UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

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BEHAVIOUR AND IMAGERY OF A 'TRADITIONAL WORKFORCE: THE CASE OF THE SOUTHAMPTON DOCKWORKER.

Peter T. Allen

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Doctor of Philosophy

BEHAVIOUR AND IMAGERY OF A 'TRADITIONAL' WORKFORCE: THE CASE OF THE SOUTHAMPTON DOCKWORKER

by Peter Thomas Allen

A quantitative description of attitudes and behaviour amongst dockworkers is presented. Dockers have been grouped with miners and shipbuilders as 'traditional proletarians' whose social perceptions are conditioned by a supposed close connection between work and community environments. Previous evidence has suggested that the description is less than satisfactory and questions have been raised concerning changes in the original conditions forming the basis of the typology.

A range of factors associated with both work and community settings is examined within a labour force which contains a substantial proportion having experience only of the 'modernised' industry. Two different sources of information are used: employment records and the responses at interview of a random sample of the workforce.

A first stage of the analysis presents basic demographic data, a study of the 'attachment' of the workforce as reflected in absence behaviour and an examination of effects related to geographical location. A second stage establishes the nature and extent of out-work associations; attitudes to, and behaviour in, work; views of employment relations and of organisational structures; and perceptions of the nature of society.

The results are taken to indicate that the suggested description is largely inappropriate. Overall perceptions of work, prior orientations and motivations do not seem to differ greatly from national norms within the manual working class. Whilst levels of work-based associations are certainly higher no important consequences are found to arise from this in terms of work experience or behaviour and no relationships are established between the pattern of social perceptions and any of the supposedly related characteristics. It is suggested that the special features of the workforce are limited to the industrial context and are best categorised as adaptation to variations in structural conditions.

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P.T. Allen.
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BEHAVIOUR AND IMAGERY OF A 'TRADITIONAL' WORKFORCE:

The Case of the Southampton Dockworker.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Theoretical Context.

Introduction

This research provides a quantitative description of attitudes and behaviour amongst dock workers in Southampton. It is designed to enable comparison of these men with their contemporaries in other industrial settings and with the sociological conception of a 'traditional' workforce. At the most general level a classification such as the latter, which is based on both work and community relations, points to the possible connections between attitudes and total social experience. This approach highlights the meaning that actions have for the individual and, in industrial organisation theory, has led to a concern with the orientations that people bring to their employment. In the study of social stratification the 'action approach' has emphasised subjective aspects and has contributed to the evolution of a typology of groups within the working class which links patterns of work and community relations to social structural imagery. The elements of the typology therefore not only include experience of particular work and community milieux but also related attitudes and images of society as a whole. Study of these different areas can draw on separate bodies of literature.

Dockers have been grouped with miners and shipbuilders as 'traditional proletarians' but attempts to examine this type empirically have produced evidence which suggests that it is less than satisfactory. Further questions have been raised concerning changes in the original conditions which form the basis of the typology. Most traditional industries have undergone some process of 'modernisation' which considerably alters the employment conditions and practices. Southampton Docks has undergone changes of this nature which are certainly relevant to the traditional classification. It was possible therefore to examine a port in which about a third of the labour force had experience of conditions limited to the period following the major reforms known as

decasualisation. In addition about half the labour force had experience of the radically new technology which has removed much of the necessity for group working - an important sociological aspect. Furthermore social and economic changes since the War have altered some of the physical enabling conditions for a traditional community.

Thus examination of Southampton dockers some years after the first impact of these major changes should be able to provide an assessment. However, before turning to the Southampton research in more detail it is necessary to place it firmly in its theoretical context as revealed by the relevant literature. At the risk of some over-simplification this may be taken to comprise aspects of organisation theory together with the study of occupational communities and the distribution of social structural imagery. The major perspectives of industrial organisation theory, technological determinism, socio-technical systems and the social action approach will be examined in turn. However the aim throughout this exposition is not to reconcile the various approaches or to resolve weighty theoretical issues. Rather the concern is to indicate those points of view to be taken into account in devising an effective study of an occupational group in the settings of work and community.

Industrial Organisation Theory

The first examinations of commercial and industrial organisations tended to concentrate on the formal aspects of structure and were addressed to the problems of arranging for efficient operation in a business sense. In such a scheme the worker exists as an element of production and his motivations are understood in terms of a simplistic economic conception.[1]

The belief following the Hawthorne researches that

workers did not perform as mechanically as machines but amended their operations in line with social requirements led to a rejection of the purely economic explanation.[2] In the Human Relations tradition an explanation of workers' behaviour was developed in terms of the latters' search for the satisfaction to be derived from social relationships. In this approach men had social needs that were met by their membership of primary human groups. Hence it could be argued that an adequate explanation of industrial organisation would require an examination of informal structures.[3]

Both approaches tend to overemphasize one aspect at the expense of all others and are, in any event, largely prescriptive in nature; i.e. they are concerned to suggest various techniques for the achievement of optimum working conditions and hence maximum productivity. Later theorists have sought a wider perspective.

Some theories, capable of relating apparently unconnected phenomena, have been based on an application of general systems theory. In such an approach social structures are seen as similar to natural self-regulating systems and the principal concerns for study become the processes within an organisation and the inter-relatedness of its parts. The sociological approach associated with this perspective is structural functionalism. However the systems concept introduces additional problems and sets the framework for subsequent explanation in particular ways.

> 'In complex industrial societies, where institutions tend to have highly specialised meanings, the expectations attaching to different roles vary considerably and the potential for conflict between them is relatively great. The members of an organisation, for instance, are not defined purely by their organisational roles. The worker is not merely a worker but a father, friend, trade union member, and so on. Any attempt to explain why organisations are as they are must therefore take into account the environment in which they are located. Or, to put it another

way, any attempt to understand the pattern of interaction within one role system must pay attention to the other role-systems in which its members are involved.

