadequacies in the pluralist solution to a regional problem defined in unemployment terms. In particular imbalance and inequality are ignored. Is a more satisfactory definition of the regional problem itself, including these aspects, needed? Implicit in this thesis is an assumption that an analysis of the regional problem must relate "new" manufacturing industry and regional planning to the capitalist structure as a whole (e.g. the links noted between factories and their local labour market). Regional underdevelopment and unemployment is not simply a spatial problem, defined in terms of numerous conflicting regional bodies with a similar aim. A concentration upon diverting resources to certain areas and allocating aid proportionately in relation to need (spatial "pluralism") serves only to disguise the underlying failure of social "pluralism" as a definition of reality. In such a situation the "unitary" appeals of members represented in regional planning are merely attempts to convince others of the value of working together, which is particularly important when conflict and inequality lie beneath the surface (there is a parallel here between these appeals and the "unitary" encouragement of management). Finally, the failings and dissatisfaction expressed with present regional policy by members of parliament (see Chapter 3) may relate to problems inherent in the pluralist approach to regional underdevelopment. By assuming "balance" and "consensus"

the simplistic approach to regional unemployment, emphasising work to the workers is encouraged. Since "new" manufacturing industry is not the simple solution outlined, "pluralism" is flawed in this respect; could it be that other assumptions concerning the regional problem itself are invalid?

Other theories of regional underdevelopment have been produced, particularly in a Latin American context. Here they have been linked to conflict, inequality and imbalance (ignored in pluralist definitions of the regional problem). In particular relationships have been developed between theories of world-wide capitalist development and regional problems.⁽²⁰⁾ Such theory attempts to account for disequilibrium within the capitalist system which allows regional inequality to exist.⁽²¹⁾ Attempts could be made to relate these and other models to a British context; to attempt an explanation of regional development and under-

(20). See in particular A.G. Frank 'Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America', Penguin, 1971, and also 'Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution', Monthly Review Press, 1969. Frank develops a satellite-metropolis theory of underdevelopment. The less advanced nations and regions are dominated by a stronger metropolis, upon which they become dependent. K. Griffin 'Underdevelopment in Spanish America', George Allen and Unwin, 1969, views regional underdevelopment as being in part caused by outside forces, in this case the developed world. A slight change of emphasis is provided by J. Petras (ed) 'Latin America: From Dependence to Revolution', Wiley, 1973, where the authors discuss the dependency of Latin America upon the developed world and also the internal problems this creates.

(21). K.G. Myrdal in 'An American dilemma: the Negro problem and modern democracy', sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, New York, 1954, 'Asian Drama: An Inquiry in the Poverty of Nations', Twentieth Century Fund, 1969, and 'Economics Theory and Underdeveloped Regions', University Paperbacks, 1963, provides another alternative, suggesting that vicious circles exist which make regional imbalance cumulative, producing a centre-periphery relationship. This analysis is similar to that of Frank, though less radical in nature.

development, and relate this to industrial change.(22)

Perhaps these models may prove more successful than the pluralist definition of reality, and provide a more sophisticated solution to the regional problem.

(22). Tentative moves towards this have been made in E. de Kadt and G. Williams (ed) 'Sociology and Development', Harper and Row, 1974. In particular I. Carter 'The Highlands of Scotland as an Underdeveloped Region'.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

What do you like about your job? (*)

	<u>Wash 1</u>			<u>Survey⁺</u>		
	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>
Friendliness	24 (42.1)	12 (23.1)	(40.9)	154 (40.8)	52 (23.4)	(34.3)
Job Satisfaction	9 (15.8)	10 (23.0)	(21.5)	60 (15.9)	43 (17.4)	(17.1)
Money	4 (7.0)	0	(4.5)	29 (7.7)	18 (8.1)	(7.8)
Boss + Supervision	0	2 (6.5)	(2.2)	11 (1.9)	23 (10.4)	(5.7)
Incentive Scheme	0	0	(0)	2 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	(0.5)
Total Response	57 (100) [*]	31 (100)	(100)	377 (100)	222 (100)	(100)

What do you dislike about your job?

	<u>Wash 1</u>			<u>Survey</u>		
	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>
Job Satisfaction	3 (5.1)	0	(3.9)	28 (7.3)	6 (5.5)	(6.9)
Money	1 (1.7)	1 (5.9)	(2.6)	7 (1.8)	7 (6.4)	(2.9)
Boss + Supervision	4 (6.8)	4 (23.5)	(10.5)	13 (3.4)	11 (10.0)	(4.9)
Incentive Scheme	0	0	(0)	0	1 (0.9)	(0.2)
"Conditions"	2 (3.4)	1 (5.9)	(3.9)	28 (7.3)	5 (4.5)	(6.7)
Other Working Conditions	6 (10.2)	1 (5.9)	(9.2)	7 (1.8)	3 (2.7)	(2.0)
Dust/Dirt	4 (6.8)	0	(5.2)	30 (7.9)	10 (9.1)	(6.1)
Nothing	4 (6.8)	4 (23.5)	(10.5)	7 (25.5)	7 (6.4)	(2.9)
Shifts	3 (5.1)	0	(3.9)	17 (4.5)	1 (0.9)	(3.7)

Appendix 1 (Continued)

	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>
Management/Communication	1 (1.7)	2 (11.8)	(3.9)	12 (3.1)	15 (13.6)	(5.5)
Total Response	59 (100)°	17 (100)	(100)	381 (100)	110 (100)	(100)

Have there been any particular issues which have been brought to the notice of either the union/
works committee or management?

	<u>Wash 1</u>	<u>Survey</u>
Yes	(68.0)	(65.2)
No	(32.0)	(34.8)

Those answering yes

	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>	<u>First Response</u>	<u>Second Response</u>	<u>Total Response</u>
Money	8 (23.5)	2 (28.6)	(24.3)	126 (54.1)	14 (21.9)	(47.1)
Supervision	15 (44.1)	2 (28.0)	(41.4)	17 (7.3)	2 (3.1)	(6.4)
Bonus	0	0	(0)	12 (5.2)	2 (3.1)	(4.7)
Conditions of Work	4 (11.8)	0	(9.7)	27 (11.6)	6 (9.6)	(11.1)
Other	0	1 (14.3)	(2.4)	6 (2.6)	11 (17.2)	(5.7)
Overtime/Overwork	0	1 (14.3)	(2.4)	5 (2.1)	11 (17.2)	(5.4)
Facilities Loo/Canteen	1 (2.9)	1 (14.3)	(4.8)	13 (5.6)	5 (7.8)	(6.0)
Total Response	34 (100)°	7 (100)	(100)	233 (100)	64 (100)	(100)

(*) Figures in brackets are percentages.

