

University of Southampton Research Repository ePrints Soton

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g.

AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination



FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Management

The ‘forgotten workforce’

A study into the effects of working part-time unsocial hours
upon secondary wage earners within hospitality and retail.

by

David North

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2006

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Doctor of Philosophy

The ‘forgotten workforce’

A study into the effects of working part-time unsocial hours
upon secondary wage earners within hospitality and retail.

By: David John North

The expansion of trading hours especially within hospitality and retail has allowed a previously restricted segment of the nation’s workforce an enhanced opportunity to participate in employment outside traditional working hours. Focusing upon mothers who adopt employment outside of the conventional working day, this study examines the consequences of accepting such employment and considers what influence this type of employment has upon the individual, their partner and their family. Despite the growing numbers, this vulnerable sector of the workforce often fails to attract a high priority of public or academic attention with the majority of policy initiatives (both company and government) being directed toward full-time employees.

To document the effect of working part-time unsocial hours this research undertook interviews with eighty six individuals from a national supermarket chain and a restaurant group with a further twenty three follow-up interviews one year later. The data gathered documents the reality of part-time unsocial hours working (often involving emotional labour) and examines the effect this form of employment has upon work performance. The analysis continues with an assessment of the effect such working has upon the lives of the individuals concerned and discusses the importance of partner support for coping with the problems associated with part-time unsocial hours work. The study concludes with practical suggestions that employers can adopt to improve welfare at work. It recommends government initiatives together with legislative changes designed to protect this vulnerable sector of the workforce from exploitation.

Contents

Title	Page Number
Abstract	1
Contents	2
List of figures	3
List of tables	3
Introduction	5
Acknowledgements	9
Declaration	10
1. Literature review	11
2. Research methodology	46
3. A profile of the research companies and site locations	65
4. The motivation for the adoption of working part-time unsocial hours	80
5. The effect of working part-time unsocial hours upon employment and length of service	104
6. The impact of working part-time unsocial hours upon the individual	151
7. The effect of working part-time unsocial hours upon partners and family	165
8. Discussion and conclusion	195
9. Appendices	217
10. Glossary	226
11. Bibliography	229
12. Word count	243

List of tables

Title	Page Number
Table 1: The change of working hours as a result of becoming a parent	18
Table 2: Male and female employment 2001/2 and 2004/5	20
Table 3: Proportion of working-age people in employment working part-time by industry 2003	23
Table 4: Full-time and part-time employment rates for women	34
Table 5: Typical childcare costs within the Hampshire region 2004	35
Table 6: Illustration of the cost of childcare as percentage of average wage earned	35
Table 7: Dimensions of work-family conflict	40
Table 8: Number of interviewees by site (year 1) – Combined total	56
Table 9: Interviewee analysis by site (year 2) – Combined total	57
Table 10: Regional gross value added 2002	72
Table 11: Household income (£ per head) 1989-1999	72
Table 12: Total and disposable household income 1998	73
Table 13: Why did you decide not to return to your previous employer	82
Table 14: Primary motivation for the adoption of employment	83
Table 15: Average weekly hours worked	96
Table 16: Hourly rates of pay for restaurant and supermarket employees'	97
Table 17: Perceived respect from employer and enjoyment from work	108
Table 18: The status of this employment is equal to my previous job (combined total)	110
Table 19: The status of this employment (supermarket and restaurant) is equal to my previous job	112
Table 20: Length of service (combined total)	122
Table 21: Length of service (supermarket and restaurant)	123
Table 22: Percentage of annual staff turnover in relation to length of service	124
Table 23: I feel valued by: supermarket / restaurant	133
Table 24: Supermarket chain retail division management leavers – Year ending March 2004	137
Table 25: I do not feel respected by my supervisor / manager	140
Table 26: Our customers do not value my work (combined)	147

Table 27: Our customers do not value my work (supermarket / restaurant)	147
Table 28: I receive respect and appreciation from our customers	148
Table 29: Length of service of interview sample	153
Table 30: Perceived negative partner reaction to spouse's adoption of part-time employment over time	177

List of figures

Title	Page Number
Figure 1: An additive model of work and non-work conflict and the overall quality of life	42
Figure 2: Model illustrating the link of partner support to relationship strain	174
Figure 3: Model illustrating the ratio of partner support upon relationship strain and longevity of employment for part-time unsocial hour's workers	178

Introduction

It is from personal experience, observing the issues involved in working part-time unsocial hours that this study was devised. With a career to date involving most aspects of the hospitality industry from hotels, multi-site contract catering to the licensed trade, the importance and quality of the staff employed has proved to be crucial to the service offered and to the overall success of the business. Currently operating a restaurant, bar and conference centre on the Hampshire/Wiltshire border, we constantly rely upon a range of part-time staff working a variety of hours to offer the guests the service they require. To meet customer demand, most of the hours worked by our part-time staff are during the evenings and at weekends and therefore can be classed as unsocial hours working. Observing the issues arising from the working of these hours (especially amongst individuals with children) ignited interest in this area and prompted the formulation of this study. Although part-time employment by secondary wage earners during unsocial hours is not a new area of employment, the popularity of this style of working has increased considerably during the past ten years and now represents a significant proportion of the workforce especially within hospitality and retail. Within a society where demands of enhanced customer service appear to be gaining in importance, the volume of part-time work available, especially during unsocial periods, is predicted to increase in line with consumer demand. Although within the world of hospitality evening and weekend work, often involving emotional labour has been conducted for many years, the recent rise in trading hours has significantly increased the opportunity to secure employment outside of the traditional working day.

Within retail the situation is similar. Having recently celebrated the tenth year of Sunday trading, the retail industry now offers unparalleled levels of service and trades both day and night throughout the week. The popularity of Sunday shopping has now established Sundays as being the second busiest day of the week after Saturday and the increased availability of work outside of the normal working day allows a wider audience (ie: parents with dependent children) the opportunity to undertake employment at times traditionally unavailable to them. Although this may be considered a benefit, the increasing expectations of the modern consumer have added further to the level of labour involved in these industries. The opportunity to earn additional income undoubtedly contributes to the household finances however the management of this additional work can often be at high personal and family cost.

This study addresses these issues and discusses the impact of combining childcare through the day with part-time working during evenings, nights and at weekends. Although previous studies have discussed the issue of labour in service based industries, this study suggests that it is the hours in which the work is conducted that exaggerates an already difficult situation. The main areas of focus are:

1. How working part-time unsocial hours affects the employment adopted.
2. The impact of working part-time unsocial hours upon the individual.
3. The effects of working unsocial hours upon the partner and family.

In addition, this study examines the issues surrounding the adoption of part-time unsocial hours employment and outlines recommendations to assist both employers and employees in understanding the full consequences of undertaking this form of employment. The impact of any form of working is naturally influenced by management practice. This study examines various management issues within hospitality and retail and recommends practical suggestions that organisations can introduce for the benefit of both work performance and the welfare of their employees.

To achieve this aim, this study is divided into eight sections each of which examines the various aspects of part-time unsocial working. The literature review which commences the study focuses upon the issues to date and outlines the current and historical research undertaken. It described the various aspects of part-time working, its growth and its appeal to female workers. It also examines the issue of work-life balance and outlines the potential difficulties surrounding this style of working especially when combined with daytime activities. Chapter two continues with a description of the research methods adopted for this study. It outlines the reasons why these methods were chosen and provides a detailed description of the profile of the individuals that were selected for interview. It was decided to concentrate upon the industry sectors of hospitality and retail in which to conduct the survey. It was noted, again from personal experience, that many individuals seeking to adopt part-time work during unsocial periods appeared not to distinguish between hospitality and retail. Both industries employ a large number of part-time staff, many of whom worked unsocial hours. Both hospitality and retail are able to offer relatively unskilled, service based employment at a location and time that is convenient to a mother seeking part-time

employment in conjunction with childcare duties during the day. This together with established work practices and a vast pool of staff upon which to base the research interviews, made hospitality and retail an ideal choice for this study.

Chapter three describes the locations in which the research was conducted and the style of companies who kindly assisted in providing access to the individuals who participated in this study. However, to ensure the confidentiality of both the research company and the individuals who participated in the study it was decided not to name the organisations that assisted with the research. Although information regarding staff turnover, wage levels and training procedures was gratefully received from the regional and head office of both the participating companies, it was decided that personal acknowledgement would be inappropriate. As a result, throughout this document the two research partners are referred to as the ‘supermarket chain’ and the ‘restaurant group’.

Chapter four examines the reasons why individuals choose to adopt part-time unsocial hours working and continues with an assessment of the recent legislation relating to this form of working. The following three chapters present the data gathered during this study with chapter five describing the effects of working part-time unsocial hours upon employment. Chapter six outlines the effect adopting such work practices has upon the individual and discusses the resulting impact of circadian rhythm disruption.

Chapter seven examines the influence that part-time unsocial working has upon the relationship with a partner and family and discusses the vital role partner support has upon the successful pursuance of part-time employment.

The thesis concludes in chapter eight with an assessment of how this study dovetails into the argument as defined by previous literature. It continues by providing a description of several practical suggestions designed to improve work performance and enhance the lives of those engaged in part-time unsocial hours working. These recommendations address both management issues and the wider aspect of governmental policy.

Whilst day to day management is responsible for the working lives of their staff, government policy has a wider influence. An example of this is the 'Working Time Regulations' 1998 which address issues such as maximum working hours and paid holidays. Although this is regarded by many as one of the most significant pieces of employment legislation to date, part-time employees are generally excluded from the coverage because of the reduced hours they normally work. For example, if flexible part-time working is adopted and employment is interrupted during times such as school holidays, additional benefits introduced by 'The Working Time Regulations' 1998 such as paid holiday entitlement, can lapse.

Although this is one example of how part-time workers are neglected by legislation (which to date has mainly focused on full-time workers) the importance and significance of part-time employment is finally starting to be recognised. Whilst a degree of progress has been made with the introduction of legislation such as the 'Part-Time Work Regulations' introduced in July 2000, the rights of part-time employees and recognition of their contribution, still lags behind that of full time workers. This study examines these issues and recommends several new policies, in addition to the enhancement of current legislation, that will improve the working lives of part-time employees and establish them in the workplace as equal partners to their full-time colleagues.

Acknowledgements

As with any study of this nature, one cannot survive in isolation. Without the help, support and assistance of colleagues, friends and associates, the structure would have not have been formulated, information would not have been gathered, proofing would not have been undertaken and editing not achieved. It is to these people that I extend my thanks and appreciation.

To ensure confidentiality of the sites and individuals involved in this study, those who provided information and assisted in allowing access to the research locations cannot be identified. However the head office, unit management and personnel department of the supermarket chain in addition to the regional office, area and unit management of the restaurant group are acknowledged for their assistance.

Above all others, my thanks extend to Professor Roderick Martin (Professor of Organisational Behaviour – University of Southampton) for his continued guidance and support.

I also extend my thanks to all the individuals who participated in the interview process. Without their time, patience and honesty, the true consequences of unsocial working in today's society could not have been ascertained. It is their contribution that has made this research possible and it is to them, the 'forgotten workforce', I dedicate this study.

1. Literature review

Contents

Title	Page Number
1.0 Introduction	12
1.1 The growth in part-time employment	14
a. The rise in part-time working	14
b. The increase in part-time unsocial hours working	16
c. The growth in female part-time employment	19
1.2 Trends in unsocial hours working	21
a. The overall trend in unsocial hours working	21
b. The sectors involved in unsocial hours working	23
c. Female involvement in unsocial hours working	26
1.3 The reasons for the trend in unsocial hours working	28
a. Employers demands	28
b. Types of part-time employment	30
c. Supply: family aspirations, social and cultural attitudes	31
1.4 Specific issues involved in part-time unsocial hours working	33
a. Childcare provision	33
b. Secondary/supplementary earnings	36
c. Work-family conflict and role accumulation	38
1.5 Conclusion	44

1.0 Introduction

Although the historical development of working women is well documented, the expansion in unsocial hours employment during recent years has allowed a greater number of women the opportunity to combine work with daytime activities such as childcare. This growth has now accelerated to a point where organisations, such as supermarkets, leisure organisations and call centres, rely upon a significant proportion of part-time employees for the successful operation of their business.

Whilst there has been considerable research into female working and part-time employment, this research has been unable to locate any previous work relating to part-time unsocial hours employment amongst secondary workers within hospitality and retail. Despite searching academic libraries and the JSTOR, Sociological Research Online, Ingenta and Blackwell Synergy databases, there appears to be no relevant work directly relating to this sector of employment. This is somewhat surprising as although previous literature stresses the importance of maintaining leisure time in the pursuit of a suitable work-life balance, (Lloyd and Auld 2002; Warren 2004; Healy 2004) no consideration is given to the time in which the employment is undertaken and how this would effect the issue of work-life balance and the relationship with a family. Although Fox 1980 and Hochschild 1989 examine the issue of combining employment with childcare, both studies are now dated and neither addresses the specific issue of part-time service sector employment. With an increasing number of hospitality and retail companies stretching their trading hours, additional staff members are constantly required to satisfy this extended style of trading.

Recent studies into female part-time working have largely centred upon the supply of part-time jobs and the characteristics of the part-time workforce rather than the motivation and the effect. Whilst there are many individual reasons why an individual would adopt any one particular source of employment, the main three motivational reasons are categorised by Martin and Roberts (1984) as being:

- a. Monetary income
- b. Social interest
- c. Escapism / Sense of independence

Data provided by the Office for National Statistics also examine the reasons why both males and females choose part-time employment and highlight the large proportion of females who occupy part-time jobs. The Labour Force Survey April 2005 shows that more than eighty per cent (80.7) of females engaged in part-time employment did not want full-time employment, a total that outweighs males by more than five to one.

However, the conclusion by Hakim (1995, 1996) that part-time jobs are worthless resulted in severe criticism (Ginn et al, 1996) leading to studies into the motivation and experiences of those individuals engaged in part-time employment (Walsh 1999). Despite the fact that these studies examine the issues surrounding part-time employment including motivation, employment background and the degree of contentment experienced, they fail to consider the added influence of unsocial hours and the 'double-day' syndrome as proposed by Bonnie Fox (1980) or the issues of emotional labour as described by Erickson and Ritter (2001). Although employers may not intend to exploit their workforce, it could be argued that knowing an individual is under financial pressure will likely improve an employee's willingness to accept additional hours, even if those hours are considered inconvenient.

Fox (1980) argues that married women represent a 'reserve army of labour' and that the growing entry of married women into the labour force represents the activation of a labour reserve latent in the household production sphere. Whilst there can be little disagreement with this suggestion, the female adoption of part-time employment, especially if conducted during unsocial periods may result in negative consequences within the home environment which could result in increased stress being placed upon the individual and the relationship they have with their partner. A lack of study in this area has resulted in a poor understanding of the consequences of over commitment and the factors effecting the motivation of individuals to adopt part-time employment, during unsocial periods. The focus of this study is therefore upon the effects of working unsocial and extended hours particularly within hospitality and retail where (as described below) the growth of this form of employment is at its greatest. With a partner engaged in full-time work, there is little opportunity for a mother with young children to work other than on a part-time basis outside of the normal working day. It is these people who commonly juggle the maintenance of a home, the care of children, together with paid employment and it is these individuals that form the main focus of this study.

1.1 The growth in part-time employment

This section of the study examines the overall expansion of part-time employment and the significance that this form of working has for today's employment market. It continues by discussing the increase in unsocial hours working and determines the reasons and extent of this rise. Whilst to date there has been a lack of focus upon individuals working part-time unsocial hours, the increasing availability of part-time employment particularly within hospitality and retail (due to an expansion in trading hours) requires an additional supply of staff to satisfy the service demands of customers. It is this requirement, in addition to female involvement in unsocial hours working, that this section focuses upon. It examines the overall increase in part-time working, the rise in unsocial hours employment and concludes by discussing the increase in female part-time working.

a. The rise in part-time working

Although part-time working has been common practice for many years, the level of part-time employment has been steadily increasing and gaining in significance. In 2003 the total number of part-time workers increased by 162,000 to 7.31 million with female part-time employment increasing by 142,000. (Office of National Statistics – State of the Labour Market Report 2004).

Whilst the rising level of part-time employment is clear, consideration should also be given to why this increase should occur and what advantages are offered to employers by part-time workers. From an employer's perspective, part-time workers can offer greater flexibility allowing working hours to be varied depending upon customer demand. The nature of business, especially within hospitality and retail depend upon a reliable well-trained group of part-time employees and a flexible workforce allows an organisation to react to customer demands whilst still keeping control on overall labour costs. Although increasing in popularity, part-time working is still regarded by many as 'not the normal'. O'Reilly and Fagan (1998) confirm this view and state: "Part-time work is thus a deviation from the standard in two respects. From the demand side these are jobs which deviate from standard hours as well as a minimum income and employment guarantees. Part-time work can also be used to evade expectations of premium payments for working unsocial hours, and that work scheduled on a regular and predictable basis." (1998: 138).

Organisations have realised the benefits of employing part-time workers for many years. To numerous employers, part-time workers offer a greater degree of flexibility than full-time employees, especially when considering the nature of service based industries where peaks and troughs are frequently experienced. This fluctuation in demand can be due to a variety of reasons such as seasonal trends, bank holidays, Christmas etc and as such, the provision of a flexible workforce can significantly contribute towards a cost effective environment by reducing hours worked during quiet periods and increasing employees' hours when demand dictates. The government white paper on 'Growth, Competitiveness, Employment (Commission of the European Communities 1993) sought to encourage a greater use of flexible working time across the European Union. Although encouraged by European governmental bodies, concern has arisen over the haphazard growth in part-time work which may encourage social pressure and a distortion of competition at community level (Crompton, Gallie and Purcell 1996). Whilst many employers may appreciate the benefits of part-time workers, "in Britain criticism has focused on the way that hour thresholds effect the application of basic employment rights and social security entitlement." (Crompton, Gallie and Purcell 1996: 207). Although the introduction of the Part-Time Work Regulations (2000) has helped to reduce this situation, part-time workers are still regarded as 'cheaper' to employ and often do not enjoy the same range of benefits traditionally offered to full-time employees. Lydia Morris comments: "The final and perhaps conclusive influence on employers is the fact that part-time jobs are cheap jobs since below a specified earning level, no National Insurance contributions are required." (Morris in Allan 1999: 216). The governmental increase in National Insurance contributions for employees introduced in April 2004 has further emphasised the cost benefits of employing part-time workers. The new scale of contributions sets the employers' charges at a higher level than the employees but only applies on earnings above the classified earnings threshold. These new changes result in increased costs for employers with an 11 per cent contribution payable on income above eighty two pounds per week rising to 12.8 per cent employers' contribution payable on earnings above the specified earnings threshold of ninety four pounds per week.

This differential highlights the economy of employing low hours part-time employees rather than high hours full-time staff. Furthermore, even today, part-time workers do not always qualify for maternity or holiday pay (eg: if they fail to work a continuous thirteen week period – Working Time Regulations 1998) and due to reduced hours, rarely enjoy benefits often offered to full-time workers such as pensions, sick pay and profit sharing schemes (Dale and Joshi 1992). It is therefore clear that for businesses where demand is variable (ie: peaks and troughs) part-time workers are cheaper than full-time staff and offer greater flexibility.

b. The increase in part-time unsocial hours working

Before the rise in part-time unsocial hours working can be discussed, a definition of exactly what is involved with ‘unsocial hours’ working is required. Whilst no official academic definition could be located, unsocial hours working could be described as work undertaken outside of the expected working day and whilst more traditional workers are enjoying leisure time. Although this would vary dependant upon culture, within the hotel and catering world this means working when most people are not, thus providing a service when it is most needed. Therefore within UK society, it is suggested that ‘unsocial hours working’ could be defined as early morning working, ie: before 8 am, evening working, after 5 pm, night working (after 11 pm) or working any time during the weekend (Saturday or Sunday). Extended working tends to overlap these periods and can best be described in relation to the retail industry and in particular, the supermarket chains. The trading patterns of many superstores have stretched to cover all day, all night and most of the weekend. As a result of this expansion in opening times, most retail businesses have ‘extended’ far beyond what was traditionally expected requiring staff (such as service, till and replenishment assistants) to conduct their work outside of the normal working day. With this expansion comes the requirement for longer working patterns cutting across the traditional working day, afternoons cut into evenings, evenings into night, day edges into early morning and weekends just become another working day.

Together with this expansion in trading comes the requirement for additional staff. Although as described above, a search of both literature and academic journals failed to locate any previous studies into part-time unsocial hours working, the expansion of trading within the retail sector suggests this trend for unsocial working is likely to increase especially considering recent proposals to abolish the Sunday trading restrictions currently imposed upon supermarkets. A

similar situation is also likely within hospitality with the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003 which allows for extended opening throughout the week. Although one fifth of workers (men and women) are already employed in shift working (Paoli and Merllié 2001: Third European survey on working conditions 2000) the trend for shift work, night work and weekend work especially within the sales and service industries has steadily increased (Paoli and Merllié 2001). Whilst Sunday working has decreased marginally in the five years since 1995 for most occupations, the service and sales sector has grown from 34 per cent to 46 per cent with a similar situation applying to Saturday working (Paoli and Merllié 2001). Whilst working ‘around the clock’ is nothing new with many industries having practiced a shift-working system of employment for many years, this has traditionally been for the primary wage earner rather than for part-time staff. Although there have been many studies undertaken over the years into the affect of traditional shift-working, (Bosworth et al 1981, Baxter and Mosby 1988, Calmfors and Hoel 1989, Mayshar and Halevy 1997) little consideration has been attributed to the working of part-time unsocial hours.

It is clear that the traditionally held beliefs regarding childcare and household duties have a major influence upon an individual’s motivation to adopt part-time unsocial hours employment. Although financial gain is significant motivation for any form of work, the full issue of why people choose particular types of work is a little more involved. Perhaps the greatest influence upon the choice of employment (especially for women) is the addition of children particularly when combining employment with childcare duties during the day. The issue of how parents change their working hours following the birth of a child is examined by the CIPD and from the table below it is shown that 80 per cent of parents change their hours from full-time to part-time as a result of becoming a parent. The table also highlights the high proportion of females reducing their hours of employment as a direct result of becoming a mother with 61 per cent either reducing their hours to part-time or ceasing employment completely.

The change in working hours as a result of becoming a parent

Table 1

	% Total	% Full-time	% Part-time
Yes – from full- to part-time	28	5	80
Yes – from part- to full-time	3	5	1
Yes – to a 4-day working week	1	2	1
Yes – stopped work completely	14	–	1
Yes – other (eg from permanent to contract/freelance etc)	10	16	5
No – still working same hours (full/part-time)	45	72	13

Base: 504 respondents

Source: CIPD/Taylor Nelson Sofres

	% Total	% Male	% Female
Yes – from full- to part-time	28	6	41
Yes – from part- to full-time	3	1	4
Yes – to a 4-day working week	1	–	2
Yes – stopped work completely	14	4	20
Yes – other (eg from permanent to contract/freelance etc)	10	13	7
No – still working same hours (full/part-time)	45	76	26

Base: 504 respondents

Source: CIPD/Taylor Nelson Sofres

(CIPD - Work, parenting and careers 2002: 4)

McRae (1997) discusses the changing nature of employment within the UK during the 1990's and comments that: "Job creation centred on part-time, service sector employment has enhanced the employment prospects of women, while downgrading those of men." (1997: 395). Whilst this may be true especially considering the expansion in trading hours, until now attention has been mainly focused upon industry trends rather than upon the individuals themselves. As Ermisch and Wright (1993) comment: "having children aged ten or younger appears to reduce the probability of working full-time more than it reduces the probability of employment." (1993: 130). Therefore when examining part-time unsocial and extended working, (especially within hospitality and retail) it is suggested that it is mostly females, frequently with dependent children that occupy the

majority of positions. These individuals are normally married or co-habiting and therefore have a partner to undertake childcare whilst they are at work (South 2001; Kinnunen, Geurts and Mauno 2004).

Although the rate of part-time work (and the incidences of night and weekend working) has been increasing for a number of years in most European member states, (European Commission, 1996; Rubery et al, 1999), Fagan comments: “unsocial hours, indicated by the incidence of night and weekend work, are more prevalent for both sexes in Britain than most other member states” (2001: 1202 /1203). Considering the significance that this area of employment now has for our economy, it is appropriate to focus more fully upon this important sector of our workforce. However when considering part-time employment, it is not the length of the hours that is most significant but rather the time that the work is undertaken that has the most relevance (Epstein and Kalleberg 2001).

c. The growth in female part-time employment

There has been great debate within the European community regarding the length of the working week, where it has been shown that within the UK, given the choice, most women would choose to work shorter hours. This is especially true where children are involved, with part-time working becoming even more attractive due to the cost or unavailability of childcare facilities. (Fagan 2003)

The first quarter of 2005 showed the UK as having the second highest proportion of part-time workers in the European Union (after Germany) with the overall level of female part-time employment showing a steady increase to 42.6 per cent of total employment as compared to just 10.4 per cent occupied by males (Romans and Hardarson 2005). Part-time workers can of course be either male or female, however Klein, Berman and Dickson conclude that: “women are now, and historically have been, far more likely than men to work part-time.” (2000: 88). The increase in trading hours within hospitality and retail can provide a positive advantage for individuals unable to work during the day. This is a situation that particularly suits mothers, who due to childcare are unavailable to work conventional hours. This expansion in trading prompted Crompton to comment: “Mothers, and particularly mothers of young children, are currently the fastest growing section of the labour force.” (1997: 77).

Hakim outlines another approach and examines female employment post 1941 and creates a division between those who follow the male profile of continuous full-time employment, those engaged in work only until marriage or child-bearing and those devoting themselves to fragmented or discontinuous employment. Hakim concludes: “A sharp decline in the proportion of women in each cohort following the marriage career has not been translated into more women in continuous employment, which remains extremely rare, but into more women engaging in discontinuous employment, as well as part-time employment.” (2001: 63). Although it is recognised that part-time employment is increasing, Hakim (1995) argues that this has been mainly at the expense of full-time jobs.

This claim is not supported by information available from The Office of National Statistics which monitors the levels of employment for both males and females occupying part-time and full-time employment. Information from The Office of National Statistics Labour Force Survey, summarised below, shows an increase in all levels of female employment in addition to the high level of female part-time working especially in comparison to males. Contrary to claims by Hakim that female employment remains constant, it can be seen in the table below that during the period 2001/2 to 2004/5, overall female working increased with full-time employment rising by 401,000 whilst during the same period, male full-time employment decreased by 407,000.

Male and female employment 2001/2 and 2004/5

Table 2

Year	Winter 2001/2 (thousands)	Winter 2004/5 (thousands)
Male - F/T	14,208	13,801
Female - F/T	7,153	7,554
Total	21,361	21,356
Male – P/T	1,448	1,651
Female - P/T	5,611	5,632
Total	7,059	7,293

(Source: The Office for National Statistics – Labour Force Survey – Quarterly Supplement May 2002 and April 2005)

In addition to the increase in full-time female employment, the table above clearly illustrates the high level of female part-time employment especially when compared to males. Whilst there is little doubt that overall female employment is increasing in significance, female part-time employment is especially significant occupying the majority of positions with over three quarters of all part-time employees being female (Equal Opportunities Commission 2005).

1.2 Trends in unsocial hours working

a. The overall trend in unsocial hours working

Although work patterns naturally vary, historically it was not uncommon for work to be dependant upon the season or daylight hour. More recently, especially within an urban environment, the working day, especially within the UK, has traditionally been regarded as being from 9 am through to 5 pm, Monday to Friday, (Dickens and Lundberg 1993). Whilst shift-working has been a common practice for many years, the trend is increasing especially amongst the sales and service sector (Paoli and Merllié 2001). Whether due to customer demand, global integration or a management desire to maximise profits with the utilisation of plant and machinery on a 24/7 basis, the working day for many 'non-shift' people has started to stretch beyond the normally expected hours with twenty per cent of the workforce currently working in excess of 45 hours per week. (Paoli and Merllié 2001).

This shift in traditional working hours has not been restricted to the UK alone. In a survey conducted by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, it was noted that in general, women's working hours are more dispersed than men across a range of part-time and full-time hours (Fagan 2003). Although as discussed above, the traditional working day is considered by many to be 9 am to 5 pm, there are in fact many industries even within the UK that work continually day and night. Farming has traditionally been an industry that, being 'a way of life', has needed to care for livestock at any time of night or day. Hospitals, the Police and the Fire Service in addition to other emergency services are expected to be available whenever needed. Furthermore, within the global environment the media are expected to be ready to bring news to the nation whenever it occurs and hotels, bars and shops are under pressure to constantly remain open for the convenience of the public. Even though many people are still unwilling to work at unsocial times, the popular attitude of regular working patterns is constantly being eroded.

It has been suggested that job satisfaction is a more homogenous concept for full-time workers than for part-time employees with part-time workers expressing less motivation, career satisfaction and more role conflict and overload than full-time employees (Eberhardt and Shani 1984; Hall and Gordon 1973; Horn, 1979; Miller and Terborg 1979). However, Rotchford and Roberts (1982) suggest that the perceived reasons for job dissatisfaction may be different for part-time workers compared with full-time workers. Part-time workers may consider staff scheduling and flexibility of working to be more important than full-time workers (Feldman 1990), whereas full-time workers may be more concerned with career prospects. With the majority of males still viewing the maintenance of the home and the care of the children to be the woman's responsibility (Sullivan 1997), it is likely that the pressure and tension experienced by a mother through combining part-time unsocial hours employment with domestic duties would intensify as the number of children within the household increases. To allow a mother the opportunity to re-enter the work environment, especially during 'normal' working hours, reliable childcare is essential. Adams and Winston comment: "Childcare is probably the most universally accepted necessity for women's participation in the labour force. The availability of high-quality, reasonably priced childcare affects not only a woman's ability to stay on the job but also influences her morale and productivity, her record of absenteeism, and her health and welfare." (1980: 48). Although Adams and Winston, do not specifically focus their concentration on part-time workers, similar principles would apply especially if work activity was conducted at times which the male partner considered should be 'family' time placing the burden of childcare solely upon the shoulders of the male partner.

The issue of childcare and division of labour within a household is examined by the Department of Work and Pensions who highlight the proportion of males and females employed and those looking after the family/home. The Family Resources Survey 2002-03 highlight that whilst 75 per cent of males (aged between 25 to 34 years) are employed full-time (with only 3 per cent employed part-time) female full-time employment, in comparison only totals 47 per cent with 29 per cent being employed part-time. This age group is significant as the likelihood of childcare inhibiting a mother's ability to adopt full-time employment would be at its greatest. Furthermore, seventeen per cent of females aged between twenty five and thirty four years, quoted their occupation as 'looking after the home/family' whilst within the same age group no men were recorded as being engaged in this activity. This further suggests that it is females that largely adopt the domestic role and therefore seek part-time employment to fit around their daytime childcare activities.

b. The sectors involved in unsocial hours working

Although in general terms, part-time employment has shown a marked rise, it is the service sector, especially hotels, restaurants and distribution that consistently shows the highest increase in part-time workers (McOrmond 2004). The expansion of the service industry has facilitated significant growth especially in part-time employment. Shackleton (1998) comments that the service sector, characterised by increasingly flexible employment structures, is expected to remain the engine of employment growth for the foreseeable future, with the manufacturing sector continuing to be subjected to substantial job losses.

The table below shows that distribution, hotels and restaurants employ the highest proportion of part-time workers and due to the nature of the hospitality industry, it is probable that a significant proportion of these workers are engaged during unsocial hours.

Proportion of working-age people in employment working part-time by industry 2003

Table 3

	Per cent
Agriculture and fishing	15.7
Energy and water	6.2
Manufacturing	7.8
Construction	6.6
Distribution, hotels and restaurants	39.6
Transport and communication	12.2
Banking, finance, insurance etc.	18.9
Public administration, education and health	31.6
Other services	34.9

United Kingdom; Spring quarter 2003, not seasonally adjusted.

(McOrmond 2004: 29)

Although the structure of the service sector may continue to alter, the increase in the availability of work beyond the conventional working day is likely to continue therefore increasing the impact that adopting part-time unsocial hours working has upon the individual and their family. Yeandle comments: “The expansion of the service sector of the economy has been one of the most important developments in the structure of the formal labour market during the present century. Whilst it has been accompanied by, and is related to, other occupational shifts, it is of particular interest here because of its very significant impact on the labour of female workers, especially the large number of married women.” (1984:10).

Demand from consumers in addition to the competitive culture of hospitality and retail has facilitated a surge in extended opening hours. One example of this is demonstrated by Tesco, currently the country’s leading supermarket, who operate all 73 of their large ‘extra’ superstores 24 hours a day. (2005: Tesco Stores Ltd – Cheshunt, Walham Cross, Hertfordshire). This trend for ‘twenty-four hour a day’ opening has increased the volume of part-time working required within the service sector. With the expansion of extended employment comes greater opportunity, especially for a young mother looking to supplement the family income with part-time employment during evenings and weekends.

The diverse nature of the hospitality industry requires a disproportionately high degree of employees to work occasional, part-time and flexible hours (McOrmond 2004). A similar situation is evident within retail where due to an extension in trading hours, the ‘sales and customer service’ sector now ranks as one of the highest occupations employing part-time workers (Labour Force Survey 2004). Women returning to employment and seeking part-time hours may be attracted to flexible working, although the third European survey on working conditions (2000) notes that whilst women are unlikely to accept jobs where a serious mismatch of working time and family time would occur, 19 per cent of workers, admit that working time flexibility does not fit in with their family or social life (Paoli and Merllié 2000). Epstein and Kalleberg support this argument and suggest “...the number of hours people work may be less important than the time of day they work”. (2001:7). Furthermore, it is suggested that people who work at night or on split shifts may have qualitatively different family and social lives to their full-time colleagues and may be subject to physical symptoms caused by tension and stress (Melbin 1987; Presser 1999).

Although the adoption of part-time employment within the service sector may initially be attractive, a significant number of positions traditionally involve a degree of emotional labour which would naturally vary in intensity between individuals. Hochschild defines emotional labour as “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display.” (1983:7). Jobs that involve interactive work tend to attract a higher degree of emotional labour (Bulan et al 1997; Wharton 1993; Wharton and Erickson 1995) further adding to the strain of work. As an integral part of the service package offered to customers, management expect staff to suppress feelings of anger and to convey happiness, warmth and friendliness (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild defines this term as “emotional dissonance” or “maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning”. (1983:90). Erickson and Ritter (2001) argue that ‘agitation’ is the form of emotional labour that is most likely to be associated with feelings of burnout and in-authenticity and those feelings of in-authenticity are most pronounced amongst those who feel the most agitated. The issue of emotional labour has been established to be at its greatest within service based industries (Leidner 1993) and whilst the issue of ‘agitation of emotion’ is well documented (Erickson & Ritter 2001), the added dimension of unsocial working has not previously been considered. It could therefore be argued that a combination of part-time unsocial employment in conjunction with childcare, the maintenance of a home and the care of a partner would result in additional pressure being exerted upon an individual where a high degree of agitation could reasonably ensue.

Although employment involving emotional labour can have negative results, Wharton and Hochschild suggest that holding an emotionally labour intensive job could increase job satisfaction, especially amongst women. However, whilst this may be a positive aspect, those who perform emotional labour under conditions of low autonomy or high job involvement are more likely to suffer burnout (Morris and Feldman 1996, Erickson and Ritter 2001). It is generally accepted that individuals participating in part-time unsocial working, especially within the service sector, occupy jobs with low autonomy and therefore are at particular risk from the negative effects of emotional labour.

c. Female involvement in unsocial hours working

It has been established that part-time workers generally occupy inferior positions in the labour market compared to full-timers (Burchell et al 1997; Hakim 1997; McRae 1995; Rubery et al 1998; Warren 2000) nevertheless, part-time workers despite the number of hours employed, have similar attitudes and experiences to their full-time colleagues (Warren and Waters 1998).

Although workers may all have a similar attitude, when considering the care of a family and the maintenance of a home, the volume of work undertaken by a mother before the commencement of paid employment can often leave her exhausted (Fox 1980, Hochschild 1989). This element of increased tiredness is also discussed by Epstein and Kalleberg (2001) who claim that whilst the number of working hours may not have necessarily increased, it is widely felt that, in general terms, the hours worked by the upper and lower strata of workers has stretched. The change in the economic behaviour of women, particularly mothers, is described by The British Attitude Survey 2003, as one of the most important social changes that has occurred over the past twenty years. In Britain, women's labour force participation rates have been rising since the 1950's and stood at sixty six per cent in 1984. The rate then increased considerably during the 1980's to seventy one per cent in 1990 and remained fairly constant during the 1990's reaching a total of seventy two per cent in 2001. However the participation rate amongst mothers with young children (less than five years old) changed rapidly from forty eight per cent in 1990 to fifty seven per cent in 2001. (20th British Attitude Survey 2003:161). As Briley comments "In the UK in 1993, seventy one per cent of women in the 16-59 age groups were economically active, representing an increase of sixteen per cent over the nine years since 1984. Of this increase, forty per cent was in part-time working." (1996: 8).

Hakim (1995) suggests that part-time work is voluntarily chosen by women and argues against the 'dominant feminist view' that suggests that part-time work is an unwilling choice forced upon women because of their domestic responsibilities. Hakim comments that; "part-time workers enjoy the highest levels of job satisfaction despite being restricted to the least attractive jobs (1995: 436). Although Hakim adds that childcare problems do not prevent large numbers of mothers working full-time, little recognition is attributed to the prohibitive cost of childcare especially for non-professional workers or the financial necessity for mothers to seek employment. Others also disagree with this view believing that Hakim's opinion underplays the role of situational factors or

other constraints which may influence employees' desire for part-time work (Ginn 1996; Crompton 1997; Warren 2000). Whilst undoubtedly there will be a proportion of individuals who will voluntarily choose to work part-time, it is likely that time restrictions involved with the undertaking of childcare will significantly restrict an individual's availability for employment.

Ginn et al (1996) suggests that the attraction of part-time work can only properly be understood in the context of the demands on women's time and childcare costs which limit their employment options. Even though many women may have decided to revert to part-time working over recent years at the expense of full-time employment, it seems likely (in line with the views of Ginn et al 1996) that the reasons for this choice are more involved than suggested by Hakim. Moen and Dempster-McClain (1987) suggest that although most individuals may have worked full-time prior to childbirth for many, priorities change as life progresses and this change is often accelerated upon the birth of a child to a point where quality of life and time with family is considered more important than a career. Lydia Morris comments upon balancing career with family and the changing nature of female employment: "Equally significant, however, is the concentration of part-time work among married women, accounting for fifty one per cent of their employment in 1981, as against fifteen per cent for a single woman, peaking for the 35 – 44 age groups." (Morris in Allan 2000: 215).

The onset of children within a relationship naturally disrupts the work pattern of one (or both) of the parents. Although the increasing role of women within the labour market is undisputed, it is with the advent of children that many women either cease work or following the birth of their child, chose to reduce their hours to a part-time basis. Hakim comments: "For many (but not all) women and some men, part-time work is subordinate to the family-centred non-market activities which are easily subsumed under the label of 'childcare responsibilities'." (1998: 115). However, dependent children appear to affect part-time women workers' current and future employment preferences in different ways (Walsh 1999).

Brannen and Moss (1991) comment: "The great majority of women in mid-1980's Britain still left the workforce after the birth of their first child. Among women having their first child at the end of the 1970's, only seventeen per cent had returned to employment within six months of the birth (8 per cent to full-time employment, 9 per cent to part-time) and only twenty five per cent had returned within twelve months; overall a mere three per cent resumed employment within six

months of each birth, hence effectively remaining in employment throughout their childbearing years.” (1991: 27/28).

If an individual's home life is disrupted by work it is likely that their work performance will be affected by their domestic situation. Becker (1991) supports this argument and states that mothers may be less productive in employment than non-mothers because they are tired from home duties or because they are 'storing' energy for anticipated work at home. Budig and England (2001) add that mothers may spend time while at work worrying about their children resulting in a negative effect in work performance. Furthermore, the stress resulting from employment can affect marital relationships by increasing hostile or withdrawn behaviour in either spouse, (Barling and Rosenbaum 1986; Crouter et al 1989; Repetti 1989). Despite the fact that any one aspect of an individual's life may be easily manageable, previous literature disregards the cumulative effect of maintaining a home and caring for children whilst undertaking part-time unsocial hours working. It could be suggested that it is this aspect that could prove be the most significant factor and therefore have the greatest effect upon the individual and their family.

1.3 The reasons for the trend in unsocial hours working

a. Employer's demands

More than perhaps other businesses, the trading hours within the customer service industry have expanded in recent years in line with consumer demand. The Licensing Act 1988 permitted alcohol to be served throughout the day and in so doing, increased the trading hours a licensed premises could operate. The Sunday Trading Act 1994 permitted the larger retail organisations to operate legally any six hours between 10 am and 6 pm. For smaller shops, those under 280 square metres, there is no restriction, allowing them to operate limitless of hours, seven days a week. The Licensing Act 2003 has further expanded trading opportunities for the hospitality industry with greater flexibility permissible for premises wishing to serve food and drink between 11 pm and 5 am. To cater for this extended leisure culture, hotels, restaurants, bars, shops and supermarkets require an ever growing number of part-time staff to work flexibly ensuring customers have the service they demand.

Whilst the demand for additional employees is clear, satisfying this demand can be more difficult. After a break from the world of work, (as experienced by mothers returning to employment) the

skills 'gap' becomes a significant factor in the availability and status of work offered. Budig and England (2001) suggest that many employers treat women differently because of their motherhood status by placing them in less rewarding jobs, promoting them less, or paying them less within jobs. Yeandle agrees and states: "For almost all of those with one child, the kind of employment obtained after the break for childcare was of lower status and less well paid than that held beforehand." (1983:61). A study conducted by Waldfogel in 1997 concluded that a reduction in job experience would also affect financial remuneration with a wage penalty of six per cent for one child and thirteen per cent for mothers with two or more children. Nickson, Warhurst, Lockyer and Dutton also comment upon this form of employment and state that working in retail (especially in the UK) and in particular supermarkets, was until recently, regarded with little interest and conceived by many as women working for 'pin money' (2004: 261).

It is therefore clear that even though employers may have an increased demand for additional part-time employees; these jobs are rarely considered to be of great value. Despite the fact that in overall terms the demand for female part-time working has increased (The Office for National Statistics – Labour Force Survey – Quarterly Supplement May 2002 and April 2005), no specific information could be located relating to the level of part-time unsocial hours working. However, data from the Office of National Statistics confirm that, in the six to thirty hours per week category, women working part-time outnumber men by nearly five to one (Labour Force Survey, number 29, April 2005). It is also shown that within distribution, hotels and restaurants thirty one per cent of all employees' work part-time (Labour Force Survey - April 2005). It is therefore clear that females both occupy the majority of 'low hour' part-time positions and are particularly attracted to hospitality and retail especially within the six to thirty hours per week category. This trend has been consistent for several years with the Labour Force Survey 2002 showing very similar results. Employer's desire for a flexible workforce is discussed by Friesen (1997) who suggests that the demand for part-time employment has derived from the lack of flexibility offered by full-time workers. Fluctuation in consumer demand especially within hospitality and retail requires employment flexibility amongst the workforce. Friesen (1997) adds: "firms adjust their part-time labour force considerably more rapidly than their full-time labour force in a number of service-sector industries that employ substantial numbers of part-time workers." (1997: 503).

It has been established that mothers seeking employment, especially those undertaking childcare duties, are often forced to adopt part-time working as their only employment option (Ginn 1996;

Crompton 1997; Warren 2000). It is likely that this situation would increase especially if, due to a lack of childcare, they are only available during unsocial periods. Even without the availability of firm data on the levels, or gender division, of unsocial hours working, it is reasonable to suggest that a significant proportion of part-time work undertaken during unsocial periods is likely to be conducted by women and in particular, mothers.

Legislative procedures placed upon the employer have assisted in decreasing non-regulatory payments; however the utilisation of 'invisible' workers is still prevalent especially within the hospitality industry where 'casual' labour is a frequent occurrence. Whilst this may offer the ultimate in flexibility for employers, this practice encourages low pay and poor employment conditions for the individual. Furthermore, the lack of protection resulting from 'cash based', non-regulated employment can also result in the abuse of the individual. Naturally, this is of increased concern when considering the recent rise in migrant workers from Eastern Europe and beyond.

b. Types of part-time employment

The demand for part-time and flexible working has resulted in the development of various types of employment. Hakim describes three styles of part-time work and defines them as being:

- a. Reduced hours jobs
- b. Half-time jobs
- c. Marginal jobs

(1998: 116/117)

For the purpose of this study, half-time jobs are the main focus. Hakim defines half-time jobs as those being between 11 and 29 hours per week with marginal jobs being those up to 10 hours per week. Reduced hours jobs are described as being those a little below usual full-time hours: 30 - 36 per week. Reduced hours jobs, although less of a commitment than full-time employment still require a similar degree of organisation with regards to childcare and although it is possible to undertake these hours at unsociable or extended times, it is less likely especially if children are involved. Marginal jobs involve such few hours that any major impact upon lifestyle is unlikely. Beechey and Perkins (1987) discovered that part-time workers, especially those engaged in marginal hours, are often not classed by employers (or trade unions) as proper wage earners and often believed not to be committed to work.

Although any additional income no matter how slight, would assist with the finances of the household, it could be argued that marginal jobs are more often accepted for social reasons rather than for economic necessity. Therefore, it is the half-time jobs, ie: those between 11 and 29 hours a week that are often a compromise between marginal working and more often, full-time employment. These positions are expected to fit around the existing lifestyle of a primary worker and everyday household duties, often involving childcare and are regularly adopted during unsocial hours. As a result, it is the individuals occupying these positions that form the main focus of this study.

c. Supply: family aspirations, social and cultural attitudes

Although there are contrasting views regarding women's preferences which may influence their decision to adopt part-time employment, to date, attention has primarily been focused upon part-time working during the day as a substitute for full-time employment. The debate into what prompts women into choosing part-time employment based upon their work-home preferences (initiated by Hakim's 1991 'grateful slaves' article) fails to address the particular issue of part-time unsocial hours working. Such (2001) highlighted the importance of leisure in an individual's life and stresses the importance of leisure in regards to achieving a suitable work-life balance. When considering the nature of part-time unsocial hours working it is clear, due to the time when the work is conducted, that the achievement of leisure time and therefore a suitable work-life balance becomes significantly more difficult.

Based upon personal circumstances, there are several aspects that a mother may consider before deciding to return to work. Naturally childcare is often a major issue especially if the work chosen is during the day. Social expectations regarding the care of a child in addition to maternal instinct, all influence an individual's decision on when they return to work and the hours they adopt. However, whenever a mother decides to return to employment the position accepted is likely to be of a lower grade than held prior to childbirth (Budig and England 2001). Although the loss of experience during maternity may have an influence, Budig and England (2001) suggest that most mothers returning to employment often prefer positions that involve less responsibility. Part of this preference often leads a mother to adopt part-time work especially if they wish to combine childcare with employment. Whilst the decision to choose part-time work may allow a mother greater opportunity to combine childcare with employment (especially during unsocial hours) the

quality of those jobs do not always match the quality of employment offered full-time (Burchell et al 1997; Hakim 1997; McRae 1995; Rubery 1998; Warren 2000).

The reduced hours commitment of part-time work together with lower financial remuneration (as confirmed by Hurrell 2005) leads Hakim (1995) to conclude that the commitment of a part-time worker to part-time work is not equal to the commitment of a full-time worker to full time work. Due to the reduced hours worked, the impact upon an individual's life is less with the motivation and satisfaction to adopt such working being due to a sense of 'independence' and contribution rather than to the work itself. Rubery et al (1994) suggest that although job satisfaction within part-time employment may be expressed, this is likely to reflect a part-time employee's lack of alternatives and weak bargaining power position with employers due to the need to accommodate domestic responsibilities including childcare. Although individuals seeking part-time employment may indeed have weak bargaining power, it is suggested that the reasons why women choose to return to work especially during extended or unsocial periods are more involved.

It has been argued that a significant degree of motivation for women with children to adopt part-time employment has been a strategy for combining working with family life, enabling them to co-ordinate, manage, harmonise and synchronize their role as a family carer and worker (Eberhardt and Shani 1984; Hall and Gordon 1973; Horn, 1979; Miller and Terborg 1979). However, Warren (2004) adopts a wider view and suggests the aspiration of women within their employment is to achieve and maintain a 'work-life' balance. Although this may alter with the addition of children, it is generally accepted that, in an attempt to reduce stress and the physical demands of employment, shorter hours (ie: part-time) and lower level employment is sought (Brannen 1992; Ginn and Sandall 1997). Although this desire may be achievable with employment adopted during the day, especially if financial need is not the prime motivation for working, the role accumulation especially with unsocial hours employment, can result in both physical and mental difficulties (Frone, Russell and Cooper 1991, 1992; Menaghan and Parcel 1990).

1.4 Specific issues involved in part-time unsocial hours working

a. Childcare provision

When examining the particular issues surrounding an individual's decision to return to work, the cost and availability of childcare is often a prime consideration. Brannen and Moss (1991) partly apportion the poor rate of return to work upon government policy regarding parental leave and childcare facilities. They outline government policy, post 1945, and document the progressive decline of nursery care in addition to the reluctant and lackadaisical introduction of maternity leave. Briley supports this view and states: "Lack of access to affordable childcare, lack of information on available childcare and lack of provision overall have consistently been identified as being among the main barriers to women's participation in economic life, that is, to the labour market." (1996: 74). Although this situation has improved within the last few years with the introduction of enhanced maternity leave and the greater availability of nursery care, the cost of pre-school care and the uncertainty regarding quality, still ensures that many individuals will seek part-time employment during unsocial periods to avoid the need for external childcare.

It has been established that part-time unsocial hours employment choices are likely to be linked to non-market childcare (ie: spouse, family or close friend) since most market childcare is available only on a full-time and/or daytime basis (Fox-Folk and Beller 1993). Furthermore, the status of the individual and the work undertaken has relevance due to the cost of market childcare (particularly out-of-hours childcare) demanding a considerable degree of income to make employment viable. Warren (2000) establishes that most women working part-time frequently occupy manual jobs. They are also employed in some of the lowest status jobs, and with the shortest hours, and therefore received some of the lowest pay. It was noted that these individuals were normally with partners that were also likely to be employed in low paid manual jobs (Warren 2000) and it is these types of employees that are attracted to a range of positions available throughout the hospitality and retail industries especially during unsocial hours as a means of avoiding the cost of external childcare. Paull and Taylor (2002) confirm this issue and examine the question of mothers' employment and childcare use in Britain and agree that women are more likely to seek part-time work as a result of combining employment with childcare, especially if they are with a partner. This aspect is further emphasised by the lower proportion of single parents adopting part-time employment as shown in the figure below.

Full-time and part-time employment rates for women

Table 4

	With partner		Single	
	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children
<i>% of women:</i>				
Not working	35.6	26.9	61.0	32.3
Working part-time	36.6	22.0	20.3	11.8
Working full-time	27.8	51.1	18.6	55.9
Sample size (number of women)	23,733	25,837	7,689	17,345

Note: Part-time employment is defined as less than 30 hours each week, while full-time employment is defined as 30 hours or more each week. Those on maternity leave with a youngest child under the age of 1 are included as employed. Information based upon the Labour Force Survey 1999, the Family Resources Survey 1994 to 1999 and the Equal Opportunities Report 2000. (Paull and Taylor 2002: 19)

Childcare responsibilities are often at the heart of the difficulties for women choosing to work part-time, especially during extended and unsocial times. Although Hakim (1991) claims that part-time work is voluntarily chosen by women, it could be argued that it is the issue of childcare that impinges upon a mother's availability to return to full-time employment therefore increasing the attractiveness of part-time working especially during unsocial hours. Ginn and Arber (1994) suggest that even having adult children in the household increases the likelihood that mid-life women (those in excess of forty years old) work part-time, suggesting that the domestic workload associated with non-dependent children restricts women's capacity to take full time employment. However, whatever the age of the children, "the evidence that childcare is a major factor in restricting British women's full-time employment seems undeniable," (Ginn et al: 1996: 169/170).

For a family, who is already suffering from financial pressure, the high cost of childcare reduces the value of income gained as a result of part-time employment. A simple telephone survey to three childcare providers across the Hampshire area (outlined below) shows the average cost of childcare to be around three pounds per hour.

Typical childcare costs within the Hampshire region 2004

Table 5

Type of care	Average hourly cost
Nursery	£3.00
Childminder	£2.75
Out-of-school club	£1.50
Crèche	£3.50

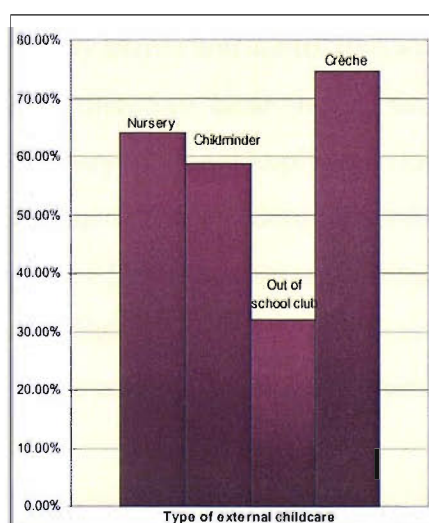
Source: The average totals shown resulted from a telephone survey of three providers from each sector across the Southampton, Winchester and Basingstoke areas during February 2004.

When considering an average replenishment assistant (as interviewed for this study) who chooses to work during the day, it can be seen that (taking an average eight hour working day) the cost of external childcare can represent nearly three quarters of their gross income making day time working for financial return pointless.

Illustration of the cost of childcare as percentage of average wage earned

(based upon a supermarket replenishment assistant paid £4.69 per hour)

Table 6



Proportion of hourly pay (based upon £4.69 per hour) as a percentage of average childcare cost. (2004)

The prohibitive cost of childcare is confirmed by the CIPD in their October 2002 survey. Although no distinction was made between full and part-time workers, the survey concluded that parents (mainly young parents) give UK childcare an average score of only 4 out of 10 for affordability. Furthermore, only 25 per cent of parents interviewed felt that childcare costs were acceptable with 55 per cent rating the affordability of childcare as being poor.

It is therefore clear that the issue of childcare continues to be a major dilemma for most parents. Difficulties surrounding childcare have remained a constant issue for many years, and although now regarded as a historical study, Freeman (1982) comments: "In fact, private solutions are often so precarious that they add to the employed mother's burden. However they delegate childcare responsibilities, mothers are limited in the number of hours they can work as well as in when those hours can be." (Freeman, C. in West, J. [ed] 1982:141).

b. Secondary/supplementary earnings

Before a discussion relating to secondary/supplementary income can be undertaken, the extent of this term need to be explored and a definition needs to be established.

It should be emphasised that the term secondary is not a derogatory term but refers to the earning of an additional wage, usually extra to that of a partner's full-time income. Hakim comments upon secondary wage earners and concludes that an economists' definition would be: ".....someone who relies on another person as the primary earner and contributes a partial or secondary income to the collective pot." (1998: 115). It is therefore clear that in this respect, the term 'secondary' (sometimes referred to as supplementary) does not imply 'inferior' or in any way less important but usually, for domestic or personal reasons, the secondary, (or additional) wage earner would have other responsibilities preventing them from undertaking full-time employment. This 'part-time' aspect is again commented upon by Hakim: ".... full-time workers are typically primary earners while part-time workers are almost invariably secondary earners." (2001: 55)

It has been established that part-time workers are disadvantaged in several ways when compared to their full-time colleagues. In 2004 forty-four per cent of women in work were employed part-time although on average female part-time workers earned twenty seven per cent less per hour than women working full-time (Hurrell 2005). The occupational segregation of part-time women

employees into low paying sectors and jobs explains much of this gap (Equal Opportunities Commission 2005). In 2003-04, twenty five per cent of women in Great Britain were either shop assistants (including hospitality), care assistants or cleaners whilst only four per cent were managers or senior officials. This compares to fifteen per cent of full-time working women who were managers or senior officials (Manning and Petrongolo 2004).

Undoubtedly, the issue of monetary income (desire or need) is a major factor within any household and as such accounts for the majority of individuals choosing to adopt part-time employment. Jacobs and Gerson comment: "Because most married couples now depend on two incomes, this experience has become typical rather than unusual." (2001: 47). Having been conditioned to the benefits of dual incomes before the birth of children, the sudden and dramatic reduction in money entering the household invariably has a major impact causing considerable financial hardship and adding additional strain onto a relationship. Although the study by Jacobs and Gerson fails to distinguish between full and part-time workers they comment: "Too much time at work can undermine personal and family welfare, whereas too little time can endanger a family's economic security and lower its standard of living." (2001: 40). Although undoubtedly some households financially push themselves to the very limit, others realise that prudence is important. Most new couples expect that one day they will have a family and as such, structure their finances to 'survive' on one income with the secondary wage being used for 'little extra's' such as a new car, furniture or holidays (Charles and Kerr 1988). Brannen also defines this term and comments "Women not infrequently referred to their earnings as being for 'luxuries', 'extras' savings, and 'things we couldn't afford if I wasn't working.'" (Brannen in Arber and Gilbert 1992: 63). However, it could be argued that a structural fragility may be reinforced by consumer decisions taken by families (Fox 1980) which in turn add additional strain often resulting in work-family conflict (Williams and Alliger 1994).

Whilst the higher levels of females engaged in part-time employment has been shown, Walsh (1999) suggests the adoption of part-time employment may not always be voluntary. Analysing part-time female employees and their orientations to work and working hours Walsh concludes that "women who worked full-time in their last job were more likely to be involuntarily located in part-time and want to return to full-time work in the future". (1999: 21). Walsh adds that most part-time female employees were indeed secondary earners (78 per cent) whose partner worked full-time (94 per cent). Furthermore, nearly one in four women (24.9 per cent) was working either "because they

earned enough money to satisfy their needs; they liked social contact; or they simply had no interest in working full-time.” (1999: 189). Although Walsh comments that there is no evidence that these women were ‘trapped’ in part-time employment because of limited opportunities to transfer to full-time work, Walsh concludes: “..dependent children appeared to effect part-time women workers’ current and future employment preferences in different ways. While the presence of pre-school age children reduced the odds of a woman wanting to move currently into full-time work, the presence of school age children increased the likelihood that a woman would wish to return to full-time work in the future.” (1999: 197).

c. Work-family conflict and role accumulation

Whilst the additional income received as a result of part-time employment undoubtedly contributes towards the finances of the household; consideration needs to be given to the impact working part-time unsocial hours may have upon the individual and their family life. Bonnie Fox describes in the publication ‘Hidden in the Household’ the dilemma of the ‘double workday’, ie: combining domestic chores and paid employment, and discusses the varying motivation factors that influence a married woman’s decision to return to work. Fox concludes that the reasons why married women choose to work are not consistent and would vary depending upon the individual’s social and economic class. Fox comments: “Clearly, the pressures that are driving married women into the workforce are not uniform. They are different for different women, and consequently the double workday affects women in different ways. For lower income, working-class women the assumption of a double work load arises out of a clear and absolute need.” (1980: 208). In connection with financial need, there is the issue of social status which Fagan (2001) suggests can influence the motivation of a mother’s return to work following childbirth. Fagan comments: “In dual-employed manual households with children, the mother is less likely to work full-time than mothers in dual-employed managerial/professional households.” (2001: 1206).

Whereas working women from middle class backgrounds or those who have husbands who enjoy an enhanced level of income are more likely to work for social reasons, the large volume of individuals working for financial necessity (or as Fox would describe, from ‘absolute need’) suggests that the majority of individuals engaged in unsocial hours working would be positioned within the lower regions of the social scale (Kivimaki, Kuisma, Virtanen and Elovainio 2001). Naturally families need to ensure a suitable and sustainable level of income, which meets the needs, wants, and desires of the family members; however a balance needs to be maintained to

ensure that one area does not unreasonably suffer at the expense of another. Jacobs and Gerson comments: “Accounts that point to a shift in time or loyalty to paid work, whether due to rising employer demands or shifting employee preferences, suggest that work commitments are encroaching on the needs of the family.” (2001: 41). Economic pressure can also generate tension and conflict within families which can result in decreased parental warmth, increased irritability and greater anger. (Whitbeck, Simons, Conger, Wickrama, Ackley and Elder 1997).

Traditionally, most social science studies have concentrated upon role conflict (Gutek and Larwood 1987) and although it is generally recognised that combining full-time employment with the care of a family places a strain upon a relationship (Fox 1980), it is considered by many, that part-time employment has little impact. Whilst the additional income is often seen as a benefit, it is particularly difficult for women to combine employment, even on a part-time limited basis, or to persuade their partners to assist with household duties mainly due to the modern demands of men’s employment (Fagan 2001). It is recognised that part-time employment is generally regarded as being more attractive to a woman (Hakim 2001) because of the prevailing norms of the sexual division of labour in the family, sometime referred to as the ‘gender contract’ (Pfau-Effinger 1993) it is therefore crucial to understand the nature of the employment and its effects upon, not only the individual but also upon the work undertaken. The trend from the retail, catering and distribution industries of having a higher incidence of unsocial working (Rubery, Smith and Fagan 1999) is now well established; however the effect of this increased level of employment, especially when combined with childcare duties, has yet to be determined.

It is generally accepted that the bi-directional demands part-time work places upon an individual’s life (ie: family demands which affect work and work demands that affect the family) can result in conflict developing between work and family (Gutek et al 1991; Rice et al 1992; Carlson et al 2000; Kinnunen et al 2004). Periods spent at work are times not available for the family whilst domestic duties restrict flexibility for working. The issue of conflict arising from work and family is generally examined in two differing ways. Firstly, there is the work-family conflict where employment activities influence issues at home and secondly there is family to work conflict where issues at home affect matters at work. Rice et al (1992) noted that work-to-family conflict was reported three times more frequently than family-to-work conflict by both male and female adults with a spouse and/or children. Kinnunen, Geurts and Mauno (2004) concur with this view and comment that employees perceive that their work interferes with family life far more than the other

way around. Although these studies did not distinguish between full and part-time workers, it is likely that the nature of unsocial hours working would magnify any work-family conflict experienced. This issue of duality of conflict influencing work is also highlighted by Carlson, Kacmur and Williams (2000) who comment: “Most researchers have begun to recognise the duality of work-family conflict by considering both directions: work interface with family and family interface with work.” (2000: 250). This issue can be expanded further using an earlier definition by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) who describe family, time and behaviour based conflict. Gutek, Searle and Klepa (1991) argue that each of these three forms of work-family conflict has two directions: Conflict due to work interfering with family and conflict due to family interfering with work

Carlson et al combine these two directions with the three forms of family conflict inevitably leading to a six dimensional family-work conflict.

Dimensions of work-family conflict

Table 7

Directions of Work-Family Conflict

Work Interference with Family Family Interference with Work

Forms of Work-Family Conflict	Time	Time Based Work Interference with Family	Time Based Family Interference with Work
	Strain	Strain Based Work Interference with Family	Strain Based Family Interference with Work
	Behavioural	Behavioural Based Work Interference with Family	Behavioural Based Family Interference with Work

(Carlson et al, 2000: 251)

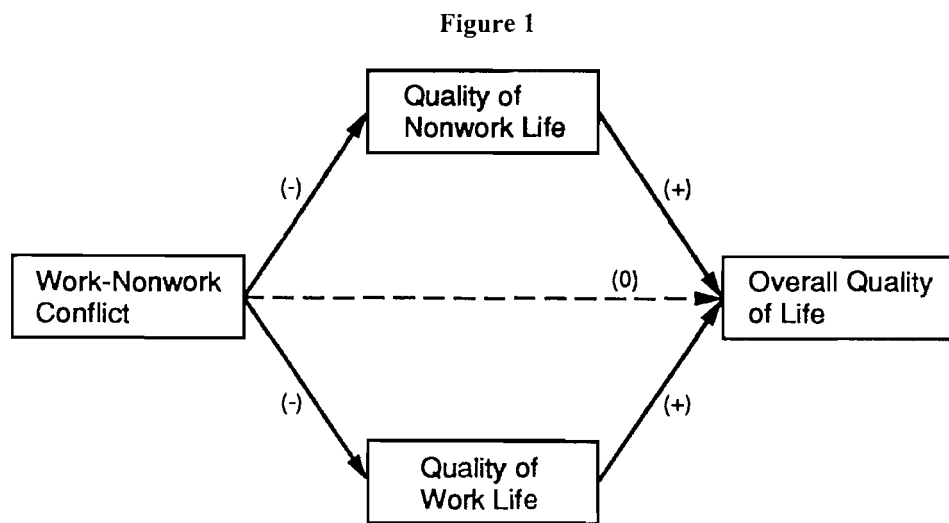
Although the study conducted by Carlson et al centres around the full-time working of women, their results and findings have a relevance to part-time working and especially part-time unsocial hours working. When applying this model to extended and unsocial working, particularly within hospitality and retail, it is important to remember the nature of the work involved. As discussed earlier, it is mainly females who engage in this form of work and although only working on a part-

time basis, the nature of the role, being conducted during unsocial times, can result in a combined strain being exerted upon both the individual and the family. Carlson et al comment: "On four of the six dimensions of conflict significant differences were found, more specifically, females were found to experience more conflict than men in terms of all three family interference with work forms of conflict (time, strain, and behaviour) as well as strain based work interference with family conflict." (2000: 267). Therefore, due to the unsocial hours in which the individuals examined in this study were engaged, it is likely that the affect upon the family would be more pronounced than if the work was conducted during the day. Although Carlson et al (2000) do not apply their model to practical applications; the conflict experienced by females is clearly identified. It has been determined that females are more likely to adopt the primary childcare responsibility and undertake more household duties especially within households where the female considers herself engaged in a 'marriage career' (Hakim 1995). When the issue of employment is considered, the strain and conflict experienced by females is clear; however the nature of extended and unsocial working, even on part-time basis would suggest that a more common problem would be work interference with family. This view concurs with Carlson et al who conclude: "Most researchers suggest that work interference with family conflict is greater than family interference with work conflict." (2000: 270).

Although it may be the case that a husband, partner or family member would more likely be available to conduct childcare out of normal hours, this may not always be conducted willingly adding further to family conflict. Furthermore, the very nature of unsocial hours working would invariably conflict with the family time available with a partner which in turn may place greater strain upon a relationship. (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton and Emlen 1993).

The conflict generated by part-time unsocial hours working together with the satisfaction and contentment received as a result of part-time working, highlight the issue of quality of life and work/non-work conflict. Rice, Frone and McFarlin (1992) examined this issue with regards to the perceived quality of life. The paths highlighted in the figure below illustrate the two mutually exclusive categories of work and non-work.

An additive model of work and non-work conflict and the overall quality of life



(Rice, Frone and McFarlin 1992: 158)

This model divides the many domains of life into two mutually exclusive categories, namely work and non-work. Overall quality of life is determined by only two variables being the quality of work life and the quality of non-work life. The effect of work/non-work conflict is indirect being mediated by quality of work life and/or quality of non-work life. The dotted line follows the proposition of Rice et al that quality of work life and quality of non-work life are the only direct determinants of the overall quality of life.

Although 'quality' of life is judged personally and can be very subjective, the effect of trying to balance work with family life can result in detrimental consequences. Combining work with family can be difficult and together with role strain can lead to psychological symptoms such as higher stress, (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton and Emlen 1993) increased depression, (Googins 1991) physical ailments, (Frone, Russell and Cooper 1997), increased stomach complaints (Burke 1988) lower life satisfaction (Adams and King 1996; Aryee 1992; Higgins, Duxbury and Irving 1992) and lower energy levels (Googins 1991). It is therefore clear that the issue of perceived quality of life does not hinge solely upon employment (more especially part-time employment) once again confirming the importance of relationships and the influence of the family. It is therefore likely that unsocial hours working would have a greater effect upon relationships especially if female working concurrently follows the employment of a partner. There is considerable evidence demonstrating

that work stressors can produce strain symptoms such as tension, anxiety, fatigue, depression, apathy and irritability, (Brief, Schula and Van Sell, 1981; Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Whilst any one part of an individual's life may be manageable, it is the accumulation of childcare, the maintenance of a home together with part-time employment that can result in extra strain being placed upon an individual and the relationship with their partner. The addition of children to a relationship can itself add to levels of stress. In a survey conducted by the CIPD, eighty three per cent of part-time employees admitted that stress levels had increased since having children (CIPD: Work, parenting and careers – October 2002). It is understandable that some mothers may wish to 'resume' their life after the birth of a child and whilst it is recognised that occupying multiple roles may provide individuals with psychological benefits such as status, ego gratification and increased self-esteem (Williams and Alliger 1994), there are also potential costs to consider. The negative consequences associated with role accumulation can include role strain, psychological distress and somatic complaints (Frone, Russell and Cooper 1991, 1992; Menaghan and Parcel 1990) and together can make an individual's life intolerable to a point where real damage occurs. Hughes, Galinsky and Morris (1992) comment that work regarded as demanding or not rewarding is likely to increase the chances of work-family strain. It has also been suggested that tension and stress experienced in the household is likely to spill over into the workplace further adding to the pressure of employment (Barling and MacEwen 1992). This would likely be intensified if the work involved a degree of emotional labour as experienced with many positions within hospitality and retail. Should an individual engaged in part-time unsocial hours working within hospitality and retail underestimate the demands of combining employment with childcare and the maintenance of a home, the ensuing role accumulation could result in strained personal relationships and unsettlement amongst families.

1.5 Conclusion

It is clear that whilst there has been substantial debate and discussion surrounding the growth of part-time working (Paoli and Merllié 2001), the level of female working (Romans and Hardarson 2005; Klein, Berman and Dickson 2000), and issue of work-life balance (Lloyd and Auld 2002; Warren 2004; Healy 2004), little consideration has been given to the issue of when the work is conducted. Undoubtedly, the adoption of part-time unsocial hours working allows for additional duties to be undertaken during the day. Although this may initially be considered by many as an advantage, this chapter has highlighted the potential difficulties associated with over commitment and role accumulation (Frone, Russell and Cooper 1991, 1992; Menaghan and Parcel 1990). Whilst previous studies disagree over what motivates a woman to adopt part-time employment, ranging from voluntarily choosing to work part-time (Hakim 1995) to being forced into the situation because of family circumstances (Ginn 1996; Crompton 1997; Warren 2000), there is broad agreement that part-time jobs are generally worse than full-time (Burchell et al 1997; Hakim 1997; McRae 1995; Rubery et al 1998; Warren 2000), especially in terms of hourly pay, training opportunities, fringe benefits and statutory rights (Dale and Joshi 1992).

Whilst matters have improved in recent years, there is still a distinct disparity between full and part-time employment with indirect rather than direct discrimination remaining (Warren 2000). Although 'The Working Time Regulations' (1998) attempt to reduce exploitation for employees, being mainly directed towards full-time workers it can allow part-time employees to bypass the legislation therefore being unaffected by the protection offered by governmental regulations. Although holiday pay now is a statutory right regardless of hours worked, some companies 'purchase' this right for part-time and casual staff with an enhanced rate of pay therefore destroying the principles behind the holiday scheme. Even so, part-time workers are still at a disadvantage when compared to their full-time colleagues with regards to pay (Hurrell 2005). Furthermore, pension opportunities for part-time workers rarely reflect those offered to full-time employees due to the short nature of the employment and the reduced hours worked. Add to this the vocational nature of most part-time work reflected in reduced training and promotional opportunities (Dale and Joshi 1992) and it is clear that part-time workers do not enjoy the same benefits and advantages available to their full-time colleagues. It is therefore unsurprising that the commitment of a part-time worker to part-time work is not equal to the commitment of a full-time

worker to full-time work, although part-time employees despite being restricted to the least attractive jobs often express the highest amount of job satisfaction (Hakim 1995).

Although the issue of part-time unsocial hours working is growing in significance (Paoli and Merllié 2001), minimum attention has hitherto been paid to this sector of the workforce. Glover (2002) concludes the normal two role approach of work and family, usually focused upon by previous literature, should be widened to include interpersonal roles such as domestic worker, mother, partner and household work. This builds upon an earlier range of multidisciplinary 'quality of life' debates which included life domains such as financial resources, leisure, dwelling and neighbourhood, family and friends, friendships, social participation and health (Cummins 1996). Whilst undoubtedly each one of these elements is important, (with virtually every aspect of an individual's life being considered) no reference is made to the hours in which the work is undertaken and how this may influence the achievement of a work-life balance. The working of unsocial hours invariably involves working when others are not, and therefore it could be argued that four of the key elements as outlined by Cummins (1996) namely, leisure, family and friends, friendships and social participation would likely suffer disruption. It is these effects that this study focuses upon and although Warren (2004) forwards a proposal to extend the debate into the working lives of women to include wider aspects of women's lives, little consideration as yet has been given to individuals balancing home life with the care of dependant children and part-time employment during unsocial hours.

This study continues this debate and examines the effects of part-time unsocial hours working amongst secondary wage earners within hospitality and retail. The expansion in trading hours amongst hospitality outlets and retail organisations has resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of part-time workers being employed during unsocial and non-conventional periods (McOrmond 2004). The continual growth of part-time unsocial hours working within the service sector makes both the hospitality and retail industry ideally suited to determine the effects and consequences of adopting this from of working.

The following chapter of this thesis discusses the methodology used in this research. It summarises the research question and critically assesses the techniques used in the data collection process. It concludes with an outline of the timetable used for this study and describes the methods adopted for the analysis and the presentation of the results.

2. Research Methodology

Contents

Title	Page Number
2.1 Introduction	47
2.11 Hospitality and retail – a definition	48
2.2 The issues surrounding the selected sample	50
2.21 Profile of the selected sample	50
2.3 Preserving confidentiality	54
2.4 The methods adopted for data collection	54
2.41 A qualitative approach	58
2.42 Semi-structured interview techniques and data analysis	59
2.43 Timetable for data collection	60
2.5 Conclusion	62
2.51 Summary	63

2.1 Introduction

Employment can be adopted for financial or social reasons, however working the ‘double-day’ (Fox 1980) or ‘second shift’ (Hochschild 1989), caring for children during the day whilst working evenings, nights and/or weekends, clearly provokes consequences far beyond that of the family. The emotional labour element of service sector jobs further adds to this strain (Morris and Feldman 1996) which can often lead to increased feelings of burnout and inauthenticity. (Erickson and Ritter 2001). This study concentrates upon part-time unsocial hours working amongst secondary wage earners within hospitality and retail. It specifically asks how this type of employment affects the individual, their relationship with their partner and their work performance. When considering the cumulative effect of trying to manage part-time unsocial hours employment combined with childcare and the maintenance of a home, it is anticipated that the problems associated will be accelerated and intensified. It is therefore likely that the added element of unsocial hours working will have a significant influence upon the achievement of a suitable work-life balance and it is this issue which forms the main focus of the study.

This chapter of the thesis outlines the research process; it examines the methods of data collection adopted and considers why these methods were chosen. In addition, the grouping together of hospitality and retail is justified and a definition of the two industries is provided. This section continues with an examination of the interviewee selection process and discusses the factors considered when choosing the research sample. The importance of partnerships with the retail and hospitality industry is also considered with an assessment of why these particular organisations were selected in relation to standard procedures and uniform employment policy. It should be stressed that although both research companies generously offered free access to their premises, procedures and personnel, they had no involvement with the research process. This research was conducted entirely independently without corporate involvement, financial sponsorship or preset agenda.

This chapter finally concludes with a critical assessment of the research methods used. It considers the benefits of using a case study approach and outlines both the qualitative and quantitative techniques adopted. It discusses the thought process behind the research and concludes by outlining a clear methodological approach on which the data collection process is based.

2.11 Hospitality and retail – a definition

It has been established that for individuals seeking part-time unsocial hours employment, the hospitality and retail industries offer significant opportunities and therefore, for the purpose of this study, are grouped together. However although the hospitality industry regularly participates in extended and unsocial working, not all sectors of the retail industry currently engage in this form of working. To clearly focus upon the boundaries of these industries, a definition of each sector is required. Although an official definition describes hospitality as being “kindness in welcoming strangers or guests” (Collins 1990) a more accurate definition for the hospitality industry could be a business that offers refreshment to a paying customer for consumption on the premises. The type of organisation grouped under this description is broad and includes hotels, bars, restaurants, social clubs, canteens and all other forms of catering where customer directly purchase and consume the final product whilst on the premises.

Collins (1990) defines retail as “the sale of goods individually or in small quantities to consumers.” However this definition can be expanded to include an organisation (not necessarily premises) that sells individual products (or products in small groups) directly to the consumer for use or consumption off the premises. Although it is recognised that supermarkets do not comprehensively represent all areas of retailing, the extended trading policies adopted by most major supermarkets allow the consequences of this form of working to be graphically demonstrated. Furthermore, the quantity of personnel engaged at each supermarket site, allowed easier access to a relatively large number of individuals upon which this study was based.

It is therefore clear that in many respects hospitality and retail offer similarities especially when examining the profile of part-time workers and their motivation for adopting their part-time unsocial hour’s employment. Both the supermarkets and the restaurants examined in this study were located in areas of high population. From the interviews undertaken during year one, 78 individuals from the 86 interviewed (91 per cent) quoted either the convenient location or hours available as the primary factor for their choice of employment. Preference to their particular employer and the style of work undertaken was only quoted by 6 of the interviewees (7 per cent) indicating that few individuals seeking part-time unsocial hours working were motivated by the actual employment undertaken. It therefore could be suggested that a worker, especially one who is

seeking part-time employment at non-conventional times, or is returning to employment following the birth of a child, does not discriminate between hospitality and retail having similar perception of both forms of employment. Both industries offer similar employment opportunities including a variety of unskilled work and offer a similar degree of personal service to their customers. In this respect, the hospitality and retail (supermarket) industries are very similar to each other, both offering semi, lightly and unskilled work, based around customer service, during extended and unsocial periods of the day/week and located in centres of high population. Together these organisations currently represent the overwhelming majority of opportunities for part-time employment at extended or unsocial times of the day or during a weekend, and as such is the main justification for grouping these two industries together.

Whilst a definition of the two industries has been discussed, more attention is merited regarding the philosophy of these two sectors of industry. Although they are both service based and, as suggested above, may appear equally attractive to a part-time employee seeking unsocial hours employment, the two industries are clearly quite different businesses. Although hospitality concentrates upon the entertainment element as apposed to retail (where the cost of the products are the main issue) the element of customer service is comparable.

Similar to that of hospitality, the recent development in retailing, in the form of extended trading periods, has led to an enhanced service to the customer. The central role expected from workers within food retailing has therefore shifted away from the dehumanised, efficient processor to one of a smiling, welcoming, service based operative offering levels of service previously only experienced within hospitality. An example of this is the 'Super Servers' format where personnel are specifically designated to offer additional services including packing customer bags, carrying purchases to a customers car or fetching hard-to-find or forgotten items. Although the 'new' service role encouraged within retail (to match that of hospitality) offers a more human approach with an enhanced service to the consumer, the added pressure to remain cheerful and helpful often requires individuals to display an emotion which is not naturally felt. This suppression of emotion adds further strain to a service role where direct involvement with the end consumer is often a key element in the structure and philosophy of the organisation. Retail and hospitality represent the main sector of industry where end consumers interact personally with staff members at the point of sale. It is this interaction together with the increasing enhancement of service offered to the customer that leads to increased levels of emotional labour. Shackleton comments: "The recent

recruitment drives within food retailing specifically for Super-Servers perhaps suggest that some existing employees have had difficulty in adjusting to their new roles.” (1998: 229). It is this area of personal interaction with consumers together with the element of emotional labour that re-enforces the growing similarities between hospitality and retail.

2.2 The issues surrounding the selected sample

This section of the study outlines the parameters surrounding the selection of the sample used for data collection. It continues by considering the profile of the individuals and evaluates the approach of semi-structured interviewing. The effect of the presence of the researcher is a constant concern with any study (Silverman 2004). However despite the best efforts of a researcher, it is only with the assistance of the participative partners could any of the data have been collected. The helpful and co-operative attitude constantly offered by the supermarket chain and the restaurant group was very much appreciated.

2.21 The profile of the selected sample

To ensure that only relevant data was gathered, special attention was paid to an established profile of the individual upon which this study is based. To effectively monitor the changing attitude of part-time workers, recent recruits were preferred to ensure both the initial expectations of the employment and the actual experiences were recorded. Data was gathered regarding their changing attitude to unsocial working over the two years in which this research was conducted, paying particular attention to their original motivation, their subsequent thoughts, the hours undertaken and their views on the effect of such working upon themselves, their partner and their friends.

In addition to the specified target group of individuals (as defined below), all individuals participating in this study were required to meet strict employment criteria. As discussed earlier, it was decided for the purpose of this study that half-time jobs typified the situation of part-time extended and unsocial working and as such, is the main focus of this research. This type of employment is expected to fit around an existing lifestyle, dovetail into the work pattern of the primary worker and accommodate normal household duties, inevitably involving childcare. Half-time jobs, especially within the hospitality industry, rarely involve long shift hours (usually around

4 -5 hours) and as such are often more suited to this style of part-time worker. However although the working shift may be shorter than a conventional day, this form of customer based employment can often be physically exhausting (especially if duties include emotional labour) with an individual constantly remaining on their feet. The description by Bonnie Fox of the 'double-day' caring for children during traditional hours and working evenings and weekends, can place additional pressure upon a relationship which in itself can lead to a 'double-day' in reverse for a partner, with childcare duties required after work is complete and during expected periods of rest.

To summarise, the targeted group of individuals recruited for this study were:

1. Secondary wage earners (predominantly female) either married or involved in a committed (co-habiting) relationship

The purpose in selecting individuals engaged in committed co-habiting relationships was to ensure that only family units were selected. The impact that part-time unsocial working has upon the individual and their family is the main interest of this study.

2. With a partner working in full-time employment

It was considered important that the family unit selected consisted of a partner engaged in full-time employment thus preventing the mother, due to childcare duties, from undertaking regular hours working. As discussed earlier, the predominant reason that mothers returning to work following the birth of their child choose to adopt unsocial hours is due to childcare commitment during conventional times of the day. With most partners working regular daytime hours, they are normally available to care for the children during evenings and weekends.

3. With one or more dependent child

Naturally without children there is less incentive to adopt unsocial hours working. As a result it was considered that being a parent was an essential requirement of the study.

4. Aged between 20 years and 44 years of age

The primary reason that secondary wage earners choose to adopt part-time employment during unsocial periods is normally due to their unavailability during the conventional working day. This choice is normally forced upon them as a result of having to care for dependent children and therefore the age of the individuals selected needs to be carefully considered.

Walsh (1999) comments upon the financial imperatives underpinning the search for part-time work including the desire to supplement the income of the household. It was therefore thought likely that most individuals returning to work following the birth of their first child would do so primarily for financial reasons in an attempt to raise the living standards of the family. Circumstances following childbirth usually ensured there was a reduction in available income to that experienced prior to the birth of a child. This was normally because previously most individuals were employed full-time before deciding to start their family.

It was decided to specify a lower age limit of 20 as in reality, there would be few mothers below this age that would have had previous experience of employment and had established a stable relationship with a partner as described in point 1 above. On the upper age limit, it was decided that above the age of 44 an individual's children would probably be of an age where they were less dependant upon their mother and father and as such childcare responsibilities would diminish allowing the mother to either continue with their current position for more social reasons or to adopt employment during more regular hours. The financial burden of the household would also be expected to decrease with the progression of age with the impact of such things as a mortgage reducing in addition to a decline in general household needs as the children became more independent. The effect of this reduction would suggest that secondary workers above the age of 44, who are employed on a part-time basis, would be less financially motivated than perhaps they may have been some years earlier.

5. Working ‘half-hours’ ie: between 11 and 29 hours per week

It was felt that above 29 hours per week the hours worked would constitute almost full-time and as such, permanent or organised childcare would probably need to be arranged. This degree of organisation was felt to have a reduced effect upon the family and as such the adherence to Hakim’s upper limit of 29 hours per week was stipulated. Conversely, working 10 hours a week or less would result in minimal impact being experienced with employment often being sought for social reasons rather than monetary necessity. As a result, the full consequences of this style of working may not appear so prominent.

6. Engaged in either the hospitality or retail industries

With part-time unsocial working gaining in popularity it was felt important to choose an industry where the full effects of such working would be vividly demonstrated. With seven day opening and an operation that regularly stretches throughout the night, hospitality and retail are ideal industries in which to assess the full consequences of this style of employment.

7. Regularly working evenings and / or weekends

Although both hospitality and retail operate throughout the week it was the working of part-time unsocial hours that was the focus of this study. Although some individuals worked some conventional hours during the week, it was essential that unsocial hours employment was regularly undertaken.

2.3 Preserving confidentiality

All 86 interviews conducted across the seven sites visited during the process of the research use a coding system to track and match responses in addition to protecting the individual's identity. It was anticipated that many individuals would probably be reluctant to be too critical of their employer or discuss in detail areas which were personal and regarded as private. To encourage a frank and detailed discussion all the individuals interviewed were assured of complete confidentiality with their identity being protected and none of their comments being reported back to their employer. To ensure that this was achieved effectively, in addition to being able to track back to the individuals if required, a coding system was developed to identify each interviewee whilst maintaining their anonymity. Rather than merely using a numerical listing a system was developed to ensure that an individual's age, their employer and the site at which they worked was instantly identifiable.

This code is used throughout the remainder of this document and appears adjacent to each quotation from the interviews and cited in the text. Interviews conducted in year two are additionally marked with the letter 'b'. Although the names of the individuals were recorded, they are withheld by the author and are not published within this document.

2.4 The methods adopted for data collection

The basis of this study is structured using a longitudinal approach to track and record changes relating to the effect part-time unsocial working has upon secondary workers. Being mainly a qualitative study, the use of individual case studies forms an integral part of the overall thesis. Throughout this document, case vignettes are used to illustrate the individual circumstances typical interviewees endure in addition highlighting the issues that have developed as a result of their part-time unsocial hours working. The data collection process centred upon a personal interview of eighty-six individuals of which seventy-four were from the supermarket chain and twelve from the restaurant group. The disparity of numbers related to the quantity of personnel employed by each organisation and the number of people on each site. The large number of individuals employed by the supermarket allowed a greater opportunity for suitable individuals to be interviewed, however

it should be stressed that all interviewees met the strict criteria of the study. It should also be remembered, as discussed above, that it is argued that the hospitality and retail industries are inseparably close with regard to the nature of service based employment and therefore the issues resulting from the adoption of part-time unsocial hours employment are likely to be similar whichever industry the interviewees work in. To track the development of part-time unsocial hours working over time in addition to any changes in attitude, a secondary interview was arranged with selected individuals and conducted one year after the initial meeting. The selected individuals were chosen based upon the first interview and were regarded as 'typical' individuals who were either a new recruit when first interviewed or were already finding the adoption of part-time unsocial hours working more difficult than anticipated. The secondary follow-up interview one year later was again conducted during the interviewee's normal hours of work. It was conducted in private and similarly to the first interview, lasted for approximately forty-five minutes but unlike Year I, did not include a questionnaire.

All individuals selected for interview were recruited from seven different locations across southern England. Although the number of sites selected was not regarded as crucial, the number of individuals meeting the criteria and available for interview at each site resulted in a total of seven sites being chosen. Four of the locations occupied by the supermarket chain were selected because of their size (personnel employed) and therefore the availability of suitable personnel for interview. The remaining three locations occupied by the restaurant group were again selected because of their size (albeit much smaller than any of the supermarket sites) thus ensuring more individuals could be interviewed with the minimal arrangement of access.

Access to all sites with both the supermarket chain and restaurant group were arranged initially through the company head office and then through the regional office and local management. Interviews were conducted on the site of employment during the interviewee's normal work hours which was normally during the evening, nights or at the weekends. The interviewees were initially encouraged to complete a simple questionnaire designed to provide quantitative information relating to their employment followed by the semi-structured interview. The data collected from the questionnaires (an example of which is included in the appendix) allowed basic information to be gathered in a statistical manner providing the opportunity for comparative data to be easily presented. Information gathered included total hours worked each week, times of work undertaken and the length of time in current employment.

The graphs and tables illustrated throughout this document result mainly from the information gathered from these questionnaires.

Close contact with each site manager was considered beneficial; primarily to smooth the access to suitable candidates within a site and secondly when it came to rescheduling the secondary interviews in the following year. However staff turnover appeared to affect management in a similar manner to that of hourly paid employees. This was emphasised to a point where many contacts established in year one as being helpful and supportive were no longer engaged in their position when the scheduling of the follow-up interviews became due. This high level of turnover disrupted access with the re-establishment of relationships and lengthy explanations as to the purpose of the study becoming necessary. The lack of management continuity hindered the logistical arrangement for the Year II interviewees delaying access and disrupting the annual timings as had been previously arranged. However, although this was time consuming and inconvenient, the results from the Year II follow-up interviews were not considered to be effected.

Number of interviewees by site (year 1) – Combined total

Table 8

	Supermarket chain			Restaurant group				All
Site location	Southampton East	Winchester	Basingstoke	Southampton West	Portsmouth	Eastleigh	Bournemouth	
Site reference:	01	02	03	07	04	05	06	
Total Interviewed	32	8	20	14	6	3	3	86
per cent of total survey sample (year 1)	37.2 per cent	9.3 per cent	23.2 per cent	16.3 per cent	7 per cent	3.5 per cent	3.5 per cent	100 per cent

The purpose of the secondary follow-up interview after one year was to chart the changing attitudes toward employment, the affect upon the family life and to monitor the degree of support/resentment experienced from a participant's partner. During this period of approximately twelve months, it was felt that any alteration in the affect of unsocial and extended working would be experienced including any influence upon dependent children and any development (improvement or decline) in the relationship with a partner. If the research extended beyond a year, it was felt that too many individuals would be lost to other forms of employment and the results would begin to lose their focus through the natural progression of time. Even with this consideration, the high staff turnover experienced ensured that the majority of individuals were no longer available having either left their employment, or had moved to other sites. As a result, in Year II of the data collection process, a total of 23 individuals were re-interviewed from which 21 were employed by the supermarket chain and only 2 from the restaurant group.

Interviewee analysis by site (year 2) – Combined total

Table 9

	Supermarket chain			Restaurant group		All
Site location	Southampton - East	Winchester	Basingstoke	Southampton - West	Portsmouth	
Site reference:	01	02	03	07	04	
Total Interviewed	12	3	3	3	2	23
per cent of total survey sample (year 2)	52 per cent	13 per cent	13 per cent	13 per cent	9 per cent	100 per cent

It should also be remembered that part of the focus of this study is the impact part-time unsocial hours working has upon individual lives including the effect combining employment with daytime activities has upon work itself. In this respect the individual site in which the research was conducted is relevant as are the management practices at both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group were considered to effect the enjoyment of the work undertaken and therefore the individuals employed. The issue of management structure and procedure is examined in chapter five.

In addition to tracking the effect of adopting part-time unsocial hours working, the Year II follow-up interviews also allowed the ages of the interviewees to be monitored. In Year I it was noted that the spread of ages although concentrated around the 34 to 36 age group, were spread across the entire age group of 20 to 44 years old.

However in the Year II follow-up interviews it was noted that there were only two individuals aged below 30 years old still remaining in their employment when the second year interviews were undertaken. Whilst the small numbers of individuals interviewed for Year II should be remembered, the trend for older individuals who had remained in their employment for in excess of one year was noticeable. It was these individuals who generally had older children usually at school and therefore required less care during the day.

2.41 A qualitative approach

For the purpose of this study informal and in-depth interviewing was felt to be the most appropriate method of securing the full picture regarding the effect of out-of-hours working. This was not the only method adopted as described below, however due to the sensitive nature of the topic, the establishment of trust and a period of 'quiet time' away from the work environment was considered essential to enable the issues to be freely explored. In this respect qualitative research methods formed a pivotal basis on which the data collection process was based.

2.42 Semi-structured interview techniques and data analysis

To preserve the flow of the interview and to ensure that the interviewees felt relaxed and in control of the situation, a descriptive case study approach (Yin 2003) based upon a semi-structured interviewing technique was felt to be the most effective method of collecting what at times was considered to be personal and sensitive information. This descriptive case study technique utilised a replication logic and followed a pattern-matching procedure (Yin 2003) to enable a profile of results to be compiled. To ensure the data remained relevant and valid, clarification was undertaken during the interview process on any area regarded as vague or unclear.

The facilities in which the research was conducted were also considered to be important and were sought to ensure the privacy of the interview was maintained. To achieve this goal, an unoccupied office within the supermarket chain or a quiet, unoccupied corner of the dining facility within the restaurant group was normally used. The nature of the semi-structured technique allowed the interview to flow more readily in a more conversational form. This allowed, as Burgess (1982) described: “The opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply to uncover new clues, open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience.” (1982: 107)

To ensure that the flow was maintained and none of the detail overlooked, a tape recorder was used to capture the conversation. Although a recorder is known to induce a degree of self-consciousness amongst the interviewees, (Silverman 2004) this was overcome in two ways. Firstly, the conversation / interview was commenced with light hearted questions designed to set the scene and to relax the interviewee and secondly the interviewee remained in control at all time and could turn off the recorder if they felt the issue was too sensitive to be formally documented. At these times manual notes were taken. It was regarded as essential that the element of trust was maintained throughout. It was only by preserving this trust that a true, honest and frank discussion ensued, thus allowing rich and meaningful data to be collected. Following each interview the taped conversation was transcribed and processed using a qualitative data analysis computer program. Although many software programs were examined and assessed, most were regarded as too complicated and difficult to learn. As security of data was also considered important, losing information through a lack of knowledge was unacceptable and considered a real danger with some other programs. It

was also considered important to source an analysis program that allowed text editing and following an introduction/training course hosted by University of Surrey, MAXqda was finally selected for its flexibility and ease of use.

The results of the quantitative survey were collated using Microsoft Excel which allowed statistical analysis of the data. The graphs and tables that feature throughout this document were all produced using Microsoft Office Professional 2003.

The structured questions used in the qualitative interviews for both year one and year two are located in the appendix. In addition, analysed hard copies of all the interviews undertaken for both year one and year two are available as are the original taped conversations.

2.43 Timetable for data collection

a. Preparatory work

Before the data analysis process could begin, access to the relevant interviewees needed to be arranged. An approach was made to the head office of both the supermarket chain and restaurant group to explain the purpose of the research and to request access. This subsequent approval resulted in meeting the relevant regional management who arranged access via their local site management. Direct contact was subsequently made to the on-site unit management where a relationship was nurtured to ensure the interviews were managed effectively whilst minimising the impact the data collection process had upon the client company. The selection of the individuals interviewed was entirely at the discretion of the research partner although care was taken to ensure that all interviewees met the strict criteria as outlined above.

b. Phase one – Longitudinal case studies (Year One)

The initial interviews undertaken in ‘Year One’ were conducted over four months between April and July 2003. All interviews were conducted at the interviewee’s place of employment during a regular work shift normally between 9.00 pm and 2.30 am or during daytime hours on either a Saturday or Sunday. Although interviews conducted at the restaurant group were usually arranged for either one or two per visit, interviews undertaken at the supermarket chain were normally in blocks of approximately four per visit.

c. Phase two – Transcribing and processing of results

From the commencement of the interviews, transcribing of the results was undertaken on a progressive basis and processed using MAXqda as described above. The transcribing was undertaken from April 2003 until February 2004 when the conclusions from Year One were collated and transposed to the thesis. These results were adjusted and expanded following the completion of the Year Two interviews.

d. Phase three – Follow-up case study interviews (Year Two)

The ‘Year Two’ interviews were conducted from May to July 2004 using questions formulated following the results collected during the Year One interviews. All interviews were conducted in an identical manner to those undertaken in Year One; however it was disappointing to discover how few of the original interviewees had remained in their employment. Access to the individuals selected for the ‘Year Two’ interviews was also hindered by new management at three of the four supermarket sites participating in this study.

e. Phase four – Transcribing and processing of results

As with Year One, the transcribing of the interviewees commenced as soon as the interviewees were conducted on a progressive basis. With a lower number of interviews undertaken (23 in Year Two against 86 in Year One) the time for transcribing was much reduced and was completed by September 2004. As with Year One, all data was processed using MAXqda.

f. Phase five – Analysis of results and preparation of thesis

Although the results from the interviews were incorporated into the thesis on an ongoing basis, the conclusions could not be formulated until the data collection process was completed. Sections five, six and seven were prepared between October 2004 and January 2005 with the recommendations formulated and final editing being conducted during the summer and autumn of 2005.

2.5 Conclusion

Whilst discussion has been undertaken describing the nature of unsocial and extended working, this final section of this chapter outlines the suspected impact of working part-time unsocial hours and describes in detail the three research questions upon which this study focuses.

a. Research question One – Inconsistent work performance and reduced service of employment.