+ The analysis of the survey excludes the responses from Wash 1.

• Only the major codes are presented in these tables.

Appendix 2

(1) The Main Landmarks in Regional Policy 1958-1974

The intensity with which varied weapons have been used has fluctuated. However, in the post 1950's phase of regional policy the major landmarks have been as follows:

The Distribution of Industry Act 1958

This made it possible to provide discretionary loans and grants to areas which could be outside the 'depressed' regions as then defined, as well as areas in special need in Development Areas. An administrative tightening in the use of I.D.C's was applied.

Local Employment Act 1960

This enabled the Board of Trade to designate any locality a Development District if, in its opinion, a high rate of unemployment existed, or was likely to persist, whether seasonal or general. In practice it was decided that 4.5% was the minimum level of unemployment that could be considered "high". On this basis a list of scheduled areas was drawn up and subjected to fairly frequent amendment. The legislation retained a number of measures used previously. For example, Estate Corporations could still acquire land to develop and lease for industry, although their management organisation was subdivided into three units, one for England, Scotland and also Wales. There were, though, considerable changes. The power to grant aid to firms was transferred from the Treasury to the Board of Trade, and to exercise its power the Board, through an Advisory Committee, (BOTAC), was required to consider the expenditure involved relative to the employment created. The actual grants and loans to be provided were only assessed following lengthy negotiation with the firms involved, but the measures included general purpose grants and loans; particularly a building grant up to 85% of the excess of the cost involved in providing an adequate building over what the Board estimated to be its value once completed. This grant became standardised to about 17% of the actual cost.

The Board of Trade approved expenditure up to £1,500 per job created, while the Treasury, of whom the Board must seek approval, advocated a ceiling of £1,000. Indeed variation in the policies of the two departments was a feature of the Act. A Board of Trade Advisory Committee (BOTAC) was also empowered to advocate loans of half the project cost, excluding the value of grants. This was over a five year term and was at a rate of 5% interest. Payment for the transference of key workers was also fixed.

Local Employment Act 1963

This standardised the complex building grants to 25% of the cost of construction in Development Districts. Grants of 10% of the cost were made available towards the purchase of new plant and machinery. A further 30% investment allowance was introduced the same year. The 1963 Budget instituted "accelerated depreciation", which allowed manufacturers who invested in development districts for tax purposes to write off expenditure on most new plant and machinery at increased rates. When added to the investment allowance it was now possible that allowances for the first year to rise to as much as 130% of the total cost (cost of the asset plus the 30% investment allowance). This was achieved because depreciation of plant could be written down at any rate desired. Thus, there would be a temporary increase in liquidity. By the 1963 Budget, Local Authorities were also allowed to claim a grant of 85-90% of the cost of clearing derelict land.

Control of Office and Industrial Development Act 1965

The building of offices with a floor space in excess of 3,000 square feet could only be undertaken in the London and Metropolitan Region if an Office Department Permit was granted. Gradually by July 1966 this control was expanded to the West Midlands, East Anglia, the East Midlands Planning Regions and the rest of the South-East. In the same year the limit of the I.D.C. was reduced to 1,000 square feet from the level of 5,000 sq. ft. utilised since 1947.⁽¹⁾

(1). Statutory Instrument No. 1561, 1966, Industrial Dev-

Industrial Development Act 1966

This marked a move from the Development District approach of the 1960 Act to the Development Area. These areas were to be defined as,

Those parts of Great Britain where, in the opinion of the Board (Board of Trade) special measures are necessary to encourage the growth and proper distribution of industry.

In practice these became the largest assisted areas yet designated, covering 20% of the working population of the country. The Act maintained the building grant provisions of the 1960 Act, but applied these to the new areas. However, building grants could be in special cases increased to a rate of 35%. The cost per job criteria was broadened to include an assessment of employment prospects, population change, unemployment and migration. Plant and machinery received a 40% investment grant in Development Areas compared with 20% elsewhere in Great Britain.

By statute I.D.C's were slightly altered. These now applied to all types of industrial structure, not just industrial floor space. The limit was raised from 3,000 square feet to 5,000 square feet.⁽²⁾

Regional Employment Premium, Cmnd 3310, 1967

In June 1967 a government White Paper announced the introduction of Regional Employment Premium. This provided a premium of 7s 6d per employee, plus a refund on Selective Employment Tax in all Development Areas (R.E.P. varied, see section (2)).

Special Development Areas 1967

Introduced by statutory order, these areas received

elopment, Industrial Development Certificates. The I.D.C. level was introduced in the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947.

(2). See G. McCrone 'Regional Policy in Great Britain', op.cit., and Statutory Instrument No. 1561, 1966, ibid.

a higher level of assistance than the Development Areas.⁽³⁾ Firms received a 35% building grant and loans, together with up to five years rent free in a government factory. There was an operational grant, payable for three years, calculated at a rate of 10% of the cumulative expenditure incurred on the acquisition of buildings, plant and machinery, less any grant received. The period of rent free occupation of government factories in Special Development Areas was set at 5 years.

'Investment Incentives', Government White Paper, Cmd. 4516, 1970.

Investment grants were scrapped, and replaced with 60% allowances for the first year, which were increased to 100% in Development Areas. A 40% initial allowance for industrial building in Development Areas was retained. Building grants were increased to 35%, with a further 10% increase possible under certain circumstances. The operational grant in Special Development Areas was increased to 20%. The cost per job limit of the 1960 Act was also more flexibly received. Finally, I.D.C. limits were raised to 5,000 square feet in the South-East and Midlands and 10,000 square feet elsewhere.

In July 1971 Special Development Areas were expanded and the operational grant increased to 30%.⁽⁴⁾

Industry Act 1972

This abolished sections of the 1960 Local Employment Act relating to loans and grants. The forms of new assistance were very wide. Financial assistance to promote efficiency and protect employment could be provided up to £150 million, and on four occasions this limit might be increased by a further £100 million. One project could not, however, receive more than £5 million unless authorised by parliament. Selective aid was available to projects involving

(3). Statutory Instrument No. 1234, 1972, Industrial Development, Special Development Areas. Although introduced in 1967 the legislation was not placed on statute until 1972.

(4). See Statutory Instrument No. 1234, 1972, *ibid.*

more than 10 jobs. The grants for buildings, machinery, plant and general works were set at 20% of the cost, being 22% in Special Development Areas. Authority was decentralised with regional offices being able to give loan assistance of up to £1 million, or interest relief equivalent to that amount. Building grants were made available over the wide geographical area of the new Intermediate Areas.⁽⁵⁾ I.D.C's were abolished in Development Areas, and the lower limit of I.D.C's were increased in non-assisted areas.