Although the main concentration of this study focuses upon the individual, adopting part-time unsocial hours working also has an influence upon the work undertaken. Whilst companies continually push for higher levels of service, market share and profitability, expected performance levels from employees are constantly raised. The addition of increased levels of emotional labour experienced throughout service based industries will only add to this pressure and fatigue. Rajaratnam and Arendt comment that tiredness can seriously affect work performance and conclude that: “Sleep deprivation can have effects on mental alertness that are similar in magnitude to those seen in people with alcohol concentrations widely regarded to be unsafe.” (2001: 1003). The dilemma between income, taking on too much (resulting in tiredness) and quality time with the family is expected to be an issue with few believing that they have the balance right. In an attempt to continually even the balance, individual length of service is expected to be low, placing an increased recruitment and training cost upon the employer.

b. Research question Two – The cumulative effect from over commitment - tiredness, restricted social activity and deterioration in partner support.

Although the various reasons for the adoption of part-time unsocial working have been discussed, this study asks if the reality of such working is more demanding than anticipated. This study also examines if the cumulative effect proves to be a significant issue to a point where the adopted lifestyle impacts upon all areas of an individual’s life. It is suggested that the detrimental consequence of this cumulative effect manifests itself in various ways dependant upon the individual. However, tiredness and restrictive social activity, through lack of energy and availability of time, was expected to feature significantly among the individuals interviewed.

In addition to tiredness and the effect upon social time is the issue of the support received from a partner. Although this is interlinked with both tiredness and social activity, (due to closer personal relationships) it is expected that within the most successful relationships, a significant degree of support is received from an individual’s partner and/or family. This is expected to ease the adoption of unsocial working and minimise the degree of pressure and isolation felt by the

individual. A lack of support, or perhaps more accurately understanding (or even empathy), would add to the stress felt by an individual attempting to balance part-time unsocial hours employment with the maintenance of a home and the care of a family and partner.

c. Research question Three - Degradation of relationships, partner resentment and the effect upon the family.

The adoption of out-of-hours employment, undertaken by the female partner was suspected to contribute significantly to degradation in family relationships. It was expected that the added strain of unsocial working would manifest itself in several forms. Firstly the individual worker may suffer from a greater degree of tiredness as described above as a result of working a 'double-day'. This may not only affect the individual personally, but in addition result in less time or energy being available for the partner and the family's dependent children. Furthermore, increased responsibility for childcare is often placed upon the father whilst the mother works extended and unsocial hours leading to a restriction of the social activities of the male. This is expected to contribute towards a sense of resentment resulting in increased stress within the household. This time apart is also expected to contribute to the breakdown of relationships with husbands or male partners complaining that their partner is never at home.

2.51 Summary

This study focuses upon the impact adopting part-time unsocial hours working has upon secondary wage earners. With a requirement of childcare during the day, time remaining for employment is restricted to unsocial periods. This inevitably results in the working of a 'double-day' (Fox 1980) or 'second-shift' (Hochschild 1989) and although any one aspect of this adopted lifestyle may be easily manageable, it is the cumulative effect which this study examines, including the likely consequence if a partner fails to understand the issues involved and is less than supportive.

Whether or not this was their first employment following the birth of their child was considered irrelevant as it is suggested that the effects of adopting part-time unsocial hours working remains constant and will only intensify based upon the hours worked and the support of a partner. It should be remembered that although some individuals may have taken previous employment post maternity, this may not necessarily have been during unsocial hours and

therefore would not facilitate the same difficulties. It is therefore argued that it is the effects of working part-time unsocial hours that is relevant, not the quantity (or quality) of previous employment either post or pre-maternity.

Previous literature has identified the increase in female part-time working (Office of National Statistics – State of the Labour Market Report 2004) which is especially prominent within the service industries (Paoli and Merllié 2001). Although many studies have examined the effects of traditional shift working, (Bosworth et al 1981, Baxter and Mosby 1988, Calmfors and Hoel 1989, Mayshar and Halevy 1997), to date the issue of combining part-time employment during unsocial hours with the daytime care of children has largely been ignored. Whilst there has been a call to widen the debate relating to part-time working, female employment and work-life balance, (Cummins 1996, Glover 2002, Warren 2004) little attention by either academia, employers or the government has been paid to this sector of the workforce. This could be regarded as surprising especially considering the sectors involved in employing these types of workers rely so heavily upon this form of working. Of all the industries that rely upon part-time unsocial hours workers, hospitality and retail have some of the highest levels of employees engaged in this form of working. Therefore when examining the effects of part-time unsocial hours working upon secondary wage earners, it was considered that hospitality and retail offered the greatest opportunity for study, and was therefore chosen as the basis for this research. It was decided that parents aged between 20 and 44 years old with dependent children and engaged in part-time unsocial hours employment working between 11 and 29 hours per week were most likely to encounter the full consequences of combining part-time employment with the daytime care of children. However, to select suitable candidates for interview, it was decided to involve employment organisations who could identify suitable individuals for interview. Whilst the focus of this study remains upon the individual and the consequences of adopting part-time unsocial hours working, the effect of such employment upon work performance cannot be ignored. To assess the full effect of this form of working it was considered crucial to forge relationships with representative companies from both hospitality and retail. The following section of this study discusses the reasoning behind this choice and describes the profile of each research site where the data collection was undertaken.

3. A profile of the research companies and site locations

Contents

Title	Page Number
3.1 Introduction	66
3.2 The research area and employment market	67
3.3 The participating partners	68
1. The restaurant group	69
2. The supermarket chain	69
3.4 The geographical location and rational of the research study	71
3.5 A Profile of the selected cities and towns	74
3.51 The social and economic structure of Hampshire	75
3.52 Southampton (Incorporating Eastleigh)	76
3.53 Winchester	76
3.54 Basingstoke	77
3.55 Portsmouth	77
3.56 Bournemouth	78
3.6 Conclusion	79

3.1 Introduction

The research for this thesis was conducted within the counties of Hampshire and Dorset in Southern England. Although several sites were used this was mainly to ensure an adequate number of individuals were available for interview rather than an assessment of the differences between the various sites. Whilst this study considers regional differences the concentration remains upon the motivation of individuals seeking part-time working during unsocial hours and the consequences of adopting such practice.

Both organisations selected to provide interviewees for this study are national companies offering a uniform product (ie: the product they sell is standardised throughout all their outlets) and service throughout the UK. As such, there are likely to be few regional differences in either policy or management practice between sites with each outlet being very similar to its neighbour. All the sites examined for this study were within a forty mile radius of Southampton and although there were slight regional differences as discussed below, the geographical differences between the outlets examined in this study were considered as too small to have any affect. Furthermore the types of employee attracted to the ‘standardised’ positions offered by both employers throughout the region displayed similar characteristics with no notable variations detected between the selected sites.

However, whilst the locations may not offer significant variations, the employment styles of the two organisations participating in this study were considerably different. Although this study suggest that employees do not distinguish between hospitality and retail when seeking part-time unsocial hours employment, the operational practices between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group displayed significant variations. This was considered relevant for both the motivation and retention of staff assisting in establishing a reputation within the local area that would influence sales and the recruitment of new personnel.

This chapter examines these variations in addition to providing a profile of both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group. It outlines the history of each organisation and continues with a discussion of the management philosophy and operational procedures.

3.2 The research area and employment market

Within the narrow geographical region in which this research was conducted, there was minimal variation between each location as all the sites visited were located in residential/edge of town areas. Whilst it can be argued that the narrow geographical location is largely irrelevant, the job market and employment availability within any one particular area will effect and influence the management style of any organisation recruiting and attempting to retain staff. Whilst it has been established that there is a growing trend for individuals to adopt part-time employment, the recruitment situation in southern England often results in the demand for personnel to work during unsocial hours exceeds availability.

This situation may be influenced by the particularly low unemployment in the areas in which this research was conducted. This further added to the pressure upon management already struggling to maintain staffing levels. Although within Hampshire and Dorset where this research was undertaken, unemployment was generally less than 4 per cent, there were pockets, especially along the Thames Valley where unemployment was particularly low, in some areas even reaching zero. (Office for National Statistics – Labour Statistics - October 2002:5). Add to this the pressure upon hospitality and retail outlets to open for longer hours, therefore requiring additional staff, and the increasingly difficult situation surrounding recruitment become clear. Several personnel managers within the units in which this research was conducted reported an unofficial policy of recruiting every applicant that expressed an interest in working evenings, nights or weekends. Even with the implementation of this policy, there were numerous reports of constant staff shortages during unsocial periods of working, especially nights.

3.3 The participating partners

It is apparent from the terminology used throughout this document that large multi-site organisations were actively selected rather than small independent traders. This was not by accident, much thought was given to the corporate environment as compared to the independent or 'sole trader' style of establishment. It was felt that although there was a significant degree of employment within the independent sector, in general terms the outlets were often smaller than those operated by the national chains. As a result, the quantity of staff employed at each location was generally less and as such, it was felt that there would be less availability when selecting recruits to participate in the study program. In addition, within retailing especially, it is mainly the large national supermarket chains that have pioneered, and maintain, the twenty-four hour culture. Many small, independent businesses within hospitality and retail do not offer late night trading or, in some cases, weekend working on the same scale as many of the national chains and as such it was felt that national organisations represented more effectively the future of the service industries.

Finally, it was believed that there was generally more acceptance of education, training and research within the corporate environment. This was believed to be due to the progressive management structure and opportunities associated with multi-site national companies. It was common practice for the management of these national chains to have, at some stage, attended either an internal, or a more formal external, training program as part of the development process within their current organisation. (Source: the head office human resource department of the hospitality and retail company). Most anticipated that further training would be necessary should they wish to progress to a more senior position. It was this attitude of constant learning that encouraged a willingness to participate in the research program and facilitated cooperation when access was sought. Almost as a by product, the attitude of a tiered management structure within a corporate environment had the added benefit that senior management who supported the philosophy behind the research study could arrange for unchallenged access to the individual targeted sites.

To protect the confidentiality of the two research companies, their identities have been withheld and are referred to hitherto as 'the restaurant group' and 'the supermarket chain'. A profile of both organisations is outlined below:

1. The restaurant group – predominately southern based with approximately two hundred outlets

On average, sales at each location are between £25k - £30k per week spread over seven days, both lunch-times and evenings but unsurprisingly with a concentration on the weekend period. Unlike retail, all night working is not usually practiced, however up to seventy staff can be employed on an individual site with evening shift usually ending around mid-night.

Management is organised on a site to site basis with each location being responsible for its own personnel in accordance with company procedure. Due to the size of each site a flat management structure was adopted with a general manager (with assistant) responsible for all personnel and operational matters.

2. The supermarket chain - one of the nations leading supermarket and retailing organisation

As with most supermarket chains, this organisation had located its stores either in town centres or edge-of-centre locations. Many of these stores are built on previously derelict sites.

With a total workforce in excess of 150,000 people this national supermarket chain extends to every part of the United Kingdom. When examining employment within this organisation, forty per cent are engaged on a full-time basis and sixty per cent are employed part-time with up to half of all employees regularly working unsocial hours. Sixty-two per cent of employees are women reflecting the significant importance female working has to this sector of the retail industry. Even an individual store can represent a major business and a significant local employer. One site visited employed over eight hundred people with over one hundred individuals engaged on each night shift working between 9pm and 7am. It is not unusual for a large supermarket to offer over twenty three thousand products with up to forty per cent of these being own brands. In addition to a wide range of food and grocery products, many stores offer bread baked on the premises, delicatessen, meat and fish counters, pharmacies, coffee shops, restaurants and petrol stations.

Management throughout each supermarket site is organised on the traditional hierarchy management principle with a full reporting structure. The store manager has a team of management personnel for both operational and support services. Assistant managers, department and shift managers assist floor supervisors with support services (personnel, training and payroll) offering specialised facilities.

The issue of attracting and retaining staff was of particular relevance to the supermarket chain as the expansion of both the service they offer and their trading hours had placed greater demand upon their personnel. To ease this burden, it was noted that the supermarket chain offered a range of flexible hours contracts specifically designed to attract parents with children looking to fit employment around the care of their family and the school hours (and holiday periods) of their children. Six different contracts were offered by the supermarket chain for flexible working primarily designed to aid recruitment and retention:

- Flexible schedule/additional hours contract – This contract enables employees to specify fixed hours with additional hours scheduled depending upon the demands of the business.
- Dual store contract – This allows a student to work at one store during term time and their home store during holidays.
- Variable hours contract – This particular contract is useful if the employee has varying demands upon their time such as children. This allows an individual to work mornings/afternoons during school times and evenings during school holidays.
- Flexible student contract – This enables a student to reduce their working by 50 per cent during examination periods.
- Term time contract – Individuals adopting this contract are not obliged to work during periods of school holidays.
- Temporary vacation contract – Useful for students who only wish to work during periods of educational holidays

Naturally different contracts suit different people, however the flexible and term time contract was reported by the Human Resources department of supermarket chain to be the most popular contract adopted by mothers seeking part-time unsocial hours working.

3.4 The geographical location and rationale of the research study

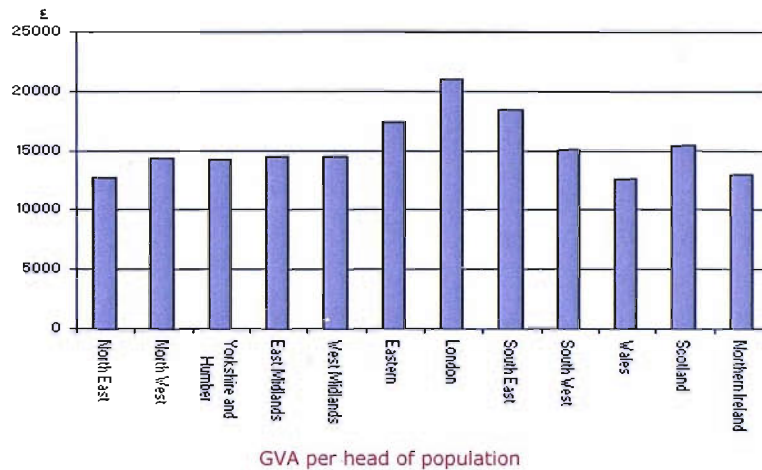
To maintain the depth of the study it was not deemed practical to survey too many locations especially considering that the data collection process was undertaken by a single, lone researcher. Furthermore, it was felt that selecting different sites, (rather than restricting the data collection process to one large site) not only allowed a greater variety of individuals to be available for interview but also allowed the true management philosophy of the company to emerge. Surveying too many sites was felt to be unnecessary with the opinion that additional sites would have added little to the overall results of the research. However, to add balance and to eliminate the possibility of any microclimatic anomalies, each of the sites from the individual organisation were (with the exception of Southampton) located in different towns of varying size and demographic profile. Southampton, because of its size and diversity of population supported two research sites, one located towards the east of the city, and one located within the western fringe. The narrow geographic location of all the research sites was primarily to assist the convenient undertaking of the study especially considering most of the data collection process was conducted late evenings and throughout the night.

Although southern England is not exclusively an area of high business success, regional GVA (Gross Value Added) shows the highest contributions within London and the South East. In 2001, London the South East and the East of England were the only regions with a GVA per head of population above that of the UK as a whole. Gross value added measures the contribution to the economy of each individual producer, industry or sector in the United Kingdom. GVA is used in the estimation of Gross Domestic Product (GVA plus taxes on products less subsidies on products = GDP) which is a key indicator of the state of the whole economy.

Although GVA per head has been rising in all regions, London and the South East have consistently shown the greatest increase.

Regional gross value added 2002

Table 10



(Source: Office of National Statistics)

The business success generated in high areas of GVA increases prosperity and in so doing, influences consumer demand for greater retail services. This is confirmed when examining regional levels of disposable household income.

Household income (£ per head) 1989 – 1999

Table 11

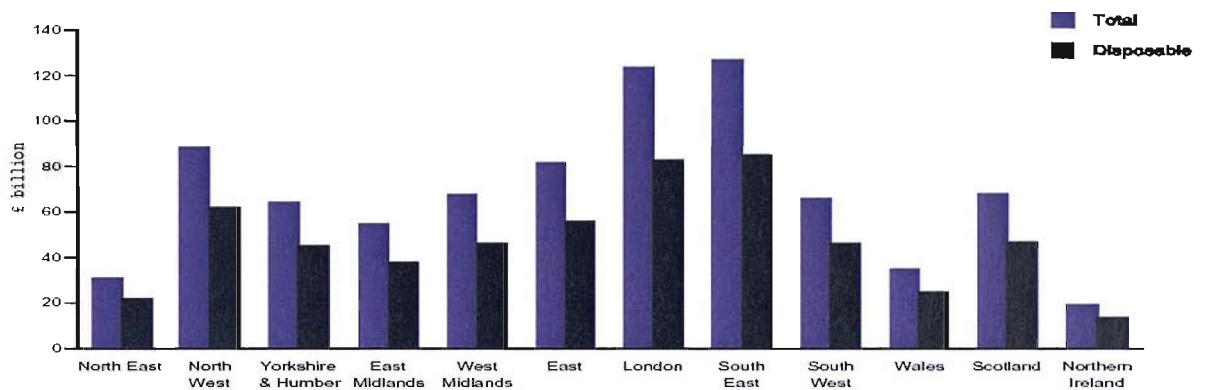
	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
North East	4,908	5,506	6,111	6,690	7,053	7,095	7,522	7,972	8,554	8,585	9,018
North West	5,239	5,865	6,452	6,922	7,313	7,536	7,874	8,334	8,900	9,008	9,501
Yorkshire and the Humber	5,208	5,781	6,308	6,682	7,232	7,417	7,780	8,323	8,776	9,106	9,325
East Midlands	5,280	5,801	6,284	6,810	7,214	7,569	7,869	8,401	8,835	8,935	9,409
West Midlands	4,934	5,605	6,127	6,716	7,112	7,391	7,939	8,313	8,748	8,981	9,541
East	6,097	6,803	7,312	7,962	8,248	8,540	9,011	9,484	10,025	10,147	10,638
London	6,549	7,302	8,001	8,640	9,311	9,612	10,102	10,650	11,485	11,811	12,207
South East	6,110	6,680	7,292	7,880	8,519	8,873	9,282	9,814	10,579	10,698	11,055
South West	5,638	6,222	6,718	7,255	7,608	7,767	8,606	8,915	9,511	9,725	10,073
England	5,643	6,273	6,842	7,395	7,867	8,127	8,592	9,070	9,674	9,862	10,284
Wales	4,994	5,534	6,169	6,672	6,986	7,235	7,742	8,056	8,389	8,529	8,870
Scotland	5,355	6,124	6,643	7,301	7,704	7,773	8,287	8,541	8,977	9,154	9,870
Northern Ireland	4,729	5,240	5,610	5,993	6,540	6,959	7,678	7,834	8,365	8,500	8,998

(Source: Office for National Statistics – Labour Market Statistics – October 2002)

It would therefore be reasonable to expect that within regions of high disposable income, an enhanced level of consumer services would occur with more frequency than within areas of low prosperity. Levels of both household and disposable income are consistently shown to be higher within the London region and throughout the South East of England.

Total and disposable household income 1998

Table 12



(Source: Office for National Statistics)

Within Southern England, each of the sites from the two participating research partners were selected mainly for their ability to offer a suitable number of personnel for interview. However, there was also an attempt to ensure that, as far as possible, each site was characteristic of the area in which it was located and was regarded as fairly 'average'. This term 'average' reflected the usual nature of the business and can be defined as not offering any extraordinary services such as exclusive night time trading or appealing to a captive or limited audience. As part of their normal operation each organisation employed a selection of both full and part-time personnel engaged for a full range of hours. This allowed a rich selection of the targeted group of employees to be recruited without fear of a disproportionate or influential effect upon the remaining employees.

The seven locations (six geographically located towns) selected for the undertaking of the research were:

1. Southampton – East
2. Southampton – West
3. Winchester
4. Basingstoke
5. Bournemouth
6. Eastleigh
7. Portsmouth

A brief profile of each selected location is outlined below.

3.5 Profile of the selected cities and towns

Although the towns and cities chosen for this study were different, six of the research sites were located within Hampshire with only one restaurant site being located in Dorset. Whilst the individual town or city in which the research was conducted was different, the outlet itself being part of a chain was very similar to others within the group and as such, the duties required of the staff employed on each site were along similar lines. As a result, the job descriptions for the positions undertaken at each site were identical and therefore a similar type of individual was sought (or was attracted) to this type of employment. Although the sites varied, it was found that the profile of employees who met the research criteria, and participated in the interview process, was not differentiated by the site, city or town in which they worked.

Naturally the opportunities within a large city to work unsocial hours are more accessible than within a smaller town. In this respect, it could be argued that the lack of choice in some towns almost forces people seeking out-of-hours working into the few outlets that offer unsocial and extended working. It could also be suggested that the lack of opportunity and choice within the smaller towns may provide employers with a disproportionate degree of control over their part-time employees when compared with outlets in larger towns and cities. However as the world of unsociable and out-of-hour working expands, the opportunities for the individual and the competition amongst companies for staff, inevitably increases.

3.51 The social and economic structure of Hampshire

Although Bournemouth is situated just outside of Hampshire on the border of Dorset, the other geographical locations visited during this study are all situated within Hampshire.

The Institute of Employment Research confirms that of the 1.8 million people within the Hampshire region, 1.1 million are of working age. From this total 900,000 are either employed or self-employed which demonstrates the low level of unemployment currently experienced within the region. The total number of people employed in tourism, retail and leisure throughout Hampshire in 2004 was 175,000. This total accounted for more than 22 per cent of all employment with over half of this total being employed in the retail sector with the next largest sector being bars and restaurants. The main concentration of employment in 2004 was around the Southampton area with further concentrations in Portsmouth, Winchester and Basingstoke. General economic activity across the Hampshire region was above the national average especially within the Basingstoke and Eastleigh region. The local level of employment in retail and leisure within the Hampshire region is almost 10 per cent above the national average whilst the concentration within the hotel sector is more than 30 per cent above the average. Between the years of 1998 to 2002, the national average of employment within retail, tourism and leisure rose by 12 per cent; however within the Hampshire region this rise was nearly 27 per cent (37,300 jobs) with 59 per cent being employed part-time. This rising total illustrates the growing importance of hospitality and retail to this economically active region. In particular, females accounted for the majority of this growth occupying 60 per cent of all the part-time positions within retail and hospitality. (Source: Hampshire Economic Partnership: informing our future 2004).

The high proportion of part-time female workers engaged in hospitality and retail makes this region particularly suited for a study concentrating on this form of employment. It is therefore likely that any affects resulting from the pursuance of part-time unsocial hours employment within hospitality and retail will manifest itself more prominently within a region of high prosperity and employment rather than an area with lower living costs and fewer outlets offering extended hours trading. However, whilst these statistics indicate the importance retail and hospitality has to the Hampshire region, further descriptive information relating to the individual locations in which the data collection process was undertaken is outlined below.

3.52 Southampton (Incorporating Eastleigh)

The city of Southampton lies on the south coast of England and is located directly north of the Isle of Wight. From its beginnings as a Roman settlement Southampton has flourished to become one of the countries busiest ports and thriving commercial centre. The total population of Southampton reached 209,056 in 2002 (Southampton District Council) and is evenly split between male and female. Nearly half of all occupants (43.6 per cent) are aged between 16 and 44 with more than half of the total population (56.5 per cent) employed.

Within Southampton in 2001, seventeen per cent of those unemployed were aged fifty and over, seven per cent had never worked and twenty six per cent were classed as long term unemployed. In August 2000, there were 2,865 claimants for Job Seeker Allowance of which twenty nine per cent had child dependents. In addition there were 15,015 Income Support claimants of whom three per cent were aged under twenty (Source: Department for Work and Pensions).

3.53 Winchester

Situated north of Southampton, the city of Winchester is the ancient capital of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex, the seat of one of the oldest cathedrals in Britain and was one of the most important cities in all of medieval England. Located about sixty miles to the southwest of London, Winchester is easily accessible from the M3 motorway or by rail from Waterloo station. Rich in history, Winchester primarily focuses upon tourism although due to the excellent communicational access, it is still an important city for business. Although the city's close proximity to Southampton has resulted in a degree of commerce being lost to its neighbour, Winchester still remains a desirable and fashionable place in which to reside.

The city's excellent communication routes and close proximity to Southampton, Basingstoke and London ensures a large proportion of the working population residing in Winchester regularly commutes out of the city. During 2001, twenty three per cent of the unemployed of Winchester were aged fifty and over with four per cent having never worked and an additional twenty two per cent being classed as long term unemployed.

In August 2000, there were 285 Jobseekers Allowance claimants of which thirty five per cent had child dependents. There were also 3,025 Income Support claimants of which two per cent were under twenty years old. (Source: Department of Work and Pensions)

3.54 Basingstoke

The ancient town of Basingstoke has been transformed over the last forty years from its market town beginnings to a vibrant centre for business. Located only forty miles from London, Basingstoke has become a major centre for companies such as IBM, the Automobile Association, Sun Life of Canada, Motorola and Mercantile Credit.

Stretching over the years to encompass neighbouring districts, Basingstoke now enjoys excellent facilities. Catering for the local residents as well as for business Basingstoke is also an ideal town from which to commute. Located off junction 6 of the M3 and with a main line railway station direct to Waterloo in London, Basingstoke is well located to access all areas of southern England.

In 2001, twenty one per cent of those unemployed in Basingstoke were aged fifty and over. Four per cent had never worked and a further seventeen per cent were classed as long term unemployed. In August 2000 there were 440 individuals claiming Jobseekers Allowance of which forty four per cent had child claimants. In addition, there were 4,585 Income Support Claimants of which three per cent were aged less than twenty years old. (Source: Department of Work and Pensions)

3.55 Portsmouth

Lying twenty miles east of Southampton, Portsmouth is a waterfront city on the south coast of England. More than three million people travel to and from Portsmouth every year through the Continental Ferry Port which links the city with north-west France, northern Spain and the Channel Islands. Although traditionally most industry around the Portsmouth area has centred upon its links to the sea, the excellent communicational links to Europe, and the easy accessibility to London, has ensured that many high profile companies have chosen Portsmouth to be their company

headquarters. One example is IBM whose headquarters are located on an impressive development situated on the northern edge of the city close to the M27 motorway.

Within Portsmouth in 2001, eighteen per cent of those unemployed were aged fifty and over with eight per cent having never worked and twenty nine per cent being classed as long term unemployed. In August 2000, there were 2,530 Jobseeker Allowance claimants of which twenty eight per cent had child dependents. A further 11,955 individuals were claiming Income Support of which three per cent were aged under twenty. (Source: Department of Work and Pensions)

3.56 Bournemouth

The city of Bournemouth is one of the UK's best known holiday resorts. Situated on the South coast of England on the eastern edge of the county of Dorset, Bournemouth regularly hosts a variety of international sporting events. The business area of Bournemouth can be found around the outskirts of the city and is surprisingly large for such an obvious tourist area.

Within Bournemouth during 2001, twenty two per cent of those registered as unemployed were aged fifty and over, five per cent had never worked and thirty three per cent were classed as long term unemployed. In August 2000, there were 2,100 claimants for Jobseekers Allowance of which twenty three per cent had child dependents. There were also 12,290 Income Support claimants of which two per cent were aged less than twenty years old. (Source: Department of Work and Pensions)

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the location of each of research sites and has briefly described the area in which they are sited. Although the individual locations provide an insight to the research locality, it is the prominence of retail and hospitality within the region that is the most significance factor. It has been shown that during 2004 employment within the retail and hospitality sector rose by 12 per cent; however within the Hampshire region this rise totalled nearly 27 per cent. The prominence and importance of hospitality and retail both to the national economy, and in particular the Hampshire region, is therefore clear and whilst there has been an overall national increase in part-time unsocial hours working, central Southern England was considered ideally suited to study the consequences of this form of employment.

Whilst an analysis of the sites and locations increases an understanding of the environment in which the data was collected, there are other issues to be considered. Although the employment offered is relevant, it is the people who adopt this form of working and the motivation that inspires them, that could be considered the other half of the equation. It is therefore essential to consider the circumstances that motivate an individual to adopt the working of part-time unsocial hours.

The following chapter concentrates upon these issues and discusses this question of choice. It continues with an examination of what motivates an individual to adopt this style of working and discusses the influence of management upon motivation.

4. The motivation for the adoption of working part-time unsocial hours and the influence of legislation

Contents

Title	Page Number
4.1 Introduction	81
4.2 Motivation for working unsociable hours	81
4.21 Financial reward	83
4.22 The implication of 'financial motivation'	84
4.23 Social contact	85
4.24 The accommodation of children	86
4.25 Independence	88
4.3 Motivation of choice and the attraction of unsocial working	89
4.31 Style of employment	92
4.32 Convenience of hours	94
4.33 The effect of management	98
4.34 Convenience of location	101
4.4 Conclusion	102

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the motivational factors behind an individual's decision to undertake part-time unsocial hour's employment. Although referring to daytime employment, Hakim claims that part-time employment is typically chosen by the vast majority of married women as these women "prefer to give priority to non-market activities and hence work not at all for long periods or only part-time" (1997: 45). Hakim (1995) concludes that part-time workers are attracted to relatively undemanding jobs with 'no worries or responsibilities' due to their overwhelming commitment to their 'marriage career', notably their domestic activities and family life. Although Hakim acknowledges that dependent children may lead a mother into part-time working, no reference is made to the adoption of part-time employment outside of the normal working day or to the motivation to seek unsocial working.

4.2 Motivation for unsocial hours working

The report of money as the reason for working was naturally expected, however the various motivational factors for unsocial hours working are a little more complex than they initially appear. Although without doubt financial reward featured heavily in nearly all the interviews, several additional reasons for working unsocial hours soon became apparent. Eighty two individuals (of a total of eighty six interviewed during year one) reported to having worked prior to the birth of their first child (question 4 of the quantitative survey as shown in Appendix: page 218). Prior to childbirth most individuals reported that their thoughts mainly centred upon themselves as individuals, and included income, social activities and promotional/career prospects as their primary motivation for working. The onset of children inevitably disrupts the continuity of a mother's employment especially during the period of birth and maternity. Prior to the commencement of part-time employment it was reported that thoughts focused upon financial gain, social contact and a change of scenery.

To maintain an individual's income level and satisfaction from employment it may initially be expected that similar work would be sought. Indeed, this may often be the case especially where an individual resumes a career; however this study suggests that individuals seeking to adopt part-

time unsocial hours working do so predominantly because of the need to reconcile working with a responsibility for children. For some individuals, following the birth of a child, their priorities changed to a point where the care of the child becomes paramount importance with employment being regarded very much as a secondary issue. As a result, some individuals consider it impractical or undesirable to continue with work similar to that engaged in prior to childbirth. In addition, the mere time available to a mother to commit to a career once she is engaged in childcare becomes limited to a point where it is difficult to manage both without outside assistance which invariably incurs a prohibitive financial penalty. For certain 'high flying' career individuals this may be a credible option however for most people the cost of child care outweighs the advantage of full-time work to a point where it becomes counter productive. Furthermore, most of individuals interviewed regarded childcare as being 'their' responsibility and admitted to a feeling of loss from not spending enough quality time with their child if the responsibilities of their work became a burden.

Why did you decide not to return to your previous employer?

Table 13

	n = 12	n = 74
	Restaurant group	Supermarket chain
Position not available	8.3 per cent	7.8 per cent
Inconvenient hours	25.0 per cent	48.5 per cent
Wanted a change	16.7 per cent	6.2 per cent
Wanted more responsibility	Nil	Nil
Wanted less responsibility	16.7 per cent	4.7 per cent
Inconvenient location	Nil	9.4 per cent
Insufficient income	16.7 per cent	7.8 per cent
Other	16.7 per cent	15.6 per cent

It should be remembered that the total numbers of individuals interviewed from the supermarket chain and the restaurant group varied considerably (74 from the supermarket chain, 12 from the restaurant group). As discussed earlier, the volume of employees engaged by the supermarket chain ensured that there were a larger number of individuals available, of which a significant proportion met the strict criteria established for this study. However, even when considering the disparity of numbers, the desire expressed from both groups of workers for more convenient hours was clear.

It was also noted during the interview process with the individuals (both through a description of the duties undertaken and general conversation) that previous qualifications and work experience was often not recognised by their current employer. Although admittedly the decision to adopt employment with minimal responsibility was often through choice, for many there was little option. This situation can lead to frustration and dissatisfaction on behalf of the individual (Burchell et al 1997; Hakim 1997; McRae 1995; Rubery 1998; Warren 2000) adding to an already stressful situation.

4.21 Financial reward

The primary motivation quoted for working part-time unsocial hours was one of financial reward. Many of the personnel interviewed stressed that they had little option other than to work as the household could not survive without the additional income. From the 86 initial interviews conducted, financial necessity was quoted by 78 per cent as being the prime motivation for employment. Those who placed social interaction/other reasons as their prime reason for working (22 per cent) rated financial necessity as a secondary factor.

Primary motivation for the adoption of employment

Table 14

	n = 12	n = 74
	Restaurant group	Supermarket chain
Financial necessity	7	60
Social / Other reasons	5	14

4.22 The implication of ‘financial motivation’

A reoccurring theme experienced during the data collection process was the desire to provide ‘extras’ for the family. During the interviews, thirty six per cent of all respondents (thirty one individuals) quoted their earnings were for the ‘provision of extras’ often referring to securing additional income to finance non-essential activities for the family (rather than the individual). Although any income entering the individual’s household was regarded as important, the extra income resulting from a spouse’s part-time employment was regarded as money that could be enjoyed rather than merely paying the household bills. Furthermore, the level of income did not appear to alter an individual’s view on the spending of this money and although some families struggled to meet their financial demands, forty five per cent (thirty nine individuals from the total of eighty six) reported that they could (if they had to) manage without this additional income received as a result of their part-time unsocial hours employment. Although undoubtedly this extra money eased their lives, these individuals stressed they did not rely upon this additional income for survival. However, the level of activity within the household appeared to be in direct proportion with the income entering the household. As a result, although the families with greater income appeared to be engaged in greater (or more expensive) activities, they in fact appeared to remain in the same position as families with less income supporting the traditional view that people live to their means. Some typical comments:

“It’s there but it’s not, it’s handy, we can afford extras, we can go on holiday for a fortnight instead of a week and things like that because I earn money.” (Interviewee: 02-05-36-70)

“No, no, they know if they start playing up when I’m at work then I’ll give up work and then they’ll get less, they want be able to have the extra perks you know like two holidays a year and, I mean this year they’re going on a cruise on the Aurora and for teenage kids, there is not a lot of kids that have done it but they know that if I can’t trust them to behave when I’m at work then I won’t work and they can’t have all the extra perks and that.” (Interviewee: 01-07-32-30)

“Because it pays for the extras bits and pieces like holidays and days out and theme parks and the odd bits and pieces they want for school like trips and things like that.” (Interviewee: 01-03-33-77)

Despite the level of income entering the household, the attitude of the individuals interviewed remained the same. As quoted above, the enjoyment of this additional income would include pleasure pursuits, personal shopping, gifts, leisure activities, holidays and after-school events. As these activities were normally financed by ‘additional income’ it was generally viewed as not affecting the overall finances of the household and no matter how limited the main income, this source of revenue was generally regarded as money that could be enjoyed.

4.23 Social contact

Although to some extent the motivation of social contact was an expected theme, the degree of importance attached to this issue was largely unexpected. The dedication and commitment shown towards the family children was unequivocal, however a significant proportion of the mothers who made up all but one of the 86 individuals interviewed expressed a desire to maintain a degree of independence and indulge in adult conversation within a work environment. When asked what prompted the choice to adopt this style of working, some typical responses were:

“Because I wanted people to look at me and think I'm not a mum and I'm not a wife, I'm a person and I'm working.” (Interviewee: 01-01-33-44)

“I get to meet other people. I'm not a mum here.”
(Interviewee: 01-03-26-87)

“If I didn't need the money I wouldn't do it but also to get out and to meet other people and not just being a mum you know I'm my own person when I come here, I'm not a mum as you were, I'm just myself.” (Interviewee: 01-03-31-86)

“Just a break from the house. Get away from the children. I don't mean it horribly I mean when you spend all day with children you're on that level with the child, you need to get out of that level and speak to, and even you take them to school and you speak to other mums you still only speak about children. You want to speak about other issues, other things that are going on.”
(Interviewee: 01-03-29-75)

“I feel like I've got a bit for me. I'm still a person. I love being a mum and I love being a wife but sometimes, like everyone, like people take you for granted or it's only working, it's only this but it means a lot to me, I think like it's my little bit of money that's in the bank and I don't have to say to my husband, it's your birthday I need some money. It's my little, its fun stuff for the family.” (Interviewee: 01-01-33-44)

There was evidence from the individuals interviewed of an overwhelming desire to care for the children which, as outlined below, emerged as the prominent reason for choosing part-time unsocial hours employment. However, the burden of childcare weighed heavily upon many individuals who craved for a break from the routine and longed for a change of scenery.

“I get a break from being at home all the time, I speak to other people, it's adult conversation instead of baby babble which I get all day, so there's that, it's a release from being at home all the time which you know although that's my choice being at home, you do need a break every now and again.” (Interviewee: 01-03-31-78)

Although there was a definite desire to participate in ‘normal’ adult life and a financial requirement to supplement the income of the household, this was tempered with realism that working too many hours would be detrimental both to them, as an individual, and to the overall family unit.

4.24 The accommodation of children

Resulting from questions six and seven of the quantitative survey (Appendix: page 220) and from the interviews undertaken, few individuals admitted working unsocial hours through choice. From the eighty six respondents, seventy one individuals (eighty two per cent) stressed that their reason for working unsocial hours was solely to ‘fit around the children’. This partly hinged upon the unavailability/cost of childcare and the availability of partner support during evenings, (examined more closely in chapter seven) however this does not detract from the fact that few individuals chose or even enjoyed the hours they worked with the majority only doing so because of circumstances and need.

This area of 'choice' was examined more closely during the secondary interviewing process with focused questioning on preference of hours. This was not only from the perspective of the individual but in addition, the interviewees' perceived views of their partner. From all twenty three of the secondary interviews undertaken there was only one solitary individual who admitted a preference for working unsocial hours. All others admitted to working unsocial hours as a compromise between their income requirement and childcare. There was an overwhelming preference for daytime working in addition to a distinct dislike of weekend working. Furthermore the necessity for income that resulted in the adoption of unsocial working often resulted in feelings of guilt on behalf of the participant. When questioned further on this area it became clear that this feeling of guilt was often split between the children (seventy seven per cent) and the partner (twenty three per cent). However this was not exclusively the case with some individuals expressing that on occasions an individual would endure feelings of guilt on behalf of their friends and family when, for example, their working coincided with a family party or reunion.

This area of guilt was considered to effect an individuals enjoyment of their work and in so doing influence there longevity of employment. To determine the full effect of this feeling of guilt a further examination was conducted during the second year follow-up interviews. When investigative questions were posed, some typical responses were:

"I feel guilty for my children and I feel guilty for my partner. The reason being for the children like in the summer evenings they're getting later and we can't go out to a pub with them because I'm here and even if I was at work then my husband doesn't take them out in the evening because I've got the car so like I said they are grounded." (Interviewee: 01-01-35-58b)

"I feel guilty sometimes when obviously parties come up or the children want to do something and its like mummy's at work, mummy's got to go to work, we haven't got time to do this, I do feel guilty then." (Interviewee: 01-02-34-65b)

"I suppose I overcompensate because I know I'm not there and I feel guilty so normally if they ask me for something they get it." (Interviewee: 02-04-39-51)

This behaviour effect of over compensating the children with extra's or 'treats' created an additional burden of financial necessity being placed upon the household with an increased pressure upon the individual to maintain (or improve) their part-time earnings.

4.25 Independence

As touched upon briefly above, the need for independence, whilst not a major factor, still featured in many individual's responses to 'why do you choose to work?' From the total eighty six respondents thirty one per cent expressed 'the maintenance of independence' as a major factor to why they chose to continue working. Some typical responses:

"The positive side for me personally is that I now have my independence. When I was not working you're always having to go to your partner and say I need money for this and then having to justify it because we've never had joint bank accounts. We're very independent. (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89)

"Well I think the greatest effect really is that it's got me back out into the open world, that's what I like about it. You meet adults, you feel when you come here now when you get back to work you feel that, you know, you're your own person, you're not a mum, you're not a wife at the moment, you're just yourself, that's what I like." (Interviewee: 01-01-43-14)

"I feel that I don't have to go and ask for it, not that I had to ask and he wouldn't mind me having... I could have whatever I wanted but it's the fact that you feel you have to justify what you've bought. Now it's money I can do whatever I want of it." (Interviewee: 01-03-29-75)

From the interviews undertaken, it was deemed that this sense of self independence originated from feelings of frustration. Many individuals had decided to have children at an early age and as such had minimal opportunity to live an independent life before enduring the restrictions of a young family. Four typical comments:

"For my own personal satisfaction, to retain my human sanity and to be not just a mother, not just a housewife and mother and for the money." (Interviewee: 01-01-42-15)

“Getting out the house, number one is getting out the house because I need the break from the children. I love my children to bits but I can't spend 24/7 with them all. I know that sounds really, really bad.” (Interviewee: 01-01-26-45)

“Yes I think I would sort of, may be the novelty would wear off after a while, there's only so much shopping you could do, gyms you could go to, but then I not a very sociable person anyway so I'd probably go stir crazy actually, being on my own.” (Interviewee: 01-01-40-22)

An analysis was conducted into the age the interviewees were when they had their first child. The results showed that, on average, the younger individuals interviewed had their first child at a younger age than older employees. Although no consideration is given to social status or career orientation, the reported trend of women delaying childbirth does not concur with the findings of this study. From the interviews undertaken during year one of this study, it was noted that the average age of the mother at the birth of their first child showed an increasing reduction in proportion with their age, ie: the younger individuals appeared to have children at an earlier age than many older employees. When examined from the reverse angle, the results from the individuals participating in this study indicate that the younger age group chose to have children at an increasingly early age.

4.3 Motivation of choice and the attraction of extended and unsocial working

Although undoubtedly ‘out-of-hours’ working is suitable for some individuals (especially single people seeking additional or secondary employment) when individuals are engaged in a relationship, especially if children are involved, the adoption of unsocial hours working is often not the preferred choice of employment.

It is the undertaking of childcare, often seen as the sole responsibility of the mother, which can unavoidably prevent a mother from undertaking work at normal times. Whilst not all mothers have the need or desire to work, Charles and Kerr comment: “Those who did work in paid employment usually worked part-time or nights so that they could combine child-care with work outside the home. This picture contrasts strongly with the occupations of women before they had children

when, almost without exception, they had been working full-time outside the home.” (Charles and Kerr in Allan 2000: 207/208). Whilst the majority of women participating in this study (ninety five per cent) worked full-time prior to childbirth, few women working part-time were regarded as the primary wage earner or ‘breadwinner’. As discussed earlier, the choice of why women wish to work part-time is not solely financial. Although finances may not necessarily be the sole motivation, it would be reasonable to suggest that couples become accustomed to a standard of living and naturally wish to maintain that standard if possible.

With financial remuneration playing such a large part in the pursuance of part-time work, it is important to assess the influence money has upon long term job satisfaction. Although money may initially be a significant factor for many, (especially those who have young children and are surviving on a single wage) financial motivation often reduces as children grow up. A sense of social contact and friendship with colleagues increase as a motivational factor as children become less dependent and the financial needs of the household reduce. (Walsh 1999, Thompson and Walker 1989). When the individuals participating in this study were asked why they continued to work, some comments were:

“It is I suppose the social life. It's something other than my home. I have friends outside of here but to come here and to know that you're appreciated for what you do.” (Interviewee: 02-05-36-70)

“No, I like coming in and seeing and.... talking to the girls. I don't see them outside of work really. There's probably about two that I see outside work but generally its nice to come up and say, how are you doing with the diet this week or how are you doing with the so-and-so.....” (Interviewee: 01-03-34-79)

“I get to meet other people. I'm not a mum here.” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87).

“It is I suppose the social life. It's something other than my home.” (Interviewee: 02-05-36-70).

“I like the people here, I like, I've got a lot of friends here, I like seeing them.” (Interviewee: 01-02-29-64).

“I get on with people. I enjoy mixing with the customers as well, you meet a lot of customers. I do enjoy working.” (Interviewee: 01-07-34-41).

“The girls here are lovely and the social side of it, you know, we get invited out sometimes, it's really good, the girls are smashing.” (Interviewee: 01-01-41-21).

“I love my customers. I've got a lot of very regular customers that come and so it's meeting customers, I do enjoy that and meeting staff, yes we've got a good crowd on our shift so it's nice to get out and meet them.” (Interviewee: 01-01-34-20).

“I've now got to know quite a few people. At first it was like you know, no one would talk to you and I'm quite a chatty person but now I've got to know few people and there is one girl I go out with every Thursday and we have a laugh for want of a better word. We chat you know about each other's family now and we get on with the work and whatever.” (Interviewee: 01-03-36-74)

“It's going to sound terrible now, now that I've said all these nice things about being at home with the children but it's having another life outside of the home you know, it's like a holiday coming to work for me you know I get quite stressed with the children and when I come to work my stress level one sure, if you put a stress level indicator on me, my stress level would come right down from being at home. I think my stress level goes through the roof at home.”

(Interviewee: 01-01-41-47)

Whilst the social element of employment is undoubtedly an important factor for many, it could be suggested that part-time employees who do not embrace the social aspect of their employment would probably leave as soon as their financial necessity reduced. Under these circumstances, the individuals quoting the importance of the social aspect would probably be the proportion of individuals remaining in employment. However conversely, it is possible to enjoy joint motivation with the social aspect supporting a financial need. Although financial gain was the prime motivator in this study with 75.6 per cent (65 individuals) quoting money being the main reason for working, from the data gathered, the social aspect of part-time work formed a significant proportion of job motivation with 24.4 per cent (28 individuals) quoting the social element as the prime reason for working.

The quantitative survey (outlined in the appendix) asked the interviewees to what extent they agreed with the statement: 'In general, I enjoy my work'. Over seventy five per cent of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement with less than fourteen per cent disagreeing. Although initially these results may appear encouraging, it is important to examine the issue in more detail and analyse the variation of perceived enjoyment between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group. When considered independently, (whilst remembering the disproportionate sample numbers) the results of the survey demonstrate that in fact nearly ninety two per cent from the restaurant group and seventy three per cent from the supermarket chain either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement posed. Although a detailed examination into the reasons for this variation was not undertaken, many individuals employed by the supermarket chain did state that, in their opinion, their current employment was of a lower status than their employment prior to childbirth. It has already been established (Budig and England 2001) that individuals adopting part-time work following the birth of a child generally accepted employment of a lower status to that previously held prior to childbirth however employees from the restaurant group generally considered their employment of similar status and admitted to receiving satisfaction from the extended interaction with their customer. It is therefore reasonable to argue that the perceived status of employment contributes towards the enjoyment of work especially when considering a downward career path.

4.31 Style of employment

When considering the results of this study, location closely followed by convenience of hours were discovered to be the two overwhelming reasons for the acceptance of part-time employment with 39.5 per cent of the individuals interviewed (34 from the supermarket chain and 3 from the restaurant group) quoting inconvenient hours as the reason why they did not return to their previous employer. Interestingly, although only 7 per cent (6 individuals from the supermarket chain) quoted location as the reason why they did not return to their previous employment, 60 per cent (43 from the supermarket chain and 9 from the restaurant group) quoted the location of their current part-time employment as the deciding factor for accepting the job.

The data gathered during this study confirms that the adoption of part-time unsocial hours employment is usually selected due to suitable hours and a convenient location which is generally regarded as being far more important than the style of work available or the actual duties performed. The availability of favourable discount schemes offered by both companies were designed to assist in staff recruitment and retention, and in the case of the supermarket chain a choice of particularly flexible contract options makes the choice of hours available to work more suited to the individual attempting to combine employment with childcare duties. However, despite the best efforts of both employers involved with this study, the majority of individuals interviewed considered their employment as merely 'a job'.

The aspect of 'a job' as compared to a career was examined in greater detail during the follow-up interviews during the 'Year II' phase of questioning. Attention was focused upon the perception of career and an individual's perceived progress within their employment. The data gathered during this study showed that from the twenty three interviewed, nineteen individuals (eighty two per cent) believed they had made little or no progress since they commenced their employment. However this statistic should not be considered too significant as many of the individuals occupying these positions were not seeking a career. Due to the demands of childcare throughout the day, many individuals specifically sought part-time work that that did not involve any degree of management or any high sense of responsibility. An example of this was when a shelf replenishment assistant (who before the birth of her children was a store manager with the catalogue chain Argos) was asked what prompted her decision to adopt this style of work, her comment was:

"I didn't want something that I had to take home with me, this I don't. I come in, do 10 hours and go home, you know, and if the stock is still on the floor at 7.00 a.m. I walk away, it's not my problem." (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89)

In contrast, there were reports from individuals who although they did not seek employment with any high degree of responsibility, wanted to feel that they were making some form of progress. It could be argued that this aspect of perceived progression contributes towards the issue of longevity of employment. This area is examined in greater detail later in section five.

From the interviews undertaken, comments were also received regarding the career opportunities available during more traditional work periods with seventeen individual from the twenty three interviewed during year two expressing the view that there would be more career opportunities available to them if they worked during the day, Mondays to Fridays. There were frequent comments regarding the work being unimportant together with expressions of having no career desire. Twelve individuals (fifty two per cent) of the twenty interviewed during the 'Year II' interview process specifically expressed the point that they had no wish for a career. The work undertaken was solely for monetary gain during time periods which were convenient for the individual and fitted in with the family. Although it may initially be expected that this type of employment would not be popular, the degree of satisfaction reported by the individuals who were interviewed was surprisingly high. Overall sixty six per cent (during the year one interviews) reported that they were happy in their employment with eighty three per cent from the restaurant group reporting that in general, they enjoyed their work. The aspect of enjoyment at work is discussed further in section five. However, despite the company's best efforts to instil corporate loyalty amongst its employees in an attempt to reduce staff turnover, the overriding factor which ensured individuals remained employed was the social relations with other work colleagues.

4.32 Convenience of hours

It is suggested from the data gathered that individuals within the hospitality and retail industry, rarely decide to work unsocial part-time hours through attraction to the style of work. To dovetail a part-time job into a partners working day, to fit in with childcare facilities and to be available during school holidays are all important issues a returning to work mother considers when choosing a part-time position. Convenient hours are crucial for the success of part-time working especially if the employment is conducted during unsocial periods. It is usually because of childcare the issue of hours becomes so critical. Some employers have addressed this issue and now offer flexible working, allowing mothers time off during school holidays. Naturally the provision of this type of working does not suit all employers and although it is becoming more common, is still not widely offered by industry in general. In conjunction with the issue of hours is the subject of the sequential household as defined by 'The Equal Opportunities Commission survey 1989': A sequential household schedule is stated as being where one partner starts work after the other partner has finished. The Equal Opportunities Commission state that this is particularly

common in dual-earner households where the woman is employed part-time and there is a preschool child. Although the part-time employment is accepted with knowledge of the partner's hours in advance, the management of the transition can often cause problems. There were reports of feelings of stress and anxiety regarding preparing the evening meal, helping the children with homework and preparing for work. This was further exacerbated if the partner's return home was delayed.

"I don't think they like all the routine of bedtime and wife dashing out as soon as he comes in the door, I don't know, I don't think they do, I think we just do it as a temporary, well I do it as a temporary stop gap measure."

(Interviewee: 01-03-43-82)

"I think it's because he likes us all to be together. In the evenings having our meals together and things like that, that's the only thing he don't like, obviously it's nice to have a family meal in the evening and you can't have that if you're going out to work and you know you give the kids a quick dinner and then you're off out, so that's the only real difficulty really."

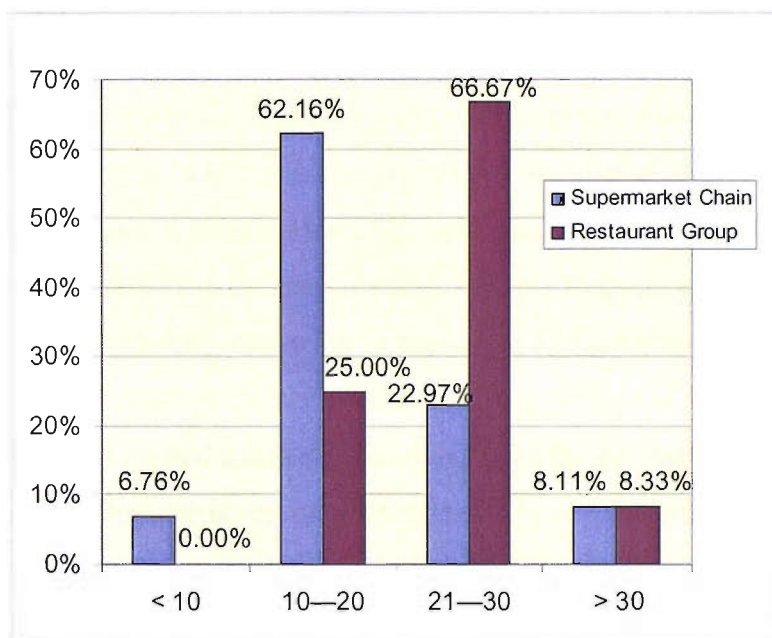
(Interviewee: 01-03-35-77)

Following the birth of their child it is still the mother who generally alters their working hours to accommodate their children. During the interviewing process undertaken in year one, it became clear that due to a limitation of times when an individual is available for work (due to childcare), the option of part-time employment during unsocial hours offered an opportunity previously unconsidered. However, to strike an appropriate 'work/life' balance, individuals considering this form of employment were conscious of the need to reconcile the total hours adopted with the demands of the employment together with the maintenance of the household and caring of the children. Due to daytime responsibilities and to balance employment with family, it was found that from the eighty six individuals interviewed during year one, seventy nine (ninety two per cent) worked less than thirty hours per week of which, fifty four individuals (sixty three per cent) worked on average, less than twenty hours. Although the criteria set out for this study was based upon individuals working between eleven and twenty nine hours per week, it was found that because of the demands upon their time, forty nine out of the total of eighty six (fifty seven per cent) actually worked on average, between ten and twenty hours per week. Only five individuals (six per cent), decided to work less than ten hours per week reporting that such minimal hours

incurred a disproportionate degree of organisation regarding childcare when compared to the level of income achieved. Those who did decide to work such few hours usually mentioned social reasons as being their prime motivation as compared to the majority who stated their employment motivation was purely financial.

Average weekly hours worked

Table 15



Seven individuals (eight per cent) chose to work on average, in excess of thirty hours per week. These individuals would be classed by Hakim as being engaged in ‘reduced hour jobs’ and (as with those working less than ten hours per week) were not the main focus of this study. However, it was interesting to note that virtually all the individuals who worked for more that thirty per week were of an age where their children were older and as such, did not require the same degree of childcare. In addition, fifty seven per cent of these individuals had been employed in excess of two years with only twenty eight per cent having been employed for less than one year. It was also interesting to note (perhaps unsurprisingly) that all these individuals reported satisfaction with their employment displaying an impressive degree of loyalty and appearing well established within their organisation.

In addition to assessing the impact of the number of hours undertaken, the split between hospitality and retail provides greater insight into actual hours worked. Although the grouping of hospitality

with retail has previously been discussed, it is interesting to compare the variation in hours undertaken between personnel employed by the restaurant group as compared to that by the supermarket chain. It was noted that in general terms, staff employed by the supermarket chain worked less hours than those engaged by the restaurant group. Although the motivation for both sets of workers was similar, it was noted that personnel with the restaurant group on average worked greater hours, partly because of the motivation of additional ‘tips’. The smaller team and the inclusive management approach within the restaurant group resulted in an increased sense of loyalty from the individuals employed and as such employees from within the restaurant group generally regarded their employment as being more important than those individuals engaged by the supermarket chain. Working patterns also varied, with night time working only available within the supermarket chain. In general terms the length of shift was shorter within the restaurant group being between 4 and 6 hours in length. However, individuals within the restaurant sites worked more frequently than those within the supermarket and this frequency of work together with a smaller workforce, assisted in the generation of teamwork and loyalty.

Whilst monetary gain was quoted as the predominant motivational factor for working part-time unsocial hours, it is clear from the levels of pay from both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group that both forms of employment offer similar levels of remuneration. This further supports the suggestion that individuals express little preference between hospitality and retail when seeking part-time work during periods.

Hourly rates of pay for restaurant and supermarket employees’

Table 16

Position	Hourly Rate
Replenishment Assistant	£4.69
Checkout operator	£5.05
Bar Assistant	£4.60
Waiting Staff	£4.50

Although customer ‘tips’ received within the restaurant group added additional income, this was considered an unknown quantity and therefore was not regarded as a reliable source of income.

4.33 The effect of management upon motivation

As previously discussed, both organisations make a considerable effort to make their employment appealing, in the form of staff discounts and staff benefits. Both organisations considered employee contentment to have a direct influence upon staff retention increasing an individual's longevity of employment thus affecting an employer's recruitment and training costs in addition to aiding consistency of service. Several comments were received regarding the issue of management revealing an insight into how important effective management is in maintaining and retaining a team. When asked what would make their working life more enjoyable, some typical comments were:

“Friendlier management I think. Yes. It does make a difference when they come and speak. I mean I don't even think that the manager of my section knows who I am. They're forever changing and the manager of the store doesn't know who I am either, he doesn't want to know. He's not a nice person.” (Interviewee: 01-03-34-72)

“The organisation in the place is so bad and the range of people you've got here is just huge and to actually try and take any position of authority in here would be very, very difficult because the workforce doesn't work together and I think you'd need a miracle pull things together.” (Interviewee: 01-01-34-20)

As can be identified from the coding, (as outlined in section 9.4: page 225) both these comments originated from employees of the supermarket chain. Their dissatisfaction appears to result from the lack of personal approach from such a large operation whereas within the restaurant group, with the team being much smaller, a friendlier, more personal atmosphere could be generated far more easily. However, even within the restaurant group, the management approach is changing toward one of delegation of responsibility. One staff member referred to this changing attitude and commented on the recent change in policy regarding complaints:

“If it gets to the point where you can't handle it then he does step in but they're bringing out this new rule now where you put comment cards on the table and you are not allowed to get your duty manager involved in a complaint. I don't think that's right. There is going to be a point where

some people just don't want to speak to a waitress do they, they want to speak to management but you've got to say sorry you've got to deal with me and I don't agree with that.” (Interviewee: 02-05-26-29)

Although examined in more detail later, the influence of the ‘social’ aspect of part-time work with regards to motivation and contentment has been shown to form a significant part of the reasons for work. As discussed in section 4.2, from the data gathered, twenty one individuals (twenty four per cent) reported the social aspect of working as being the prime motivation for employment. During the ‘Year II’ follow-up interviews, the reasons surrounding this issue were explored further in terms of job satisfaction and the reasons leading to either satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The results of the interviews (year one) indicated that the issue of job satisfaction focused heavily upon social relations with work colleagues with sixty four per cent stating that this area would lead to personal satisfaction within employment. Conversely poor relations with colleagues also featured significantly (thirty four per cent) in the reasons given for dissatisfaction, however interestingly this was not the prime reason given. When considering the issue of motivation to both adopt work and continue with the employment it was discovered that far in excess of any issue relating to relations with colleagues was that of poor management. Although discussed more fully in section 5.56 below, it is interesting to note that more than forty two per cent quoted poor management as the primary reason for job dissatisfaction with a further nineteen per cent stating that staff shortage would be a primary source of dissatisfaction within employment.

When comparing the management of the restaurant group with the supermarket chain it was noted that the structure of the two organisations was very different. The restaurant outlets, being much smaller were structured around one general manager and one or two assistants. As a result the management style was often more personal and friendly with management remaining in their positions for an average of three years. The management within the supermarket chain adopted a more hierarchical approach. The mere fact of the enormous size of the supermarket stores together with the high turnover of management resulted in inconsistent policy, a constant variation in style and a less personal approach towards hourly paid colleagues. This often resulted in a reluctance to work as a team leading to reduced feelings of corporate contribution and assisting in a feeling of overall job dissatisfaction.

The whole issue of job satisfaction, although often quoted as being important to the employer, is undoubtedly more significant to the employee. Whilst monetary gain was by far the most frequent reason given for working, it was noted that satisfaction gained from employment generally resulted in happier individuals who seemed more content with their lives. Although naturally dependant upon the personal characteristics of the individual, this feeling of contentment often led to positive sense of 'contribution' which further enhanced an individual's feeling of worth and equality within the household. Comments were received linking this feeling of 'contribution' to enhanced relations with a partner and children and although this research does not specifically focus upon this area, from the interviews undertaken there was an impression that the individuals who reported receiving the most satisfaction from their employment appeared more positive in other areas of their life. When the interviewees mentioned contribution, they were asked why they felt this was so important. A typical comment was:

"But it's mine, sounds awful but it's something that I know contributed towards the household although my husband doesn't see it as that he goes out to work and it's not his money it's our money and if we need anything we can spend it but for all those years you forever feel like I haven't contributed towards something for the house or whatever because I haven't worked where I had before and all the money would go in together." (Interviewee: 01-03-29-75)

In addition to the issue of job satisfaction, the age profile of the children is relevant especially when combining childcare with the working of part-time unsocial hours. From the survey, a total of one hundred and ninety three children were recorded and analysed in five year intervals ranging from zero to five years old, through to twenty years +. It was noted that ninety two per cent of the children belonging to this group of part-time workers were of school age. In fact, nearly seventy per cent (sixty eight per cent) were aged less than ten years with forth two per cent being between six and ten years old. Only eight per cent of children belonging to this group were aged over sixteen years old.

4.34 Convenience of location

Although convenient hours featured heavily as a major factor in an individual's choice when deciding upon part-time work, it is placed firmly as second when compared with the issue of location.

During the primary (year one) interviews the issue of a 'convenient location' was a re-occurring theme. Although it was noted that only forty two of the respondents (forty nine per cent) specifically mentioned 'location' as the only factor they considered when seeking employment, ninety one per cent of the individuals interviewed (seventy eight people) rated location as very important especially when combining this issue with convenient hours. When examining why the issue of location was so relevant, it was surprising to discover how many individuals did not hold a driving licence for a motor vehicle. Those who did often preferred to walk or travel with a companion so minimising costs and avoiding any potential difficulties involved with parking. Furthermore, from the interviews undertaken it became clear, from the individuals who did use a motor vehicle, that there was often a general lack of confidence with driving during darkness, especially late at night. This combined with the frequent availability of only one motorcar within a family and the natural expense of running a motor vehicle, (especially considering that financial necessity was the overwhelming reason quoted for deciding to return to work) may contribute to the reason why a convenient location was such a prominent factor when deciding upon part-time employment. When asking about location, some typical comments were:

"Yes location. It doesn't cost me anything in my travelling fees or anything like that."
(Interviewee: 01-07-29-29)

"I live local even though I still have to bring a car because he doesn't like me walking home at midnight, but yes it was local" (Interviewee: 01-07-33-33)

"Location, it takes me a 1 ½ minutes to get to and from work on a pushbike."
(Interviewee: 01-07-31-30)

“For me it was a lot easier to work because I only live across the road so I've got no petrol so it's easier for me.” (Interviewee: 01-01-42-55)

From the information gathered it became clear that the time spent travelling to and from work was a factor in the employment decision. This was not only to minimise the journey time, especially returning late at night, but in addition many of the younger mothers felt more comfortable being only minutes away from their children should a problem occur for which they may be needed.

4.4 Conclusion

The data gathered during this survey shows that although financial need was the primary motivator for the adoption of part-time unsocial working, there are many secondary issues that effect an individual's decision to seek out unsocial hours working.

From the data collected it is clear that the primary reason for the adoption of unsocial hours working was to accommodate the needs of the children. Evidence from a brief telephone survey of three childcare providers within the Hampshire region revealed the significant cost of external childcare (see section 1.23) which for a mother engaged as a replenishment assistant within the retail industry can be up to seventy five per cent of gross wages. Furthermore, none of the childcare providers' surveyed operated during evenings or at any time during a weekend. Whilst undoubtedly there are occasions when family members are available to care for children during the day, the transient nature of modern families often results in a wide geographical spread developing. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that for a mother seeking to adopt employment; working when a partner or family member is available to care for the children appears, for many to be the only practical way of combining childcare with the need for additional income. Unavoidably this results in working during the evenings; nights and at weekends however, as many individuals were new to this style of working, they entered employment unaware of the demands and struggled to adjust to the effect part-time unsocial hours had upon their lives. This is not too surprising as although the advantages, ie: income, are transparent there is little knowledge of the potential problems upon which to base a judgement.

This study suggests that for the many who decide to adopt part-time employment, the reality of the work itself is often far different from the expectation. The labour turnover from both research partners (discussed in section 5.53) illustrate that the practicality of managing part-time work, together with the care of children, is often more difficult than many estimate. Whilst it was expected that financial gain would rank as the primary motivator (and indeed this has been confirmed) this chapter has established that there are other factors that influence an individual decision to adopt part-time unsocial hours employment including the need for social contact, a sense of independence and a feeling of contribution to the household economy. With many women occupying these non-skilled positions choosing to have their children at an early age, many welcome the opportunity to re-establish themselves in an adult world once their children are at an age where they can be cared for by a partner or close relative. Although there were individuals who needed the additional income merely to survive, for many, the income resulting from the adoption of working unsocial hours assists in the provision of the ‘extras’ every family desires rather than needs. Regardless of the level of income achieved by the partner, the little extra provided by an individual’s part-time work, often combined with a sense of independence and contribution, was considered a valued part of the family’s income. This resulted in an increase in living standards and gave a tangible benefit to the considerable sacrifice that many individuals (and their partners) had to make in undertaking part-time unsocial hours working. However, although this added income instantly improves the standard of living for many households, in most cases the added benefit, which initially had such a positive impact, quickly became an integral part of the household finances. In addition, the maintenance of regular employment often resulted in feelings of guilt regarding the effect their working had upon their children and the relationship with their partner as discussed in section 4.24.

This chapter has examined the motivation behind adopting part-time work during unsocial periods and although the issue of why an individual chooses part-time employment has been discussed, the consequences of adopting such practices have yet to be examined. The following three sections of this study address these issues with chapter five commencing with an examination of the effect working part-time unsocial hours has upon employment, the issue of staff loyalty and the influence of management.

5. The effect of working part-time unsocial hours upon employment and length of service

Contents

Title	Page Number
5.1 Introduction	106
5.2 The influence of unit size	106
5.3 The targeted employee	109
5.4 Company philosophy	113
5.5 Analysis of factors affecting performance	116
5.51 Analysis of tasks	117
5.52 Measurement of work performance	118
5.53 Job satisfaction	120
5.6 Loyalty in employment	126
5.61 Previous employment and length of service	127
5.62 The double workday	127
5.63 The issue of work/family conflict and the effect of tiredness upon work performance	129

5.7 The influence of management	131
5.71 Management consistency and the variation of style and approach	134
5.72 Relations between management and staff	138
5.73 Perception of progress and the value of work	141
 5.8 Emotional labour and the preference of hours	 143
 5.9 Conclusion	 148

5.1 Introduction

All three of the following sections analyse the results of the data collected over the two years of the study period during spring/summer 2002 and 2003, with this section concentrating upon issues surrounding work performance. As the adoption of part-time unsocial working is the catalyst for the consequences resulting from this form of employment, it is relevant to commence this analysis with an examination into how this form of work affects employment.

This chapter examines the suggestion that many individuals enter this style of employment through necessity without understanding the full impact that it may have upon their life. From the employer's perspective the pressures are very different. The consumer's demand for retail and service companies to introduce longer opening hours and weekend trading requires greater flexibility from employees across a range of hours never before experienced. This increase in operating times and opening hours demands greater numbers of employees to work unsocial hours, (Bosh 1995) especially within the service sector (Beechey and Perkins 1987) where the rise is expected to continue.

This chapter concludes with an examination on how the management of the organisation, in which the employment is offered, affects and influences the lives of the individual workers.

5.2 The influence of unit size

Although financial reward emerged as the overwhelming motivation for starting part-time employment, enjoyment of the task itself and social contact was regarded by many as significantly important. The structure of the modern retail industry has changed recently with the emergence of the out of town superstore. When comparing this new structure to that of the hospitality industry, many differences are clear. One significant difference is the size and staff requirement of the individual retail units which were far greater than the average hospitality site. When considering the research sites identified in this study, it was decided to choose identifiable brands that operated their units in a similar manner throughout the group. As discussed in chapter three, this was to ensure the management policy was constant throughout all units within the group therefore

minimising the management effect of any one particular site. Naturally individual personnel differences were expected, however the tasks undertaken and the policies implemented were constant throughout the retail units and the hospitality sites examined.

Although all the outlets of the restaurant group were similar, to consider the influence of unit size, different grades of supermarket units were examined. As a result, one hyper-store, one town centre store and two modern edge-of-town retail sites were examined. The hyper-store employed around eight hundred personnel, the town centre site around three hundred and fifty with the edge of town sites employing approximately six hundred staff members. All of the hospitality sites belonged to the same restaurant group and although located at varying locations, all were similar in size with the Portsmouth and Bournemouth sites employing approximately sixty personnel (varies dependant upon season) and the Eastleigh site (the only research unit that offered on-site accommodation) employing approximately eighty staff working various hours.

Although the tangible benefits of working for a large organisation usually outweigh those offered by an independent or small operator, ie: group discounts, pensions etc, it could be suggested that the more personal approach offered by a small team and a greater feeling of inclusion and worth may contribute to higher overall enjoyment of working. Although this study provides insignificant evidence to support this theory, data collected from the quantitative survey (Appendix: page 219) suggest that despite receiving varying degrees of respect from their supervisor, individuals employed with the restaurant group had a greater enjoyment of the work undertaken than their counterparts employed by the supermarket. The table below illustrates an increased proportion of work enjoyment expressed from personnel employed by the restaurant group despite feeling less respected by their management. This confirms the importance of the social element of employment as a motivational/enjoyment factor. In addition, the degree of enjoyment expressed, despite the perception of disrespectful management, would suggest that these individuals have a higher regard for their work colleagues and customers than their employer or the actual work itself. Although the same suggestion may be applied to the supermarket chain, this is to a lesser extent with fewer individuals expressing enjoyment from their work and with a higher degree of perceived respect being received from management. In conclusion, these results suggest the likelihood that a staff member would receive enjoyment from this form of working especially if employed within a small team; however, it also suggests this enjoyment is not necessarily dependant upon the quality of management.

Perceived respect from employer and enjoyment from work

Table 17

	Supermarket chain (n=74)		Restaurant group (n=12)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
I do not feel respected by my supervisor/manager				
Agree or strongly agree	26	35.1 per cent	6	50.0 per cent
Disagree or strongly disagree	38	51.3 per cent	4	33.3 per cent
In general, I enjoy my work				
Agree or strongly agree	54	72.9 per cent	11	91.6 per cent
Disagree or strongly disagree	11	14.8 per cent	1	8.3 per cent

(Based upon data gathered from the year one survey 2001)

Data gathered during the year one survey (including comments received during the interview process) also suggest an association between level of satisfaction and length of employment. Although the enjoyment of work was high for both organisations (despite a significant degree of staff turnover) the smaller environment of the restaurant group showed a higher proportion of employee satisfaction despite line management with less skills (discussed in section 5.73) and a reduced management structure. Comments received indicated the higher degree of satisfaction experienced amongst hourly paid employees may be partly responsible for the lower level of staff turnover experienced by the restaurant group as compared to that of the supermarket chain. Turnover data for both the supermarket chain and restaurant group are outlined in section 5.53, however to investigate the issue of contentment at work more fully, question five of the secondary survey asked what would cause an individual dissatisfaction within their job. Forty two per cent expressed the view that poor management would be the primary cause for dissatisfaction in a job with a further nineteen per cent quoting staff shortages being the main reason. Four per cent felt a lack of appreciation would be the most significant factor with the remaining thirty five per cent quoting poor relations with their colleagues as the main cause. All these factors would undoubtedly contribute to a higher degree of staff turnover if not recognised and addressed by line management.

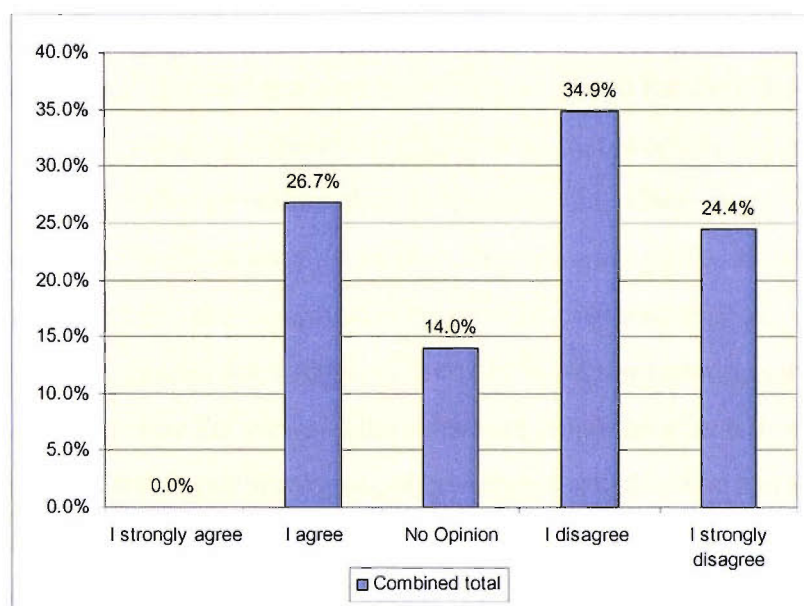
The ‘hands-on’ approach, the smaller unit size and the more stable management of the restaurant group appeared to assist both managers and supervisors in developing and maintaining a close working relationship with their staff even if they usually had less managerial skill (and fewer qualifications) than their counterparts at the supermarket chain.

5.3 The targeted employee

Whilst it is important to consider the status of current employment as compared to the position held prior to childbirth, the perception of status held by the individual is also worthy of examination. It should be noted that whilst individuals may have occupied jobs between the birth of their child and the present employment, this could be considered largely irrelevant. Whilst previous employment may have included day time working or employment involving reduced hours, it is the effect of current part-time unsocial hours employment that is the focus of this study. The reasons they decided to adopt their current position provides a benchmark against the employment prior to childbirth and although they may have occupied intervening positions the reasons they did not continue with these do not affect the status comparison with the employment held prior to childbirth. Comments were frequently received regarding the perception that their current employment was of a lower status to that of their previous job whereas in reality, both areas of work could be classed as semi-skilled or unskilled. During the Year I interviews, all 86 individuals interviewed were asked to express their degree of agreement to the statement ‘The status of this employment is equal to my previous job’. It should be noted that whilst some individuals may have occupied intervening jobs between the birth of their children (as discussed above) and their present position, individuals were instructed to compare their present part-time position to that of their previous regular employment occupied prior to childbirth. The response to this question indicates the motivation to accept part-time employment is not normally based upon the perceived status of the employment with nearly 60 per cent disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that their current employment was of an equal status.

The status of this employment is equal to my previous job (combined total)
(prior to childbirth)

Table 18

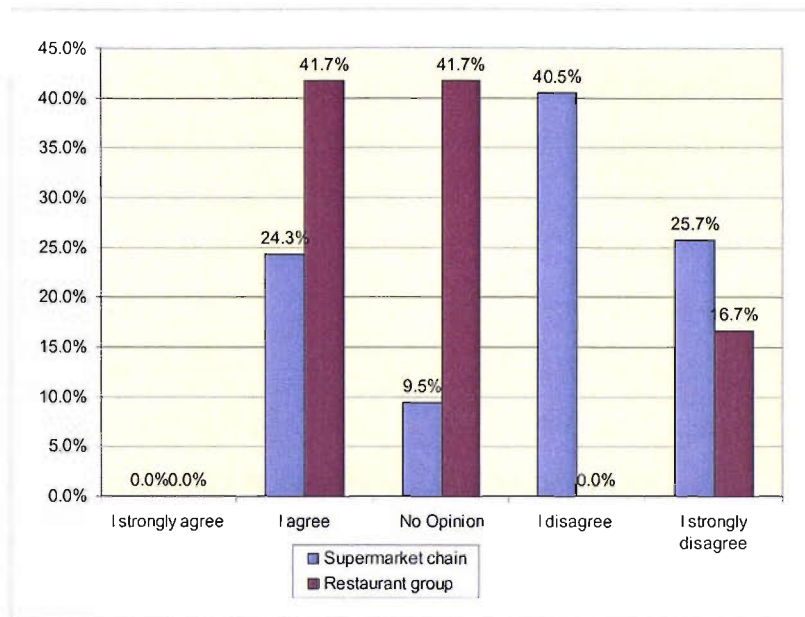


It is interesting to ask why this should be especially as it was reported that the wage rates paid by both types of employment were similar. One explanation could be the reduced degree of responsibility held by most part-time workers however, more interesting could be the attitude held by the individual regarding full and part-time employment. Prior to the birth of their children, 87.2 per cent of individuals (75 out of the 86 interviewed) worked full-time with the majority considering their employment to be a 'career'. When an individual decided to return to work after the birth of their child, 67 of the individuals interviewed (77.9 per cent) chose not to return to their previous employer. As discussed earlier, most individuals choose to adopt part-time unsocial employment to fit around childcare. For most individuals, life's priorities changed to a point where their family (children more than partner) became the most important factor (supporting the findings of Moen and Dempster 1987) and work was generally regarded only as a means of gaining financial reward ('mix-and-manage' as defined by Fenton et al 2003). As a result location and convenience of hours became the most important factor (as discussed earlier) with the work itself becoming very much a secondary issue. This suggestion is supported by comments received during the secondary Year II interviews where 52.1 per cent (13 individuals from the 23 interviewed) specifically expressed no desire in pursuing a career especially whilst their children were young.

Because of the greater degree of time commitment and differential in pay rates, it could be argued that full-time employment is often perceived by employers (and society in general), as being of a higher status to that of part-time. Whilst the individuals interviewed from the supermarket chain has occupied a variety of employment positions prior to childbirth, 49 of the 74 interviewed (66.2 per cent) regarded their previous job as being of a higher status than their current employment supporting the findings of Budig and England 2001. However even for work that could be regarded as equal status, from the comments received it appeared that working for a supermarket was considered to be less socially attractive than working in an office based environment. This appeared not to be the case with the employees from the restaurant group. Although the number of personnel interviewed between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group varied considerably (74 from the supermarket chain compared to 12 from the restaurant group as discussed in section 2.54) it is important to separate the views of the restaurant employees from those employed by the supermarket chain. Within the restaurant group there was a marked increase in the individuals who considered their employment to be of equal status to that previously held prior to childbirth. From the 12 employees interviewed, only 2 individuals considered their employment was of a lower status with 10 individuals (83.3 per cent) believing their employment was of a similar status or expressed no opinion. Whilst bearing in mind the differential rate of personnel interviewed, it is important to examine why there should be such variation between two industries considered to offer a similar type of employment.

**The status of this employment (supermarket and restaurant) is equal to my previous job
(prior to childbirth)**

Table 19



Although it has been already been established that hospitality and retail offer similar status employment and attract a similar type of individual, upon further examination there emerged a subtle difference between the two forms of employment.

Firstly, the restaurant group offered constant employment throughout the day, evenings and weekends. Indeed it transpired, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the majority of business was actually conducted during the evening and weekend periods and as such there was greater opportunity for the individual to earn additional revenue in the form of tips. Secondly, although the supermarket chain engaged staff to work throughout the night, most of the duties during both the evening and night shift involved replenishment and cleaning. As a result (and largely because of the lack of customer contact) this mainly manual form of work was often considered by the individuals interviewed as being of a lower status than the work available during the day. This further added to the dissatisfaction of the individual especially if this was combined with an underutilisation of skills.

As described above, organisations seeking to recruit employees to work unsocial hours appeared to target individuals that were unable to work during the day, especially individuals who undertook childcare activities during the day. Examples include specific ‘term time’ contracts to appeal to mothers with children of school age and ‘variable hours’ contracts designed to fit around school and holiday hours. By offering a range of other benefits including, flexible time-off during times of family emergencies, discount card for shopping (supermarket) / dining-out (restaurant) and the opportunity to return part-time following maternity leave (or to increase to full-time when circumstances allowed) an added benefit was created which enhanced the attractiveness of the employment.

5.4 Company philosophy

Although the similarities between retail and hospitality have been argued, the positions offered and the scale of the two businesses is very different. Within the world of hospitality, employment is split into two distinct areas. Firstly there is the ‘front of house’ positions which include bar and waiting staff in addition to reception and in hotels, porters and concierge. Secondly there are the ‘back of house’ positions which include the chefs, cleaners and ‘wash-up’. All of the front of house personnel are regularly associated with clients over an extended period and therefore involved with emotional labour and to a degree, need to have the ability to work on their own with a willingness to interact with guests. From an organisational point of view, hospitality units are generally small employing less than 100 personnel and although many operate late in to the night and during weekends, few, if any offer a full service throughout the night.

When examining the wide and diverse industry of retail it should be remembered that, even within the supermarket chain, there were smaller outlets employing a mere handful of people and although they frequently operate at unsocial periods, with the exception of petrol stations (a new growth area for all retail companies) they rarely trade throughout the night. For the purpose of this study it was the supermarket business that was selected primarily due to its size and position within the industry. Although each supermarket store differed in size, (as discussed in section 5.2) they were all significantly larger than any hospitality site examined. Within this environment there appeared less demarcation between the various positions as compared to that of hospitality. Although most, if not all of the personnel employed within the supermarket chain had some contact with the

customer, it was discovered that the amount of interaction was usually minimal and far less than within a hospitality site. Most hospitality outlets tend to focus upon their brand upon creating a 'theme' for their surroundings aiming to attract a particular group of customers, ie: young families (McDonalds, Brewers Fayre), people travelling (Little Chef), or town centre young/business individuals (Weatherspoons, Yates).

Within the environment of the restaurant group, service was an integral part of the 'experience' with staff often enjoying long periods of contact with customers, eg: during the course of a meal. Although, if a retail customer requires assistance, service was considered important, it was usually much shorter and not of a social nature. Most positions within the supermarket chain involved replenishment (minimal customer contact) or check-out and were subject to a regular pattern of routine. Although the check-out involved greater contact with the customer, this was often short and could, if needed or desired, be minimised to an almost non-existent level. The on-site training literature from the supermarket chain and the restaurant group illustrates the difference in emphasis between the two organisations. The restaurant group concentrates firmly on enhancing the service experience for the customer whilst increasing sales. Although the supermarket chain recognises the importance of their customer, their training literature focuses upon the importance of procedures ie: date labels, how to tackle customer violence, bomb alerts, health and safety and replenishment procedures.

Although it is suggested that few individuals seeking part-time unsocial hours working, distinguish between hospitality and retail, it is clear from the employment policies of the two organisations participating in this study that each organisation concentrates upon attracting slightly different skills. Training and induction documents obtained from the regional and head office of both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group provided insight into how each organisation structured its management and staff policies. However, to protect the identity of both organisations these documents have not been included. It was noted that within the restaurant group, great attention is paid to innovation and the ability to work on ones own. Within the supermarket chain, being able to work as part of a team appears more valued and although the work is often longer and more physical, it is invariably less intellectually demanding than the work required by the restaurant group. Within the restaurant group there was increased contact with the customer with both bar and restaurant staff being required to write customer orders and prepare table bills. This was contrary to most work within the supermarket where stock replenishment was more common. Although both

organisations offered an impressive array of company benefits, the results of this study suggest that few part-time employees place much value on these items. As most individuals reported that they only intended to remain within these positions for a short period, long term company benefits did not generally entice or retain an individual. Although many staff had several years of service, few saw these positions as being ‘long term’ normally accepting the work as a temporary arrangement. When circumstances allow, most expressed the desire to return to full-time employment but not with their current employer or in their current position.

Some comments from the interviewees:

“I’ve always looked at the supermarket as part-time to get over Christmas and what ever else. I don’t think I would want a full-time job here.” (Interviewee: 01-01-23-10 with five years service)

“I think a permanent job here would send me round the twist quite honestly. If I was doing that job down there, doing it full-time I just wouldn’t enjoy it.” (Interviewee: 01-07-41-35 with more than two years service)

From information obtained from the regional and head office of both the research partners, it was possible to examine the employment philosophy of each organisation. When comparing the restaurant group with the supermarket chain it becomes clear that the retail sector is more proactive in targeting their potential employees. A number of flexible contracts were offered by the supermarket chain to their part-time staff in addition to a comprehensive care and benefit package including discount off their food shopping which, unlike many other benefits, was viewed by individuals as being worthwhile and was one tangible benefit that most staff valued. Conversely, the restaurant group offered one contract and although staff benefits are available, (such as discount on restaurant meals) they were invariably disregarded as being unattractive with little interest being expressed spending their social time within their work environment. Whilst hospitality generally struggles to offer comparable benefits on an official level, this industry is able to offer one unique benefit not available to retail staff. Many staff within the restaurant group reported that monetary ‘tips’ received from guests could equal as much as their wages and as such, was considered a significant benefit. This also acted as an inducement for staff to work during busy periods such as weekends and public holidays. Due to the structure of the supermarket chain and its size, each store enjoyed the benefit of a personnel and training department. Within the

restaurant group the General Manager (of each site) and their assistant had to adopt many roles including that of personnel and training. With limited time, experience and expertise available, the level of skill demonstrated within the restaurant group was markedly lower than that available within the supermarket chain. However, although the supermarket chain offers a range of contracts specifically targeting mothers returning to work, little regard appeared to be paid either to their previous experience or to their qualifications. Some typical comments:

“I don't think they respect what your background is here...” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87).

“What bothers me is how certain people in the management see us, because and it's the same for a lot of the women on the department, we are capable of doing jobs that require a little bit more of intelligence.” (Interviewee: 01-01-28-59).

“I don't want to sound... snobby not the right word, do you know what I mean. I went to college and I can do better than this. I do this because I have to. If I was going to work full-time I wouldn't sit on a till for 8 hours a day or stack shelves for 8 hours a day. I just wouldn't do it. I would do something that would give me something to think about. A bit of a challenge you know.” (Interviewee: 01-03-31-78).

As a result there was significant resentment amongst some staff members who, although admitted to generally enjoying their work, felt a degree of frustration from being trapped in a menial position (supporting the view of Darton and Hurrell 2005) which would not allow them to use their skills and ability to their full potential. In general terms, this attitude was not experienced from staff within the restaurant group where the work was generally considered more mentally demanding.

5.5 Analysis of factors affecting performance

The data analysed in this study was collected across seven units all within the southern area of England. Although an outline profile of the towns and cities where the research was conducted is detailed in chapter 3, the industry sector itself needs to be examined both to determine the effect upon the data collected and to assess whether similar results could be expected in other service and non-service industries.

5.51 Analysis of tasks

In addition to examining the influence of the unit size where the work was conducted, it is important to give attention to the tasks undertaken by the individuals. Although the tasks offered by the supermarket chain were naturally different to those undertaken by employees within the restaurant group, jobs conducted within both environments were similar in many ways. Firstly, positions in both organisations involved serving the public, with the duties in a restaurant group involving conversation and the development of an extended relationship usually lasting in excess of an hour.

Whilst a variety of individuals occupying different grades was sought, the majority of tasks undertaken by the various workers engaged in part-time unsocial hours could be classed as unskilled. Within the restaurant group, all respondents were engaged in waiting/bar duties and conducted tasks including clearing tables and serving meals to customers. Within the supermarket chain, mainly due to the size of the operation, the duties were more varied. However even here the majority of tasks involved interaction with the customer either at the point of sale (at the till), or in the aisles as goods were loaded on to the shelves. Although this accounted for the majority of personnel interviewed, the sample of interviewees did include a small proportion of other personnel including shift managers, supervisors and administrative staff. However, the comments received from these individuals regarding the difficulties in adopting part-time unsocial hours were similar to those of all other staff. Possibly this may be as a result of the work being part-time, however, the stresses and strain in addition to the difficulties involved with childcare and maintaining the family proved similar in most cases leading to the conclusion that the effects of combining part-time unsocial hours working with childcare was similar regardless of the tasks undertaken. Roles were often chosen to provide tasks which either avoided too much responsibility or allowed an individual to maintain a mental function whilst not overstretching their ability. Few, if any, sought a challenging role instead choosing to concentrate upon their family and children. Typical comments were:

“It was something; I didn't want too much responsibility as in, to go to work towards a career as such. It just needed it to be something I could come and do.”

(Interviewee: 01-02-33-63).

“I came here like for breathing space and I thought I was not going to have so much responsibility.”

(Interviewee: 01-07-41-35).

From the data collected it became apparent that regardless of the nature of the work undertaken, or the organisation offering employment, the effect upon the individual (the difficulties experienced in maintaining a family, caring for children and a partner) whilst undertaking part-time unsocial working was remarkably similar. It is suggested that the cumulative effect arising from balancing part-time unsocial hours working with childcare and the maintenance of a home, will have a negative effect upon work performance, especially if individuals are engaged in the ‘double-day’ (Fox 1980) with tiredness adding to an already difficult situation.

5.52 Measurement of work performance

As a method of ensuring consistency of work performance and in an endeavour to maintain and improve standards, both the restaurant group and the supermarket chain implement a self assessed training and monitoring program. Before discussing the individual differences between the two organisations, it is important to take an overview of the issue of monitoring work performance between the two companies.

As discussed below, the structure of management within the sites of the supermarket chain and the restaurant outlets visited differed considerably. Mainly due to their size differential, the style of management varied between a tiered management structure within the supermarket chain (with separate departments, ie: wages, human resources, training etc) and one of hands-on participation throughout the restaurant group. Bearing this in mind it is not too surprising to discover the training program within the supermarket chain adopts a more bureaucratic style than that of the restaurant group. In the welcome pack issued by the supermarket chain to each new employee is a booklet outlining policy and procedure. Within this document, which describes an individual’s new role and what is expected of them, is the first of six self assessment questionnaires (completed every twelve weeks) which are designed to test an individual’s attitude to their work. These assessment questions are later reviewed by the line manager in a six monthly meeting. During this meeting agreed targets are set and further training needs identified. This system of self assessment

in conjunction with regular review meetings with line management appears to be an effective method of monitoring performance, assessing potential problems and identifying training needs. When considering the lack of consistent management frequently experienced throughout the supermarket chain this method of employee assessment allows a new manager a quick and easy route to familiarise themselves with their subordinates, assess their skills and to identify their potential training needs. Although this system has many advantages, it does not compensate for the difficulties involved with inconsistent management and is completely reliant upon the diligence, enthusiasm and conscientiousness of the line manager.

Due to the competitive nature of the restaurant business, each unit was located either in close proximity of a major transport route or within a densely populated area. To ensure brand fatigue was avoided, each location was a significant distance from its neighbouring site which often resulted in feelings of remoteness and isolation amongst the unit staff. However, to assist with customer and staffing issues, each site manager was provided with a documented management system centred upon policies and procedures designed to provide support as and when new situations or queries arose. In conjunction with this 'stand alone' management style is an eight tiered employee induction scheme which is completed within the first three months of an employee commencing their employment. In addition to this induction assessment the restaurant group conducted quarterly performance reviews with all members of staff. Although this system is established in all of the restaurant group outlets, comments received from the unit managers indicated its completion was often disrupted by operational issues and staff shortages. In addition to these schemes is a refresher style training course organised and set regularly by head office between six months and one year. These training sessions are conducted throughout the country concurrently and cover issues such as health and safety, fire regulations, hazard awareness and the control of substances hazardous to health (COSHH). Although this training scheme is designed to enhance work performance and employee loyalty it is conducted internally by either the manager or an assistant manager who, having usually been promoted from the ranks, did not have the specific skills (or enthusiasm) to conduct this specialised training. Furthermore, the management system implemented at each outlet was designed to assist in the operation of the business, with written advice for management regarding policies and procedures, and for the staff in the form of job descriptions. However this document does not address the issue of staff conduct or offer alternative methods of monitoring work performance. For this the unit manager is personally responsible and although they can involve outside assistance from the regional office if deemed

necessary, from conversations undertaken, an impression was formed suggesting that this was rarely welcomed as too much attention was drawn to the negative element of their performance which often resulted in their ability coming under scrutiny.

Both systems operated by the supermarket chain and the restaurant group have their advantages. Whilst the smaller size of the units within the restaurant group provided a more personal atmosphere, within the supermarket chain, there appeared to be a greater level of management skill, mainly due to the large volume of people at each site allowing for specialist departments. With this comes a greater opportunity for individuals to document their attitudes and opinions using the self-assessment scheme. Whilst neither system is without its flaws, it was considered there was more opportunity within the supermarket chain for individual progress if advancement was sought.

5.53 Job satisfaction

Whilst it has already been established that the primary motivation for adopting part-time employment is one of financial gain, the social aspect of the actual work involved kept emerging as an important factor for the individuals concerned and as such, further investigation into the area was conducted during the secondary follow-up interviews. With one of the aims of this study relates to the effect working part-time unsocial hours has upon an individual's life, it was discovered that for many, their newly adopted part-time employment not only provided financial income but in addition was often a substitute for a non-active social life.

Although not particularly relating to their present employment, the interviewees were asked to: "Recall a time when you were really happy in a job and describe what caused that happiness?" 64 per cent quoted social relations with other staff members as the prime reason for happiness within a job. The style of the work itself together with a sense of achievement featured as a secondary cause of satisfaction at work with 28 per cent of the individuals questioned quoting this as an important factor.

One response to the question of happiness within employment emphasised the importance of maintaining a productive and cheerful atmosphere. When asked what makes you happy in your work one interviewee commented:

“My colleagues I would say. The people that I'm working with. Not particularly the job but the atmosphere I got from my work colleagues and when the pressures get too much and everyone is on a downer that's when it's not so good because everybody feeds off everybody's feelings.”
(Interviewee 01-01-41-47).

One other interviewee, recalling their most satisfying job, emphasised the importance of management to the enjoyment of work. When asked why they enjoyed this particular job so much, they replied:

“The girls I worked with were brilliant, we all got on fantastically and the director at the time was a fantastic guy and treated you as if you were an individual that made you feel special, he appreciated what you did, he was an ideal manager really.” (Interviewee: 01-01-28-59).

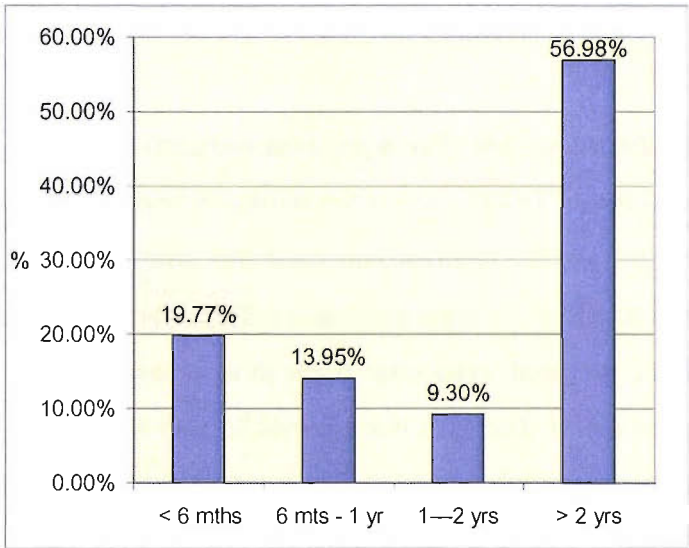
It is clear from the above statements that the social element of work is an important factor in the employment undertaken. With many individuals reporting that their work provided them with a social element to their life, it is reasonable to conclude that for many part-time employees engaged in unsocial hours working, the social element surrounding work is important. When compared to more conventional periods of work, it is suggested that the social element of unsocial hours working may extend an individual's length of service with the enjoyment resulting from their friendship with their colleagues replacing job satisfaction achieved from the work undertaken.

Although there were a significant number of individuals with employment in excess of two years, it was evident that there was a proportion of staff that was engaged and then terminated their employment within a very short space of time. The supermarket chain confirmed that in fact, half of all their new staff terminated their employment within the first twelve weeks of employment. The reality of this became apparent when organising the ‘Year II’ interviews where many of the respondents identified for a follow-up interview during the first year had already left their employment before the ‘Year II’ process commenced. Although great effort was made to interview a cross section of individuals, the study was reliant upon the co-operation of the research partners. Naturally both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group wished to portray their organisations in the best possible light and although it is not suggested that management purposely selected ‘stable’ staff for the interviews, a higher level of personal knowledge resulting from extended

service is likely to have brought certain staff members to the forefront of their minds when considering who would be suitable to participate in the study. As a result a higher proportion of longer serving members of staff (in excess of two years service) were interviewed than were represented on site, although care was taken to ensure that all interviewees met the criteria of the study. Apart from those candidates interviewed who had served in excess of two years (57 per cent), 19.7 per cent of the interviewees had been employed for less than six months, 13.9 per cent had served between six months and one year and only 9.3 per cent had been employed for between one and two years.