Finance Act 1974

Regional Employment Premium was doubled.

(2) Policy Specifications During the Observation Period

During the research period the incentives available for "new" firms were as follows:

Regional Policy Measures 1975

(1) Grants

Plant and Machinery

A 20% grant towards the cost. (Regional Development Grant).

Industrial Building

A 20% grant towards the cost. (Regional Development Grant).

(2) Loans

Section 7, Industry Act 1972

Selective assistance and loans were available for employment creating projects. Interest grants could also

(5). The Intermediate Areas relate to 'The Intermediate Areas', Report of a Committee Chaired by Sir J. Hunt, Cmd. 3998, 1969. The report considered the plight of those areas which though outside the assisted areas still had economic problems. It recommended that these intermediate areas should also receive assistance. This was enforced by the Conservative Government (1970-1974).

be obtained, the normal rate of grant was 3% per year for up to four years. There might be an interest free period and it was possible for the grant to be increased to a maximum of 12% for two or three years.

(3) Tax Allowances

Plant and Machinery

A 100% first year allowance on the cost of an asset, gross of grant.

Industrial Buildings

54% of the construction cost may be written off in the first year, and subsequently 4% per year, gross of grant.

(4) Operating Subsidies

Regional Employment Premium

At £3 a week per male employee and £1.50 per female employee.

Training Assistance

Free training services operated by the Training Services Agency, set up under the Employment and Training Act 1973.

Transferred Workers Assistance

Free fares for travel, lodging allowances and removal expenses. Housing aid for workers may be obtained from local authorities.

Rent Free Period

A 2 year rent free period in government factories.

(5) Special Development Areas

As above but with a 22% Regional Development Grant. (6)

Both the plants opened during 1973, and, therefore, the actual policy measures operating during this period shall be outlined below:

(6). Source: 'Incentives for Industry: in the Areas for Expansion', Department of Industry, June 1975.

Regional Policy Measures 1974

(1) Grants

Plant and Machinery.

A 20% grant towards the cost. (Regional Development Grant).

Industrial Building

A 20% grants towards the cost. (Regional Development Grant).

(2) Loans

Section 7, Industry Act 1972

As outlined in the previous section, but interest could be waived for the first year of the loan, and the loans were for half the project cost at 10% over 5 years.

(3) Tax Allowances

Plant and Machinery

A 100% first year allowance on the cost of an asset, gross of grant.

Industrial Building

A 40% initial allowance and a 4% writing down allowance, gross of grant.

(4) Operating Subsidies

Regional Employment Premium

As before.

(5) Special Development Areas ⁽⁷⁾

As before.

Regional Policy Measures 1972

(1) Grants

As before.

(2) Loans

Section 7, Industry Act 1972

Loans were for half the project cost at 7½% for 5.

(7). Source: North Regional Strategy Team, 'Evaluation of Regional Policy on Manufacturing Industry in the Northern Region', Technical Report No. 2 May 1975 (unpublished).

years. Interest could be waived for the first year.

(3) Tax Allowances

As before.

(4) Operating Subsidies

Regional Employment Premium

At £1.50p per male and 75p per female.

Training Grant

At £15 per male, and £10 per female employee for 6 weeks. This was approved until September 1973, but was then wound up.⁽⁸⁾

(3) Policy Specifications and The Two Firms

Power Motors

The firm opened in January - March 1973 at Stockland town, on a Trading Estate, in an advance factory. The company made use of a two year rent free period, grants for the purchase of machinery (Regional Development Grant, at the rate for a Special Development Area) and also training grants. Regional Employment Premium also applied, and the firm utilised tax allowances on machinery.

Truck Components

The firm opened in November 1973, on a Trading Estate, in a factory constructed by the Development Corporation of Newtown (the town where the firm was situated). Again the firm utilised a two year rent free period, grants for the purchase of equipment (Regional Development Grant at the rate for a Special Development Area) and also training allowances. Regional Employment Premium also applied, and tax allowances on machinery were similarly claimed.

(4) The Industrial Background to the Firms

(i) The Motor Vehicle Industry

Power Motors was a supplier for the motor vehicle industry. A short record of the industry is, therefore,

(8). Source: North Regional Strategy Team, *ibid*.

presented below.

(a) Passenger Car Production

By 1970 the motor industry was in decline with the demand for production falling. In the first two quarters of 1970 production was 3.2% and 4.0% respectively lower than 1969. However, a sharp turn round in demand produced a buoyant market situation. The removal of government restrictions involving tax cuts, easier credit terms and lower interest rates stimulated the economy, and this turn round is reflected in the figures for production.

U.K. Passenger Car Production (units)

<u>Yearly Quarters</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
1	467,555	451,156	436,500	432,500
2	489,132	485,246	470,200	470,132
3	389,586	354,572	277,200	363,858
4	<u>469,663</u>	<u>426,099</u>	<u>457,100</u>	<u>475,533</u>
Total	1,815,936	1,717,073	1,641,000	1,741,940

<u>Yearly Quarters</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
1	480,203	478,584	387,920	382,307
2	514,066	446,002	439,396	287,771
3	396,378	351,818	306,618	269,755
4	<u>530,664</u>	<u>470,917</u>	<u>400,185</u>	(Oct)97,119
Total	1,921,311	1,747,321	1,534,119	(Nov)114,227

Source: Ministry of Technology

The October 1972 'Motor Business' (The Economist Intelligence Unit No. 72) records,

The boom in the British car market began in the late summer of 1971 when purchase tax was reduced from 36.67% to 30% and credit restrictions were removed. A further impetus to car buying was given in the Spring Budget with a further reduction in purchase tax to 25%. The very fast rise in wages in monetary terms has been an important factor in stim-

ulating car demand. In addition, it is likely that many persons have replaced their cars to beat the inflation in prices which has taken place.

Towards the end of 1973 the market began to fade, exports remained stagnant, and firms, having supplied the home market unsuccessfully, began to be troubled by intense competition, particularly from abroad. The October 1973 'Motor Business' (The Economist Intelligence Unit No. 76) explained the situation as follows,

The strict control of wage increases have taken some purchasing power out of the economy. In addition interest rates are very high which makes the financing of the purchase extremely expensive. Furthermore, there may have been a "bunching" of replacement demand over the last two years.