Length of service (combined total)

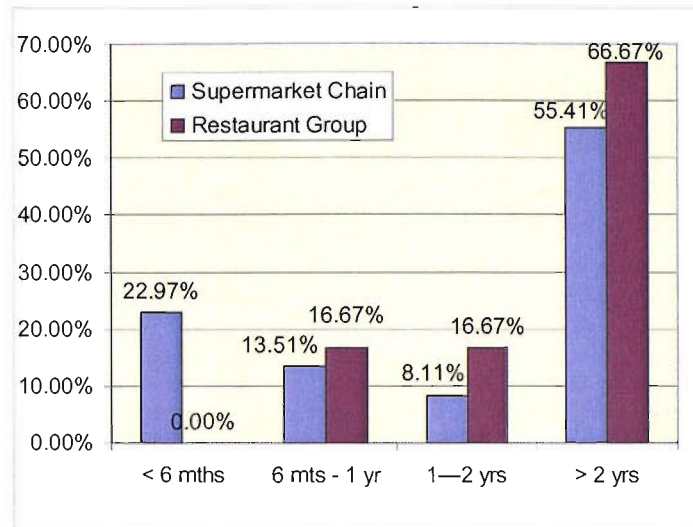
Table 20



In addition to the combined data relating to length of service, it is interesting to examine the differing length of service between the supermarket chain and that of the restaurant group.

Length of service (supermarket and restaurant)

Table 21



Staff turnover figures from both organisations (especially the supermarket) indicated that for the majority of service personnel, their employment service lasted for less than two years. Indeed, there were a lot of individuals who left their employment within the first year. Although no specific data was available, it was reported that there were a considerable number of individuals who lasted for only a matter of weeks or in some cases days; however, as shown below, it can be seen that as time progressed the rate of termination declined. When comparing the individual lengths of service totals between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group it can be seen from the table below, that a significant proportion of personnel from the supermarket chain experience a shorter period of service than individuals from the restaurant group.

Percentage of annual staff turnover in relation to length of service

Table 22

The Supermarket chain							
Less than 6 months	6 months to < 1 year	1 year to < 2 years	2 years to < 3 years	3 years to < 5 years	5 years to < 10 years	10 years to < 15 years	15 years to < 20 years
204 per cent	124 per cent	63 per cent	49 per cent	31 per cent	18 per cent	12 per cent	11 per cent

The Restaurant group			
Less than 6 months	6 months to < 1 year	1 years to < 2 years	In excess of 2 years
69 per cent	14 per cent	10 per cent	7 per cent

(Source: Head office personnel department of both research partners)

It was noted that for those individuals who served past the two year stage, the likelihood of long term employment accelerated. It was not uncommon during the study to experience a length of service in excess of ten years with many people having served between six and eight years.

Although data regarding actual turnover from both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group was restricted, the supermarket chain did gather information during the exit interview, regarding the reasons for termination of employment. When examining corporate information received from the head office of the supermarket chain it was noted that for the year ending March 2004, turnover amongst non-management personnel reached fifty one per cent which equates to 66,319 individuals. From this total, nearly one third (thirty two per cent) of all leavers completely left the retail industry, (nineteen per cent) for a non-retail position and a further (thirteen per cent) leaving with the intention of not taking any other employment at all. A further nine per cent quoted either health or personal domestic problems as the reason for terminating their employment with an additional four per cent being dismissed due to sickness. Although no data was available regarding the split either between full and part-time leavers, or between male and female, it is interesting to examine the overall division of labour which does highlight the employment position occupied by the leaver and analyses the employment between male and female and management and non-management.

Within the retail division of the supermarket chain, female non-management staff outnumber males by a ratio of almost 2:1. During the year ending March 2002, from the 125,603 non-management retail employees, 81,596 were female with the remaining 44,007 being male. Although there was no data available regarding the division of these individuals between full and part-time, it is clear from this ratio, the significance female staff has to the retail sector. Whilst the disproportionate level of female employees is clear, it is important to examine the position in which these individuals are engaged. From the 12,760 management staff employed by the supermarket chain, 7,287 individuals are male with only 5,473 female. When comparing the two ratios of male to female staff, management to non-management, the disparity of numbers is clear. It is therefore apparent that whilst most managers are male, most non-management employees are females with those occupying part-time unsocial hours, almost exclusively female.

Data provided by the supermarket chain also analyses the division of tasks within the retail sector, however unfortunately it again fails to make any separation between male or female or full and part-time time. However, from the 129,961 non-management individuals employed by the supermarket chain year ending March 2004, nearly a quarter (twenty four per cent) were replenishment assistants with a further thirty four per cent occupying the position of Customer Service Assistant. An additional thirteen per cent were either warehouse or counter assistants. Data provided from the supermarket chain shows that turnover amongst replenishment assistants actually averaged sixty seven per cent per annum and amongst Customer Service Assistants the annual total was fifty six per cent.

It has been established that a significant majority of individuals engaged by the supermarket's retail division are both female and non-management. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the high proportion of non-management turnover is amongst women. Furthermore the positions occupied by the majority of individuals who participated in this study indicate that it is indeed these manual positions of counter/warehouse/replenishment assistant that attract this sector of the workforce searching for part-time employment especially during unsocial periods.

Although the staff turnover information paints a broad picture, comments received from the individuals interviewed suggested that although the atmosphere, department or team was regarded by many as important, few individuals attributed this to the ability or style of the manager or team leader. Only eight per cent mentioned management as an important factor in the achievement of happiness at work, however when asked what made them unhappy in a job, nearly half quoted poor management as the most important factor.

5.6 Loyalty in employment

Mowday (1982) refers to the three components of loyalty or commitment in employment as being: an identification with the goals and values of the organisation; a desire to belong to the organisation and a willingness to display effort on behalf of the organisation. However, the results of this study suggest that loyalty within part-time unsocial hours employment may take an alternative course. When considering the issue of part-time unsocial hours working, it is suggested that loyalty can also refer to the peer group with whom the individual is employed and whilst they may have minimal allegiance to the organisation or work task itself, loyalty to their fellow colleagues may be a strong motivator in maintaining the continuity of their employment. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that peer loyalty in part-time unsocial hours employment can affect overall length of service. Should peer loyalty diminish, say due to the movement of teams, it is suggested that loyalty will be disrupted resulting in increased turnover and reduced lengths of service. Although motivation to adopt part-time unsocial hours employment was primarily financial, as discussed in section 4.32, most individuals confirmed they could survive without the additional income. It therefore could be suggested that the enjoyment or social element of the part-time unsocial hours employment is significant.

5.61 Previous employment and length of service

From the results of the survey it was discovered that although the individuals attached importance to their work (for reasons discussed previously) the work undertaken was not regarded as an element in career progression. Most of the individuals interviewed within the supermarket chain and the restaurant group occupied hourly paid, unskilled positions. The classification of these unskilled positions would include all grades below supervisor and within hospitality would be specifically bar and waiting staff. Within retail unskilled positions would include check-out, warehouse, cleaning and replenishment personnel.

When investigating supervisor level and above (of which there were few) a more career attitude was discovered. Although most considered their career was ‘on hold’ whilst their family remained young, it was discovered that a significant proportion of these individuals had previously held positions of responsibility either with their current organisation or with a competitor. However surprisingly, many individuals expressed contentment in their current employment believing that they had satisfied their career aspirations prior to childbirth. With their priorities now focused upon their children most appeared more than happy to endure a relatively mundane job involving minimal responsibility.

5.62 The double workday

The domestic maintenance of a home and the care of young children is generally accepted as being a task undertaken largely by the female partner. (Epstein et al 1986; Pahl 1984; Gershuny et al 1986; Laite and Halfpenny 1987; Allan 2000). However, it is often at the end of the day, when people feel most exhausted, that mothers commence their paid employment. It has been established that working part-time extended and unsocial hours is attractive to mothers, especially young mothers with dependent children. These working mothers would invariably undertake a ‘double-day’ (Fox 1980) maintaining the home and caring for the children during the day then commencing their part-time employment in the evening or at weekends.

Although there were a significant proportion of interviewees who could survive without the additional income their employment provided, (see section 4.32) for many the additional income resulting from their employment was relied upon for financial survival. It is suggested that this sense of necessity adds additional pressure upon an individual who does not have the mental comfort of being able to terminate their paid employment should their enjoyment of that work diminish. Many comments were received regarding the absolute necessity to earn additional income:

“I didn't have a choice in the matter to be honest. My first position working in the nursery fell through I was supposed to go back part-time but she only had a full-time position so I was like working in corner shops and things like that to help bring in money because we needed money.” (Interviewee: 01-01-27-43)

“I mean the job is as it is, you know so I mean it's not bad, it's, there's nothing wrong with it, it's just the fact that I have to do it, you know what I mean, it's something I want to do, I don't dislike it but you don't get a whole lot of job satisfaction there, you just come to work, do your job and go. Whereas if you, like when I had my full-time job it was projects on the go and you sort of like wanted to go to work, here I come to work because I need the money.” (Interviewee: 01-03-31-78)

“Basically because they're growing up I need more money, they've got school trips, clothes and just basically to help out. I don't think one wage these days is enough.” (Interviewee: 01-01-52-33)

“We need the money basically. I'd much rather be at home.” (Interviewee: 01-07-33-33)

“The thing is I know I work Sundays but I don't like really working Sundays but it's just the money to be honest with you.” (Interviewee: 01-07-38-38)

5.63 The issue of work/family conflict and the effect of tiredness upon work performance

The issue of an individual's work and their family can be divided into two sections. Firstly there are those family activities that affect work and secondly there are those work tasks that affect the family. Work > family conflict occurs when work demands and activities impede the performance of family responsibilities and the quality of family life whereas family > work conflict occurs when family-role demands and activities hinder work performance and the quality of work life.

Although the nature of part-time unsocial hours employment may reduce the issue of work > family conflict due to the reduced hours worked, it is probable that this type of employment will increase the question of family > work conflict which may become even more intensified if the care involves dependent or young children or if the work is seen to cut into traditional family time such as Sundays. Furthermore, the physical nature of some of the duties involved in the part-time employment undertaken by many of the individuals interviewed could be regarded as both an advantage and a disadvantage. There were numerous reports regarding the benefits of the physical activity not in least, as an aid to keeping awake. In fact for some individuals it was reported that this was the only form of exercise they undertook and therefore the manual nature of the work assisted in maintaining fitness. On the other hand, the demanding physical nature of the work contributed to the feeling of tiredness and combined with childcare activities throughout the day rose to a level that many found intolerable. However, the degree of support offered by a partner with regards to childcare and assisting with household duties assisted in reducing the stress an individual experienced and was regarded by many as being the key factor in maintaining an effective work/life balance. Furthermore, the greater the support offered by a partner (as discussed in section 7.23) with regards to childcare and household duties usually resulted in a closer relationship with a spouse and an overall reduction in work-family conflict.

All visits to the research sites were made during unsocial times especially at nights. These amounted to 25 separate visits to the supermarket chain in year one with a further 11 in year two and 4 to the restaurant group in year one with a single follow-up visit in year two. From these visits, especially the night shift at the supermarket locations, the physical nature of the work was observed in addition to the monotony of some of the tasks undertaken. The physical nature of the work was later confirmed by the interviewees who commented upon the positive nature of the

exercise in keeping them awake and the negative side of overall increased tiredness. Comments were also received from the interviewees regarding the quality of management involved during out-of-hours working. Although unconfirmed, it appeared that more junior management were engaged to work the more unsociable shifts whilst more senior management chose to work during the day. It is suggested that the care of workers employed during the 'quieter' evening/night periods, together with the added aspect of tiredness makes the task of management even more of a challenge especially with the added distraction of irrelevant stimuli such as poor light and loud or constant noise (Empson 1989).

Whilst the effects of sleep deprivation are well documented, (Empson 1989; Kamstra, Kramer and Levi 2000) people are still tempted to undertake an unmanageable quantity of daily activity. Although it has been established that deprivation of sleep in the short term does not affect work performance, over a longer period of time, the effect of reduced sleep and continual disturbances in sleep, has a more pronounced effect. (Kamstra, Kramer and Levi 2000). Many of the respondents interviewed reported disturbed sleep patterns especially during school holiday periods where although they continued to work through the night, they had the additional responsibility of childcare during the day. Apart from the obvious issue of tiredness, additional effects were also noticeable including a shift in mood, an increasing feeling of intolerance and an enhanced degree of irritation involving minor matters. Some typical comments:

"I'm tired most of the time, irritable most of the time because of the tiredness. What else is there to say." (Interviewee: 01-01-30-60)

"You get tired and sometimes I expect I do get ratty." (Interviewee: 01-01-32-53)

"Probably just the fact that I am perhaps a bit more bad tempered because I'm tired but I try not to, I try not to let that affect me but obviously I'm going to be, going to have less energy to do things with them." (Interviewee: 01-03-37-83)

All the respondents interviewed for this study reported feeling an added degree of tiredness although this varied depending upon the number of hours actually worked with many underestimating the pressures involved. Many confessed that tiredness 'crept up' upon them gradually often without them realising just how tired they actually were. Frequent comments were

received regarding irritability and included less patience with the children and increased arguments with their partner. Although problems resulting from combining employment with family issues are often referred to as work-family conflict (discussed in section 7.22) it is often role accumulation that places an intolerable strain upon an individual where conflict between them and their partner invariably occurs. When enquiries were made into the positive and negative aspects of unsocial working a typical comment was:

“Working in the evenings now I'm absolutely knackered to be honest with you, even just doing the 3 ½ hours that I do, my husband would be in at 6.00 p.m. I would be out 6.10 p.m. so we don't get to see each other which is negative as well. I don't know if there is a positive at the minute. It helps with money I suppose, that's about all. That's the only reason I'm here.”
(Interviewee: 01-03-36-84).

Interestingly, many comments supported the view that their work performance suffered due to tiredness, a typical comment:

“I'm not actually being productive because I'm tired and not thinking properly and I think you go past the point of being able to function properly.” (Interviewee: 01-01-43-57).

5.7 The influence of management

For most organisations the individuals who take strategic decisions to extend an organisations trading hours are not the ones who carry out the physical tasks of operating the business during unsocial hours. The experience of this research noted that even at unit level, it is rarely the senior management or the administration staff who are regularly involved in working unsocial hours. It is therefore unsurprising that as a result, a ‘them and us’ culture often develops. Frequent comments were received from evening and night workers regarding a feeling of under-appreciation with regards to their contribution to the overall business, often referring to themselves as being the ‘forgotten workforce’.

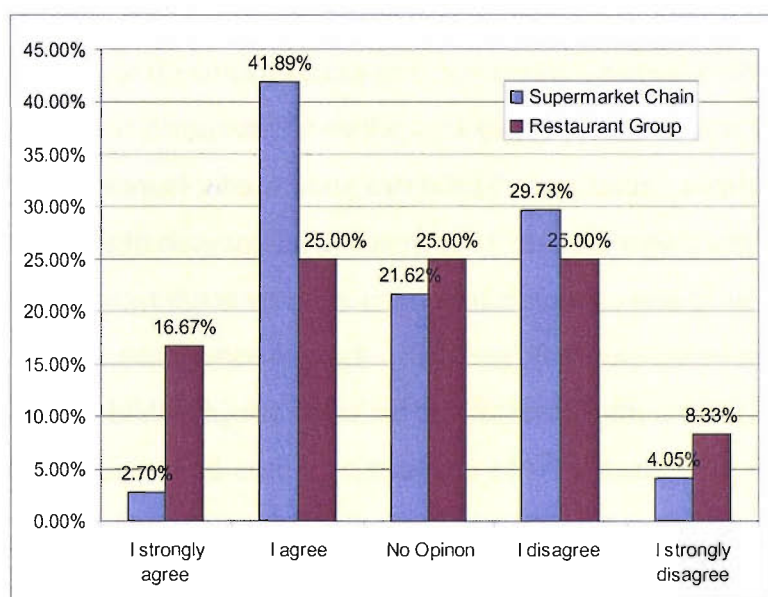
Surprisingly, and despite the menial nature of much of the work, a significant percentage of the individuals engaged in part-time unsocial working actually felt valued by their employer. When the

interviewees were asked if they felt valued by their organisation 44 per cent either agreed or strongly agreed, 22 per cent expressed no real opinion with the remaining 34 per cent either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing.

Analysing this opinion further it is discovered that the larger corporate environment of the supermarket chain has an advantage over the restaurant group regarding sense of value. Whilst the supermarket chain does appear to offer more in the way of staff benefits including discount cards, it should be remembered that the restaurant group has recently suffered from a change in ownership. As a result, with many of the staff having endured the turmoil of change, reports of reduced corporate identity and loyalty was unsurprising.

I feel valued by: supermarket / restaurant

Table 23



A frequent comment received as a result of this questioning related to the lack of support systems in place for out-of-hours working. Although as mentioned above, the day-to-day staff (especially within the supermarket chain) generally felt valued by their organisation, there was a mixed reaction to the degree of appreciation received from their line manager. The issue of respect is addressed in section 5.73 however it should be emphasised that the issue of receiving respect from a line manager and feeling valued by them, is somewhat different. Whilst a manager or organisation may value the work undertaken by their employees, the type of individual, their

character, background, previous experience and social standing can all influence the degree of respect received from management especially if that management is young or inexperienced. Although a significant proportion of the respondents felt both valued and respected, there were many reports of specific instances where poor management skills were displayed. However, although it could be argued that individual instances will always occur, the reports of issues relating to a lack of out-of-hours support were more significant. It was noted that personnel and pay issues could not be resolved during evenings, nights and at weekends as administration staff, (despite extended trading hours) continued to work traditional week day hours. This appeared to encourage a feeling of resentment especially when night workers were required to re-enter the workplace during the day merely to resolve a trivial issue (such as pay) often caused by the inefficiency of the administration staff.

This feeling was more prevalent within the world of retail, and whereas the hospitality industry is well experienced in the management of unsocial working, retail appears to be split between the traditional attitude to work adopted by line managers, support personnel and administration staff and the changing demands of the consumer ensuring service staff were available throughout nights and during weekends. This is demonstrated by the work patterns of middle/senior management and that of administration personnel who despite extended trading hours, continue to work regular, daytime hours only. This split encouraged a 'them and us' attitude which appeared to encourage a feeling of inferiority amongst those workers employed evenings, nights and at weekends. This situation, together with the acceptance of work which was often considered to be of a lower status than that adopted prior to childbirth, often resulted in a depressed attitude being experienced by the individual. Although as discussed earlier, status was often a matter of perception comments included:

"We don't see the manager from one day to the next and we do basically run the department so while the job has a lot less status than my prior post it does have quite a bit of autonomy and you do just basically get on and make our own decisions and then get on with it. I don't mind not having a title as such, I don't mind not being an internet administrator as I was before, or an IT trainer. To me it's not a career, it's just a means to an end. It's just a job for a few years."

(Interviewee: 01-01-28-59)

It is clear from this comment that the type of position together with the quality and efficiency of management has a direct influence upon an individual's happiness at work and their work satisfaction. Furthermore, due to the importance individuals attach to the social element of their work, the quality and style of management together with an appreciation of the work/life balance, has never been more important. Although the respondents from this survey were engaged in a diverse range of positions across the two organisations, the results gathered confirmed the importance of management support when considering the issue of employee welfare.

5.71 Management consistency and the variation of style and approach

Although criticism of management was anticipated, many of the comments received related to subtle issues involving support and style. Once again, linked to the 'them and us' culture of traditional hours against unsocial working, the availability of senior management and support staff out of hours was frequently mentioned as a issue. A typical comment:

"Get rid of the management. They're horrible the lot of them, especially now. They give you grief and no thanks, generally, my manager does appreciate me but I don't see her because she works days and I work nights so I just get a little message now and again please do this tonight, but no I don't actually see her." (Interviewee: 01-03-34-79).

When the interviewees were asked what was the cause of this dissatisfaction comments included:

"Disrespect from the senior managers, non co-operation of any management and any colleague within the building which is what we were all getting and they are still happening nights, that's why I left. I don't think it's any one fault of any one particular person or particular section, it's a collective thing, they don't communicate in this store." (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89b).

"Disorganisation and I'd say you don't get praise, just to say that was a good job well done now and again, that's a bit soul destroying you know and may be rudeness. I just like to get on with people and just have, we're all there to earn our money, just have a nice time and just get on with our work. Some people are slacking may be. If I work, I get on with my work and I don't like to see other people slacking." (Interviewee: 01-03-38-81b).

It was noted with interest that within the hospitality sites, the feeling of teamwork was much more prevalent than that generally experienced within retail. Although this difference can partly be explained by the inclusive style of the hospitality industry, the size of the individual site as discussed above is likely to be a significant factor. Many comments were received relating to the impersonal approach senior management had towards part-time staff. Although getting to know regular staff who work full-time through the day within a retail unit employing over 800 people is a challenge, knowing all the part-time staff, especially those who work unsociable hours, is near impossible. When the interviewees were asked for a suggested improvement, one comment was:

“Sometimes when managers actually walked around they actually acknowledged you. Sometimes it's as if they're looking down on you” (Interviewee: 01-01-33-44).

Another interviewee commented:

“There's a lack of support from the management or from whoever's supposed to be in charge in any one evening and so you don't really know what you're going to be set to do and yes they don't really care whether you like it or not, that's a bit hard.” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87).

When asked what would improve the time spent at work, one comment was:

“Friendlier management I think. Yes. It does make a difference when they come and speak. I mean I don't even think that the manager of my section knows who I am. They're forever changing and the manager of the store and he doesn't know who I am either, he doesn't want to know. He's not a nice person.” (Interviewee: 01-03-34-72).

Although the sheer number of staff working on any one shift may be daunting, the generation of teamwork is only possible if all staff members feel valued and included. The fact that both senior and line managers are regularly transferred between shifts and sites makes an already difficult task near impossible. The issue of rate of management transfer in addition to length of service was a subject examined during the ‘Year II’ secondary interviews. Each candidate re-interviewed was asked how many managers they had worked for since they commenced their current employment and subsequently their opinion upon the average length of time each manager remained in their

position. The results were split between the lines of hospitality and retail with a larger quantity of data (due to the size of the research outlets) being collected from the retail sector. Although results varied, within the supermarket chain the average length of service for management personnel appeared to be between six months and one year. Within the restaurant group the average was reported to be much longer, usually between two and three years.

It was noted that the rate of management turnover appeared higher during periods of unsocial working, ie: the evenings, nights and weekend shifts. Although the average was reported by the interviewees during the data collection process to be approximately one year, there were reports of evening and night managers surviving for only a matter of weeks. Although not all managers left the employment of the supermarket chain when they moved positions, the mere fact of change disrupted teams and affected the consistency of leadership. One typical comment:

“In the last 18 months we've had a complete management change on day shift and night shift. There's nobody that you can go and talk to anymore. If you've got personal problems there are no women available to talk to.” (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89)

It should be remembered that staff turnover within both research partners was an extremely sensitive issue with both organisations believing high staff turnover reflected badly upon the quality of their organisation. Disappointingly, data was not available from either the supermarket chain or the restaurant group regarding length of management service per position or from the restaurant group on overall management turnover. However turnover figures were obtained from the supermarket chain which indicated the highest level of turnover is amongst the lower levels of management.

Supermarket chain retail division management leavers – Year ending March 2004

Table 24

Grade	Total leavers	Percentage of leavers
Department manager	820	57.6 per cent
Senior department mgr	419	29.4 per cent
Duty manager/personnel mgr	147	10.3 per cent
Store manager	36	2.5 per cent
Senior store managers	1	0.07 per cent
Totals	1423	100 per cent

(Source: Personnel department of supermarket chain head office)

Within the hospitality industry, the units of operation are generally much smaller than in retail. Resulting from the size of the unit, the management team generally worked as 'one' with a general manager and either one or two assistants depending upon the size of the operation. Even when there was a managerial change this was generally only one of the team and very often if the general manager was transferred, the senior assistant was often promoted to fill the vacancy. As a result the operational structure was one of stable management and consistency. In addition the overall manageability of the operation ensured that each individual was known personally assisting in maintaining a type of family atmosphere.

Apart from the variation in tasks between hospitality and retail, as discussed in section 5.55, and the operational differences in the management structure as discussed above, it is important to examine the differences in management approach towards both staff and customers.

5.72 Relations between management and staff

Although each supermarket site visited during this research differed in size and style, in general terms, each unit was operated along a traditional line management structure. This involved one overall manager with departmental heads leading to section managers, shift managers and finally floor supervisors. Naturally many of the day-to-day personnel felt distant from the overall manager and indeed, because of the sheer quantity of personnel involved, many of these feelings were justified. During the data collection process, it was reported by the individuals interviewed that the frequent changes in management personnel encouraged a more apathetic approach on behalf of both the manager (and the staff member) to listen, understand or consider the other person's point of view. Through past experience each individual (the line manager and the staff member) knew the probability of the manager remaining in their new position for more than the average of six months to one year was slight, and as a result few individuals, whether managers or floor workers appeared to make much effort understanding each others attitude and opinions.

Whilst both the restaurant group and the supermarket chain are large corporate organisations, each with remote head offices, regional personnel and company policies to follow, the management structure within the restaurant group is very different to that adopted by the supermarket chain. In addition to a difference in the management structure between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group, there were also considerable differences in the style of management. Within the restaurant group the unit management structure was flat to a point of almost being one of equal status. The assistant manager in addition to the overall manager worked alongside other staff members in the bar and restaurant performing similar duties for the benefit of the customers. This was similar to the attitude adopted in the kitchen where although the head chef was in overall control, they worked alongside their colleagues for the service of the customers. From a consumers point of view it would be difficult to distinguish staff member from management whereas within the supermarket group, the tiered management structure was clear for all to see.

The result of this difference was regarded as one of status. Within the supermarket chain the degree of status expressed towards management appeared to be above that reported within the restaurant group. Although there were individuals within both organisations who either liked or disliked their manager, staff appeared to view senior management within the supermarket chain as being of a

higher level than those engaged by the restaurant group. Within the restaurant group most unit managers had risen from the ranks to finally become the unit manager. Whilst this ‘working alongside the team members’ helped demonstrate their understanding and their ability to perform the tasks required generating a degree of respect, the familiarity and openness to display shortcomings was reported by the individuals interviewed to undermine confidence and resulted in a loss of status amongst staff members.

When considering the issue of management style and respect received from line management, it is important to examine the variation between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group. As illustrated in Table 25, the results from one company somewhat mirror the results from the other, however there are significant variations. When asked to what extent do you agree (or disagree) with the statement ‘I do not feel respected by my supervisor/manager, fifty one per cent from the supermarket chain either disagreed or strongly disagreed. This compares with just thirty three per cent from the restaurant group with another fifty per cent agreeing with the statement. This contrasts to the results received from the supermarket chain where only thirty five per cent of the individuals interviewed agreed with the statement.

Although most of the comments regarding management structure related to the more negative aspects, all criticism raised was regarded as constructive and therefore positive. A few typical comments:

“I feel we could be appreciated a bit more. I've been here 7 years, things have changed, there are a lot of people leaving at the moment through not being happy.”

(Interviewee: 01-02-34-65)

“Some of the management here seem to treat us as if we're brain dead and we have got brains and we do know what needs to be done and we're not going to slack off, we do work when we, but they're don't seem to treat us as if we're going to.” (Interviewee: 01-03-38-81)

“In the last 18 months we've had a complete management change on day shift and night shift. There's nobody that you can go and talk to anymore. If you've got personal problems there are no women available to talk to.” (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89)

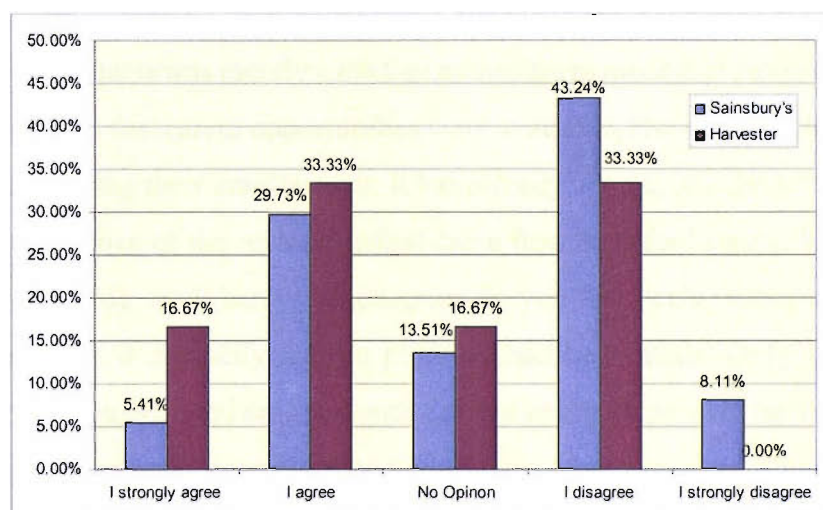
Whilst many of these comments were expressed with a sense of frustration, not all statements related to the negative aspects of management:

“I have to sort of give them my opinion on that to the store manager now. I've actually written him like a five page letter and I thought this will be kill or cure but he was quite impressed and he actually brought me in and discussed it and we got quite a few things changed like on the department. They do listen.” (Interview: 01-01-35-42)

It is suggested that the issue of appreciation can be associated with feelings of respect, loyalty and teamwork. As discussed previously, the social element of working within a team was regarded by many as important. With line managers and supervisors being in a position to alter the status and makeup of the team, the behaviour and respect given and received by and from a manager was regarded by most as being important.

I do not feel respected by my supervisor / manager

Table 25



It has been established that the unit management within the restaurant group on average served a longer term (2-3 years) whereas the managers within the supermarket chain served on average between 6 months and 1 year. Although this allowed the restaurant group the benefit of establishing a more stable team, resulting in lower staff turnover, unfortunately there were also dis-benefits. In general terms most of the managers within the restaurant group had risen through the

ranks to the position of general manager. This closer contact on a more 'equal status' basis may explain the lower level of respect perceived from management within the restaurant group.

5.73 Perception of progress and the value of work

Throughout the first phase of interviewing, frequent comments were received regarding the status and value of the work undertaken. Despite an attempt by both employment organisations to encourage loyalty and add value to the work on offer, few individuals admitted to any enthusiasm (or loyalty) for the company itself. It was felt that this attitude was worthy of further investigation and during the 'Year II' interviews the question of perceived progress assessed. In addition enquiries were made into the perceived career opportunities available and whether this varied between nights and days. Within hospitality there was more of an attitude of equality with all members of staff, including management, directly working 'hands-on' for the benefit of the customer. As discussed above, the small unit family attitude experienced within the restaurant group may be responsible for this sense of equality in addition to the fact that the career paths of most of the managers were transparent with the majority starting from humble beginnings and rising, in some cases, to overall unit manager. This prompted the attitude that there were career opportunities on offer should an individual desire. In reality few expressed an interest with most individuals admitting that it was merely a job that earned them money. However whilst there may have been a recognition that career opportunities were available, few individuals felt that they had made any progress during their employment. It has already been established that the majority of interviews (due to the size of the research units) came from the retail sector. When the question was asked 'Since starting work here what progress do you feel you've made in this company?' nearly 61 per cent stated distinctly that no progress had been made. Only 13 per cent spoke positively about feelings of actual progress with the remaining 26 per cent having little comment, mentioning trivial issues and minor changes within their employment. A significant proportion expressed little interest in a career even if opportunities were available. More than 52 per cent explicitly expressed no desire for a career being happy to enjoy a job with minimal responsibility whilst they cared for their children during the day. Although 61 per cent did believe career opportunities were available should they have wished, all expressed the opinion that there was more opportunity for a career during the day as compared to evenings and nights. Most felt that the evening, night and weekend shifts were merely periods of necessity, where routine tasks such as cleaning and shelf replenishment needed to be completed.

The issue of hours worked was pivotal in the issue of acceptability (and enjoyment) of employment, the maintenance of partner contentment and work/life balance. Almost without exception there were negative feelings expressed by the individuals regarding their employer. This feeling was reported to be also shared by their partners; however interestingly this was especially prevalent amongst staff from the retail sector with few showing any loyalty to the parent company whatsoever. The smaller unit size of restaurant group assisted the development of loyalty, not necessarily towards to the parent company but certainly towards the unit management and the other team members.

The overwhelming impression received from the interviews undertaken was that there was a greater perception of status and value if work was conducted during the day. As discussed above, most believed that there were greater career opportunities during the day and an impression was formed that the individual's family and friends placed more importance upon daytime working especially if that working was full-time.

Part-time employment, especially work undertaken during unsocial periods, was merely regarded as a 'job' to provide income and/or social contact for the individuals. It appeared to make little difference whom the employer was or even in which industry they were employed (ie: hospitality or retail) with location being the main deciding factor. For this segment of the workforce their employment served a purpose and although their work colleagues and line manager were regarded as important, any degree of company loyalty was rare. Some typical comments:

"I started working here because it was convenient, it's so close to where I live and that was the only reason." (Interviewee: 01-07-38-38).

"Because it's so near to where I live and because of the hours, I only used to work evenings because obviously when the children were very small and weren't at school."
(Interviewee: 02-06-44-25).

"Because it's on my doorstep. It's local, it's easy. It just fits, no other reason than that really, it just fits, it just suits my lifestyle at the moment." (Interviewee 01-02-30-67)

5.8 Emotional labour and the preference of hours

Whilst the duties performed by the individuals involved in this study were generally considered undemanding and involved little responsibility, this should not be confused with the conscientious performance of duty. Whilst the work undertaken may be regarded as unskilled, in the service industry (as a stock replenishment assistant, till operator, waitress or bar assistant) it is essential to portray a happy and helpful attitude at all times and it is this aspect that forms the element of emotional labour. It is therefore suggested that it is possible to have a combination of undemanding work with little or no responsibility and have duties that involve an element of emotional labour.

Whilst some positions, such as replenishment assistants, had less contact with customers than others, ie: a checkout operator, as most types of work were conducted in public areas, the total avoidance of customer contact was not possible. However, most expressed pleasure from meeting customers and when considering the importance of the social aspect within their employment, the relationship with the customers became a key element in satisfying that need.

Three typical comments illustrating the importance of the interaction with customers:

“I get on with people. I enjoy mixing with the customers as well; you meet a lot of customers here. I do enjoy working. I do enjoy it very much.” (Interviewee: 01-07-34-41)

“I've always been a customer based person, I've always worked with customers so I quite enjoy being out on the shop floor with people. I'm quite a people's person, I like being out there.” (Interviewee: 01-03-32-73)

“Because of my customers. I absolutely love them, sometimes I don't, but I do. I always said when I was at school I wanted to work in a shop. My career teacher used to say to me well you know Denise put your sights a bit higher than that, wouldn't it be nicer working in a school. I enjoy customers and the focus on it all.” (Interviewee: 01-01-33-44)

However, although this is the positive element of serving the public, there is unfortunately a

downside. Part of the interview was designed to enquire into the more negative side of an individual's employment and the degree of emotional labour involved. Reports were frequent with regards to emotional labour consisting of repeated comments relating to the rudeness and disrespect regularly received from the customers. This topic area included the specific question, 'what is the worst part of your job', a typical response:

"I guess the disrespect we get from customers. The fact that they treat us as if we're not human beings. They look at this uniform that I've got on and I think they seem to think that may be I'm second class citizen or something. They make assumptions about me, they think that may be because I work in a shop I'm not very intelligent or you know something like that and I think customers can be very, very hurtful." (Interviewee: 01-02-33-62).

Disrespectful and rude customers were a common theme which invariably upset the individual and increased levels of stress. Individuals who encountered difficult customers needed to maintain their composure and helpful attitude even if they personally felt anger and disdain towards the customer. Whilst rude and difficult customers involved the staff member in emotional labour, the situation was often more severe with the reports of physical abuse becoming more regular. One comment from a restaurant group employee:

"When people, I don't know if this is the right thing to say, when people get funny with you and meals aren't right. Classic example was Sunday just gone a man got ever so annoyed with me and threw a drink at me because the steak wasn't right and he poked me around. I was drenched, ice cubes and everything and you're not allowed to, you can say to a point you know come on that's enough but you're not allowed to get funny back whereas they can be really hard at times, you can't say go away." (Interviewee: 02-05-36-69).

Unfortunately, customer abuse is not limited to the hospitality sector:

"Customers that get verbal which happens quite often. I had a very stroppy customer the other night. How I didn't walk out I don't know. I just couldn't take it. There was just no need for it. If he'd actually read through the agreement to do with his reward card at the time it wouldn't have been an issue, but he was shouting, I thought at one point he was going to sort of you know attack me, he got that stroppy. That I don't like, I really don't like that." (Interviewee: 01-01-30-17).

Case vignette one – Interviewee 02-04-24-12

Rebecca is twenty-four years old mother who has been engaged as a waitress with the restaurant group for just over one year. She currently has one two year old daughter and lives locally to the restaurant with her partner.

Although Rebecca worked full-time prior to the birth of her daughter, it was not with the restaurant group. Due to childcare duties, Rebecca accepts she can no longer work full-time conventional hours and therefore adopted part-time unsocial hours employment to fit in with childcare and to supply the household with much needed income. Rebecca's partner works full-time Mondays to Fridays from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm and would prefer if possible, for Rebecca not to have to work at all. However this is financially unachievable and to earn the maximum amount of money for the minimum amount of hours causes Rebecca another problem. To gain the most advantage Rebecca would like to work during the weekend as the 'tips' from customers are at their best, however Rebecca's partner likes to spend the weekends as a family as they are not be able to spend much time together during the week. This situation results in tension and stress between Rebecca and her partner and has caused numerous arguments. Although money received during the week is less than at weekends, Rebecca has started to accept a few hours mid-week as a compromise leaving her daughter in the care of her mother who lives locally.

Whilst Rebecca admits to enjoying her work she is disturbed with the behaviour of some customers. Although Rebecca says meeting people is one of the most attractive parts of the work, she stresses that the rudeness of some guests causes problems and is worst when the restaurant is particularly busy. Rebecca admits that this upsets her often affecting her long after she has finished her work. Once her daughter is of school age, Rebecca would consider full-time employment and would be happy to stay with the restaurant group.

It is generally accepted that most service sector jobs involve a degree of emotional labour which affect females more than males (Smith-Lovin 1998; Erickson and Ritter 2001). It has been established that jobs that involve interactive work tend to attract a higher degree of emotional labour and it is this element of the employment that further adds to the overall strain of work which due to personal circumstances can already be stressful. As part of the service package offered to customers, management expect staff to suppress feelings of anger and to convey happiness, warmth and friendliness. However, the cumulative effect of caring for children during the day together with the maintenance of a home can result in a degree of tiredness and/or stress which can make the portrayal of happy feelings difficult. As described above, the rudeness of customers can effect the enjoyment of employment. However, as the management of difficult customers often involved suppressing natural feelings of anger especially when customers displayed what was regarded as unreasonable behaviour, it could be suggested that the resulting effect stretches far beyond a lack of enjoyment. As a result, the influence of emotional labour upon individuals combining daytime

duties with unsocial hours working can result in feeling of stress disproportionate to the duties undertaken. Some other typical comments:

“Some of the things I like the least are the very nasty customers, dealing with very nasty customers. They all think they know their rights but I deal with anybody in a professional manner as long as they talk to me nicely but once they start F-ing and blinding at me I think they've lost it and I just think you know I shouldn't have to deal with that, why should I, you know and I just that's ignorance. I mean yes it's my mistake, hands up to it, say yes sorry we're human we all make mistakes but you shouldn't, I expect to be treated the way they'd want to be treated themselves really and I think sometimes there's a lot of people out there that are very aggressive and very nasty. They're all rushing around, they haven't got time to do it and then they get angry when they can't get what they want or it's taken 10 minutes longer than they want to, they haven't allowed enough time to get here in the first place and it is all a bit of a vicious circle.” (Interviewee: 01-01-43-57).

“The only thing that really, possibly the most thing that upsets me is sometimes people can be very nasty and rude. They can be, they bring out, because they come in here they think they can bring out their stresses on you and because they're something to me which I think is quite trivial and I can sort out but to them it's like a major, because they've had a stressful day and they just want to get in and their shopping and get out.” (Interviewee: 01-07-41-35).

As illustrated by the quotations above, frequent comments were received regarding the demeaning attitude consumers often adopted when dealing with service staff. Interestingly, many interviewees employed by the supermarket group reported feeling the size of outlet contributed to the depersonalisation of a situation often leading customers to becoming even less tolerant with individuals trying to resolve a situation.

Although rudeness from customers disturbed the individuals involved, most felt that their customers actually valued their work undertaken. From the interviewees undertaken it was discovered that more than half of the individuals interviewed felt their customers valued the work they performed.

Our customers do not value my work (combined)

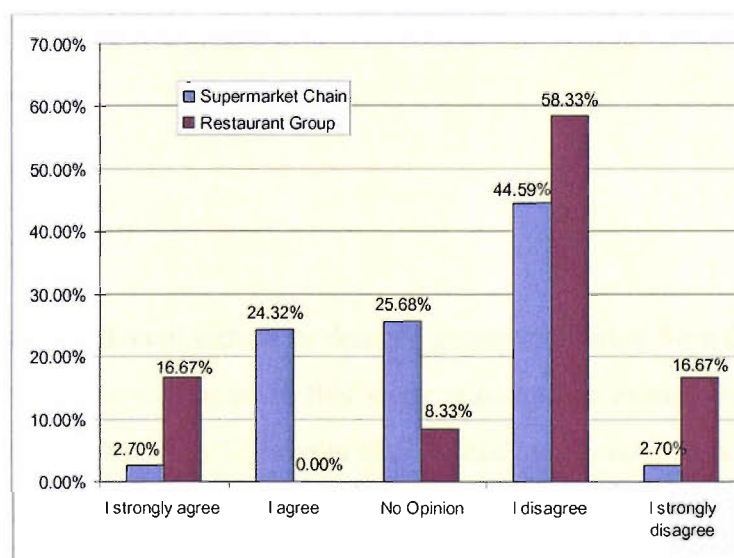
Table 26

I agree/strongly agree	25.6 per cent
No opinion	23.2 per cent
I disagree/strongly disagree	51.2 per cent

Within the service industries of hospitality and retail the value a customer places upon a task and the appreciation shown is immediately known, often being clearly displayed at the point of sale. Despite numerous comments regarding rude customers, 75 per cent of personnel interviewed from the restaurant group either agreed or strongly agreed that their customers valued their work. This compared to only 47 per cent from the supermarket chain and perhaps reflects the degree of customer contact experienced by each sector of the service industry. Although the greater customer contact experienced by the restaurant group allowed an enhanced opportunity for complaint, it also resulted in a greater opportunity to offer service and allowed relationships to develop demonstrating a degree of value and appreciation to be displayed via the 'tips' system.

Our customers do not value my work (supermarket / restaurant)

Table 27

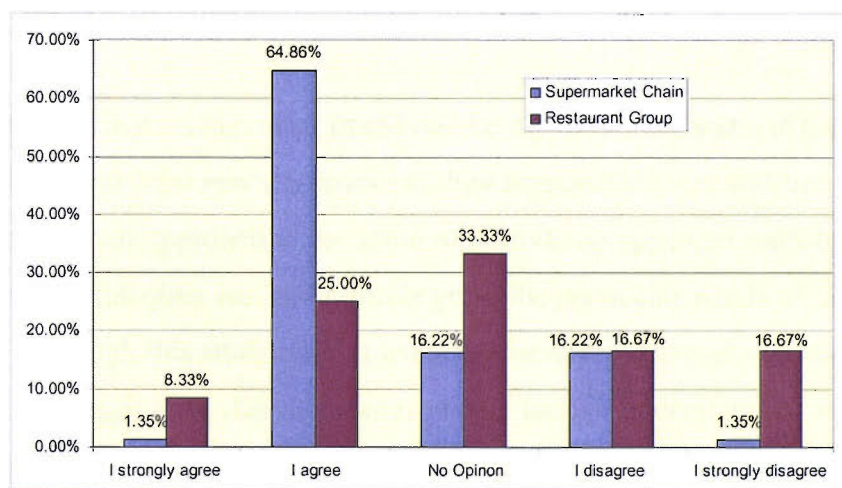


Although there was general agreement regarding the demanding nature of consumers and the value consumers placed upon the tasks undertaken, it is also interesting to investigate the perceived appreciation and respect individuals received from customers.

Despite reports from personnel employed by the supermarket chain regarding the demanding nature of customers, more than 66 per cent either agreed or strongly agreed that they received respect and appreciation from their customers. Conversely, this compared with only 33 per cent of the personnel interviewed from the restaurant group.

I receive respect and appreciation from our customers

Table 28



5.9 Conclusion

Although the hospitality and retail industries demand greater flexibility from their operational staff, neither of the organisations examined in this study appeared to extend this philosophy to the administration side of their business. This naturally resulted in communication problems especially within the supermarket chain where most administration and support services only operated during the traditional day-time office hours. Whilst perhaps unintentional, this unquestionably contributed in the development of a 'them and us' culture amongst evening, night and weekend staff.

Furthermore, the quality of that employment, together with the emotional labour involved with such working, directly affects the happiness of the individual which naturally in turn affects their attitude and behaviour especially when they return home to be with their family.

This chapter has shown that the loyalty offered by employees working part-time unsocial hours is mostly directed towards their work colleagues rather than the organisation itself. Whilst the demand for part-time and unsocial hours working is steadily increasing, the added incentives and/or pressure placed upon an individual to accept this form of working can often result in a degree of strain which can affect both family relations and work performance. It is the cumulative effect of combining employment with daytime activities (such as childcare) which is often under appreciated. Due to a general lack of understanding (on behalf of the employer and employee), individuals are tempted to accept inappropriate hours of work for their particular circumstances which can subsequently result in high levels of tiredness and stress.

Whilst it is recognised that management from both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group genuinely attempted to attract new employees to their organisations (in addition to retaining their existing workforce) their approach to the issue of motivation appeared uniform for all workers whether part-time or full-time and did not recognise the particular needs of part-time unsocial hours workers. Although this study did not examine the appropriateness of management policy regarding full-time employees, there appeared to be a lack of understanding to what motivated individuals to seek part-time unsocial hours working or why these individuals were actually attracted to their current position. Unfortunately this lack of understanding ensured that many of the initiatives designed to entice and maintain staff became ineffective with much of the effort being either misguided or misjudged. An example of this is the flexible employment contract introduced by the supermarket aimed to assist with recruitment. Although this head office initiative was designed to attract a growing number of individuals who were seeking employment around periods of school holidays, there were reports of site management failing to understand the need for such working and pressure being placed upon individuals to increase their hours to cover shortages. Furthermore, a lack of understanding (and personal knowledge) that management displayed towards their staff resulted in skills previously obtained by individuals in other employment not being used to their full advantage. This ineffectiveness often resulted in the underutilisation of a growing sector of the workforce with an increased sense of frustration

amongst the individuals adding to the already high level of staff turnover. The aspect of strain and frustration was further increased by an element of emotional labour which was involved in many positions within both the supermarket chain and restaurant group. Whilst most individuals admitted that interacting with customers was part of the social element that made the job enjoyable, additional tiredness resulting from trying to portray 'happy feelings' made working part-time unsocial hours even more difficult than expected. However, whilst there were numerous reports of awkward and unpleasant customers, most individuals believed their work was valued and appreciated.

Although the majority of part-time unsocial hours working within hospitality and retail can generally be regarded as low skilled, in support of the theory of Hakim (1995), there was a high degree of contentment expressed by the individuals interviewed regarding the work undertaken (Table 17). However, whilst most of the duties undertaken by the individuals involved in this study were found to be easily manageable, it was the cumulative effect of combining daytime activities with unsocial hours working (often involving emotional labour) that regularly resulted in unbearable tiredness and intolerable strain. The effect of undertaking part-time unsocial hours working when combined with daytime childcare activities and the maintenance of a home often resulted in unforeseen consequences. The following chapter examines these issues commencing with the impact this form of working has upon the individual.

6. The impact of working part-time unsocial hours upon the individual

Contents

Title	Page Number
6.1 Introduction	152
6.2 Tiredness, sleep deprivation, stress and the effect of circadian rhythm disruption.	153
6.4 Personal happiness/relationship with partner	160
6.5 Implications of employment status	162
6.6 Conclusion	164

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the effect part-time unsocial hours working has upon the individual. It discusses the issue of tiredness resulting from combining unsocial hours employment with daytime activities, which for most, usually centred around childcare. It continues with an examination into the added stress resulting from over commitment and assesses the effect adopting such a lifestyle has upon relationships with a partner. It concludes with a discussion surrounding the status of the employment adopted and examines how the style of part-time unsocial hours working can add to the pressure and stress experienced by the individual.