By 1974 the above situation, compounded by the oil crisis, had made the industry intensely competitive. Chrysler announced (5.12.74) that they would need to make 1/10th of their staff redundant. Ford at the same time asked for volunteers for redundancy, and they hoped to reduce their labour force by 1,750 employees. Early in the New Year the crisis deepened and the government guaranteed overdraft facilities to British Leyland. The Ryder Report (21.4.75) and the government takeover of the company, providing over £1 million of capital, was followed by trouble at Chrysler. In a last ditch attempt to forestall a wage demand from employees management presented the work force with, "a bold new program to ensure industrial peace and the growth of the company". It offered worker representation on "key" committees and a share in the profits. However, by October the work force were on strike, and only returned following an £8 a week increase on the basic rates, and a total £10 a week increase (management figures). By the end of the month John Ricardo (the head of Chrysler) had threatened to pull out of the United Kingdom, and demanded government

EMPLOYMENT IN THE VEHICLE INDUSTRY
(THOUSANDS)

		<u>Vehicles</u>
1971	June	807.1
	July	804.7
	August	802.1
	September	801.3
	October	798.0
	November	790.0
	December	787.6
1972	January	784.7
	February	782.8
	March	778.8
	April	776.9
	May	776.1
	June	775.6
	July	775.2
	August	777.4
	September	780.8
	October	781.4
	November	782.9
	December	784.5
1973	January	784.8
	February	788.7
	March	788.4
	April	786.4
	May	785.2
	June	788.9
	July	789.9
	August	791.9
	September	791.0
	October	792.9
	November	790.3
	December	793.4
1974	January	788.7
	February	784.5
	March	782.2
	April	783.1
	May	783.1
	June	783.4
	July	783.3
	August	785.1
	September	787.6
	October	789.2
	November	789.7
	December	792.9

(Cont'd)

(Continued)

		<u>Vehicles</u>
1975	January	787.6
	February	780.9
	March	773.2
	April	770.1
	May	759.9
	June	750.7
	July	743.1
	August	742.4
	September	743.1
	October	739.4

Source: Dec. 1975 'Dept. of Employment Gazette'.

support. The year ended in the midst of strikes at British Leyland, the government taking a share in Chrysler, and threats of further redundancy. A history of the employment record of the whole vehicle industry during the period discussed above is presented opposite (note the decline in employment in 1975).

(b) Commerical Vehicle Industry

Though several companies produce both commercial and passenger vehicles the two markets have been differentiated due to the slightly different trends. Figures are not available on such a broad basis for the commercial sector.

Commercial Vehicle Production (units)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u> (est)	<u>1972</u> (est)	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>Qts.</u>	<u>1975</u>
Domestic Production	267,400	269,000	267,000	270,000 (est)	226,000	1	108,210
Export Production	<u>190,100</u>	<u>190,000</u>	<u>153,000</u>	<u>175,000</u> (est)	<u>176,000</u>	2	98,085
Total Production	457,500	450,000	420,000	416,000	402,566	3	77,860
							(Oct) 31,315
							(Nov) 30,355

Source: Ministry of Technology

Though not a homogeneous unit, and as a result difficult to discuss, certain generalisations may be made concerning the commerical vehicle industry. In 1970 the market was depressed and forecasts were that it should be less good during the next 18 months ('Motor Business' No. 64 October 1970). Along with the passenger sector, a recovery occurred during 1973. However, the market remained relatively healthy in 1974-5, though it was distorted by operators afraid to purchase due to inflation. Other operators had also purchased early, and in excess of needs. It was expected that a return to a firm market situation would be forthcoming; however competition was increasing.

(ii) The Fork Lift Truck Industry

Truck Components was a supplier of fork lift trucks. This market is difficult to differentiate since it is part of M.L.H. 337 Mechanical Handling Equipment. In this group of companies as a whole the total sales during the 1973-75 period were as follows.

<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u> (sales value of production in £'s)
372,237	484,346	649,185

Source: 'Business Monitor' Department of Trade and Industry, Quarterly Statistics, H.M.S.O.

However, it is possible to break these totals down to highlight the fork lift truck sector.

<u>Rider Controlled Fork Lift Truck (Including reach and Straddle Trucks)</u>	<u>(Number of Units & Thousands)</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
<u>Up to and including 1,999 lb. load capacity</u>				
a) Internal Combustion		795	762	792
b) Electric		374	372	368
<u>2,000 lb. to 3,999 lb. load capacity</u>				
a) Internal Combustion		852	1,265	805
		2,083	3,556	2,854
b) Electric		5,120	5,748	4,664
		15,557	20,790	24,341
<u>4,000 lb. to 5,999 lb. load capacity</u>				
a) Internal Combustion		5,452	6,559	4,393
		16,730	24,253	22,514
b) Electric		3,630	4,343	4,407
		14,202	20,293	27,179
<u>6,000 lb. to 9,999 lb. load capacity</u>				
a) Internal Combustion		3,160	3,639	2,826
		11,494	15,317	15,769
b) Electric		N.I.*	N.I.	N.I.
<u>10,000 lb. to 14,999 lb. load capacity</u>				
a) Internal Combustion		661	548	862
		3,369	3,348	7,126
b) Electric		860	999	916
		3,922	5,273	6,253

* N.I. - no information.

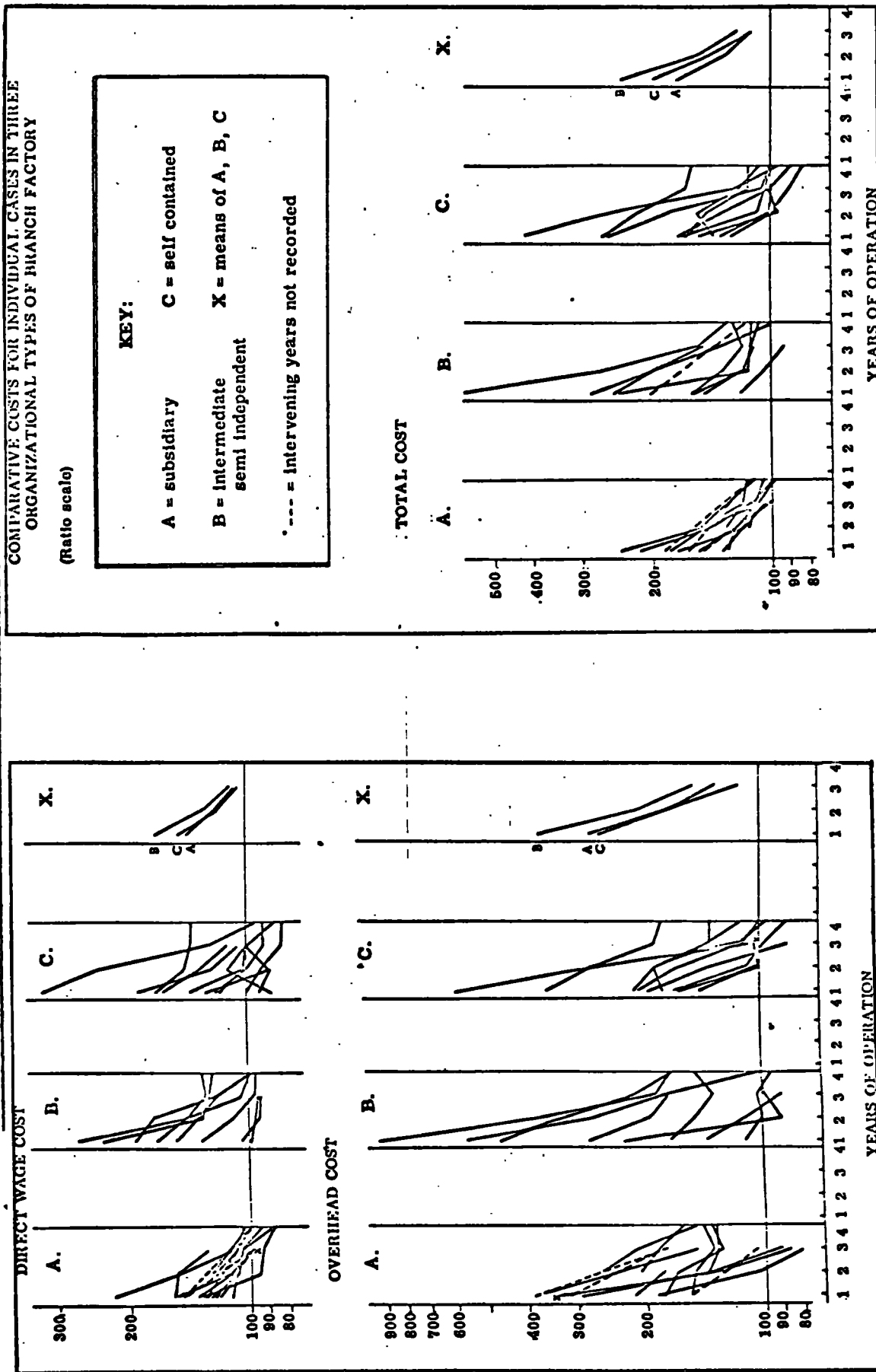
(Continued)

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
<u>15,000 lb. load capacity and over</u>			
a) Internal Combustion	393 3,152	512 5,340	682 9,400
b) Electric	1 19	3 61	6 117

Truck Components specialised in internal combustion trucks, as did the Vulcan Trucking Group (the parent company of Truck Components). These were at the lighter end of the market. It may be seen above that in 1975 the market suffered a strong decline, though in some cases this was only to the 1973 levels of sales output. This decline was particularly prevalent in the lighter sectors of production. This was where Truck Components production was concentrated.

Appendix 3

A Table of Luttrell's Cost Curves For Branch Factories



Appendix 4

Power Motors: The Employees

The Manager

Ted Clasp

Office Staff

Elsie Pig: Secretary.	Alan Henderson: Work Study
Joan Smith: Wages Clerk.	Officer.
Brenda Walker: Part-time wages	Eric Johnson: Progress Chaser.
clerk.	Ken Bragg: Progress Chaser,
Sue Jones: Part-time wages	Eric left during
clerk, Brenda left	the observation
the firm during the	period and was
observation period	replaced by Ken,
and was replaced by	who was later
Sue, who was later	made redundant.
made redundant.	

The Shop Floor Employees

Dayshift Employees

Tony Sweeney: Maintenance Fitter, shop steward.
Eddie Cox: Maintenance Electrician.
Larry Loughlin: Tool Grinder.
Tommy Selby: Tool Grinder, sacked for bad timekeeping.
John Martin: Chargehand Inspector.

Shift Employees

The 'A' Shift

Gordon Wills: Foreman, later Gordon changed shifts.

Inspectors

Kenny Rendal:
Keith Roper:

Setters

Joe Black: sacked for bad performance.
Newby Holder: continually absent, made redundant.
Malcolm Johnson: left during the observation period.
John Kiln: union convenor.
Dave Ribald: volunteered for redundancy.
Davey Smith:

Machine Operators

George Almond: ex union convenor, non-union member, made redundant.

Machine Operators (Continued)

Ray Atkins: bad timekeeper.
Fred Ayre: left during the observation period.
Mick Barnett:
John Bolt: bad timekeeper, made redundant.
Tommy Brown:
Dick Coombes: left during the observation period.
Billy Corkin:
Nicky Dawson: bad timekeeper, shop steward.
Alec Duns:
Ernie Ellison: non-union member, bad timekeeper, made redundant.
Steve Forest: Sacked for fighting.
Brian Glendening:
Billy Haghnaught:
Keith Hayot:
Ken Hemp: made redundant.
John Hopper:
Geoff Hobart: ex shop steward.
Jimmy Mac: ex shop steward, bad timekeeper.
Paddy McDougal: volunteered for redundancy.
Ted Orwell: left during the observation period.
Billy Reid:
John Scorer: temporary non-union member.
Bob Scott: made redundant.
Jimmy Smiles: bad timekeeper.
Phil Swindley: non-union member, made redundant.
Harry Thompson: absent due to sickness for much of the observation period.
Alan White:

Norman Cowen: all three operators were employed
Ian Macleman: during Clasp's expansion of the work
Tommy Trapp : force, and were later made redundant.

Labourer

Walter Humble:

Storeman

Joe Thompson:

The 'B' Shift

Frankie Liner: Foreman, left during observation period.

Inspectors

Craig Douglas: left during observation period.
Tommy Groan: was initially employed to begin an assembly plant and drafted to inspection.

Setters

Terry Allen: replaced Frankie as foreman.
Kevin Forster: temporary shop steward, left during observation period.
Bob Hodgson:
Harry Johnson:
Alan Padget: made redundant.
George Simmons: shop steward but resigned.

Machine Operators

John Belford: regularly absent, left during observation period.

Bill Chaplin:

Alan Corner: regularly absent, made redundant.

Eddie Cuff: made redundant.

Arthur Davis: known as an extreme 'fiddler'.

Keith Donald: shop steward, but was in process of resigning, continually absent, made redundant.

Arthur Dunn:

Bob Float: made redundant and later re-employed.

Tommy Fetcher: made redundant.

Derek Harrison: made redundant.

John Jamey:

Keith Jenner: regularly absent, made redundant.

Andy Long: made redundant.

Tommy Morley: made redundant.

Ronnie Nichol: made redundant.