The predominant attitude from the individuals interviewed in this study as to whether they found part-time unsocial working problematic, appeared to be split into two distinct groups. Firstly there was the group of longer serving members of staff who, having been employed in excess of two years, felt the work was easily manageable. Secondly, there were a large number of newer members of staff who found the work surprisingly taxing. Although it would have been preferred to have selected a higher number of new recruits, access to the interviewees was reliant upon the co-operation of management who selected the individuals using the criteria as described earlier. Although as described earlier there is no suggestion that longer serving staff members were purposely selected, the high number of interviewees who had been employed in excess of two years did not reflect the true composition of employment and disguised the high turnover. The length of service of the individuals participating in this study is outlined below however, a more realistic analysis of the situation indicating the hardship involved with balancing part-time unsocial hours employment with daytime childcare and the maintenance of a home is outlined in section 5.63. Although this chapter examines the effect working part-time unsocial hours has upon the individuals interviewed, it is suggested that when considering the high level of new staff that terminate their employment within the first few weeks, (and were unavailable for interview) that the stress and strain involved in this form of working is even more pronounced than indicated in this study.

When considering the individuals participating in this study, fifty five per cent of personnel interviewed from the supermarket chain (sixty seven per cent from the restaurant group) had been employed in excess of two years with a further eight per cent from the supermarket chain

(seventeen per cent from the restaurant group) employed for between 1-2 years. This compares to twenty three per cent of the personnel interviewed from the supermarket group (nil per cent from the restaurant group) who had been employed for less than six months with a further fourteen per cent (seventeen per cent from the restaurant group) having been employed for between six months and one year.

Length of service of interview sample

Table 29

	< 6 months	6 – 12 months	1 – 2 years	> 2 years
Supermarket chain N = 74	22.9 per cent 17	13.5 percent 10	8.1 per cent 6	55.4 per cent 41
Restaurant group N = 12	0 per cent 0	16.6 per cent 2	16.6 per cent 2	66.6 per cent 8

(Source: survey data)

Mothers in part-time jobs often work evenings, nights and weekends precisely because these are periods in which their partner is available to undertake childcare (Fagan 1996; Martin and Roberts 1984). As a result it is likely the time available when both parents are able to enjoy social time together would be reduced to a point where it becomes infrequent or even non-existent.

6.2 Tiredness, sleep deprivation, stress and the effect of circadian rhythm disruption.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, both tiredness and stress featured heavily in most of the interviews conducted. Of the 86 individuals interviewed in the initial data collection period (in Year 1), tiredness was specifically mentioned by 53 of the interviewees (61.6 per cent) with stress being quoted by 17 individuals (19.8 per cent) as being a major factor in their lives and an issue they believed resulted directly from the hours in which their work was undertaken. Many individuals admitted that working unsocial hours was harder than initially expected however, the ones that survived the initial settling in period, regarded tiredness as ‘an occupational hazard’.

Although discussed more fully in section 7.22 it appeared that most individuals who were interviewed for this survey failed to reduce their activities during the day to compensate for their evening/night employment. This was not too surprising considering all the individuals interviewed were engaged in childcare during the day and as such had little option other than to maintain their normal activities. There were reports that the increased demand upon their time, as a result of their part-time employment, added significantly to the degree of tiredness experienced and contributed towards a sense of stress. When enquires were made regarding the advantages and disadvantages to working part-time unsocial hours some comments included:

“It's good in a way I don't have to pay childcare so the money I earn is our money, it goes in our account but it's very tiring, I find it very tiring. My husband comes home and thinks I've been doing nothing all day, it's very tiring. I have about 5 hours sleep really and that's the worst part of it really, very tiring.” (Interviewee: 01-01-27-43)

“You do feel very tired sometimes where you know obviously you're getting up at 7.00 a.m. taking the girls to school and then I'm not working until that evening so I've got the whole day to prepare dinners and do sort of motherly things, washing, ironing, housework, shopping whatever and then 6.00 p.m. I have to come into work and then may be I don't finish work until midnight so it's an awful long day so it can be very tiring yes, but I wouldn't say my actual health is gone down, it's just the tiredness really of it all.” (Interviewee: 02-04-33-13).

“It does because your tired and when you do like get a cold or you're not very well it seems to like take twice as long to get over it.” (Interviewee: 01-01-37-24).

“I spend a lot of time tired especially if I do two nights in a row.” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87).

“Disadvantages is definitely the tiredness. You have to cope with it, we've all gone through tablets to keep you asleep and tablets to keep you awake. All night shift do, I don't care what anybody says but all of them do it.” (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89).

“Disadvantages are you're absolutely tired, so much so that a couple of months ago I did take some Prozac just to keep me awake, not Prozac what's those stuff, Pro Plus, yes I actually took some of them to keep me awake because I was so tired but I was doing double shifts then.”

(Interviewee: 01-01-33-44).

“I'm very tired and that makes me quite stropky with the children sometimes”

(Interviewee: 01-03-26-87)

One factor that exaggerated the effect of tiredness, especially for this group of individuals working unsocial hours, was the element of ‘wind-down’ time. This issue was mentioned on many occasions and refers to the time required to relax once the individual had ceased work and had returned home. The close proximity of the work to the home increased the difficulty of ‘switching’ from one mode to another. Few, if any of the individuals interviewed, admitted to going to bed as soon as they had returned from work often saying that they needed a minimum of an hour to relax before they could sleep. A typical response to an enquiry into the negative aspects of the employment was:

“I suppose the only negative is the hours, having to work until 11.00 p.m. by the time you get home, unwind those three nights that I work, I don't get to bed until 1.00 a.m.”

(Interviewee: 01-03-29-75).

“...you get home from here about 2.00 a.m. and it's about 4.00 a.m. before you can get to bed, it takes time to wind down, so tiredness is a big thing” (Interviewee: 01-07-34-40).

Feelings of tiredness were exacerbated by the work undertaken especially considering the element of emotional labour inevitably involved. This not only affected the degree of contentment experienced by the individual but in addition strained the relationship enjoyed with a partner which often resulted in a detrimental effect upon an individual's social life. From the data gathered, 68.6 per cent of the individuals interviewed reporting tiredness as having a negative effect upon their social life with many reporting being just too tired to engage in any form of social activity during periods of non-work.

A typical comment:

“I'm tired all the time. Basically when I finish here the next day I sleep all morning, all afternoon and it's just working and sleeping. I don't live. Honestly I haven't got a life. I'm tired all the time, all the time. I mean you are not in the mood to go out to do anything when you're off because you're tired all the time. It causes tension with my partner because he's very outgoing and I'm not in the mood.” (Interviewee: 01-07-38-38b).

Although tiredness was fairly uniform, stress manifested itself in many different ways. Naturally stress was experienced in the work itself especially considering the element of emotional labour, however perhaps due to the unskilled nature of the employment; this did not feature as often as expected. From the comments received during the interview process, most instances of stress appeared to be associated with the partner and/or children and often resulting from a lack of time. This was especially relevant during the period when the partner was due to return from their day time work and the individual was due to leave for their evening/night employment. Comments received included:

“With my husband it was a bit of a struggle. When I first started work to get the hours right between his hours and my hours so the kids weren't, for example when I started evenings he would finish at like 5.00/5.30 p.m. I would start at 6.30 p.m. so he had to make sure he was home by 6.00 p.m. for me to be out the door for to go to work, that was a bit stressful and a bit, because sometimes he just couldn't manage it, sometimes it was a bit of a nightmare.” (Interviewee: 01-01-30-17).

As illustrated by this comment, difficulties often centred upon the period of the evening meal and often involved the child's school homework. Furthermore, should a child become sick, it is the mother who is usually expected to provide the care regardless of the added stress and overall impact it may have upon her employment. Feelings of stress are known to disrupt sleep patterns and the undertaking of unsocial hours considerably adds to the situation by depriving families of quality time. The disruption and misalignment of circadian rhythms, which results from working evenings and nights, ensures that achieving a relaxing and satisfying sleep become difficult if not unlikely (Monk and Folkard 1992). During the interviews comments were received stating that

although individuals would eat normally during the day, the individuals who were engaged in all night working would have an extra meal in the middle of their shift often between 2.00am and 3.00am. Although this additional meal was often balanced against the physical nature of the work involved, the irregular nature of sleep in addition to that of food consumption was often cited as a reason for difficulty with sleep. This disruption to the normal pattern of life affects the body's natural circadian rhythm and can cause effects similar to jet-lag. There were reports of work totally disrupting the natural pattern of life affecting both eating and sleeping patterns. One such report described the problems irregular working caused:

“A couple of years ago when I had Stefan when I'd say he was about 18 months something like that I got really low, I got very low and I got irritable bowel, started to get irritable bowel but I got quite depressed and I think that was lack of sleep because he was still waking at night and I was actually doing the all night shift then, the Friday night where I was just having four hours sleep between Wednesday and Saturday and I think after about eighteen months it did tell on me and I went to the doctor and she said that I was just feeling a bit depressed really and also my stomach could have been caused to the irregular eating because we were like eating our lunch at 3.00 a.m. you know and then I'd go home on a Saturday, go to bed for 8.30 a.m. and then not eat really Saturday because I'd wake up 4.00 p.m. and I'd have some toast which was like my breakfast and then me and my husband always have a drink on a Saturday night and then I'd end up having a bit of a drink on a Saturday night so I wouldn't eat Saturday so I think that's what the problem was.” (Interviewee: 01-01-41-47).

This type of lifestyle naturally influenced the relationship with the partner and family. Although ‘work-life’ balance is an area of which most people are aware, in reality it is an aspect that few appear to manage to a point of satisfaction (CIPD Survey 2001). Due to the issues involved in raising a family in addition to working unsocial hours, the reports of ‘not having a social life’ were frequent and unsurprising. Whether this was mainly due to the demands of the family or due to the employment was not made clear, however the issue remained that for many, their lives consisted of work, sleep and once again return to work. As a result, due to the time restriction their unsocial hours employment placed upon them, many considered their employment as their ‘social’ life valuing their contact with their work colleagues sometimes above that of income. The issue of degradation of social activity was further examined in the follow-up interviews. During these interviews in Year II, questions were asked regarding the quality/frequency of an individual's

social life and what effect their working had upon the lives of themselves and that of their partner. Although discussed more fully in section 7.32, it is suggested that in many cases the continuation of part-time unsocial working was a contributing factor in the decline of a personal relationship with the hours adopted causing severe disruption in the social lives of the individuals concerned. However, from discussions undertaken it became clear that in some cases the breakdown in a relationship was to be an inevitable conclusion with work either accelerating the process or shouldering the blame. For many individuals who felt ‘trapped’ within their relationship, the motivation to seek outside work was often seen as an opportunity to experience life as an individual outside of their normal family life and away from their partner.

Case vignette two - Interviewee 01-03-25-90

Kerry is a twenty five year old women working for the supermarket chain as a checkout operator in Basingstoke, Hampshire. Kerry is currently married and has been employed for three and a half months working any three evenings a week between Monday and Thursday usually between 7.00 pm and 11.00 pm. Kerry already has one three year old child at home and has recently discovered she is pregnant with her second child expected in five months.

Prior to her first child, Kerry worked full-time as a receptionist and initially engaged a childminder to resume her daytime working. However, the cost (£200 per week) and a bad experience regarding the quality of care resulted in Kerry terminating her daytime employment to personally undertake childcare duties.

Kerry openly admits that she is constantly tired as a result of caring for her child during the day and working evenings, sometimes not going to bed until 1.00 am. As her partner works from 6.00 am to 6.00 pm Kerry is up at 5.00 am for breakfast with her partner and to care for her child. Starting her own employment at 7.00 pm results in minimal contact with her partner on the three days she works at the supermarket. Kerry recognises that the current situation is starting to cause difficulties. She stressed that she no longer had a social life and commented that arguments were starting to develop between her and her partner. Kerry admitted she was only retaining her part-time unsocial hour’s employment to pay debts and after her forthcoming maternity, would not be returning.

There was a positive element to this issue in addition to the usual and expected negative impact of less frequent contact with their partner. Many individuals relied upon family support for childcare and although this issue is examined more fully in section 7.25, the positive development of closer family unity amongst parents, grandparents, sisters and aunts because of childcare support became a reoccurring theme. However, from the data collected in year one, sixty four from the eighty six interviewed (seventy four per cent) quoted the support received from their partner as being crucial for the maintenance of childcare and the successful continuance of part-time unsocial hours employment. Whilst the positive element of unsocial hours working was recognised by many, the

issue of tiredness and stress from combining work with family life was a constant concern. Although stress did not feature as heavily as the issue of tiredness, stress related problems usually were regarded as having the greater impact. Although feelings of guilt in women who work full-time may be expected, women who work part-time often, especially those engaged in unsocial hours working, can also suffer feelings of guilt. Whilst the degree of guilt in part-time workers may be reduced if the employment does not coincide with the family's social time, for individuals who work unsocial hours the feeling of guilt is often heightened as a result of not being at home during times which most people (including the partner) would regard as personal time. Therefore, not only does a mother working part-time unsocial hours suffer increased tiredness and stress as a result of her employment, the time available for social activities is also reduced. When investigating other stress related effects that part-time unsocial working had upon family life, the question individuals were asked centred around if they considered their working had caused any difficulties at home. A typical response was:

“Yes I think it does because I think sometimes, not all the time, but there are times when it makes me sort of quite stressed and maybe I take that out on them, sort of in terms of temper both with my husband and daughters or I just don't want to know them, I don't want to speak, I want to be quiet and by myself.” (Interviewee: 01-01-43-57)

It was discovered that the feeling of stress caused by working unsocial hours was not confined solely to the participant. There were many reports of husbands/partners experiencing stress as a result of their spouses working. A typical comment:

“My husband gets pretty stressed with the kids because he's just come in straight from work and I'm going out the door basically. I mean teas on the table but he's got to clean up after the kids, bath them, get them ready for bed and in bed early enough for school the next morning so he gets pretty stressed.” (01-01-35-58)

6.4 Personal happiness/relationship with partner

Although most of the individuals interviewed appeared happy with their lives, this was often not the full picture. During the interviews it was noted that most individuals tried hard to maintain a positive persona under what was sometimes, quite difficult circumstances. Some individuals expressed the lack of alternative to their current position whilst others adjusted to their circumstances making the best from their predicament.

As discussed previously, a disproportionate number of interviewees had been employed in excess of two years and although initially there was concern regarding what effect this may have upon the overall results, (relating to the changing effect on new workers) the reasons why individuals remained in their employment and the adjustments they had made, added an additional and valued element to the study. It was noted that without exception all interviewees had experienced some difficulties with their partner regarding their employment despite their length of service. This was not due to the nature of the work undertaken, although as discussed in section 5.73, few partners appeared to value their spouse's employment, but rather the hours in which the work was conducted. In the more successful relationships there appeared to be more effective line of communication between the partners together with an atmosphere of understanding and 'give-and-take'. Adjustment was necessary in all cases of part-time unsocial hours working regardless of length of service however, although in some situations the partner (or interviewee) appeared to tire of the compromise/sacrifice working unsocial hours involved, in the more successful relationships, the adjustment was accepted with the benefits of working outweighing the disadvantages. These benefits varied between individuals; for some the financial contribution was the main motivation whilst for others, the social aspect was regarded as more important. For the individuals/relationships that could not manage the necessary adjustment, alternative arrangements were usually sought which often resulted in a change of employment. When the interviewees were asked how their partner reacted to their working, the response ranged from modest dislike to serious resentment. Below is a sample of the many comments received which illustrate the need for discussion, compromise and communication to ensure the undertaking of part-time unsocial hours working has a chance of success:

“He did at the beginning but because I've been doing these hours for over a year I think he's come to learn to live with it.” (Interviewee: 01-01-26-45 with in excess of one and a half year's service)

“Not now. I mean it did in the past you know where the children would say do you have to work again tonight mummy, we miss you when you go to work and you know like my husband may be would like to have an evening out but I've got to work so you know he's had to miss an evening out or we've had to miss may be some time together that we could have really done with spending together but obviously I've had to work, so you just have to sort it out.” (Interviewee: 02-04-33-13 with in excess of two year's service)

“It has in the past yes. At the moment we're o.k. because we did sit down a while back and just had a big long chat about it. He does, the thing is he gets angry about it, he knows I need to work but he wishes I couldn't but there's no winning situation.” (Interviewee: 01-07-33-33 with in excess of one year's service)

“My husband was fine at first because of the extra money, that was fine but then when it clicked in that he has to have more responsibility of like putting the kids to bed, Saturdays the kids go swimming and things like that and he had to do that there was quite a few arguments sort of around that area do you know what I mean. How can I put it, like he still expected me to be able to do everything and at first I did try you know. The tea would be cooked before I went in, it would be washed up, the house would be hovered, the kids would be bathed and dressed, you know all before 5.30 p.m. for me to be in at work by 6.00 p.m. but then I thought I'm working too so I mean you have to do something because I'm getting really tired now.” (Interviewee: 02-04-39-51 with in excess of two year's service)

“I can swap my hours around and things like that and I mean I've had the odd one or two disagreements with my husband over me having to come back in late at night to do a certain job, he doesn't like me working late at night because of the trouble out on the streets and things like that these days and I think your husband always feels that the woman can't look after themselves, but I mean I'm quite happy to do it and come out it's not a problem, but he doesn't like, he's got used to me being around and when it's things that when he walks in the door and I

say I've got to go now he'd rather me being there at home with him. So sometimes we've had words but that's about it." (Interviewee: 01-01-42-15 with in excess of one year's service)

The relationship with a partner was regarded by most individuals as being more important than the work undertaken. Whilst evening workers do not suffer from the same circadian and sleep issues as night workers, the problems faced by evening workers can be just as enduring. Without exception all the individuals interviewed felt that an increase in working hours would result in a detrimental effect in the relationship with their partner. When considering individuals who had engaged in part-time unsocial hours employment for more than a year, 12 interviewees (52 per cent) of the 23 questioned for the 'Year II' follow-up survey already felt more distant from their partner as a result of their working. Several reported that their working had affected their social life and personal time with their partner. However from the questioning undertaken an impression was received that for many, this may have already been happening with work either acting as an accelerant or merely an excuse. Added pressure resulting from the adoption of part-time employment invariably compounds an already strained relationship. If the domestic milieu is not supportive the ability to rest and relax during period away from work becomes even more difficult. Sleep is almost impossible if quarrelling with a spouse or if the correct orientation in the family schedule will not allow it (Monk and Folkard 1992). This is especially apparent during periods of school holidays where attempting to care for school age children during the day frequently reduces the opportunity still further to achieve satisfying periods of rest.

6.5 Implications of employment status

Data recorded from 'Question 7' in the quantitative survey (as outlined in section 9.1) establishes that out of the eighty six individuals interviewed, thirty four (thirty six per cent) stated that it was inconvenient hours that resulted in their decision not to return to their previous employer following the birth of their child. However, although it is clear that inconvenient hours are the main factor, there are several additional issues which should also be considered.

To reduce levels of stress and tiredness when returning to work there is a likelihood that most returning mothers will veer towards a position that does not initially entail too much responsibility (Charles and Kerr [in Allan 2000]; Rubery et al 1994; Darton and Hurrell 2005). Childcare is still

regarded as being primarily the mother's responsibility and it is this responsibility that increases the feeling of pressure experienced by mothers (Ginn and Arber 1994). With dependent children requiring childcare, the mother looking to return to work part-time will often be restricted to employment within the local area especially if they are unable to drive. This will naturally affect the type and quality of position available and result in the acceptance of a position based upon 'convenient location' rather than suitability. When asked about their previous employment, one individual employed by the supermarket chain as a stock replenishment assistant commented:

"I was actually in the fashion industry for about 12 years and I was a buyer. I actually did a degree in fashion marketing and went into buying after training with Marks and Spencer's and my last position was actually on the Sales and Design and Development sort of side." (Interviewee: 01-03-37-83).

Another interviewee engaged as a service assistant on the 'take-away' counter commented:"

I used to work for a company call Alex Laurie, part of Lloyds TSB. I worked for them for years, the last post I held with them was IT trainer and that was a full-time position." (Interviewee: 01-01-28-59).

The adoption of part-time employment forms a kind of 'motherhood trap' where frustration and/or monetary need forces a mother to accept a position based upon convenience and availability rather than their previous experience and suitability (Darton and Hurrell 2005). The issue of reduced wage earnings for returning mothers is well documented with an acceptance that women lose at least some employment time as a result of childcare (Klerman and Leibowitz 1999; Hurrell 2005). This employment break invariably results in a wage penalty as the loss of work experience affects later wages (Equal Opportunities Commission 2005). Although often not considered prior to acceptance, this type of 'mother-friendly' work rarely offers sufficient stimulation for the returning mother further adding to feelings of frustration and stress. When the time arrives for a mother to return to more regular employment it is likely that a reduction in career position would be experienced especially if returning following an extended period of absence (Francesconi and Gosling 2005).

6.6 Conclusion

This section of the study has examined the effects of adopting unsocial hours employment and concludes that the strain and tiredness associated with such working has a significant and detrimental influence on the lives of the individual. It was noted that the tiredness resulting from combining part-time unsocial hours working with daytime childcare activities was often related to the physical nature of the work involved and the required ‘wind-down’ time following the end of the shift. This element, in conjunction with reduced time available to spend as a family, often disrupted the achievement of a suitable work-life balance. This added stress to the relationship with a partner in addition to limiting the time (and enthusiasm) available to pursue a social life.

Whilst the limited numbers involved in this study has to be recognised (especially during year two) it appears that, although any one particular aspect of an individual’s life is usually manageable, it is the cumulative effect over a period of time which can be overwhelming. This is especially true if the employment involves high levels of emotional labour as experienced in many positions within hospitality and retail. If a partner is less than supportive, yet more pressure can be placed upon the individual resulting in even greater stress. The working of such unsocial hours undoubtedly involves considerable effort and determination on behalf of the individual. However, the effect upon the individuals concerned is only part of the picture. There is undoubtedly an influence upon the family, no matter how carefully the hours are planned. Although this is often difficult to judge with some children having known no other way of life, because of how they choose to live, (or through financial need, are forced to adopt) it is inevitable that other people are affected as a result of an individual’s decision to work. The following chapter examines these issues concentrating specifically upon the effects upon the partner and family.

7. The effects of working part-time unsocial hours upon a partner and family.

Contents

Title	Page Number
7.1 Introduction	166
7.2 Work-family conflict and the duty of childcare	167
7.21 When should a mother return to work?	168
7.22 Work-family conflict and the division of household duties	170
7.23 Partner support	172
7.24 The consideration of external childcare	182
7.25 Family and other external support	184
7.3 The effect upon the partner	185
7.31 Resentment	185
7.32 The availability of quality time	191
7.4 Conclusion	193

7.1 Introduction

This section of the analysis concentrates upon the effects and influences an individual's working has upon those who are closest to them. Primarily this is their partner however; it can also include their children, friends and other members of their close family.

The issue of conflict within family life is not a new experience and although strain is expected with the adoption of full-time employment, the issues effecting part-time unsocial hours working are less clear. However the findings of this study indicate that it is the issue of children that provokes the working of part-time unsocial hours and it is this combination that adds strain to what can often be a situation that already creates conflict. Although it could be argued that the adoption of part-time work would diminish the affect of conflict, the fact that the work is undertaken during unsocial periods adds an additional degree of strain which unless the partner is supportive, further aggravates an already stressful situation. The presence of children can also be related to increased pressure in marriage and significantly contribute to levels of stress resulting in lower life satisfaction (Brett, Stroh and Reilly 1992).

The individuals who participated in this study consistently undertook unsocial hours working to ensure that their family came first; the issue of 'career' was generally considered unimportant. This chapter shows that 'putting the family first' in the undertaking of part-time unsocial hours working involved significant costs for the family including the relationship with a partner in addition to the effects upon the women themselves as described in the previous chapter. As with chapter six above, the results analysed from this study are gained from both the quantitative survey and from information gathered during the qualitative interviews conducted in Year I and in Year II.

7.2 Work-family conflict and the duty of childcare

This section of the study explores the impact of childcare and the significant effect of a child's age upon the decision to enter part-time unsocial hours working.

Although there were a total of 193 children amongst the individuals interviewed, 178 were dependent children being under the age of 16 years. The total number of dependent children (those under 16) amongst the 86 individuals interviewed averaged 2.07 children per person which is above the current national average of 1.7 (General Household Survey 2002 – Office of National Statistics). Of the total of 193 children, 178 (92.2 per cent) were of school age. 143 (74.1 per cent) of all dependent children were less than 10 years old with 88 children (45.5 per cent) being between 6 and 10 years old. 25.8 per cent of all dependent children (50 individuals) were aged between 11 and 15 years with only 11 (5.7 per cent) of the children aged between 16 and 20 years old. This age distribution suggests that the undertaking of part-time unsocial hours working primarily resulted from the need to undertake childcare during the day. The interviews confirm this to be the case with numerous comments relating to the adoption of part-time unsocial hours working due to children. Presented below is a small sample from the many comments received:

“Because I had to do it when the children were looked after by their dad. He works full-time during the day so I work a couple of evenings. I didn't want it to impact the family too much.” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87)

“Basically my husband gets home about 6.00 p.m. and so it gives an hour to have dinner and then I can go to work so it's because I haven't really anyone to look after Louisa only my husband so I needed something to fit in with him really.” (Interviewee: 01-03-31-86)

“It just fits in with the children, you know my husband comes home and then I can go to work and stay at home with the little one during the day.” (Interviewee: 01-02-34-65)

Case vignette three - Interviewee 01-01-27-43

Lisa is a twenty-seven year old mother with one four year old daughter and another baby due in the next two months. Lisa is married, and previous to her first child, worked full-time as a nursery assistant. Despite wishing to return to her previous employment only full-time positions were available which Lisa felt she could not manage in conjunction with the care of a new baby. Financial pressure forced Lisa to seek some form of employment and part-time unsocial hours working was accepted as a compromise allowing her to care for her child during the day whilst avoiding the need for external childcare during the evenings. Lisa commenced her work with the supermarket chain three years ago and currently works three evenings mid week as a checkout operator at a site in East Southampton. Her six hour shift commences at 6.30 pm finishing at 12.30 am which Lisa admits does cause a few difficulties.

Whilst she acknowledges her husband is supportive at home undertaking many of the household chores in addition to the childcare duties, Lisa finds the late finish leaves her tired and irritable with her husband and child. Although Lisa's husband understands her need to work for financial reasons, the quantity of time spent at home alone does cause arguments and tension with her husband complaining of being bored during the evenings Lisa is away. Lisa admits the time spent alone at home or away at work has left her feeling less close to her husband and worries how the situation may develop once her second child is born. Although Lisa would prefer not to have to work, the financial need ensures she is left with little choice and worries that this situation may worsen after her second child arrives with increased tiredness and greater financial pressure resulting.

7.21 When should a mother return to work?

The traditional attitude that mothers should stay at home with their baby, especially until the child starts school, (British Attitude Survey 1986) is no longer regarded as the only option for parents. Although there has been a considerable quantity of research undertaken regarding the degree of harm inflicted upon a child with regards to the absence of their mother during the early years, (Bowlby 1965) most of this is now regarded as outdated. Whilst women are now faced with more options than ever before, it is generally accepted that, even if external employment is adopted, the majority of domestic chores are still undertaken by women (Brannen and Moss 1991; Bond and Sales 1994). As described above, the results of this study have indicated that the motivation for an individual to adopt part-time employment during unsocial hours was largely to 'fit in with the children' and to avoid the cost of childcare. However, with part-time working continuing to gain in significance (Equal Opportunities Commission report 2005), the question is not only what employment to adopt but also when it should be commenced.

Although there are numerous government schemes available to assist working parents, they are currently only targeted toward the main income provider. An example of this is both the Working Family Tax Credit and the Child Tax Credit which both stipulate financial assistance only for individuals working in excess of 30 hours per week. Whilst these schemes are designed to assist the main income provider, they are counter productive for individuals considering additional part-time employment. For example, should a secondary wage earner decide to adopt part-time employment to boost the income entering the household, the additional wage received is counter balanced with a reduction in the financial assistance awarded through the tax credit system to a point where the added benefit is negligible. When balanced with the considerable effort involved with adopting part-time work, many consider the minimal financial benefit received not worth the sacrifice involved. It should be remembered that for many individuals interviewed this was the first attempt at employment following the birth of their child and as such, the first occasion when they were parted from their 'baby'. Three typical comments:

"I don't want to work all week just in case the children are sick or they've got like days off at school, I can't, my mother would look after them the odd day but I can't expect her to, because she's getting old, can't expect her to look after them on a long term basis." (Interviewee: 01-01-39-49).

"Mainly because I don't like other people looking after my children and doing this type of job my husband's home to have the children." (Interviewee: 01-07-36-37).

"The only advantage is I can rely on my husband for childcare. When you sort of work during the day you have to have somebody there all the time, you can't watch your children. At night you know where they are, you know they're at home, they're in bed." (Interviewee: 01-01-40-23).

It is possible that this nervousness may account for the focused attitude regarding childcare and upbringing and as such, may not reflect the more balanced approach experienced from some older individuals. However for many younger mothers, the reluctance to leave their child in the care of another person further contributed to the feelings of stress and strain often associated with working unsocial hours.

7.22 Work-family conflict and the division of household duties

Without exception, all the individuals interviewed admitted working unsocial hours was a strain, especially if their children were not of school age and required constant attention throughout the day. Although the number of hours worked varied and never amounted to full-time, the overall work/family conflict was a significant issue for many of the individuals interviewed. Although the issue of balance between work and family is easier to achieve by individuals adopting part-time work (especially if this has a degree of flexibility), tiredness (as previously discussed) can facilitate work-family conflict and was an almost unanimous reaction to the undertaking of part-time unsocial hours. Two typical comments:

“The negative side of it is yes I'm tired and grumpy on Saturday morning because I work to 2.00 a.m. every Friday night, so yes obviously that is, it's worth doing because again we get extra things for working until 2.00 a.m. and we get extra things for working Sundays so I would definitely work the hours that pay and best possible money at the supermarket and only those hours, the detriment to that is on Saturdays I'm quite tired.” (Interviewee: 01-01-34-20).

“Because I'm tired and like for instance tomorrow morning if they don't get up by the time I ask them to I end up, GET UP NOW. I lose my temper and by the afternoon I'm fine. I'm not an evil, horrible mummy but I you know tend to shout a little bit. They're learning, it's been sort of 3 ½ months so they're beginning to say mum's been at work so lets be good.”

(Interviewee: 01-03-36-74).

Most individuals interviewed did not alter their activities during the day to accommodate their evening employment instead choosing to continue their daytime activities at the same level. This unsurprisingly contributed to the level of tiredness experienced which in turn, placed greater strain upon the individual and their families.

The issue of household work and the number of hours involved is often underestimated by many, especially a partner. The degree of support and level of assistance offered by a partner is vital in ensuring the undertaking of part-time unsocial working by a spouse is successful. The division of the household chores is an area in which a partner can easily demonstrate their support and assist in the reduction of work-family conflict. Some positive comments:

“Well he's had to become a little bit more domestic, a little bit more patient and a bit more understanding now.” (Interviewee: 01-01-40-22).

“Yes I think it has just from that point of view he's impressed me because the deal was that if I go out we still have our roast dinner and things like that and it's his responsibility to do it and a few years ago when the children were a little bit younger and I went back to work and he didn't, I don't know, meet his end of the bargain, the idea was that he would do the washing up while I was out at work and he didn't do it, whereas this time around I virtually without fail always come home to a hot meal.” (Interviewee: 01-02-33-62).

However, although there were several reports of partners being more supportive around the house (twenty six per cent), most of the individuals interviewed admitted that they still undertook the majority of household duties similar to that undertaken prior to the commencement of their part-time employment. Whilst most individuals commented that little had changed, there was a small proportion (eight per cent) who admitted that their partners were less helpful around the house since they commenced their part-time employment. When asked how their partner's behaviour had changed since commencing their part-time work some typical comments were:

“He's more aggressive I think. He copes but he does it like, under protest, it's not done willingly and it is hard.” (Interviewee: 01-01-37-24).

“It does cause problems some times yes, he's not very helpful, he doesn't do a lot.” (Interviewee: 01-01-36-54).

Although many partners assisted with the household chores, this was often with a degree of reluctance with nearly three quarters of the individuals interviewed expressing the view that their partner either disliked or resented their working. This issue of resentment together with partner support proved to be a pivotal part of the study. A few of the many comments received:

“It's obviously, he doesn't disagree with me working but I suppose when I'm late home on a Saturday and I've had to stay on an hour because we're busy he doesn't always take it seriously because he's working full-time but he does understand it's important to me especially when I became supervisor and got a lot extra responsibility he knows I take it seriously and he appreciates that I think.” (Interviewee: 01-02-34-66)

“My partner hates me working because he thinks he's the main bread winner and he should be supporting his family. I shouldn't have to work.” (Interviewee: 01-03-25-90)

"Sometimes I think he just resents it because of the way they do things here like all this flexible contract that they brought in and muck everybody's hours up and they chop and change you about and he just says it's not very fair when you have got a family away from here, you've got to have another life away it's not just work.” (Interviewee: 01-07-34-34)

Discussed below is the effect partner support has upon a relationship and the influence this support has upon the successful continuation of the part-time unsocial hours employment.

7.23 Partner support

As discussed above, it was not uncommon for mothers to feel that the duty of care, including the upbringing and education of their children was primarily their responsibility. Although mothers were happy to leave their children with their partner, they did not always have unshakable confidence in their partner's ability to handle a crisis. One of the reasons for choosing to work at a nearby location was the ability to return home if their presence was required. This point was discussed in more detail in section 4.24. Many of the individuals interviewed, especially from the supermarket sites worked nights, commencing their shift at 9.00 pm and working through to 7.00 am, just in time to return home to prepare the children for school. It was this type of working

environment that demanded close support of the partner. Without exception all individuals interviewed admitted that their part-time unsocial hours employment would not survive if not for the support of their partner. The results of this study (especially when comparing the number of interviewees whose employment survived to be re-interviewed in Year II) suggests that without a degree of co-operation, understanding and support from their partner; part-time working rarely proved successful in the long term. There were a number of comments from individuals in Year I regarding this issue. Unfortunately none had remained in their employment for the Year II interviewees:

“He doesn't like me working here but to be quite honest I don't like working here at the moment. I'm looking to change my job.” (Interviewee: 01-01-30-17)

“He doesn't really like it. I suppose that's a man thing he feels he should provide for all of us.” (Interviewee: 01-01-32-53)

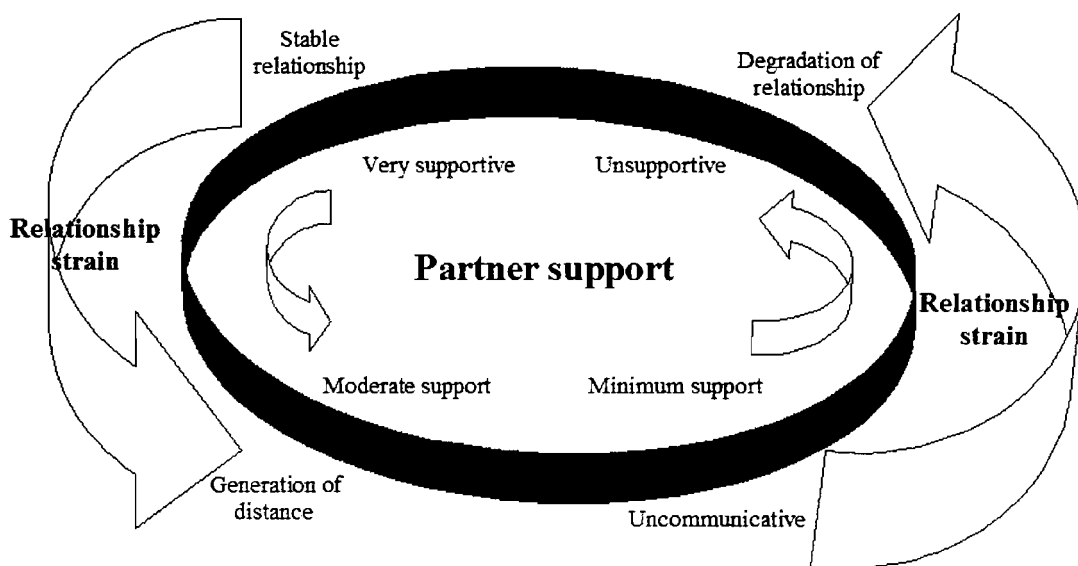
“He always moans that I'm at work and he's stuck at home with the kids on his own. He gets stroppy because he's got to stay at home with the kids and he wants me to spend more time at home with them but at the end of the day we can't have everything so we try and make the most of the time that we get together when we're at home and that does cause some hiccups sometimes.” (Interviewee: 01-07-34-34)

“In a way he doesn't want me to do it because it's not something that I particularly want to do so he feels a bit of guilt because I'm sort of almost having to do it because it's a short term easy way of getting some extra cash and it fits in timing wise with our lives but you know he does, he does say that he obviously values the fact that I am doing it and appreciates the fact that I'm doing it but sometimes he could appreciate it a bit more.” (Interviewee: 01-03-37-83)

The model below, devised as a result of the data gathered during this study, highlights the link between partner support and relationship strain and illustrates the likely levels of difficulties experienced if the support from a partner deteriorates.

Model illustrating the link of partner support to relationship strain

Figure 2



One of the main questions of this study centres upon the stress and relationship strain that part-time unsocial working has upon the individual and their family. The results of this study suggest that it is the degree of partner support that is the influencing factor in this scenario together with the employment flexibility discussed earlier. The undertaking of unsocial hours employment (especially work involving emotional labour) can exert considerable psychosocial pressure upon an individual who is already attempting to balance the care of children with the maintenance of the household and the relationship with a partner. It is only with support of the partner that the management of part-time unsocial working becomes possible. With full support from a partner, an individual is better placed to maintain a balance and be able to provide much needed financial assistance to the household whilst caring for the children during the day in addition to receiving a degree of personal satisfaction from the added element of social contact that the employment often provides.

Whether marital instability is caused by psychological distress or work-family conflict resulting from psychological distress, it is suggested that if an excess of unsociable hours are worked (and

continued to be worked) relationship strain will occur to a point where serious and perhaps irreversible damage occurs. From the data collected during this study it was discovered that 80 individuals (ninety three per cent) who reported either a detrimental effect upon their relationship or a feeling of being less close to their partner worked in excess of twenty hours per week. Of this total, twenty three individuals (twenty nine per cent) worked in excess of thirty hours per week and it was these individuals who reported some of the most severe effects. From the twenty two individuals (twenty six per cent) who reported feeling closer to their partner, nineteen (eighty six per cent) worked only between ten and twenty hours per week with many working nearer to the lower limit of ten hours rather than the twenty hour maximum. It is suggested that the varying degree of partner support in relation to the adoption of part-time unsocial employment will have a significant effect on a relationship which will intensify over a period of time.

Case vignette four – Interviewee: 01-01-30-60

Cathy is a thirty year old mother of one son who is now two and a half years old. Having previously worked for the supermarket chain as a supervisor at the East Southampton site prior to childbirth, Cathy now works up to five evenings per week a total of twenty hours per week.

Cathy's husband works during the day and therefore is available evenings to undertake childcare however, with travelling arrives home late causing problems with the handover. "My partner's always moaning because we kiss on the doorstep, hello, goodbye you know he's in 7.00/7.30 p.m. and I get ready for 7.45 p.m. and I'm out the door at 8.20 p.m. and that's it, you know it's literally hand over of the son and that's it." Due to money, Cathy has little alternative other than to work however she would prefer to spend more time with her partner and son.

Having now worked for the supermarket chain part-time for between one and two years, Cathy does not report any serious problems with either her employment or relationship with her partner, however she does recognise her relationship is not what it was and states: "You don't get the time to discuss things anymore, so things go by the by or decisions are made in hand and, we don't drift apart, I think that's a bit strong but you, I don't know, you just don't seem to have quite the understanding you used to have. It's hard to explain, it really is hard to explain but you just don't have the sort of same ability to sit down and talk because you don't get it that often and when you get it it's like what do I say now. He doesn't like it, he doesn't like me working."

Although Cathy has no immediate plans to leave her current employment with the supermarket, she admits that as soon as her son commences school, she will terminate her part-time position and seek social hours employment during the day.

Naturally the degree of support offered by a partner will reduce or delay the damaging effects to a point where a stable relationship can be maintained; however, conversely the damaging effect upon a relationship of an unsupportive partner is likely to be quickly experienced.

Support can be offered in many ways. It is suggested that for an individual to continue with their employment, they need to feel either a financial benefit or receive personal value from the social contact. Resulting from this suggestion further investigation was conducted during the secondary interviews regarding the degree of value a partner places upon their spouse's work and how this may differ from their own. Each individual was asked, 'On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, to what extent does your partner value your work?' although this question was believed to be clear and unambiguous, comments received appeared to centre around their own and their partners feelings towards their employer rather than the work itself. As far as the work was concerned, it was reported that most partners placed only a minimum value upon the work performed by their spouse. Two typical comments, one from the supermarket chain and one from the restaurant group:

"He's alright about it, he just feels that sometimes it does take over a bit, that's his only, that's his only thing, because I'll go home and tell him all about the stupid things as he calls them that goes on here and he finds it hilarious and he doesn't understand what, what goes on, he thinks it's, he says it's a supermarket for god's sake, it's not important, and I tell him all the little things that go on which you can imagine go on, all sorts of things." (Interviewee: 01-07-41-35)

"Well my first husband worked in the sort of 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. type of job and he never really understood catering at all and the demands that it put on you, he didn't think it was worthwhile because he you know, the amount of money I earned but at the same time we couldn't really do without the money I earned although it was small in comparison to what he earned it was still necessary for us to live really. So there was always a bit of conflict there about the working hours." (Interviewee: 02-06-44-25)

Interviews conducted in year one also asked questions relating to support and the perceived opinion of the partner with regards to the relationship. Although it was not possible to interview the partner directly, the spouse was asked what their partner felt about their working (question 15)

and how their partner’s behaviour had changed since commencing their part-time unsocial hours employment (question 16). Although there were 22 individuals, (25.5 per cent) who described their partner as being more helpful since they commenced their part-time unsocial hours’ employment, there was a significant proportion who felt their employment had negatively effected their relationship with their partner. The comments of partner resentment in addition to expressions of feeling ‘more distant’ were correlated with length of service. The results gathered from the year one interview process allowed the table below to be formulated.

**Perceived negative partner reaction to spouse’s adoption of
part-time employment over time**

Table 30

Length of service	Individuals who expressed a negative reaction from their partner as a result of their working Total of 61 individuals from 86 interviewed (71 per cent)
< 6 months	13 individuals (21.3 per cent)
6 months – 1 year	6 individuals (9.8 per cent)
1 year – 2 years	7 individuals (11.5 per cent)
> 2 years	35 individuals (57.4 per cent)

(Note: data collected from the ‘year one’ interviews where individuals reported feeling either/or more distant from their partner due to their working and/or expressed their partner was less helpful around the house due to their working and/or resented them working part-time unsocial hours.)

It has already been established from the supermarket chain that half of all new staff terminate their employment within the first twelve weeks. Although this study does not have data to analyses this cause, it is suggested that there is likely to be a degree of negative feelings associated with such a high level of turnover. Negative feelings can be expressed in many different ways including resentment, being less helpful or feeling ‘more distant’ from a partner. The table above indicates initial high levels of resentment with a slightly reduced level of for individuals employed between six months and two years before a sharp rise for employees with two years or more service. Whilst this aspect was not fully explored, it could be argued that even for partners that initially support their spouse’s working, for many, it is more toleration than support which diminishes on a progressive basis after two years of employment. When considering the aspect of partner support based over time, a further dimension needs to be considered. The degree of partner resentment has

Figure 3



Dependent upon the degree of support offered, the quantity of hours undertaken and/or the time period, over which the employment is maintained, the relationship will progress through several stages many of which are often not recognised or acknowledged by the individuals concerned. The first definable stage of relationship degradation is titled 'generation of distance' which describes the feelings involved with having a little less time, either with each other, or with the family in general. Although most individuals would not recognise this as a particular problem, there is an acknowledgement of feeling 'not quite as close' to each other as perhaps they had previously felt in the past. Many comments were received regarding the effect of this first phase:

"We're not as close, I don't mean we're not close, I just mean we don't spend as much time together because I'm either at work and he's babysitting or we're with our son."

(Interviewee: 01-03-30-91 with less than six months employment).

"He doesn't like the fact he's in the house every night on his own, he doesn't mind looking after the boys because he's one of these people that would get down on the floor and play cars so where I would be there to tidy things up so in that sense that wouldn't be a problem to him but it would be the loneliness when the kids go to bed there's no company, you know, that would be the worst, he doesn't like that."

(Interviewee: 01-07-34-40 with between one and two years employment).

It is suggested this effect can intensify over a period of time balanced with the degree of support offered by a partner to the second stage which this study defines as 'uncommunicative'. With greater demands upon an individual's time due to the adoption of the part-time employment there is less opportunity, or less will, to communicate. There were numerous comments regarding this issue all of which were similar. One typical comment: "Non communication between us on the days I work, we just don't talk. It's probably confusing for our son." (Interviewee: 01-03-25-90 with less than six months employment). The likely combination of this tiredness with a lack of understanding/effort results in couples growing apart to a point where they are virtually living separate lives within the same household. This leads to the third stage this study defines as 'degradation of relationship' where unless rapid action is taken the relationship will progress to a point where breakdown becomes likely. A typical comment from a supermarket part-time night worker: "It is very strenuous on a relationship. I mean we been through our ups and downs on it,

you're never home and you're always out working and you're never in when I'm in, so it can have that effect. It takes a certain type of person to be strong enough to work nights, my partner would rather I didn't." (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89 with more than two years employment).

During the Year II interviews the area of relationship strain was examined in greater depth. Whilst many of the individuals were naturally reluctant to discuss personal details, this was not for the reason expected. Most of those interviewed were quite open and frank about all aspects of their lives; however for many, it was apparent that they were slow to make the connection between their unsocial working and the problems they were experiencing at home. For those that did realise the root of the difficulties, there was often a reluctance to either admit to the problem or to acknowledge the cause. However, twelve (52 percent) of the twenty three interviewed reported feeling less close to their partner as a result of their work with fifteen (65 per cent) confirming that their partner only accepted their working (albeit reluctantly) because of the financial contribution it made to the household.

Case vignette five – Interviewee: 01-07-34-41

Donna is employed with the supermarket chain at a site in West Southampton. Aged thirty-four years Donna is married with three sons aged fourteen, ten and eight years old. Employed for between one and two years primarily as a stock replenishment assistant, Donna works four evenings per week from Fridays evenings through to Mondays evenings and occasionally during the day between 9.30 am and 2.30 pm during the school term.

As a result of working over the weekend, family time is reduced to a point where little social time is spent together as a family. Donna admits to enjoying the social interaction she receives whilst at work but does recognise the strain her working places upon her relationship with her partner. Donna feels that her life is just 'plodding' along with little of interest for her to look forward too. She admits that she has to work for financial reasons and acknowledges that her husband does what he can to support the family whilst she is at work. Although Donna says she does not really argue with her husband anymore, she admits this may be worse as they currently don't really communicate at all. Although Donna is a little worried about the future, she feels she is trapped with little option other than to continue with her current arrangements.

It became clear from the interviews undertaken that many of the individuals, who were well established in their work, revelled in the freedom their employment offered to a point where they were reluctant to give it up, regardless of the opinions of their partner. One comment received when asked why an interviewee's husband disapproved of his spouses working: "Because he thinks that I, he's not old fashioned, but he thinks that I should be at home in the evenings for him and the children, although the children are in bed before I come to work." (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89).

When this interviewee was asked why her partner thought this way, she replied: "To be there for him I suppose. He's very selfish isn't he? But I can't, I have to have my independence and this is the way that I can fit it in with my family." (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89).

This stubbornness often infuriated the partner to a point where many felt they were 'losing control' of their spouse. Although this may be considered a rather out dated reaction, (or one of insecurity) the results of this study suggest that this approach is still common, especially within less career minded families. Whilst not suggesting that all relationship breakdowns are as a result of an unsupportive partner, it is the conclusion of this study that the successful continuation of part-time unsocial working hinges firmly upon the degree of support offered. If support is not freely available and willingly offered by the partner, the evidence collected by this study suggests that marital relations will deteriorate. Either the part-time work will not succeed or the relationship will suffer as described above. Although some individuals sought part-time work for primarily social reasons, few individuals commenced this type of employment with the intention of long term prospects instead believing it to be a 'stop gap' position to alleviate particular circumstances such as debt, a forthcoming holiday or Christmas. Most recognised the strain their working placed upon their partner and expressed concerns regarding the impact this was having upon their relationship.