George Osborn:

Phil Pearson:

Ken Proudfoot: non-union member, made redundant.

Alfie Richardson: left during observation period.

David Shaw: left during observation period.

John Spence:

Ralph Thomas:

Keith Tatler: made redundant.

Mich Valour: known as an extreme 'fiddler', made redundant.

Brian West:

Alan Wilkinson: made redundant.

Stan Hume: employed during Clasp's expansion of the work force, and later made redundant.

Labourer

Storeman

Tommy Hogarth: made redundant.

Bill Barns: died during observation period.

Appendix 5

Absenteeism (No. of Occurrences)

	<u>'A' Shift</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>'B' Shift</u>
Tuesday, 7th January		2	
Wednesday, 8th			
Thursday, 9th			
Friday, 10th		1	
Monday, 13th		7	
Tuesday, 14th	4		
Wednesday, 15th	2		
Thursday, 16th			
Friday, 17th			
Monday, 20th		4	
Tuesday, 21st			
Wednesday, 22nd			
Thursday, 23rd	1		
Friday, 24th	5		
Monday, 27th			6
Tuesday, 28th	5		
Wednesday, 29th			
Thursday, 30th			
Friday, 31st	8		3
Monday, 3rd February	10		
Tuesday, 4th	9		5
Wednesday, 5th	7		5
Thursday, 6th	7		5
Friday, 7th			
Monday, 10th	4		8
Tuesday, 11th	5		4
Wednesday, 12th	5		6
Thursday, 13th			7
Friday, 14th			
Monday, 17th			4
Tuesday, 18th	7		5
Wednesday, 19th	5		
Thursday, 20th	5		2
Friday, 21st			
Monday, 24th	5		4
Tuesday, 25th	4		3
Wednesday, 26th	2		2
Thursday, 27th			
Friday, 28th			6
Monday, 3rd March	5		
Tuesday, 4th			
Wednesday, 5th	7		7
Thursday, 6th			
Friday, 7th			
Monday, 10th	7		6
Tuesday, 11th			
Wednesday, 12th			4
Thursday, 13th	2		4
Friday, 14th			7

(Cont'd)

Appendix 5 (Continued)

	<u>'A' Shift</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>'B' Shift</u>
Monday, 17th March			
Tuesday, 18th	7		4
Wednesday, 19th			
Thursday, 20th	5		2
Friday, 21st	3		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Observations	26	4	23
Rate per Observed Day	5.23	3.5	4.73

Appendix 6

THE MOTOR WEST GROUP RECORD (£'000s)

Year ended 30th June	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966
Trading Profit	3,327	2,840	2,637	2,274	1,865	1,493	1,260	1,050	956	828
Profit before Taxation	3,207	2,831	2,559	2,112	1,625	1,266	1,205	1,001	812	693
Profit after Tax	1,542	1,281	1,386	1,251	1,004	665	643	595	501	415
Share Capital	1,739	1,715	1,707	1,685	1,680	1,680	1,676	1,670	1,335	1,335
Capital Employed	14,523	12,192	10,942	9,189	8,140	7,836	6,464	6,328	6,094	5,763

Appendix 7

Fill in this sheet if you're not working

- (1) When did you sign on the dole or the sick?
- (2) What's it like for you being on the dole or the sick?
- (3) What differences did being made redundant make to you or your family?
- (4) What are you looking for in any new job?
- (5) Have you had the chance of any jobs? Yes
No
- (6) Which job(s) and with which firm(s) was this with?
- (7) Where?
- (8) How did you hear about them?
- (9) What happened about them?
- (10) Will you please tell us in your own words what has happened to you and your family since we last saw you at Power Motors?

Fill in this sheet if you're working

- (1) How long were you out of work before you started at this job?
- (2) What was it like for you on the dole or sick?
- (3) What differences did being made redundant make to you and your family?
- (4) What were you looking for in your new job?
- (5) What is your present job?
- (6) Where is it?
- (7) With which firm?
- (8) How did you hear about it?
- (9) Did you try for any other jobs apart from the one you have now?

If so

What jobs?

With which firms?

Where?

- (10) Will you please tell us in your own words what has happened to you and your family since we last saw you at Power Motors?

Fill in this sheet if you're at a Training Centre

- (1) Why did you go to a Training Centre?

- (2) What trade are you learning?
- (3) What's it like at the Training Centre?
- (4) Have you any regrets going?
- (5) What do you intend to do when you leave the Training Centre?
- (6) Did you sign on the dole before you went to the Training Centre?
- (7) When? For how long?
- (8) What was it like on the dole or sick?
- (9) What differences did being made redundant make to you and your family?
- (10) Will you please tell us in your own words what has happened to you and your family since we last saw you at Power Motors? (+)

(+) This questionnaire was designed in co-operation with Mrs. Mary Howe.

Appendix 8

Truck Components: The Employees

MANAGEMENT AND STAFF

Managers

Joe Carrington: General Manager (demoted)
Bill Silver: Personnel Manager Alan Astin: Materials Man-
 (made redundant) ager
Keith Williams: Manufacturing John Smith: Accountant
 Manager

Staff

Alan Gettis: Planning Morris Jones: Secretary
Ron Wilson: Work Study Jill Badger: Secretary
Joe Buchan: Bonus, left during Barbara Heller: Secretary
 the observation period Mick Alan: Assistant
Aussi Trueman: Maintenance Tony Snow: Assistant
 and Tooling
Sid Fawcett: Engineering
Jack Green: Material Control-
 ler and Storer
Bill Bromley: Purchasing
Ian Macellum: Production
 Controller

SHOP FLOOR EMPLOYEES

Production Supervision

Tommy Morton: Foreman, left.
Tommy Went: Progress Chaster, temporary foreman.
Brian Smith: Chargehand, Machine Shop.
Stevie Halt: Chargehand, Assembly Area.
George Woof: Chargehand, Assembly Area.
Geordie Jap: Chargehand, Assembly Area.
Harry McQuire: Chargehand, Training.

Skilled Men

Welders

Assembly Area

Fitters

Bobby Braggs: 'dilutee'.
Dickie Breaks: 'dilutee'.
John Elite: Shop steward.
Eddie Hugh:
Darrel (Dasha) Hart:

Terry Addiss:
Jackie Braggs:
Ray Cart:
Joe Forster:
Jack Gass:

Peter Lars:	Ron Kirk:
Bill McGraw: 'dilutee'.	Brian Lampton:
Ernie Ollaf:	Alan Lambert:
Billy Potts: 'dilutee'.	Alan Laws:
Eddie Poult:	Ernie Millet:
Malcolm Shaft:	Jack Nelson:
Bob South:	Bob Park:
Ray Strabbs: 'dilutee'.	Denis Priest:
Ian Swam:	Bill Roth:
Mick Wabs:	Terry Shean:
Brian Wopps: 'dilutee', left	Denis Trotter:
during observation period	
Fred Wrong: 'dilutee'.	