However most were convinced that although their working generated greater distance between them and their partner, their relationship could weather the storm. Most believed the sacrifice was worthwhile ensuring the family obtained the necessary income to provide adequately for the children whilst personally maintaining a degree of independence and social contact. However, whilst this detrimental effect may not always be terminal, unless a compromise or understanding is reached, this study concludes that permanent damage will occur.

7.24 The consideration of external childcare

Possible due to the low remuneration of the hospitality and retail industries, all of the individuals interviewed considered the cost of external childcare to be prohibitive which, if adopted, would result in the majority of their earnings being lost on the cost of paying childcare facilities. Although it could be argued that childcare is provided for children of school age by the education sector, the early finishing time, teacher training days and lengthy school holidays all provide difficulties for parents attempting to combine childcare with employment. Data collected by telephone from three providers within the Hampshire region (February 2004) showed that for young children or children of pre-school age, childcare falls into three distinct categories.

1. Nursery care, costing an average of £3.00 per hour (crèche facilities for older children averaging £3.50 per hour).
2. A private childminder (average £2.75 per hour)
3. For children of school age, out-of school clubs (average £1.50 per hour).

Within the Hampshire region, the costs of such care facilities (as highlighted above) remain fairly constant with only marginal differences from one area to another. The issue of external childcare is discussed in more detail in section 1.23, however which ever service is employed, the weekly cost represents a significant proportion of an individual's income especially when considering the level of remuneration generally received for hourly paid work. Within the supermarket chain, where the majority of individuals interviewed for this survey were engaged, the hourly rate for a replenishment assistant was £4.69 per hour. For a checkout assistant, this rose to £5.05 per hour. It is therefore clear that, should a replenishment assistant choose to work during the day, (based upon an average of 8 hours) the cost of external childcare could total as much as 75 per cent of their gross income making day time working an impractical proposition. Of the 86 individuals interviewed during the initial data collection process, over half reported the prohibitive cost of external childcare as being an influencing factor in choosing part-time unsocial hours working. As most individuals worked for financial gain, they were naturally reluctant to pay the costs of external childcare (as illustrated above) if there was an alternative. This alternative involved working unsocial hours (to ensure that their partner was at home) and involved delegating the childcare responsibility to the partner, as discussed above, or to a close family relative as discussed in section 7.25 below.

Although only discussed during the research process, the cost of external childcare was not the only factor considered by the mothers being interviewed. Whilst they blamed the costs of external childcare as a reason not to use these facilities, some individuals expressed a reluctance to allow a stranger to care for their child. Most of the individuals interviewed did not appear to have much confidence in the ability or qualifications of some of these childcare services and although they would have been happy to place their child in a crèche provided by their employer, they were reluctant to trust many of the ‘independent’ or self-operated facilities believing them to vary in quality, provide inconsistent care and suffer a high turnover of mainly young inexperienced staff.

Comments from firstly a supermarket employee and secondly from a member of staff employed by the restaurant group:

“I had a childminder, I actually went back to work after my son was born, I had a childminder and I had bad experiences with her, she was using my son's nappies for her own child.”

(Interviewee: 01-03-25-90)

“Well for me I would like better childcare really, reliable childcare that you didn't have to worry about them even if you have to pay something towards it, that would be better because the school my daughter goes to have an afternoon school club and they've done away with it for some reason so I was always hopeful because I always thought that would be something that would be useful if I decided to get an office job or a 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. job or something but that's totally inconvenient now because you know before and after school is a real problem as well.”

(Interviewee: 02-06-44-25).

7.25 Family and other external support

As discussed above, the support of the individual's partner is vital for the stress free provision of consistent childcare. Although the partner was more often than not, responsible for the front line childcare, other family members frequently provided a secondary but important supportive role. Although the social status of the individuals interviewed for this study was not an area of concentration as discussed above, the nature of the part-time unskilled work (within hospitality and retail) indicates that it is generally working class families involved in this type of employment. A significant reliance upon the support of families with regards to childcare was apparent in all but a few individuals.

From the interviews undertaken, half of all respondents referred to the support offered by family members, other than the partner, in the regular provision of childcare. This usually involved the child's grandparents (either direct family or in-laws) however sisters or aunts were also often involved. It was discovered during the interviews that in general terms most working parents felt a degree of vulnerability regarding their childcare arrangements. If all was well, then the system they had arranged worked fine, however during times of school holiday or illness, whether on the part of the child or the carer, problems inevitably occurred. Every individual interviewed during the course of this study considered the issue of the care of their child to be their prime responsibility. As a result, the combination of employment with their primary responsibility of childcare inevitably resulted in problems whether during periods of child illness, school holidays or the occasional 'teachers training day'. The data collected during this study has shown that once a mother decides to adopt any form of employment, the balancing act attempting to manage childcare, maintain work and dedicate quality time to a partner becomes a near impossibility. This invariably generates a degree of stress and pressure which if not recognised with assistance of partner support, inevitably leads to degradation in relationships and personal anguish on behalf of the individual.

7.3 The effect upon the partner

Apart from the influence adopting part-time unsocial hours working has upon the individual, the effect such working has upon a husband or partner should also be considered. This is especially significant as an unhappy partner generally led to a discontented individual and a disrupted family. Unfortunately this study did not have access to interview the partner personally; however the views of the partner were sought through the interviews with the spouse. Whilst it should be remembered that the opinions reported by the spouse may contain a degree of bias, it could be argued that perception is as relevant as fact. Therefore, although the facts reported by the interviewee may or may not have been totally accurate, it is suggested that opinions expressed (as long as sincerely believed) are as important as the reality and will influence an individual in a similar manner. Surprisingly there was a positive aspect to the working of unsocial hours in addition to the negative, however what became very clear was without the continuing support of the partner the working of part-time unsociable hours became increasingly difficult.

From the interviews undertaken and from the responses received, reaction can be categorised into four distinct areas; resentment, the development of distance, the availability of quality time and the influence upon domestic assistance.

7.31 Resentment

When deciding upon what questions to ask prior to an interview, it is expected that some topics will receive a greater response than others. However, from all the questions posed during the eighty six interviews undertaken for this study, no other question came even close to the strong reaction received from the enquiry ‘what does you partner feel about you working?’

The overwhelming response by the individuals interviewed to the opinions of the partner (usually male and employed full-time) was one of reluctant acceptance. The feeling that the part-time unsocial work was disliked or resented was reported by sixty four (seventy four per cent) of the individuals interviewed during the initial interviews with some individuals stressing this issue time and time again. Due to the high volume of reaction received and especially considering the

suggestion that the success of an individual's part-time unsocial hours working is dependant upon the attitude and support offered by their partner, further investigation was undertaken.

Whilst the employer may not be of great significance, the age of the individual is important when considering the degree of resentment/support offered by a partner. The average age of the individuals who expressed the opinion that their partner either disliked or resented their working was thirty five years. This average appears to virtually mirror those individuals who expressed the opinion that their partners were more helpful around the house with a total average age of thirty five years). This compared to a lower average age of thirty three years for those expressing the opinion that their partners were less helpful suggesting tolerance and understanding increases with age or length of time employed.

It is suggested that it is resentment (or dislike) on behalf of the partner (usually male) that adds to the level of stress felt through the entire household. It is therefore argued that partner support is a pivotal issue upon which the successful undertaking of part-time unsocial hours working depends. The high proportion of partners that dislike or resent their spouses working was often reported to be the source of the difficulties that the continuation of employment provoked. Being a subject of such importance, further investigations were conducted during the Year II interviews.

Although many partners were reported not to be happy with the decision of their spouse to accept part-time unsocial work, most partners appeared to accept that either due to financial need or their spouse's desire to 'break from the routine' they were unable (or unwilling) to do much about it. Resulting from the interviews undertaken, many reasons were reported as to why the full-time employed partner resented the part-time working of their spouse. The following six main attitudes, together with quotes from the interviews, summarises the reports received:

1. The traditional attitude that the male should provide for his wife and offspring – With financial reasons given to justify why nearly all individuals choose to work such unsocial hours, frequent comments were received reporting that the male partner felt guilty that the female had to seek paid employment to support the family.

A typical quote from the interviews:

“If he had his choice I wouldn't be working because he is the provider, it should be up to him to go out and earn a good wage so that I could stay at home and look after the children and look after the house. In his ideal world he would be in a good job, bringing good money in and I would stay at home 24/7.”

(Interviewee: 01-01-40-22)

“Because I think, I don't know, may be he feels inadequate because he's not bringing in enough money to support all of us and he doesn't want me to work because he should be doing it, he should be the bread winner.”

(Interviewee: 01-01-35-58)

2. The dislike of the female being away during the evening/night for social company, the provision of food, childcare and sexual gratification – The partners of the individuals interviewed during this study were without exception, engaged in full-time employment. It was reported during the interviews that once the partner had returned home in the evening, most did not want to spend time alone especially if childcare duties were involved. The adoption of evening working effected the traditional spouses' role in three ways, namely, care giver, social companion and sexual partner. Although it was reported that most could, few partners wanted to prepare a meal or undertake household chores. Childcare was also seen as a disruption and most resented sleeping alone.

There were numerous comments received that support this theory, a small sample include:

“He doesn't like Thursdays and Fridays when I've got to go off and then I'm not there, he'd rather me be at home” (Interviewee: 01-01-44-47)

“Well my first husband worked in the sort of 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. type of job and he never really understood catering at all and the demands that it put on you, he didn't think it was worthwhile because he you know, the amount of money I earned but at the same time we couldn't really do without the money I earned although it was small in comparison to

what he earned it was still necessary for us to live really. So there was always a bit of conflict there about the working hours.”

(Interviewee: 02-06-44-25).

When this interviewee was asked what her husband felt about her working her reply was:

“He didn't like it really and it also meant he had to come home from work and start looking after the children, although he was quite good with them but he did used to moan about it and it restricted him, well obviously it restricts his social life as well.”

(Interviewee: 02-06-44-25).

Interviewee 02-04-40-52 was asked the same question with the following extract taken from the transcript of the interview. The question started with:

“What does your husband feel about you working?”

“He hates it.”

“Does he? Why?”

“Because he'd rather me be at home and be a full-time mother.”

“Why's that?”

“Because he thinks a woman's place is in the home, he's very old fashioned.”

“So he doesn't like you working at all?”

“No, he hates it.” (Interviewee: 02-04-40-52).

3. The untrusting feeling that the female might be socialising with another – The possessive nature of the male partner was far more prevalent than expected. Although the reason behind this sense of paranoia is outside the boundaries of this study, it was concluded from the attitudes expressed by the interviewees that this type of behaviour normally resulted in a defiant persistence rather than compliance although a reduction in working hours was often considered as a compromise.
4. The security of the female as they commute to and from work, usually during hours of darkness – The protective nature of most partners ensured a sense of unease at the prospect of the spouse being out late at night having to either drive home alone or especially if they had to walk unaccompanied whether it be directly to their home or a short distance to their car. A typical comment when a female interviewee was asked what her partner felt about her working:

“He doesn't like it. He doesn't like the fact that I work late nights. He hates the idea that I have to drive home 11.45 p.m. at night.” (Interviewee: 01-01-40-46).

5. The belief that should the female succeed to a high status employment position, they will become discontented with their domestic life – Although not so relevant with this sector of the workforce, many individuals reported that perhaps, due to ego or insecurity, their partner felt uneasy with their working believing that exposure to the outside world would result in dis-satisfaction with their current domestic life. Two typical comments:

The research question asked:

Say you worked 20 hours a week rather than 12 and you worked 2 nights or 3 nights doing what you do now what sort of effect do you think that would have from your partner's point of view?

I don't think he would allow it to start with.

He wouldn't allow it?

No I don't think so. (Interviewee: 01-01-39-49b).

When another interviewee was asked how their partner viewed their working they commented:

“He'd rather I was at home, yes definitely. He resents me working, it has caused some huge rows in the past.” (Interviewee: 01-07-33-33)

6. The disturbance of social activities with hours that do not co-inside with their partners full-time employment – As projected in the original research question, it was reported that most partners expressed a lack of understanding with regards to social events. Most did not appreciate the nature of unsocial hours working and nearly all male partners appeared to express resentment during times when their spouse's working clashed with social activities.

A typical comment when a female interviewee was asked what her partner felt about their working:

“Well for example Saturday is the family day and yesterday I worked. My husband went absolutely mad. My kids moaned at me constantly. It was an absolute, you know that sort of thing, but that's you know, that's the way it goes.” (Interviewee: 01-02-33-61).

“He would prefer me not to work. He would prefer me to be at home and then he could do what he wanted when he wanted and I will always be there to look after the kids.” (Interviewee: 02-04-39-51).

Although many of the views expressed above may appear to reflect a degree of insecurity, they were frequent and carried significant weight for the individuals concerned. Although most of the partners had little choice than accept their spouses working, few if any, appeared happy with the situation.

During the secondary interviews, further discussions (of which some comments are highlighted above) were undertaken regarding the degree of resentment expressed by a partner and what effect this was having upon the relationship. The evidence provided by this study supports the suggestion

that the degree of partner resentment is directly linked to the support offered and the number of hours worked. Although there were individuals with very unsupportive partners who experienced problems with any form of working, even less than 10 hours per week it was discovered that this was not the norm. On the other extreme, some individuals discussed the strength of their relationship and how supportive their partner was towards their working. For these few individuals working even in excess of 30 hours per week all during unsocial periods of the night or during weekends did not cause a problem. However, these individuals were very much the minority with the evidence supporting the suggestion that for most individuals it is a question of balance between necessary financial income and not pushing the reluctant support of a partner to a point where a problem would occur.

Whilst perhaps a little bias in opinion as the views of the male partner were reported by the female, they do give a clear insight into the attitudes of dual income working families. Even if the opinion of the male partner was a little different, the views expressed by the individuals interviewed for this study were sincere and real to them in every respect.

7.32 The availability of quality time

Despite the employment demands of both partners, it was apparent from the interviews undertaken that both mother and father felt the maintenance of the family (and the generation of quality time together) was an important part in providing a stable platform upon which the children could grow. For many the provision of this stable platform revolved around the maintenance of the traditional family lifestyle. Many individuals reported that a conscious effort was made to ensure that time was made available at some period during the week, so that the family could be together therefore minimising the effect their working had upon their children. One aspect of traditional family life regarded as especially important was the evening meal. The working mother would usually prepare the meal during the afternoon ready for serving soon after their partner returned from their full-time employment. The partner was often left to clear the table and wash the dishes as the mother usually had to leave the house to commence her evening employment. Although most individuals reported that they would have preferred to have eaten earlier and then rested a little before going to work, they felt as their employment was only part-time, it was more important to maintain a regular schedule for the benefit of the children in addition to ensuring the family had some quality time together, no matter how brief.

However, with the pressure of modern employment including the distance that many have to commute to work, it is not uncommon for the father of the children to leave for work early, and return late, often after the children have gone to bed. This lack of contact can result in a distance building between father and child (and mother and father) however, although career parents would still suffer the rigour of long weekday hours, the weekend can often provide an opportunity to spend time together. However, if weekend work is adopted by either parent, the domestic time available is often scheduled in sequential shifts rather than together. Although this is obviously a negative side with the mother often forced to work during periods when quality time could be spent with a partner and family, there is also a positive side. A typical comment:

“We definitely appreciate the time we have together a lot more especially with Dave because of him working days and me working nights the few hours a week we do get together is real quality. I think, it takes a certain type of person to work nights. You get a lot of people coming here and they can't live with it.” (Interviewee: 01-03-32-89).

It has previously been discussed that when a spouse decides to engage in part-time employment, especially during unsocial hours, it is normally the father that is delegated to care for the children. This forced situation often has the positive benefit in strengthening the bond between father and child and is considered ‘quality time’ without the interference of the dominant mother. Although often not significant enough to be a recognised issue amongst many of the interviewees, there were frequent comments regarding the positive benefit of father and child spending time together. All of the mothers that commented upon this situation reported that without exception they felt it was to the benefit of both father and child and were happy to continue in their part-time work to ensure that this quality time continued to be made available. Some individuals also commented upon the increased appreciation they received from their partners which resulted from the father experiencing the demands of caring for the children whilst they were working. Some typical comments were:

“Sometimes they delight in the fact that I'm going to work because daddy lets them stay up later than mummy does. I think one of the upsides is he gets quality time with the children on his own, and it does give him a good appreciation of me being away especially the weekends.”
(Interviewee: 01-01-40-46).

“Well I think it's been, in my family it's been quite good really on the Saturday because it makes, he's sort of bonded quite well with his dad actually on the weekend on a Saturday because normally when I'm there he's sort of, I sort of do everything with him so when I'm not there they do their own sort of little thing.” (Interviewee: 01-03-30-91).

“I think my husband's gained a lot out of it because obviously he spends time with the children and because I'd always worked part-time even when the girls were little I worked in a factory so he always had time just on his own with the children so he's always used to it and they've always been used to it so never really had a break really.” (Interviewee: 01-03-35-77).

7.4 Conclusion

The question of when a mother should return to work was noted to be dependant upon many factors. The cost of childcare was found to be a major issue that motivated mothers to seek employment when their partner was available to undertake childcare. This invariably resulted in the pursuance of part-time unsocial hours working and whilst there are many industries that offer unsocial hours working, the majority of employment in this area is still undertaken by hospitality and retail organisations. Furthermore, the location of many hospitality outlets and large supermarkets are within (or on the edge of) residential areas. This study discovered that although financial need was the main motivator, location closely followed by convenient hours were the overwhelming factors that attracted individuals to choose a particular type of part-time unsocial hours working. However adopting employment and making it a success are two separate issues. This chapter has illustrated the importance of partner support in the successful pursuance of part-time unsocial hours working. Within the more successful relationships, a sense of balance and consideration was established whilst maintaining a degree of quality ‘family’ time. Mainly due to a pressing financial need, most partners had no choice other than to accept their spouse’s working however it was often with a degree of resentment which became an issue especially in weak relationships.

For those individuals already in an unstable or weak relationship, the additional burden of part-time unsocial working can cause real problems. However, if the work is carefully planned and (with the support of the partner) the household chores are equally divided, the added benefits of greater social contact for the mother can be significant. Furthermore, the increase in quality time available for the father and child to bond can actually result in the strengthening of a relationship even if the individuals, because of the part-time employment, are spending less time together. Although this positive situation may occur, data gathered during this study suggests that in most cases the detrimental effects of such working far outweighed the positive aspects. At the very least part-time unsocial working results in tiredness and stress for the employee which, in turn, can have a negative effect upon the whole family.

With a mother undertaking childcare duties during the day before commencing her part-time employment, the considerable effort of working such unsocial hours, in jobs which are often physical in nature and involve emotional labour, cannot be overstated. The adoption of this form of working is often seen as a short term solution however, few individuals appreciated the lasting effect their working had upon themselves and their family.

The results of this study suggest that although in general terms part-time unsocial working is initially sought to benefit the family, it is often the catalyst for feelings of greater tension and isolation which can lead to a steady degradation in the relationship with a partner.

The following chapter examines the findings of this study and compares the results of the data collected with previously published literature. It discusses the common themes that emerged as a result of this study and discusses the variations in comparison to other forms of employment.

8. Discussion and conclusion.

Contents

Title	Page Number
8.1 Introduction	196
8.2 Previous literature and the variation in findings	197
8.3 The significance of this study	200
a. the demand from employers for part-time unsocial hours working	201
b. the cumulative effect, tiredness and the 'double-day	202
c. the supply of individuals undertaking part-time unsocial hours working	203
d. work-life balance	204
8.4 Policy implications	205
a. public and legislative	205
b. employers	209
c. management	211
8.5 Summary	213

8.1 Introduction

This final section of the thesis relates the findings of this study with those outlined in previously published literature. The main difficulty in this respect is the lack of previous attention to the subject of part-time unsocial hours working with no literature being sourced that specifically addresses this issue. However, although this presents limitations, this chapter discusses the link between more general issues surrounding part-time and female working reported in previous literature and the results of this study.

This chapter also assesses the contribution this study makes to the subject of part-time unsocial hours working and examines the implications of the results for employment policy. It discusses recent legislation and the importance of establishing a suitable work-life balance. The chapter continues with an assessment of the implications for an individual adopting part-time unsocial hours working within hospitality and retail and considers the crucial element of partner support in continuing with this form of employment.

Under certain circumstances, the increased opportunities offered by the expansion in unsocial hours working can prove positive for the employee as well as for the employer; however the risk of over commitment needs to be considered. With appropriately trained management, part-time unsocial hours working can undoubtedly prove beneficial and significantly contribute toward the finances of the household. In addition, part-time unsocial hours working provide the employee with the opportunity to care for children during the day whilst maintaining a degree of 'independence' away from the home. However for many, the reality of adopting part-time unsocial hours working can be more difficult than expected with constant tiredness commonly reported. It is the element of tiredness, together with a degree of emotional labour (which has been established to be more prevalent amongst jobs involving interactive work, Bulan et al 1997; Wharton 1993; Wharton and Erickson 1995) which contributes to an already difficult situation. It is suggested that the effects of emotional labour upon part-time unsocial hours workers engaged in service based industries is more strongly felt as a result of additional tiredness experienced as a result of daytime childcare. It is therefore likely that the performance of employees that feel overstretched will be negatively affected, inhibiting the successful achievement of a suitable balance between work and home life and therefore affecting the relationship with a partner. For some, this additional strain

may also result in the termination of the employment therefore increasing recruitment and training costs for the employer.

This study attempts to draw into the public eye the full impact that part-time unsocial working has upon an individual's life and that of their family. Although there is no suggestion of encouraging a 'nanny state' it is the duty of government to implement rules designed to protect its citizens in an attempt to improve the quality of life. The issue of welfare at work has attracted many forms of legislation. However, whilst there is a significant amount of legislation in place to protect the full-time employee, less attention has been given to part-time workers. In addition to minimal legislation, many individuals enter part-time work unaware of the personal effect that working unsocial hours may have upon their lives, choosing only to focus upon the extra benefits as a result of the additional financial income. Whilst both employers examined during this study adopted a responsible attitude and operate their business with a well intended 'staff welfare' policy, these efforts appeared to be directed more towards their full-time/day-time employees. Although there may not be a conscious strategy of excluding part-time workers, the very fact that part-time staff frequently work minimal hours is often regarded by employers as an indication of insignificant commitment, with no major impact upon either the business or the individual's lives. This chapter examines this view and considers of the impact part-time unsocial hours working has upon management and employment policy. It considers the importance, flexibility and overall contribution staff engaged in part-time unsocial hours working offer the service industry and how this growing sector of the workforce can be protected from the negative effects associated with this form of working.

8.2 Previous literature and the variation in findings

Whilst employment in general attracts a great deal of attention, there is a growing recognition of the need to examine the diversity of female part-time employment and to accept that female part-time workers have similar experiences and attitudes to employment as their full-time colleagues. (Warren and Walters 1998; Warren 2000). Although Blossfeld and Hakim (1997) argue that part-time jobs can be worthless, the findings of this study would not support this view.

Although part-time employees may have a similar attitude to work to that of their full-time colleagues, previous research concludes that in general, part-time workers in Britain often occupy inferior positions in the labour market compared to full-time workers (Burchell et al 1997; Hakim 1997; McRae 1995; Rubery et al 1998; Warren 2000). Although this study supports this view with the individuals interviewed occupying low skilled or unskilled employment, this does not necessarily make the jobs worthless. Furthermore it was noted that most individuals felt respected by their organisation and believed their customers in general, valued their work.

In line with the view of Kivimaki, Kuisma, Virtanen and Elovainio (2001) most individuals interviewed for this study were considered to be within the lower regions of the social scale and despite many occupying fairly unattractive jobs, most individuals interviewed reported receiving satisfaction from their employment despite many having previously occupied positions of higher status prior to childbirth. Many individuals reported to using their work as an opportunity to be away from the house and to engage in adult conversation as an individual rather than just a mother.

However, although most admitted they were not currently looking for a career, many felt a little frustrated with the menial nature of their part-time employment. This supports the findings of Darton and Hurrell (2005) who comment that 2.4 million part-time workers undertake lower-skilled work than they are capable of because it is often less demanding and less stressful. Whilst the results of this study show a similar trend, it is suggested that there is perhaps an additional factor to be considered (especially when taking into account part-time unsocial hours working).

The data collected during this study show that within hospitality and retail the employment status of the work undertaken was not often regarded with any degree of importance with the individuals interviewed often stating that a convenient location and suitable hours was more important than style of work or profile of position on offer. This concurs with the views of Hakim (1995) who comments that part-time workers often enjoy the highest levels of satisfaction despite being restricted to the least attractive jobs. Hakim (1995) also adds that the adoption of part-time work is normally an unwilling choice forced upon women because of their domestic responsibilities. This study would support this view, however when considering part-time unsocial hours employment, especially within hospitality and retail, it is suggested this unwilling choice is even more applicable with the part-time unsocial hours employment often being adopted due to the need to conduct childcare during the day.

Whilst it is clear that part-time unsocial hours' working is closely connected to regular part-time employment, there are differences to be considered. Whilst the findings of other studies have a degree of relevance, they fail to consider the issue of part-time shift-style working at unsocial times. Combining employment with childcare is often difficult, however this study argues that trying to balance both caring for children during the day and working nights can place considerable strain upon an individual and the relationship they have with their partner. The support of a partner especially in relation to the household chores was noted to reduce the strain experienced by the individual, easing the burden of balancing part-time unsocial hours employment with childcare and the upkeep of a home. However, although there were comments regarding the helpfulness of some male partners, in general terms it appeared that the traditional view of the domestic chores being a female responsibility (CIPD survey 2002) remains firm. However, it was noted that amongst the more contented individuals, the household chores were generally regarded as being joint responsibility.

The adoption of unsocial hours is also known to add pressure and stress to an individual already coping with childcare and household duties, and even working very few hours each week is known to be associated with negative consequences for workers (Warren 2000). The Equal Opportunities Commission report (2005) comment that longer hours of business together with stripped down support structures has resulted in increased workloads, less 'down-time' and longer working hours.

From the comments received throughout this study it became clear that for many the work itself was more tiring than had been expected prior to engagement. The degree of tiredness experienced was exacerbated by the element of emotional labour which affects the majority of positions within the hospitality and retail industries. Whilst it is recognised that some individuals may manage their feelings better than others, this additional element adds further to the difficulties in managing this form of employment. Although previous studies have examined this issue in relation to gender (Erickson and Ritter 2001) and the employment itself (Morris and Feldman 1996), this study examines the time at which the work is conducted and suggests it is this additional factor, especially if combined with other duties (childcare) which can affect the impact part-time unsocial hours working has upon the individual.

Although previous studies consider many issues including the social status of the individual, the status of the part-time employment, the issue of external childcare, the effect upon employment

and the increasing trend for part-time working, rarely is any consideration given to the time at which the part-time work is conducted. In support of Epstein and Kalleberg 2001, this study agrees with the view that the time at which the work is undertaken is more important than the total hours worked. It is this element that is considered to be a vital factor especially when considering the effect upon work performance through tiredness and the effect upon a partner as a result of reduced contact. Although Carlson, Kacmurek and Williams (2000) suggest that work conflicting with family is far more prevalent than family conflicting with work, this study would argue that within unsocial hours working, the overall conflict experienced would be more evenly distributed with family issues affecting work as much as work causing conflict with the family.

8.3 The significance of this study

Although it is currently the service based industries (especially hospitality and retail) that offer the greatest opportunity for 'out-of-hours' working, it is predicted that the trend for flexible working will continue to increase. Employers who require staff to work part-time unsocial hours are aware of the availability of individuals looking to adopt part-time unsocial hours working and often tailor their recruitment policy to target specifically these individuals. However, although the employers in this study sought to attract these people, the extent of the commitment required to undertake this task together with the emotional labour often involved with service work, was rarely appreciated.

Whilst it has been demonstrated that the mothers in this study adopted part-time employment for primarily financial reasons, the data gathered during this study suggests they often continue their employment on more social grounds. Once released from the constraints of the household most part-time employees reported to actually enjoying their work even though most believed their work had little status especially in the eyes of their partner. There was also evidence to suggest that adopting part-time employment during unsocial periods resulted in tiredness and additional strain which could, under certain circumstances, have a negative impact upon the relationship with a partner. This section of the study summarises these issues and analyses the key elements of demand, supply and the cumulative factor affecting work-life balance. Whilst the degree of awareness regarding the effect that working part-time unsocial hours had upon the lives of the individuals interviewed varied from person to person, few appeared to consider the effect their working had upon their family or their relationship with a partner. Although it could be argued that

an unstable relationship would probably degrade without the added burden of employment and this was merely a vehicle that accelerated the process, the added difficulties often associated with the pursuance of part-time unsocial hours employment undoubtedly did little to improve the situation.

a. the demand from employers for part-time unsocial hours working

Although part-time working is growing in significance throughout industry in general, it is within hospitality and retail that the reliance upon flexible part-time staff is at its greatest.

The results of this study suggest that whilst many employers realise their reliance upon part-time staff, line management rarely regarded their part-time workforce in a similar manner to that of their full-time staff. This was particularly apparent within the supermarket chain where refreshment facilities were reduced during evenings/nights and, in support of the view of Dale and Joshi 1992, promotional prospects were generally considered less. Comments received during the interviews often related to the attitude of line management to part-time staff working unsociable hours. Two typical comments:

“There's a lack of support from the management or from whoever's supposed to be in charge in any one evening and so you don't really know what you're going to be set to do and yes they don't really care whether you like it or not, that's a bit hard.” (Interviewee: 01-03-26-87)

“What bothers me is how certain people in the management see us because and it's the same for a lot of the women on the department, we are capable of doing jobs that require a little bit more of intelligence thought kind of thing but a lot of us are doing it for the same reason and the management aren't very communicative, the management aren't very communicative, they don't talk to you a lot and they just tell you and they expect you to understand the rules and regulations that they impose on you and they don't really give you the benefit of having independent thought. We basically run that department. We don't see the manager from one day to the next and we do basically run the department so while the job has a lot less status than my prior post it does have quite a bit of autonomy and you do just basically get on and make our own decisions and then get on with it. I don't mind not having a title as such, I don't mind not being an internet administrator as I was before, or an IT trainer. To me it's not a career, it's just a means to an end. It's just a job for a few years.” (Interviewee: 01-01-28-59)

It was discovered that whilst many of the employment policies within both the supermarket chain and the restaurant group were specifically tailored to attract part-time staff, their employment practices appeared to target full-time employees. Although within the head office environment part-time staff were considered equal to full-time employees, within the workplace the practices in relation to part-time employees regarding training, opportunities for promotion and variation in work duties were reported by the employees to be less. This, in addition to less support services (such as personnel and payroll) being available during unsocial times and the continuous movement of all grades of management, led to a degree of resentment amongst part-time colleagues and perpetrated a culture of 'them and us'. This contributed to a further alienation of the workforce from the management and in doing so, adversely affected motivation and work performance.

b. the cumulative effect, tiredness and the 'double-day'

Although the rise in part-time employment is well documented, (Office of National Statistics – State of the Labour Market Report 2004, Paoli and Merllié 2001) the numbers of individuals adopting part-time employment during unsocial hours is largely ignored. Whilst the rise in part-time working overall (Equal Opportunities Report 2005) undoubtedly provides opportunities for many, individuals are still at a disadvantage when compared to their full-time colleagues with regards to pay (Hurrell 2005). Furthermore, to some employers the range and casual nature of this form of employment can lead to the adoption of unscrupulous practices resulting in the abuse of the individual. A government white paper introduced by the Department of Trade and Industry in 1998 outlined the proposal to replace the notion of conflict between employers and employees with the promotion of partnership. Realising the rise and gaining significance of part-time employment, this white paper titled 'Fairness at Work' discusses the working time directive, the national minimum wage and the issues surrounding zero hour contracts. With the introduction of the national minimum wage and the working time directive, the employee (whether full or part-time) enjoys greater protection than ever before. However, although both these improvements in employee protection are welcome, because of the reduced hours involved and the combination of employment with daytime activities, they do little to improve the quality of part-time unsocial hours employment and the stresses associated. Part-time working, by its very nature, involves reduced hours and as such, the working time directive which addresses a maximum working week becomes irrelevant. Although the entitlement of paid holidays for part-time workers is a

progressive step, this study suggests that it is the cumulative effect of caring for children by day and work by night which is not considered and it is this effect which is likely to result in a range of difficulties for the individual and their family.

c. the supply of individuals undertaking part-time unsocial hours working

The results of this study suggest that most mothers choose to adopt part-time unsocial hours working primarily because their partners were available to undertake childcare. Although on occasions, part-time working was sought for more social reasons, the unsocial hours adopted allowed the mother more time to spend with their children during the day. Although there were occasional comments of frustration, most mothers interviewed appeared happy to place their career 'on-hold' whilst their children were young. Most mothers expressed the preference to care for their child personally even if that resulted in a reduction in their lifestyle as a result of reduced income. For some, the adoption of part-time unsocial working partly compensated for this reduction however, for most mothers, their primary concern was for their children and as a result, few were willing to forgo the natural instinct to spend time with their children for the benefit of full-time employment.

However, for some individuals the amount of income entering the household is crucial for the survival of the family and although the welfare system is designed to support individuals in need, it often does not prevent individual hardship and difficulty from occurring. In addition, and referring to the 'motherhood trap', there is a likelihood that following an extended period of absence from employment due to childbirth, there would be less opportunity to re-enter the workplace in a similar position of responsibility to that perhaps enjoyed prior to motherhood (Budig and England 2001). It is suggested that most women who express a desire to return to work, seek a position without a high degree of responsibility to ensure that they have flexibility of working hours and can take time off should their child become sick (Walsh 1999). This is often below their capability and does not offer them the stimulation and challenge enjoyed in their previous, pre-childbirth, employment (Budig and England 2001). The traditional unsocial working patterns of service based industries lend themselves ideally to this type of work.

d. work-life balance

The achievement of an appropriate work-life balance is dependant upon many factors including family support and understanding. Although women working part-time may be only employed a relatively short number of hours the combination of employment with the care of a family can lead to increased strain being placed upon the marriage/relationship (Epstein et al 1986) with personal time and time with the family being diminished (Matthews, Conger and Wickrama 1996, Kinnunen, Geurts and Mauno 2004). With little time to rest during the day, a spiral of degradation ensues resulting in even greater pressure being placed upon the individual (South 2001).

This study has suggested the important role partner has support in the successful adoption of part-time employment. Should a partner encourage their spouse, willingly offering childcare assistance whilst attaching value to the part-time employment, then the pressure and stress associated with unsocial hours working is likely to be reduced. However if the reverse applies and a partner begrudgingly accepts their spouses part-time working, it is suggested a degree of resentment, proportionate to the level of acceptance, will likely occur leading to relationship damage to a possible point of total breakdown.

The type of work available, the suitability of hours and the convenience of location are all shown to be key factors in the motivation for accepting part-time employment. If an individual is happy with their employment, satisfying all their needs, the chances of achieving a successful work-life balance are greatly improved. Individuals considering adopting part-time unsocial working (within any industry) are advised to assess carefully their family situation with regards to the degree of partner support that can realistically be expected. If the level of partner support is not considered enthusiastic and other arrangements regarding childcare are available, ie: other family members or close friends, then part-time unsocial working can still be successful. However this study would suggest that although the generation of distance may be reduced under these circumstances, damage to a relationship is still likely.

Careful consideration should be made on a range of issues (including child illness) by the individual prior to the acceptance of part-time work. Furthermore, school holidays can also prove a problem if flexible 'term time' contracts are not offered by the employer. Within the retail sector organisations are fairly advanced in offering flexible working conditions but this is rarely the case

in the hospitality industry. To remain competitive when recruiting new staff, it is advised that organisations involved in hospitality should consider more flexible working arrangements for their part-time employees. As time progresses a degree of flexibility will encourage and help retain staff especially when considering the likely increase in organisations offering out-of-hours employment.

8.4 Policy implications

a. public and legislative

The recent increase in part-time working, in addition to the expansion of conventional working hours to encompass evenings, nights and weekends, has prompted the government to reassess the terms of employment and, in an attempt to protect the employee, to introduce legislation designed to avoid employment abuse.

One such scheme designed to assist families is the working families' tax credit. The design and introduction of this scheme has assisted many families who are struggling to survive on low incomes, the opportunity to supplement their work pay. Although most individuals interviewed during this study were aware of this (and other schemes), few considered it an encouragement to adopt employment or to increase the hours worked. Although promoted by the government as "making work pay" the maximum payment of £4,880 per annum decreases with joint earnings above £13,480 (year 2004-05) and is withdrawn at a rate of 37p for every pound earned until the credit payment is reduced to £545 per annum where it remains static for income up to £50,000. In addition, employment has to be in excess of sixteen hours per week (thirty hours for individuals aged over twenty-five) and benefits are again reduced if a family has savings in excess of £3000 ceasing completely with savings over £8000. Whilst this initiative is designed to offer financial assistance to families in need, it actually discourages saving and counteracts the desire for self-improvement with a system of diminishing payments. Furthermore, despite a comprehensive advertising campaign, the system is often misunderstood with the form filling involved often being regarded as complex. The involvement and co-operation of the employer in arranging this additional payment is unavoidable which, when combined with the exposure of an individual's financial affairs, can result in some individuals being reluctant to submit an application.

Recognition of the disparity between full-time and part-time employees prompted the introduction of the 'Part-Time Work Regulations' introduced in July 2000. This act is designed to balance the employment conditions of part-time workers with those of full-time employees and attempts to establish equality across all forms of employment. The main elements of the regulations ensure that part-time workers:

- receive the same hourly rate as comparable full-timers
- receive the same hourly rate of over-time as comparable full-timers, once they have worked more than the normal full-time hours
- not be excluded from training simply because they work part-time
- have the same entitlements to annual leave and maternity/parental leave on a pro-rata basis as full-time colleagues

Whilst both the working families' tax credit and the part-time work regulations were important elements in protecting employees, perhaps the most significant attempt to introduce legislation designed to restrict the abuse of workers has been the Working Time Regulations 1998. The main purpose of the 'Working Time Regulations 1998' in which the concept of a forty-eight hour maximum working week was first introduced, was to address this issue of work performance and the effect of tiredness. Whilst these regulations have undoubtedly taken a step in the right direction, it is the full-time employees that these regulations appear to target. Section II of the directive titled 'Rights and Obligations Concerning Working Time' outlines the mandatory rest periods and states: "An adult worker is entitled to a rest period not less than 11 consecutive hours in each 24 hour period during which he/she works for his/her employer." (1998: part II, section 10)

However, although initially this may appear satisfactory, it is impossible to legislate to prevent mothers working in the home when they are not attending their paid employment. Regulation 11 outlines the required weekly rest periods as being:

- “ a. two uninterrupted rest periods of not less than 24 hours in a 14 day period; or
b. one uninterrupted rest period of not less than 48 hours in each such 14 day period.”

(1998: part II, section 11, sub-section 2)

The constant care of children, in addition to the maintenance of a home, ensures the achievement of either condition a, or b as described above is highly unlikely. However the government do recognise that some individuals do not work conventional hours. To address the issue of flexible working, the Working Time Regulations 1998 takes into account working during the night period. However, the definition of ‘night time’ is stated in Part I, titled ‘General’ as being:

“night time, in relation to a worker, means a period –

(a) the duration of which is not less than seven hours, and

(b) which includes the period between midnight and 5 am,

which is determined for the purpose of these Regulations by a relevant, or, in default of such a determination. The period between 11.00 pm and 6.00 am” (1998; part I, section 2)

Naturally this definition would not include the common practice of working evenings and although a provision for so-called ‘twilight’ working is highlighted within the regulations, in reality, employers have little fear of breaching the regulations. It is therefore clear that the protection from these regulations do not generally apply to part-time workers, as it would be rare for the combined part-time working to exceed the forty-eight hour maximum. Although the detail of this European directive varies from member state to member state, the principle, ie: to establish regular rest periods and holidays for all employees remains uniform across the European community. Interestingly, much time is spent defining hours of employment and entitlement for a night worker and although this varies between country, (in the UK a night worker hours are defined as being between 11 pm and 6 am) no consideration is given to workers employed evenings. Furthermore, although a minimum daily rest period is defined, (the UK adopts Article 3 of the directive and specifies this must be eleven consecutive hours in any 24-hour period), no consideration is made for people working a ‘double-day’ caring for children. Although consideration is shown to individuals working two jobs, no attention is paid to working mothers who invariably have duties outside their paid employment. Even if the hours worked were excessive, one employer may not realise (or even be told) of additional employment undertaken by their employees at other venues. It is appreciated that it is difficult to regulate such an indefinable form of working however although problematical, it does not make the impact of such a lifestyle any less strenuous.

The Working Time Regulations 1998 (introduced to comply with a European Union Directive) was expected to have a serious impact upon business. However, many employers have found the flexibility and ambiguity in the regulations allow considerable scope to circumvent the main provisions enabling them to maintain their previous working arrangements. For example, there are currently several exceptions to the forty-eight hour limit including an 'opt-out' clause allowing an individual, should they choose, to become exempt from this total hours restriction. This renders this section of the legislation worthless and allows competitive employers (should they wish) the opportunity to exert pressure upon their staff to 'volunteer' for the exemption as a demonstration of their commitment. The exemption clause for various workers has been tightened since the original introduction with the Horizontal Amending Directive implemented in August 2003. Article 1 of the directive removes the exemption of road, rail, air, sea, inland waterways and lake transport sectors, sea fishing, offshore workers and the activities of junior doctors from the scope of the original Working Time Directive. However, the option to 'opt' out of the maximum 48 hour working week should the employee wish, still remains.

To assist parents in the management of work when combined with the daytime care of children, the government introduced an amendment to the Working Time Directive (1998). From 6th April 2003 working parents of children under six (or disabled children under eighteen) have had the right to apply to work flexibly with employers having a duty to consider these requests seriously and, providing the staff member has been employed continuously for a minimum of 26 weeks and is not an agency worker or a member of the armed forces, employers must consider allowing an individual to either work from home or to change their hours or times that they are required to work. There is also provision under these new regulations to extend maternity leave, increase the rights of adoptive parents and expand existing rights to parental leave. However, once again this employment flexibility legislation is slanted towards full-time employees or part-time workers employed during conventional periods of the day. Little or no consideration is given towards part-time unsocial working.

b. employers

Whilst the adherence to basic legislation regarding general employment is mandatory, organisations utilise considerable variety of employment policies relating to the management of staff. These policies are designed to ensure that employees are treated fairly with organisations believing that good operational practices will assist work performance in addition to extending length of service. However, whilst these policies are carefully planned and implemented, they generally relate to full-time staff with minimal attention being paid to part-time employees. Whilst within the large corporate environment the contribution of part-time workers is usually recognised, even within this environment, part-time employees do not generally carry the same degree of value as the equivalent full-time member of staff. This naturally has a 'knock on' effect and whilst some individuals clearly have a commitment to their part-time employment despite their part-time hours (Craven 1998), if an individual considers their employer does not view them with the same degree of importance as an equivalent full-time member of the team, it is likely they will display a reduced level of loyalty or commitment as compared to their full-time colleagues. Although each organisation may not consciously distinguish between part and full-time employees with regards to employment policy, in line with the views of Dale and Joshi 1992, this study argues that levels of training and promotional 'grooming' is markedly less amongst part-time employees.

Furthermore, many part-time employees are returning to work after an extended period of absence (usually as a result of childbirth) and as such, are a little more nervous and unsure of their decision to adopt work than would normally be expected. The attitude of the management and the handling of these individuals in the early days is crucial to the success of that employment. Unfortunately due to the high turnover of part-time staff, especially within the first six months of employment, the frequency of new people starting and leaving can have a numbing effect on existing personnel including line management. Many statements were received regarding the frequent change of both staff and management. One typical comment:

"Management and staff are always changing; we've tended to got through a few managers at the moment in a short space of time." (Interviewee: 01-02-34-65)

Whilst the personnel and training departments are well versed to cope with this situation, other staff members who are often asked to assist, do not have such training. Another typical comment:

“Some basic training would help because they're taking people off checkouts which is what I was, and saying well you used to be an assistant manager here's the key, go and do the job.”

(Interviewee: 01-01-41-47)

Furthermore, although the larger corporate organisations may have dedicated personnel departments, smaller organisations do not. This places even greater strain upon operational management disrupting their focus away from the business to constantly induct new employees.

Although it is easy to state that all part-time staff should be treated in a similar manner and with equal importance to their full-time colleagues, the implementation of such a policy can be more challenging. Staff mentoring, especially during the early days would assist a new employee in their period of uncertainty and assist to reduce work-family conflict. It is the recommendation of this study that organisations nominate specially trained individuals who can ‘shadow’ a new employee through the early days ensuring that the individual is cared for and made to feel welcome. As social contact has been proven to be of significant importance, the staff mentor’s duties would include the introduction of a new team member to the workgroup. This introduction, in a more informal way than management could achieve, would assist in breaking down barriers amongst work colleagues and accelerate their acceptance into the group. Once an individual has settled into a group, management should resist changing the team unless absolutely necessary. This study argues that the more successful management operations leave teams in place unless there is an essential reason for change. Change, for the sake of change, disrupts teams and individuals, breeding dissent and resentment towards management. This can lead to the degradation of a working relationship and accelerate staff turnover.

Whilst not the prime reason, most staff interviewed quoted ‘meeting new people’ as being one of the main reasons for seeking part-time employment. This was especially the case for individuals whose partner earned sufficient income for the family’s survival. The less financially dependent a part-time worker is upon part-time employment, the greater other factors for working became. This study suggests that part-time work is more often a compromise between childcare, financial gain and the re-establishment of a sense of independence and self-worth. The results of this study also suggest that especially amongst individuals where non-financial motivation was the prime reason for working, once a relationship with work colleagues had been established, most individuals were reluctant to change and expressed enjoyment and satisfaction from working within their group.

This study recommends that employers should have:

- a. a greater knowledge of the individuals they employ and why they choose to work part-time unsocial hours.
- b. more understanding of the importance of the social motivation for part-time working.
- c. have a greater awareness of the significance of work related social relationships especially during unsocial periods.
- d. understand the importance of maintaining the consistency of team members, (especially for part-time unsocial hours workers) as a method of building and maintaining staff morale and minimising staff turnover.

c. management

As other industries increase their trading hours offering what is perceived by many as being more 'attractive' work, it is predicted that the recruitment difficulties currently experienced by hospitality and retail will further increase. However, although this may be the case, hospitality and retail has one distinct advantage over more administration based industries. It has been established that the social element of employment is regarded with considerable significance for the individuals involved. It is therefore in this area of social interaction that other industries struggle to compete and as such, should be an element of employment upon which hospitality and retail should capitalise.

Whilst it is argued that few individuals differentiate between hospitality and retail when seeking part-time unsocial hours working, there were noticeable differences in management style between the supermarket chain and the restaurant group. Mainly due to the size and scale of the retail outlets, a structured management approach along traditional hierarchy departmental lines was adopted. This contrasted to the restaurant group where, due to the much reduced size, a more flat structure was adopted utilising a more 'hands-on' approach. Due to a more inclusive, team based management style developed by the restaurant chain, higher levels of management respect was noted in addition to increased enjoyment of the work undertaken. Duties performed by staff of both the supermarket chain and restaurant group naturally varied, however both occupations involved interaction with customers often involving emotional labour. The issue of emotional labour,

although not a major focus of this study, was found to add stress to a situation that already involved a considerable degree of tiredness.

The issue of fatigue was a prominent and reoccurring theme. From the data collected, many individuals found the degree of tiredness experienced added to the burden of work which in turn, resulted in a decreased enjoyment of the activities undertaken. Furthermore, the tiredness stretched beyond the confines of the work environment affecting both the car journey home (through lack of concentration) and relations with a partner upon arrival. To assist in maintaining maximum work performance when staff are at their most tired, this study would suggest that the more monotonous tasks should, if possible, be undertaken during the early part of the shift with the more interesting activities reserved to later in the evening. Furthermore, the availability of a full meal service rather than a snack together with the availability of fruit juice and hot drinks should assist in reducing fatigue in addition to portraying an equal image to that of the day-time staff. To broaden the catchments area upon which recruitment is targeted, the introduction of minibuss transport could assist a greater number of individuals to access employment in areas which previously were inaccessible. This would not only prove to be a great benefit for the workers but in addition it would nurture greater management/staff relations. It would also allow a significantly greater number of individuals the opportunity to participate in employment where previously, because of either location or transport restrictions, they were not available for work.

With the expansion of organisations offering alternative employment during unsocial periods of the day and at weekends, the opportunity to utilise previous skills and qualifications within a part-time, unsocial hours position, is becoming more common. Whilst a well charted career path is frequently available for full-time workers, part-time employment is seldom predetermined and therefore rarely offers structured progression. One of the criticisms emerging from this study involves the feeling of being regarded as secondary to staff employed during conventional periods. A degree of this criticism resulted from the lack of office and administration staff available during evenings, nights and throughout the weekend. It is suggested that if a business trades during non-conventional periods similar to that during conventional times, the degree of support offered to its employees should also be similar. The fact that, within the research sites visited, the payroll department, personnel and most senior management rarely if ever worked unsocial hours appeared to encourage dissent amongst the workforce and generated a culture of 'them and us.' This divisive management policy does little to enhance the feeling of loyalty and being part of a team. It is

therefore recommended that support services are extended to cover all areas of employment even if only in a reduced form.

The social aspect of unsocial hours employment has already been established as a significant element in the establishment of a team. However, in addition to resisting the temptation of disturbing teams unnecessarily, consideration should also be given to the movement of management and supervisory staff. Although it is common to constantly move management from department to department (and from site to site) to increase their experience in the climb to success, the regular disturbance to their subordinates ensures that the generation of teamwork and loyalty becomes a constant challenge. It is suggested that an equal degree of experience could be achieved by less frequent moves which would help stabilise a team, improving their work performance and assist in the reduction of staff turnover. In addition, a more stable management would have the opportunity to increase their understanding of their subordinates, improve their people management skills and in so doing would have greater knowledge of how adopting part-time unsocial working impacts the individual and those closest to them. This policy would also allow more effective monitoring of management performance as results could be judged over an increased period of time exposing the true ability of the individuals concerned.

8.5 Summary

The Office of National Statistics (2002, 2005) highlight the rising importance of part-time employment in today's society, however when examining this increase, it is clear that it is the rise in female employment (Romans and Hardarson 2005) and shift working (Paoli and Merllié 2001) that is the most significant. Although the importance of both part-time and female working is recognised, the situation of part-time working during unsocial hours is an area of employment that to date has attracted little attention. However, the recent increase in trading hours, especially within hospitality and retail, has prompted a significant growth in the numbers of people now adopting this form of working.

It is clear that both hospitality and retail organisations rely upon part-time workers to maintain extended hours of customer service. Although this study suggests that this type of part-time worker is rarely regarded with any degree of importance within their organisation, they are often vital to the smooth operation of the business especially during non-conventional hours. Rarely do managers appreciate the crucial role that these workers undertake especially as few positions carry any degree of authority. Although staff training is regarded as a key management tool, part-time staff rarely benefit from this philosophy and are often overlooked when the organisational training program is developed. Although this may be attributed to the largely unskilled nature of the work involved, or the reduced hours of work being confused with reduced commitment, it is suggested it is the lack of status that part-time work attracts that is the main cause.

From the data gathered during this study, it was noted that despite being restricted to relatively unattractive jobs, there was a significant degree of enjoyment and satisfaction received from the employment undertaken. This element of satisfaction supports the view of Hakim (1995) and although loyalty to a particular employer was not apparent, commitment to work colleagues was noted to be significant.

Whilst the social element of work was evident, motivation to adopt part-time unsocial hours working was found to be mainly due to financial need. However, although money was the prime motivator, an opportunity to be amongst adults and the achievement of a 'sense of independence' was also considered by many to be significant factors. Although it was found that location and convenience of hours were regarded to be of greater importance than the nature of employment undertaken (or the profile of the employer), the overwhelming reason for accepting part-time unsocial hours working (in preference to regular hours employment) was an unavailability to work during the day. All of the individuals interviewed for this study reported that they could only accept employment during periods when their partner was available to care for their children and therefore were left with little choice other than to accept part-time working during unsocial hours.

Whilst the quality of work undertaken was not the main factor in accepting the employment, many of the individuals interviewed expressed a sense of frustration at having to conduct work they often considered menial as discussed in section 5.4.

This supports the conclusions of Fagan (2003) who noted that the availability, cost and quality of childcare inhibits a mothers' employment prospects. There were frequent references to previous employment undertaken prior to childbirth which often involved considerably greater responsibility.

The adoption of part-time work and the care of a family is very much a question of balance. This study argues that the majority of individuals, entering the world of part-time unsocial hours working, do so without being fully aware of the effect that this form of working will have on their lives. Whilst undoubtedly there are benefits to part-time unsocial hours working, these are generally considered to be transparent. When the interviewees were asked to describe the effects of their working, the issue of tiredness was frequently mentioned. Although each task undertaken was considered manageable, it is the cumulative effect of combining daytime activities with part-time unsocial hours employment that was found to result in tiredness and added stress. The over commitment of employment is addressed by The Working Time Regulations (1998) which limits the working week to a maximum of forty-eight hours. However, part-time unsocial hours workers avoid this legislation as unpaid daytime activities, such as childcare, is not currently classed as work. In line with the views of Fox (1980) and Hochschild (1989), it was noted that the continual nature of childcare combined with employers who failed to realise the commitments undertaken outside of the work environment, inhibited work performance and fuelled labour turnover. However, this study proposes an additional element and suggests that the support of a partner plays a key role in the successful pursuance of part-time unsocial hours employment. It was noted from the results of this study that if part-time unsocial hours employment is maintained without the support of a partner, damage to the relationship is likely to the point of total breakdown.

It is through a lack of knowledge, understanding and consideration on behalf of the partner and the employer that difficulties often occur. This study suggests that many partners often place minimum importance upon their spouse's part-time working whilst employers frequently viewed the hours worked as being minimal and therefore, having little impact. Both the partner and employer often failed to appreciate the difficulties involved with trying to balance part-time unsocial hours working with the care of a family. Whilst partners usually appreciated the financial contribution their spouse's working added to the family income, the additional money received from part-time unsocial hours working was often used to purchase 'extras' and therefore was often not regarded as essential income.

Both the individual and their partner (in addition to the employer) need to be more aware of the impact that part-time unsocial working has upon lives. The industries of hospitality and retail rely upon an increasing number of part-time staff working unsocial hours to facilitate their business, however this study argues that the consideration given to this sector of the workforce is far less than is actually required. Add to this a lack of understanding regarding the effects of emotional labour, and it is clear to see why both industries suffer from such extreme levels of staff turnover.

Undoubtedly there is an awareness of the growing reliance upon part-time employment, however the casual nature and the status of this largely unskilled work (in addition to the unsocial nature of the hours undertaken) ensures that this sector of employment will likely continue to receive minimum status and be regarded with little importance by all involved. For the managers who noticed, and there were few, the whole issue of this form of working was one of puzzlement, which at best bemused and usually, confused. Although this sector of employment is already regarded as being significant, the situation is set to expand further following the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003 and the planned expansion of retail Sunday trading. However, whilst there has been much discussion regarding the effects of this growth in relation to late night drinking, noise, disturbance and how the expansion in supermarket trading may effect the smaller retail outlets, there has only been minimum debate regarding how this development may effect the workers involved in these industries. As a result, this important sector of the workforce upon which the growth, expansion and future success of many businesses depends, is generally ignored to a point where the paranoid suspicion by the individuals engaged in part-time unsocial hours as being ‘the forgotten workforce’ is probably justified.

9. Appendix

Contents

Title	Page Number
9.1 Quantitative Survey	218
9.2 Initial first year interview	220
9.3 Second year interview	223
9.4 The interview coding criteria	225

9.1 Quantitative Survey - used for the supermarket chain and the restaurant group.

(Note: Any reference to the supermarket chain or restaurant group has been deleted to protect their identity and to ensure that confidentiality is maintained)

Identification code:

Position:

Date of interview:

Location:

Tick one box only

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1. How long have you worked in your current position? | Less than 6 months
6 months—1 year
1—2 years
More than two years | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. How many hours did you work last week? | Less than 10
10—20
21—30
More than 30 | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Do you normally work? (Please tick all that applies) | Early mornings
During the day
Evenings (during week)
Weekends
Varies week to week | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Did you work prior to the birth of your first child? | Yes
No | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. If YES, was this full-time or part-time? | Full-time
Part-time | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Was that employment with ? | Yes
No | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. If NO, why did you decide not to return to your previous employment? | Position not available
Inconvenient hours
Wanted a change
Wanted more responsibility
Wanted less responsibility
Inconvenient location
Insufficient income
Other | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |

8. What staff training have you received from ?	Induction only	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Regular / comprehensive	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Occasional	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Infrequent / inadequate	<input type="checkbox"/>
	None	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Do you see your long term future being with ?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Do you smoke?	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
If YES, has the quantity you smoke altered since you started working part-time?	Reduced	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Unchanged	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Increased	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Since you commenced employment with has you weight altered?	Reduced	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Unchanged	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Increased	<input type="checkbox"/>

Your opinions are important!

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	I strongly agree	I agree	No opinion	I disagree	I strongly disagree
I feel valued by	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I do not feel respected by my supervisor/manager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The status of this employment is equal to my previous job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I receive respect and appreciation from our customers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Our customers do not value my work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In general, I enjoy my work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9.2 Initial first year interview (86 candidates)

1. What does your job involve?
2. What hours do you normally work?
3. Did you work before your children?
If YES, what was your position and employer?
4. How many children do you have and what age are they?
5. Why do you choose to work?
6. Why part-time?
7. Why work unsocial hours?
8. What, in your opinion, is the greatest effect both good and bad, that part-time working has had upon your life?
9. Do you feel that your part-time work has affected your health in any way?
10. How do you manage childcare whilst you work?
11. Does your working ever cause stress at home?
If YES, to whom:
 - a. You
 - b. Your partner
 - c. Your children
 - d. Other members of your family
 - e. Your friends

12. What effect do you think your working has upon your children?
13. Do you think your working effects their learning and development?
If so, in what way?
14. Has your relationship with your family changed since you returned to work?
- a. become closer — Why?
 - b. unchanged
 - c. more distant — In what way?
15. What does your partner feel about you working?
- a. strongly approve
 - b. no opinion
 - c. reluctantly accept
 - d. strongly disapproves
16. In your opinion, has your partners behaviour changed since you commenced part-time work?
- In what way and why?
- a. towards you
 - b. towards your children
17. In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages to working unsociable hours?
18. Why did you choose this particular job?
- a. The task?
 - b. The location?
 - c. The hours?
19. Would training or promotional prospects affect your attitude to work?
20. In your opinion, what would make your working life more enjoyable?

21. What do you enjoy the most about working part-time?
- a. The money — leading to increased standard of living?
 - b. Social interaction?
 - c. A break from routine?
22. What aspect of your present work do you enjoy the least?
23. How long do you expect to remain in your current job?
24. Would you consider full-time employment?
- If YES, would that be with this current employer?

9.3 Second year interview (23 candidates)

I would like to ask you a few questions about your work

1. Since starting work here, what progress do you feel you have made in this company?
Provide examples
2. Do you feel this company offers you a career?
3. How many managers have you worked for since you started here?
4. Recall a time when you were really happy in a job and describe what caused that happiness.
5. What elements of a job would make you unhappy? Provide examples.
6. If childcare wasn't an issue, what would be your ideal job and hours of working?
7. In what way do you feel the hours you work effect your children? Provide examples.
If NONE: How many hours do you think you would have to work before your children were affected?
8. How do you feel your working has affected your child's growing-up? Provide examples.

I would like to ask you a few questions about your partner

9. To what extent does your partner feel your working has effected the traditional family values?
ie: meal times, your social life, personal time with you.
10. What effect does your partner think your working has upon your home life? Provide examples.
11. On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest) to what extent does your partner value your work?

12. Since starting your work, do you talk to your partner more or less often?

13. Do you feel guilty about your working?

If YES, Why?

a. Your children

b. Your partner

14. Given the choice what work, if any, would your partner prefer you to have?

I would like to ask a few questions about you

15. What effect does tiredness have upon your life? Provide examples.

16. When you feel stressed or tense, what do you do to get it out of your system?

17. How important to you is the maintenance of the traditional family values?

ie: meal times, your social life, personal time with your partner.

18. If you could change one thing in your life, what would it be?

9.4 The interview coding criteria

The code was broken down into four distinct areas:

- Area one – 01 or 02 identifies the research company.
- Area two – 01 to 07 refers to the site in which the individual was employed.
- Area three – 20 to 44 relates to the individual's age.
- Area four – refers to a numerical identification, unique to each individual.
- Area five – 'a' or 'b' refers to the primary or secondary interview. (all interviews should be assumed 'a' unless specifically marked)

An analysis of the coding criteria is as follows:

Area one

01 = The Supermarket chain

02 = The Restaurant group

Area two

01 = East Southampton

02 = Winchester

03 = Basingstoke

04 = Portsmouth

05 = Eastleigh

06 = Bournemouth

07 = West Southampton

10. Glossary

1. **24/7:** Constant activity, twenty-four hours a day, seven day per week

2. **Co-habiting relationship:** A sexual relationship where two partners live together.

3. **COSSH:** Control of substances hazardous to health regulations 1988.

4. **Decile groups:** These are groups of the population defined by the decile points. The lowest decile group is the 10 per cent of the population with the lowest incomes. The second decile group contains individuals with incomes above the lowest decile point but below the second decile point. The two lowest decile groups together make up the lowest quintile group.

5. **Decile group medians / quintile group medians:** These are median income values for a particular decile or quintile group, i.e. the income value which divides the group into two equal-sized parts. The median of the lowest decile is thus the same as the 5th percentile; the median of the lowest quintile is the same as the 10th percentile.

6. **Dependent children:** Children below the age of eighteen, living at home with one or both parents and who is dependent upon the householders for food and accommodation.

7. **Emotional labour:** The effort, planning and control needed to express organisationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions.

8. **ESRC:** The Economic and Social Research Council

9. **Extended working:** Working that extends traditional daytime employment hours and overlap into unsocial hours working. An example would be afternoon working that extended into evenings and early morning working that stretched into traditional daytime working.

10. GVA: Gross value added measures the contribution to the economy of each individual producer, industry or sector in the United Kingdom. GVA is used in the estimation of Gross Domestic Product (GVA plus taxes on products less subsidies on products = GDP) which is a key indicator of the state of the whole economy.

11. Main breadwinner: The partner within a relationship that earns the primary or main wage of the household. For the purpose of this study, the main breadwinner was the partner of the individuals interviewed, ie: not the main focus of this research.

12. Mean: The mean income is the average, found by adding up equivalised incomes for each individual in a population and dividing the result by the number of people.

13. Median: The median is the income value which divides a population, when ranked by income, into two equal-sized groups. The median of the whole population is the same as the 50th percentile. The term is also used for the midpoint of subsets of the income distribution; see decile/quintile group medians.

14. Part-time: Although Hakim describes three styles of part-time working, (discussed in section 1.22) for the purpose of this study, it is the half-time jobs (those between 11 and 29 hours per week as defined by Hakim) that represent part-time employment.

15. Partner: A member of the opposite (or same) sex who is co-habiting with the interviewee and who is engaged in a sexual relationship with that individual.

16. Percentiles: These are income values which divide the population, when ranked by income, into 100 equal-sized groups. 10 per cent of the population have incomes below the 10th percentile, 20 per cent have incomes below the 20th percentile and so on.

17. Quantiles: A quantile group is any sub-group of the population extracted from the population when ranked by income. Quintile groups and decile groups are examples of quantile groups - or quantiles for short.

18. Quintiles: Quintiles are income values which divide the population, when ranked by income, into five equal-sized groups. The lowest quintile is the same as the 20th percentile. Quintile is also, often, used as a shorthand term for quintile group; for example ‘the bottom quintile’ to describe the bottom 20 per cent of the income distribution.

19. Quintile groups: These are groups of the population defined by the quintiles. The lowest quintile group is the 20 per cent of the population with the lowest incomes. The second quintile group is the population with incomes above the lowest quintile but below the second quintile.

20. Unsocial hours: Work undertaken outside of the expected working day and whilst more traditional day workers are enjoying leisure time. For the purpose of this study, the term ‘unsocial’ is defined as early morning working, ie: before 8 am, evening working, after 5 pm, night working after 11 pm or working any time during the weekend (Saturday or Sunday).

21. Unsocial working: Working during unsocial hours or extended working as defined above.

22. SCELl: The ESRC Social and Economic Life Initiative

23. Secondary wage earner: A wage earner not providing the primary income for the household. Hakim defines secondary wage earners as individuals “...not earning a living: they are financially dependant on another person, or on state income support, for the basic necessities of life such as housing, food and fuel.” (1989: 66)

24. Supplementary wage earner: Similarly to a secondary wage earner, a supplementary wage earner does not provide the main income for the household. Hakim comments upon this form of employment and states that earnings from this form of employment are thus; “supplementary or secondary to this other larger source of income.” (1989: 66)

11. Bibliography

Publications, Journals and Internet Web Sites

- Adams, C. and Winston, K. (1980) – Mothers at Work – London: Longman
- Adams, G.A. and King, D.W. (1996) – Relationships of job and family involvement, family social support and work-family conflict with job and life satisfaction – *Journal of Applied Psychology*, volume 81, pages 411-420.
- Adam-Smith, D., Goss, D. and Bairstow, S. (2000) – Coming to terms with New Labour ('s) laws' – *Employment Relations Review*, number 12, February 2000, pages 3 - 9
- Akerstedt, T., Gillberg, M. and Wetterberg, L. (1992) – The circadian covariation of fatigue and urinary melatonin – *Biol. Psychiatry*, volume 17, pages 547 – 552.
- Allan, G. (1999) – *The Sociology of the Family: A reader* – Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Allan, T. and Russell, J. (1999) – Parental leave of absence: Some not so family friendly implications – *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, volume 15, pages 259-278
- Alwin, D., Braun, M. and Scott, J (1992) – The Separation of Work and the Family: Attitudes towards Women's Labour-Force Participation in Germany, Great Britain and the United States – *European Sociological Review*, volume 8, Number 1, pages 13-37.
- Arber, S. and Gilbert, N. (1992) – *Women and Working Lives* – Basingstoke: Macmillian
- Aryee, S. (1992) – Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict among married professional women: Evidence from Singapore – *Human Relations*, volume 45, pages 813-837.
- Barling, J. and Gallagher, D.G. (1996) – 'Part-Time Employment' in Cooper, C.L. and Robertson, I.T. (eds) – *International Review of Industrial and Organisation Psychology*, Chichester: Wiley
- Barling, J. and MacEwen, K. (1992) – Linking work experiences to facets of marital functioning – *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, volume 13, pages 573-583.
- Barling, J. and Rosenbaum, A. (1986) – Work Stressors and Wife Abuse – *Journal of Applied Psychology*, volume 71, pages 346-348
- Baxter, J. and Mosby, M. (1988) – Generating Acceptable Shift-working Schedules – *The Journal of the Operational Research Society*, volume 39, number 6 pages 537-542.
- Beacham, R. (1984) – Economic activity: Britain's workforce 1971-1981- *Population Trends*, Autumn
- Becker, G.S. (1991) – *A Treatise on the Family* – Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Beechey, V. (1986) – *Women In Britain Today* – Milton Keynes: Open University Press

- Beechey, V. (1987) – Unequal Work – London: Verso
- Beechey, V. and Perkins, T. (1987) – A Matter of Hours: Women, Part-time work and the Labour Market – Cambridge: Polity
- Berthoud, R. and Kempson, E (1992) – Credit and Debt, The PSI Report – Policy Studies Institute: London
- Bielby, D.D. (1992) – Commitment to Work and Family – Annual Review of Sociology, volume 18, pages 281 – 302.
- Bielby, W.T. and Bielby, D.D. (1989) – Family ties: Balancing commitments to work and family in dual earner households – American Sociological Review, volume 54, pages 776-789
- Blau, F. and Ehrenberg, R. (1997) – Gender and Family Issues in the Workplace – New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Blossfeld, H. and Hakim, C. (1997) – Between Equalization and Marginalization: Women Working Part-time in Europe and the United States of America – Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Boella, M (1988) – Human Resource Management in the Hotel and Catering Industry - London: Hutchinson
- Bond, S. and Sales, J. (2001) – Household Work in the UK: An Analysis of the British Household Survey 1994 – Work, Employment and Society, volume 15, number 2 pages 233-250.
- Boris, E. (1987) – Homework and women's rights: The case of the Vermont knitters, 1989-1985 – Journal of Women in Culture and Society, volume 13, pages 98-120
- Bosch, G. (1995) – A Synthesis in Flexible Working Time: Collective Bargaining and Government Intervention – Paris: OECD
- Bosworth, D., Dawkins, A. and Westaway, A. (1981) – Explaining the Incidence of Shiftworking in Great Britain – The Economic Journal, volume 9, number 361, pages 145-157.
- Bowlby, J. (1965) – Child care and the Growth of Love – Harmondsworth: Penguin, (second edition)
- Brannen, J. (1992) – Money, Marriage and Motherhood: Dual Earner Households After Maternity Leave – in Arber, S and Gilbert, N. (eds) - Women and Working Lives – London: Macmillan
- Brannen, J. and Moss, P. (1991) – Managing Mothers dual earner households after maternity leave – London: Unwin Hyman

- Brett, J., Stroh, L. and Reilly, A. (1992) – ‘Job Transfer’ in: Cooper, C. and Robertson, I, (eds), International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology - Employee Relocation Council, Washington D.C.
- Brief, A. P., Schuler, R. S. and Van Sell, M. (1980) – Managing Job Stress – Boston: Little and Brown
- Brief, A. P. (1998) – Attitudes In and Around Organizations – Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications
- Brief, A. P. Butcher, A.H. George, J.M. and Link, K.E. (1993) – Integrating bottom-up and top – down theories of subjective well-being: A case of health – Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, pages 646-653
- Briley, S. (1996) – Women in the Workforce – Edinburgh: HMSO
- Budig, M.J and England, P. (2001) – The Wage Penalty for Motherhood – American Sociological Review, volume 66, pages 204-225
- Bulan, H., Erickson, R. and Wharton. A. (1997) – Doing for Others on the Job: The Effective Requirements of Service Work, Gender and Emotional Well-Being – Social Problems, Volume 4, pages 701-723.
- Burchell, B.J., Dale, A. and Joshi, H. (1997) – Part-time work among British women – in Blossfeld, H and Hakim, C. – Between Equalisation and Marginalisation: Women Working Part-time in Europe and the United States of America, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burgess, R.G. (1982) – Field Research: A Source Book and Field Manual – London: Allan and Unwin
- Burke, R.J. (1988) – Some antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict – Journal of Social Behavior and Personality. volume 3, pages 236-253
- Calmfors, L and Hoel, M. (1989) – Work Sharing, Employment and Shiftwork – Oxford Economic Papers, volume 41, number 4, pages 758-773.
- Campbell-Clark, S. (2001) – Work Cultures and Work/Family Balance – Journal of Vocational Behavior 58, 348-365.
- Carlson, D. Kacmar, K and Williams, L. (2000) – Construction and Initial Validation of a Multidimensional Measure of Work-Family Conflict – Journal of Vocational Behaviour, volume 56, number 2, Pages 249-276
- Charles, N. and Kerr, M. (1988) – Women, food and families – Manchester: Manchester University Press

- Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development and Taylor Nelson Sofres (2002) – Work, parenting and careers – CIPD Survey report.
- Cockburn, C. (1991) – In The Way Of Women: Men's resistance to sex equality in organisations – Basingstoke: Macmillan Press
- Compton-Edwards, M. (2001) – Married to the job? – Chartered Institute of Personnel Development.
- Craven, V. (1998) – Building on the middle ground: alternatives to polarisation in women's professional employment – Paper presented at Gender, Work and Organisation Conference, January.
- Crompton, R. Gallie, D. and Purcell, K. (1996) – Changing Forms of Employment – London: Routledge
- Crompton, R., Brockmann, M. and Wiggins, R. (2003) – A woman's place...Employment and family life for men and women – Chapter 8, The British Attitude Survey, 20th Report.
- Crompton, R. (1997) – Women and Work in Modern Britain – New York: Oxford University Press
- Crouch, C. Finegold, D. and Sako, M. (1999) – Are Skills the Answer? – Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Crouter, A.C., Perry-Jenkins, M, Huston, E.L. and Crawford, D.W. (1989) – The Influence of Work-Induced Psychological States on Behaviour at Home – Basic and Applied Social Psychology, volume 10, pages 273-292
- Cully, M. Woodland, S. O'Reilly, A and Dix, G (1999) – Britain at Work – London: Routledge
- Cummins, R. A. (1996) – The Domains of Life Satisfaction: An Attempt to Order Chaos – Social Indicators Research, volume 38, pages 303-328.
- Dale, A. and Joshi, H. (1992) – The economic and social status of British women - Acta Demographica: pages 27-46
- Darton, D. and Hurrell, K. (2005) - People working part-time below their potential - www.eoc.org.uk/cseng/research/below_their_potential.pdf
- Davis, S., Mirick, D. and Stevens, R. (2001) - Night Shift Work, Light at Night, and Risk of Breast Cancer – Journal of Advanced Nursing, volume 93, number 20, October 17, 1557-1562
- Davis, S., Mirick, D. and Stevens, R. (2002) - Night Shift Work, Light at Night, and Risk of Breast Cancer – Journal of the National Cancer Institute, volume 94, number 7, April 3, 533 - 534

- Dickens, W. and Lundberg, S. (1993) – Hours Restrictions and Labour Supply – *International Economic Review*, volume 34, number 1, pages 169-192.
- Easterby-Smith, M. Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (1999) – *Management Research. An Introduction* – London: Sage Publications
- Eberhardt, B.J. and Shani, A.B. (1984) – The effects of full-time verses part-time employment status on attitudes towards specific organizational characteristics and overall satisfaction – *Academy of Management Journal*, volume 27, pages 883-900.
- Empson, J. (1989) – *Sleep and Dreaming* – London: Faber and Faber
- Epstein, C. and Kalleberg, A. (2001) – Time and the Sociology of Work – *Work and Occupations*, volume 28, number 1, pages 5-16
- Epstein, T. Crehan, K. Gerzer, A. and Sass, J (1986) – *Women, Work and Family* – London: Croom Helm
- Equal Opportunities Commission (2005) – Britain's hidden brain drain – final report – The Equal Opportunities Commission investigation into flexible and part-time working.
- Erickson, J. and Ritter, R. (2001) – Emotional Labor, Burnout, and Inauthenticity: Does gender Matter? – *Social Psychology Quarterly*, volume 64, number 2, pages 146-163
- Ermisch, J and Wright, R. (1993) – Wage Offers and Full-Time and Part-Time Employment by British Women – *The Journal of Human Resources*, volume 28, number 1, pages 111-113.
- Fagan, C. (2001) – The Temporal Reorganization of Employment and the Household Rhythm of Work Schedules – *American Behavioural Scientist*, Volume 44, No 7, March 2001, pages 1199-1212
- Fagan, C. (1996) – Gendered time schedules: Paid work in Great Britain's social politics – *International Studies in Gender, State and Society* volume 3, number 1, pages 72-106
- Feldman, D. (1990) – Reconceptualizing the Nature and Consequences of Part-Time Work – *The Academy of Management Review*, volume 15, number 1, pages 103-112
- Fenton, S. Bradley, H. and West, J. (2003) – Winners and losers in labour markets – University of Bristol - ESRC: R000238215
- Foster, V. (2001) – *Creating a work-life balance* – dti / HCIMA
- Fox, B. (1980) – *Hidden in the Household* – Toronto: Women's Press
- Fox-Folk, K. and Beller, A. (1993) – Part-Time Work and Child Care Choices for Mothers of Preschool Children – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 55, No. 1, pages 146-157

- Francesconi, M. and Gosling, A. (2005) - Career paths of part-time workers - Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission Working Paper, series number 19.
- Friesen, J. (1997) – The Dynamic Demand for Part-Time and Full-Time Labour – *Economica*, volume 64, number 255, pages 495-507.
- Frone, M. (2000) – Work-family conflict and employee psychiatric disorders: The national comorbidity survey – *Journal of Applied Psychology*, volume 85, pages 885-895
- Frone, M., Russell, M. and Barnes, G. (1996) – Work-family conflict, gender and health-related outcomes: A study of employed parents in two community samples – *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, volume 1, pages 57-69.
- Frone, M., Russell, M. and Cooper, M. (1991) – Relationship of work and family stressors to psychological distress – *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, volume 6, pages 227-250
- Frone, M., Russell, M. and Cooper, M. (1992) – Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict: Testing a model of the work-family interface – *Journal of Applied Psychology*, volume 77, pages 65-78.
- Frone, M., Russell, M. and Cooper, M. (1997) – Relation of work-family conflict to health outcomes: A four-year longitudinal study of employed parents – *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, volume 70, pages 325-335.
- Gallie, D. White, Cheng and Tomlinson (1998) – *Restructuring the Employment Relationship* – Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Gershuny, J. (2000) – *Changing Times, Work and Leisure in Postindustrial Society* – New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gershuny, J. Miles, I. Jones, S. Mullings, C. Thomas, G. and Wyatt, S. (1986) – Preliminary analysis of the 1983/4 ESRC time budget data - *Quarterly Journal of Social Affairs*, 2: 13-39.
- Ginn, J., Arber, S., Brannen, J., Dale, A., Dex, S., Elias, P., Moss, P., Pahl, J., Roberts, C. and Rubery, J. (1996) – Feminist Fallacies: A Reply to Hakim on Women's Employment – *The British Journal of Sociology*, volume 47, number 1, pages 167-174
- Ginn, J and Sandall, J. (1997) – Balancing Home and Employment: Stress Reported by Social Services Staff – *Work, Employment and Society*, volume 11, pages 413-434.
- Glover, J. (2002) – The Balance Model: Theorising Women's Employment Behaviour – in Carling, A. et al – *Analysing Families Morality and Rationality in Policy and Practice* – London: Routledge

- Googins, B.K. (1991) – Work/Family Conflicts: Private Lives-Public Responses – New York: Auburn House
- Gottman, J. (1994) – What Predicts Divorce? – Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum
- Grant-Vallone, E and Donaldson, S. (2001) – Consequences of work-family conflict on employee well-being over time – Work and Stress, volume 15, number 3, pages 214-226
- Greenhaus, J and Beutell, N (1985) – Sources of conflict between work and family roles – Academy of Management Review.
- Gutek, B. and Larwood, L. (1987) – Women's Career Development – London: Sage Publications.
- Gutek, B. Searle, S. and Klepa, L. (1991) – Rational versus gender role-explanations for work-family conflict – Journal of Applied Psychology, volume 77, pages 560-568
- Hakim, C. and Blossfeld, H. (2001) – Between Equalization and Marginalization – New York: Oxford University Press
- Hakim, C. (1979) – Occupational Segregation – Department of Employment Research paper number 9, November
- Hakim, C. (1991) – Grateful Slaves and Self-made Women: Fact and Fantasy in Women's Work Orientations – European Sociological Review, volume 7 (2), pages 101-121
- Hakim, C. (1995) – Five Feminist Myths about Women's Employment – The British Journal of Sociology, volume 46, number 3, pages 429-455
- Hakim, C. (1996) – Key Issues in Women's Work: Female Heterogeneity and the Polarisation of Women's employment – London: Athlone
- Hakim, C (1997) – A sociological perspective on part-time work - in Blossfeld, H and Hakim, C. – Between Equalisation and Marginalisation: Women Working Part-time in Europe and the United States of America, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hakim, C. (1998) – Social Change and Innovation in the Labour Market – New York: Oxford University Press
- Hakim, C. (2000) – Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century – Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Hall, D.T. (1972) – A model of coping with role conflict: The role behaviour of college educated women – Administrative Science Quarterly, number 17, pages 471 – 486.
- Hall, D.T. and Gordon, F.E. (1973) – Career choices of married women: Effects on conflict, role behaviour and satisfaction – Journal of Applied Psychology, Volume 58, pages 42-48
- Hansen, J. (2001) – Light at Night, Shiftwork and Breast Cancer – Journal of the National Cancer Institute, volume 93, number 20, pages 1513-1515

- Healy, G. (2004) – Work-life balance and family friendly policies – in whose interest? – *Work, Employment and Society*, volume 18, pages 219-223
- Higgins C.A., Duxbury, L.E. and Irving, R.H. (1992) – Work-family conflict in the dual career family – *Organizational Behavior and Human Decisions Processes*. volume 51, pages 51-75.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983) – *The Managed Heart* – Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hochschild, A.R. with Machung, A. (1989) – *The Second Shift* – New York: Avon
- Horn, R.A. (1979) – Effects of job peripherality and personal characteristics on job satisfaction of part-time workers – *Academy of Management Journal*, volume 22, pages 551-565.
- Hughes, D., Galinsky, E. and Morris, A. (1992) – The effects of job characteristics on marital quality: Specifying linking mechanisms – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 54, pages 31-42.
- Hurrell, K. (2005) - *Facts About Women and Men in Great Britain 2005* - Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.
- Ivancevich, J. M. and Matteson, M.T (1980) – *Stress and Work* – Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Jacobs, J. and Gerson, K. (2001) – Overworked Individuals or Overworked Families – *Work and Occupations*, volume 28, number 1, pages 40-63
- Jordan, B., Redley, M. and James, S. (1994) – *Putting the Family First* – London: UCL Press
- Joshi, H.E., Layard, R. and Owen, S.J (1985) – Why are More Women Working in Britain? – *Journal of Labour Economics*, special issue on Trends in Women's Work, Education and Family Building, (ed) Layard, R. and Mincer, J. S147-S176
- Kahn, R., Wolfe, D., Quinn, R., Snoek, J. and Rosenthal, R. (1964) – *Organizational Stress: Studies in role conflict and ambiguity*. – John Wiley and Sons
- Kamstra, M., Kramer, L. and Levi, M. (2000) – Losing Sleep at the Market: The Daylight Saving Anomaly – *The American Economic Review*, volume 90, number 4, pages 1005-1011.
- Kingston, P.W. (1990) – Illusions and ignorance about the family responsive workplace – *Journal of Family Issues*, volume 11, pages 438-454.
- Kinnunen, U., Geurts, S. and Mauno, S. (2004) – Work-to-family conflict and its relationship with satisfaction and well-being: a one year longitudinal study on gender differences – *Work and Stress*, volume 18, number 1, pages 1-22

- Kivimaki, M, Kuisma, P, Virtanen, M and Elovainio, M. (2001) – Does shift work lead to poorer health habits? A comparison between women who had always done shift work with those who had never done shift work. – *Work and Stress* 2001, volume 15, number 1, pages 3-13
- Klein, K., Berman, L. and Dickson, M. (2000) – May I Work Part-Time? An Exploration of Predicted Employer Responses to Employee Requests for Part-Time Work - *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, volume 57, number 1, page 85-101
- Klerman, J. and Leibowitz, A. (1999) – Job Continuity among New Mothers – *Demography*, volume 36, pages 145-155
- Knauth, P. and Hornberger, S. (1996) - *Shiftwork and health* – Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
- Kompier, M and Levi, L. (1994) – *Stress at Work: causes, effects and prevention* – European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
- Laite, J. and Halfpenny, P. (1987) – Employment, unemployment and the domestic division of labour – in Fryer, D and Ullah, P. – *Unemployed People* – Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Lloyd, K.M. and Auld, C.J. (2002) – The role of leisure in determining quality of life: Issues of content and measurement – *Social Indicators Research*, volume 61, pages 227-240.
- Mann, S., Briskin, L., Curtis, B., Seccombe, W., Blumenfeld, E. and Fox, B. (1980) – *Hidden In The Household (Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism)* – The Women's Press.
- Manning, A. and Petrongolo, B. (2004) – *The part-time penalty 0 Report for the women and equality unit* – London: Department of Trade and Industry.
- Markham, U. (1999) – *Managing Stress* – Shaftsbury: Element Books.
- Martin, J. and Roberts, C. (1984) – *Women and Employment, a Lifetime Perspective* – London HMSO.
- Martin, R. and Wallace, J. (1984) – *Working Women in Recession* – Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matthews, L., Rand, D., Conger, K, and Wickrama, K. (1996) – Work-Family Conflict and Marital Quality: Mediating Process – *Social Psychology Quarterly*, volume 59, number 1, pages 62-79.
- Mayshar, J. and Halevy, Y. (1997) – Shiftwork – *Journal of Labor Economics*, volume 15, number 1, part 2, pages S198-S222.
- McCroskey, J. (1982) – Work and families: What is the employer's responsibility? – *Personnel Journal*, volume 61 (1), pages 30 – 38.

- McOrmond, T. (2004) – Changes in working trends over the past decade – Labour Market Division, Office for National Statistics.
- McRae, S. (1989) – Flexible Working Time and Family Life: A Review of Changes – Policy Studies Institute.
- McRae, S. (1989) – Household and Labour Market Changes: Implications for the Growth of Inequality in Britain – *The British Journal of Sociology*, volume 48, number 3, pages 384-405.
- McRae, S. (1995) – Part-time work in the European Union: The Gender Dimension – Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Melbin, M. (1987) – Night as frontier: Colonizing the world after dark – New York: Free Press
- Menaghan, E. and Parcel, T. (1990) – Parental employment and family life: Research in the 1980's – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 52, pages 1079-1098.
- Moen, P. and Dempster-McClain, D. (1987) – Employed Parents: Role Strain, Work Time and Preferences for Working Less – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 49, number 3, pages 579-590.
- Monk, T. and Folkard, S. (1992) – Making shift work tolerable – London: Taylor and Francis.
- Morris, J. and Feldman, D. (1996) – The Dimensions, Antecedents, and Consequences of Emotional Labor – *The Academy of Management Review*, volume 21, number 4, pages 986-1010.
- Moss, P. (1988) – Childcare and Equality of Opportunity: Consolidated Report to the European Commission – (Commission of the European Communities).
- Mowday, R., Porter, L. and Steers, R. (1982) – Employee-Organization Linkages: The Psychology of Commitment, Absenteeism and Turnover – London: Academic Press.
- Mullins, L. (2002) – Management and Organisational Behaviour – Financial Times: Prentice Hall.
- National Consumer Council (1990) – Credit and Debt, The consumer interest – London HMSO.
- National Statistics (May 2002) – Labour Force Survey Quarterly Supplement.
- National Statistics (April 2005) – Labour Force Survey Quarterly Supplement.
- Neal, M.B., Chapman, N.J., Ingersoll-Dayton, B. and Emlen, A.C. (1993) – Balancing Work and Caregiving for Children, Adults and Elders – Newbury Park CA: Sage.
- Nickson, D., Warhurst, C., Lockyer, C. and Dutton, E. (2004) – Flexible friends? Lone parents and retail employment – *Employee Relations*, volume 26, number 3, pages 255 - 273.

- Nielson, T., Carlson, D. and Lankau, M. (2001) – The Supportive Mentor as a Means of Reducing Work-Family Conflict – *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 2001, volume 59, pages 364 – 381.
- Nippert-Eng, C. (1996) – *Home and Work: Negotiating boundaries through everyday life* – Chicago: University of Chicago.
- O'Reilly, J and Fagan, C. (1998) – *Part-Time Prospects* – London: Routledge
- Park, A. (ed). (2003) - *British Social Attitudes Survey: The 20th Report* – Sage Publications
- Pahl, R.E. (1984) – *Divisions of labour* – Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Paoli, P. and Merllié, D. (2001) – *Third European survey on working conditions 2000* – Dublin: European Foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions
- Paull, G. and Taylor, J. with Allan Duncan (2002) – *Mothers' employment and childcare use in Britain* – London: The Institute for Fiscal studies
- Pfau-Effinger, B. (1993) – Modernisation, Culture and Part-Time Employment: The Example of Finland and West Germany – *Work, Employment and Society*, volume 7 (3), pages 383-410.
- Phillips, A. and Williams A. (2000) – *Family Working Rights: A Practical Guide* – The Stationery Office, London
- Presser, H.B. (1988) – Shiftwork and child care among young dual-earner American parents – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 50, pages 133-148.
- Presser, H.B. (1999) – Toward a 24-hour economy – *Science* (June), volume 284, pages 1778-1779.
- Presser, H.B. (2000) – Non-standard work schedules and marital instability – *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, volume 62, pages 93-110.
- Rajaratnam, S. and Arendt, J. (2001) – Health in a 24-h Society – *The Lancet*, volume 358, September 22nd 2001, pages 999 – 1005.
- Rankin, C. Phillips, A. and Warren, M. (1999) – *Working Time Regulations 1998: A Practical Guide* – The Stationery Office, London
- Repetti, R.L. (1987) – Individual and Common Components of the Social Environment at Work and Psychological Well-Being – *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, volume 52, pages 710-720.
- Rice, R. Frone, M. and McFarlin, D. (1992) – Work-non-work conflict and the perceived quality of life – *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, volume 13, number 2, pages 155-168.

- Romans, F. and Hardarson, O. (2005) – Labour market latest trends – 4th quarter 2004 data - Statistics in focus, 6/2005. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Rotchford, N.L. and Roberts, K.H. (1982) – Part-time workers as missing persons in organizational research – Academy of Management Review, volume 7, pages 228-234.
- Rubery, J. (1998) – Part-time work: a threat to labour standards? – in O'Reilly, J and Fagan, C. – Part-time Prospects: an international Comparison of Part-time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim. London: Routledge
- Rubery, J., Horrell, S. and Burchell, B. (1994) – 'Part-Time Work and Gender Inequality in the Labour Market' Chapter 6 in A. MacEwen Scott (ed), Gender Segregation and Social Change – Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rubery, J, Smith, M. and Fagan, C. (1999) – Women's Employment in Europe: Trends and Prospects – London: Routledge
- Salverda, W. Bazen, S and Gregory, M. (2001) - The European-American Employment Gap, Wage Inequality, Earnings Mobility and Skill: A Study for France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. - European Low-Wage Employment Research Network.
- Schor, S. (1991) – The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure – New York: Basic Books
- Shackelton, R. (1998) – Part-time working in the 'super-service' era – Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services, volume 5, number 4, pages 223-234
- Silverman, D. (2004) – Qualitative Research (theory, method and practice) – London: Sage Publications
- Sinfield, A. (1981) – What Unemployment Means – Oxford: Martin Robertson
- Smith, V. (1983) – The circular trap: Women and part-time work – Berkeley Journal of Sociology, volume 28, pages 1-17
- Smith-Lovin, L. (1998) – Emotion Management as Emotional Labor – in Required Reading: Sociology's Most Influential Books – ed. Clawson, D. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press
- Solomon, C.M. (1996) – Flexibility comes out of flux – Personnel Journal 75, pages 34-43
- South, S. (2001) – Time-Dependent Effects of Wives' Employment on Marital Dissolution – American Sociological Review, volume 66, Number 2, pages 226-245

- Spade, J. (1994) – Wives' and Husbands' Perceptions of Why Wives Work – Gender and Society, volume 8, number 2, pages 170-188
- Spiegel, D., and Sephton, S. (2002) – Night Shift Work, Light at Night and Risk of Breast Cancer - Journal of the National Cancer Institute, volume 94, number 7, page 530
- Such, L. (2001) – Leisure, Family and Work in the Lifestyles of Dual-earners Families - Paper presented to the ESRC Seminar Households, 'Families and the Changing Nature of Work', University of Aberdeen.
- Sullivan, O. (1997) – Time waits for no (wo)man: An investigation of the gendered experience of domestic time. – Sociology, volume 31, (2) pages 221 – 240.
- Sullivan, O. (1996) – Time coordination, the domestic division of labor, and the effective relations: Time use and the enjoyment of activities within couples – Sociology, volume 30, (1) pages 79 – 100.
- Stoeva, A. Chiu, R., and Greenhaus, J. (2002) – Negative Effectivity, Role Stress, and Work-Family Conflict – Journal of Vocational Behavior, volume 60, pages 1-16
- Sylva, K., Melhuish, E., Sammons, P., Siraj-Blatchford, I., Taggart, B. and Elliot, K. (2003) – The Effective Provision of Pre-School Education Project: Findings from The Pre-School Period – Institute of Education, University of London and University of Oxford.
- Thompson, L. and Walker, A. (1989) – Gender in Families: Women and Men in Marriage, Work and Parenthood – Journal of Marriage and the Family, volume 51, number 4, pages 845-871.
- Twitchell, J. (1999) – Lead Us Into Temptation – New York: Columbia University Press
- Twomey, B. (2002) – Women in the labour market: results from the spring 2001 Labour Force Survey – Office of National Statistics.
- Vannoy-Hiller, D. and Philliber, W. (1989) – Equal Partners: Successful Women in Marriage – Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Veal, A. (1997) – Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide – Financial Times: Pitman Publishing
- Waldfoegel, J. (1997) – The Effects of Children on Women's Wages – American Sociological Review, volume 62, pages 209-217
- Wallace, P. (1982) – Women in the Workplace – Boston, Massachusetts: Auburn House Publishing Company.

- Walsh, J. (1999) – Myths and Counter-Myths: An analysis of part-time female employees and their orientations to work and working hours – *Work, Employment and Society*, volume 13, (2), pages 179-203.
- Warren, T. (2000) – Women in Low Status Part-Time Jobs: A Class and Gender Analysis – *Sociological research Online*, volume 4, number 4,
- Warren, T. (2004) – Working part-time: achieving a successful ‘work-life’ balance? – *The British Journal of Sociology*, volume 55, (1), pages 99-122.
- Warren, T and Walters, P. (1998) – Appraising the dichotomy: a review of the use of ‘part-time/full-time’ in the study of women’s employment in Britain – *Gender, Work and Organisation*, volume 5, number 5, pages 1102-1181
- West, J. (1982) – *Work, Women and The Labour Market* – London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Wharton, A. (1993) – The Effective Consequences of Service Work – *Work and Occupations*, volume 20, pages 205-232
- Wharton, A. and Erickson, R. (1995) – The Consequences of Caring: Women’s Work and Family Life – *Sociological Quarterly*, volume 36, pages 273-296
- Wharton, C. (1994) – Finding Time for the “Second Shift”; The Impact of Flexible Work Schedules on Women’s Double Days – *Gender and Society*, volume 8, number 2, pages 189-205
- Whitebeck, R., Simons, R., Conger, R., Wickrama, K., Ackley, K. and Elder, G. (1997) – The Effects of Parents’ Working Conditions and Family Economic Hardship on Parenting Behaviors and Children’s Self-Efficacy – *Social Psychology Quarterly*, volume 60, number 4, pages 291-303.
- Williams, K. and Alliger, G. (1994) – Role Stressors, Mood Spillover, and Perceptions of Work-Family Conflict in Employed Parents – *The Academy of Management Journal*, volume 37, number 4, pages 837-868
- Williams, V. and Ward, W. (2004) - *Informing our future 2004* – Hampshire Economic Partnership Research and Intelligence Task group, Southampton
- Wolke, D. (2003) – *Positive Parenting* – Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children, University of Bristol.
- Yeandle, S. (1984) – *Women’s Working Lives, Patterns and strategies* – London: Tavistock Publications
- Yin, R. (2003) – *Applications of case study research* – London: Sage Publications.

Internet Web Sites

AreaData – Demographics and Market Data – <http://www.areadata.co.uk>

Bank of England – Inflation Report (August 2001) – <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk>

Department of Trade and Industry – Fairness at Work (May 1998) – <http://www.dti.gov.uk>

Department of Trade and Industry - Work and Parents: Competitiveness and Choice [Green Paper] (2000) - <http://www.dti.gov.uk>

Department of Trade and Industry – Public Consultation: Measures to implement directive 2000/34/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council, amending Council directive 93/104/EC concerning certain aspects of the organisation of working time to cover sectors and activities excluded from that directive (Nov 2002) - <http://www.dti.gov.uk>

Department of Trade and Industry – Flexible Working: The right to request and the duty to consider (Feb 2003) – <http://www.dti.gov.uk/er/flexible.htm>

Department of Trade and Industry – Working Time Regulations (1998) - <http://www.dti.gov.uk>

European Commission (1996) – Employment in Europe 1996 – Luxembourg: Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (2003) - Working-time preferences and work–life balance in the EU: some policy considerations for enhancing the quality of life – Author: Colette Fagan - Research institute: University of Manchester, UK

General Household Survey (2002) – Living in Britain – Office of National Statistics
BEST European Studies on Time (2000) - Shiftwork and Health - European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions – <http://www.eurofound.eu.int>

Her Majesties Stationery Office – Statutory Instrument 1998, No. 1883 –
<http://www.legislation.hsmo.gov.uk/si/si1998/19981833.htm#6>

National Statistics – Labour Market Survey (August 2002) – <http://www.statistics.gov.uk>

National Statistics – Labour Market Survey (April 2005) – <http://www.statistics.gov.uk>

12. Word Count

Total word count – 75,334