Inspection (non-productive)

Alan Bird: Chargehand
Jimmy Sad:
Tommy Stoop:
Bob Wrote: Union convenor

Maintenance (non-productive)

John Hogget: Chargehand Electrician
John Cunningham: Electrician
George More: Maintenance Fitter

Tool Room (non-productive)

Kenny Browning: Chargehand
Jimmy Johnson: Fitter

Non-Skilled Men

Machine Shop

George Allen: Operator, left during the observation period.
Harry Bellows: Burner.
Eddie Burley: Burner.
Dave Courtney: Operator.
Joe Hand: Labourer.
Sammy Higgins: Operator.
Peter Howard: Operator, shop steward, absent during the
 observation period.
Charlie (Chas) Hutts: Operator.
Bill Ingham: Operator.
Walter Marl: Labourer.
Harry Moorfield: Operator, absent during the observation
 period.
George Morris: Operator.
Jackie Step: Burner.
Tommy Tail: Operator, temporary shop steward.
Ron Toney: Operator.
Davey Whit: Operator.
George Wilham: Operator.
Dickie William: Operator.
John Wripe: Operator.

Transport (non-productive)

Tommy Batty: Crane Driver. Jimmy Daft: Fork Lift Driver.
Benny Longman: Crane Driver. John Swoop: Fork Lift Driver.

Testers (non-productive)

Arthur Care: Billy Bone:

Storekeepers (non-productive)

Charlie Mahon: Stores.
Arthur Sherrif: Stores.
John Snow: Stores.
Alan Wilkins: Stores.

Cleaners (non-productive)

Jack Gardiner: Handyman.

Appendix 9

Section 1

Power Motors

Non-skilled Employees

The 'Subemployed'*

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. Jobs</u>	<u>No. Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Billy Reid	18	5	70.5(3.9)	22(4.4)	(r).5.
Phil Swindley	3	1	192.0(64.0)	24.0(24.0)	
Jimmy Mac	4	3	264.0(66.0)	26.0	(r)2, (s)1.
John Scorer	7+	N	1922.0(27.0 \Rightarrow)	24.0	(s)1.
John Bolt	4	4	37.0(9.25)	37.0(9.25)	(s)2.
Steve Forest	7	6	72.0(10.28)	23.0+(3.83 \Rightarrow)	(s)1.
Keith Donald	5	2+	72.0(14.0)	19.0+(9.5 \Rightarrow)	(s)2.
Mick Valour	5	4	81.5(16.3)	12.0+(3.0 \Rightarrow)	(r)5.
Keith Jenner	3	2	39.0(13.0)	9.0(4.45)	

The Probable 'Subemployed'

Ernie Ellison	10	1	141.5(14.15)	N	(r)1, (s)2.
Jimmy Smiles	12	N	174.0(14.5)	N	(r)1, (s)2.
Nicky Dawson	8	N	216.0(27.0)	N	(r)1.
Paddy McDougal	10+	N	216.0+(21.6 \Rightarrow)	N	(r)1, (s)2.
Alec Duns	5+	N	360.0+(72.0 \Rightarrow)	N	
Ian Macleman	8	N	?	N	(r)5.
Bill Chaplin	14	N	?	N	(r)5.
Brian West	9	N	58.0(6.44)	N	(r)1.
John Spence	N	N	?	N	(r)1.
Arthur Davis	15	N	333(22.2)	N	(r)3, (s)1.
Arthur Dunn	10	N	158(15.8)	N	(r)1, (s)1.
Stan Hume	7	4	38.0+(7.6 \Rightarrow)	N	(r)1.
Alan Corner	4	N	66.0(16.5)	6.0+	
Keith Hayot	3	3	48.0(16.0)	N	(r)2.

(-) Length of Unemployment/No. of Unemployment Periods;
Length of Employment/No. Jobs.

(s) sacked, though, this is expanded to include leaving under a cloud following some dispute.

(r) redundant.

N numerous, or of interminable but substantial length. Here the respondent indicated that he could not place any reliable measure on periods of unemployment or employment.

* more than four weeks unemployment in each year of work.

Section 2

Power Motors

Skilled Employees

The 'Subemployed'

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. Jobs</u>	<u>No. Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Larry Loughlin	4	1	78.0 (19.5)	18.0(18.0)	(r)1.

Section 3

Power Motors

Skilled Employees

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Malcolm Johnson	4		168.0		(r)1.
John Kiln*	4	1	138.0(34.5)	3.0(3.0)	
Tony Sweeney	7	1	131.0(18.85)	1.75(1.75)	(r)1.
Kenny Rendal	4	1	198.0(49.5)	0.25(0.25)	
Eddy Cox	2		72.0(36.0)		(r)1.
Dave Ribald	2	1	71.25(36.0)	0.25(0.25)	(r)1.
Keith Roper	3		76.0(38.0)		
Terry Allen	5+		120.0+(24.0)		
Davey Smith	2		96.0(48.0)		
Newby Holder	11		312.0(28.36)		(r)2.
Billy Taylor	11		216.0(19.63)		(r)1.
Tommy Groan	9		372.0(41.33)		(s)1.
Kevin Forster	2		84.0(42.0)		
George Simmons	3	1	70.0(23.0)	2.0(2.0)	(r)1.
Alan Padget	6	3			(r)4, (s)1.

Section 4

Power Motors

Non-skilled Employees

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Bob Scott	8	2	14.25(17.65)	8.25(4.12)	(s)2.
Tommy Trapp*	5	1	110.0(22.0)	5.0(5.0)	(r)2.
Billy Hagnaught	4	2	73.0(18.25)	4.0(2.0)	(s)1.
Ray Atkins*	5	3	60.0(12.0)	3.0(1.0)	(s)1.
Billy Corkin	15	1(sick)	264.0(17.6)	72.0(sick)	
Mick Barnet	7	1	100.0(14.2)	2.0(2.0)	(r)1.
George Almond	2		?		
Ken Hemp*	8	1	312.0(39.0)	?	(r)2.
Ronnie Nichol*	5	1	180.0(36.0)	3.0(3.0)	(s)1.
Ralphy Thomas	3		132.0(44.0)		
Tommy Fetcher*	4	1	33.0(8.25)	?	(s)1.
Eddie Cuff	9	2	300.0(33.3)	12.0(6.0)	
Alan Wilkinson	3	1	82.0(27.3)	6.0(6.0)	(s)2.
George Osborn	6	1	312.0(52.0)	1.5(1.5)	
Bob Float*	4	1	252.0(63.0)	13.0(13.0)	
Alan White	2	2	90.0(45.0)	2.5(1.25)	(r)2.
Geoff Hobart	8	1	124.5(15.5)	1.5(1.5)	(s)1.
Harry Thompson	11+		153.0(13.9)		(r)1, (s)2.
Derek Harrison	1		96.0(96.0)		
Phil Pearson	3		54.0(18.0)		
Ken Proudfoot*	2	1	180.0(90.0)	1.0+	(r)1.
Keith Tatler	3	1	61.0(20.3)	1.0=	
John Jamey	10		468.0(46.8)		(r)1.
Tommy Morley	7	2	434.0(62.0)	18.0(9.0)	(r)2.

* Having had one month or more unemployed in the year prior to starting at Power Motors.

Appendix 10 (Continued)

The Skilled Employees

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
John Elite*	8	5	204.0(25.5)	24.0(4.8)	(r)1, (s)1.
Alan Bird	5	1	263.0(47.2)	2.0(2.0)	(r)3.
John Hogget	1		96.0(96.0)		
Harry McQuire	4		370.0(92.5)		

(-) Length of Unemployment/No. of Unemployment Periods;
Length of Employment/No. Jobs.

* The 'subemployed'.

Appendix 10

Section 1

Truck Components

The Skilled Employees

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No. of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Mick Wabs	1	2	60.0(60.0)	6.0(3.0)	
Joe Forster	2		120 (60.0)		
Terry Shean	6	2	118.0(19.66)	4.0(2.0)	(r)1.
Brian Lampton	2	1	69.0(34.5)	1.5(1.5)	(r)1.
Ray Cart	1		60.0(60.0)		
Kenny Browning	3	1	144.0(48.0)	0.125(0.125)	(r)1.
Jimmy Johnson	7	2	467.0(66.71)	13.5(6.75)	(r)1.
Jack Gass	4	1	294.0(73.5)	6.0(6.0)	(r)1.
Ernie Ollaf	7		312.0+(44.57)		(r)1.
Terry Poult*	8	1	47.0(5.87)	6.0(6.0)	
Ron Kirk*	9	5	168.0+(18.6)	18.0(3.6)	(r)1.
Stevie Halt	4	1	126.0(31.5)	6.0(6.0)	(s)2.
Jack Braggs	5	1	126.0+(25.2)	2.0(2.0)	(r)1.
Dasha Hart	3	2	72.0(24.0)	3.75(3.75)	(r)1.
Bill Roth*	2	1	372.0(186.0)	36.0(36.0)	(r)2.
Eddie Hugh	3	1	65.0(21.6)	0.75(0.75)	(s)1.
Allen Lambert	2	1	96.0(48.0)	3.0(3.0)	
Billy Potts	12	4	215.5(17.95)	16.0(4.0)	(r)1, (s)1.
Denis Priest*	5	2	108.0(21.6)	11.0(5.5)	(r)2.
Eric Millet	9	3	123.0(13.66)	3.0(1.0)	(r)1, (s)1.
Dickie Breaks	3	1	108.0(36.0)	6.0(6.0)	
Terry Addiss*	7	4	107.0(15.28)	11.0(2.75)	(r)2.
Denis Trotter	2	2	100.0(50.0)	4.5(2.25)	(r)1, (s)1.
Peter Laws	1		72.0(72.0)		
George Woof	5	1	134.0(26.8)	1.5(1.5)	(r)1.
Geordie Jap	10	2	453.0(45.3)	12.0(6.0)	(s)1.
Fred Wrong	3	1	146.0(48.6)	3.0(3.0)	
Bill McGraw	8		216.0(27.0)		
Malcolm Shaft	3		30.0(10.0)		(r)1.
Ian Swam	4	1	58.0(14.5)	2.0(2.0)	(r)1.
Bob Park	3	1	65.0(21.66)	3.0(3.0)	
George More	6		420.0(70.0)		
John Cunningham	2	1	132.0(66.0)	0.25(0.25)	
Alan Laws	5	1	78.75(15.75)	0.5(0.5)	(r)1.
Bob South	2		54.0(27.0)		
Jack Nelson	4	2	390.0(97.5)	12.0(6.0)	
Bobby Braggs	3		79.0(26.3)		
Jimmy Sad	1		108.0(108.0)		
Ray Strabbs	5	1	132.0(26.4)	1.0(1.0)	
Tommy Stoop	4	1	380.0(95.0)	2.0(2.0)	(r)1.

Section 2

Truck Components

The Non-Skilled

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Jobs</u>	<u>No. of Unemploy. Periods</u>	<u>Length of Employ(m)</u>	<u>Length of Unemploy(m)</u>	<u>No of Redund. and Sackings</u>
Dickie William	3		372.0+(124.0≈)		
Benny Longman	1	1(sick)	480.0(48.0)	12.0(12.0)	
George Wilham	8		318+(39.75)		
Chass Hutts	8	1	?	2.0(2.0)	(r)2.
John Swoop	2		84.0(42.0)		
Jimmy Daft	5		300.0(60.0≈)		(r)1.
Brian Smith	6	1	219.0(36.5)	1.5(1.5)	(r)4.
Billy Bone	5	3	410.5(82.1)	2.0(0.66)	(r)2.
Davey Whit	1		84.0(84.0)		
Walter Marl	2	2	404(202.0)	3.75(1.875)	(r)2.
Jackie Step	4		337.0(84.0)		(r)1.
Dave Courtney	2		90.0(45.0)		
John Snow	3		432.0(144.0)		(r)1.
Harry Bellows	7	2	336.0(48.0)	1.25(0.625)	(r)2.
Charlie Mahon	8	2	454.0(56.7)	7.0(3.5)	
George Morris*	5	2	43.0(8.6)	7.0(3.5)	(r)2.
Tommy Tail	4	1(sick)	531.0(132.0)	24.0(24.0)	(r)2.
Sammy Higgins	4	2	231.0(57.75)	17.0(8.5)	(r)2.
John Wripe	2		48.0(24.0)		
Norman Sherrif	6		368.0(61.3)		(r)1.
Andy Wilkins	10		253.0(25.3)		(r)1.
Joe Hand	2	1	384.0(192.0)	6.0(6.0)	(r)1.
Eddie Burley	6	1	335.0(55.8)	1.2(1.02)	(r)1.
Ron Toney	12	2	163.25(13.6)	3.5(1.75)	(r)5.

* The 'subemployed'.

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