An acknowledgement of the importance of the environment could lead to the proposition that, since everything is related to everything else, nothing may be understood without firstly comprehending the whole of which it is part. As knowledge of the whole presumes certain knowledge of the parts this argument is self-defeating. What is obviously required is to specify the level with which a particular study is concerned and to take factors at a different level as given... students of organisations have given varying amounts of attention to extra-organisational factors and explained their influence in somewhat different ways.' 4

Nevertheless even a systems approach which allows a concern for environmental factors, may still be regarded as retaining the positivist assumptions of the more limited perspective. In the latter variables external to the system may be introduced merely in order to 'explain' certain features.[5]

'Implicit in the conceptualisation of organisations as systems (with system needs and problems) is a direction of attention towards the environment in which the system is located. For if organisations are systems, then so are the institutions and societies of which they are part. Since a society is a collection of sub-systems of greater or lesser complexity, the functioning of each (as well as the functioning of the whole) depends upon its interrelationship with the others. Study then should centre on the boundary-exchange of resources between different social systems. The crucial processes of each system now become, in terms of a cybernetic model, input, throughput and output.' 6

Functional analysis starts with a conception of the persistence of order. It postulates that social systems adapt to maintain equilibrium - to survive. In this respect organisations themselves are defined in terms of their 'needs'. 'Functional' processes therefore are those that assist in the attainment of organisational goals. Such an approach however tends to concentrate attention on consequences rather than causes.[7]

The natural system idea has been extended by some psychologists[8] but psychologists have more commonly explained behaviour in terms of personality needs.[9] In this respect they follow on directly from the Hawthorne researchers who were concerned with the individual's needs met via primary group membership.[10]

Individual motivation is clearly important in a theory of behaviour, but the psychologists' perspective tends to be framed in terms of universal needs. In this context the work of Maslow provides a good example.[11] Maslow propounds the notion of a 'needs' hierarchy at the bottom of which are physiological needs followed by safety factors, social requirements and finally self-esteem, status and self-fulfilment. When the individual has achieved satisfaction at one level he can proceed to the next.[12]

Concentration on the informal aspects of an organisation however tends to ignore the formal structure and 'it is not clear... that the concept of "personality needs" provides a universally acceptable means of explaining subjective responses to social objects'.[13] Awareness of the level of analysis in explanation of this sort is of the first importance; 'the problem... is to identify the affective consequences of particular forms of social interaction within the work situation.'[14]

If the individual is to be seen in interaction with the structure of an organisation, then variation in structure may be considered a possible explanatory variable of members' behaviour. Viewed in this way the formal aspects of an organisation mediate the nature of informal groups and hence behaviour. The environment of the organisation will in turn influence the structural paramenters and of special importance in this respect has been the significance given to the role of technology.[15]

Technological Determinism

A technological emphasis is one thing; viewed as a determinant or predictor it becomes another, not merely accounting for variation of behaviour within organisations but, through the inevitable interrelatedness of structures, affecting the external environment as well. Although there may be general agreement that the nature of work is 'heavily influenced by the technical arrangements adopted'[16] it can be seen that technology as a predictor of behaviour requires the assumption of an homogeneous set of needs in work; the universalism of the industrial psychologists. The links in the argument then summarize as:

> Technology - job character - satisfaction - off the job effects.[17]

Early study focussed on the relationships between the nature of work, the technological impact and worker satisfaction.[18] Technology was seen to shape the type of workgroup that could appear and to control the interpersonal interaction of the men. Sayles gives a four-type classification of work groups based on the two dimensions of degree of interaction and level of skill. Skill level also being a direct result of technology.[19] Thus low interaction and high skill produce 'conservative' groups such as craftsmen; low interaction and low skill 'apathetic' groups such as labourers; high interaction and high skill 'strategic' groups such as highly skilled production workers and high interaction and low skill 'erratic' groups, such as dockworkers, who, it is argued, occasionally develop solidarity but do not develop overall strategies.[20]

In the extreme case however technology might actually prevent the formation of work groups. Walker and Guest in their study of assembly line work, which would seem most like this limiting case, identified the 'dehumanising'

aspects of technology; the low skill requirements and repetitious work paced by the machinery. These car assembly workers seemed to have a negative attachment to their firm, and had high rates of absenteeism and job turnover.[21]

The possibility of a general theory of the effects of technology has to be considered. What this would require is an identification of the dimensions of affective response together with an estimate of the 'level' of technology on some continuum that measures the degree of technical autonomy. Such an idea was proposed by Blauner who asserts that 'alienation' in general follows an inverted U-shaped curve; low technological concentration, such as in craft industries, produces low alienation, assembly line type mass production a high level whilst high technology - automation - gives increased responsibility and hence reduced alienation. '"Alienation",' says Blauner,

> 'exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connect their jobs to the overall organisation of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self expression.' 22

The dimensions of alienation given by Blauner are (i) 'powerlessness' which arises when a worker is treated as an object controlled by other persons or by an impersonal system; it is the opposite of freedom and control; (ii) 'meaninglessness' which results from working on a small part of a unit or in a restricted sphere of the process; (iii) 'isolation' which is the opposite of integration and results from an increase in man -management distance and (iv) 'self-estrangement' which occurs when a 'lack of present time involvement means that the work becomes primarily instrumental'.[23]

Blauner apparently rounds off the causative pathway

argument summarized above by asserting that the worker's industry 'even affects the kind of social personality he develops, since an industrial environment tends to breed a distinctive social type.'[24] There is however a further element in the structure of Blauner's theory; the definition of technology with which the theory operates recognises both material and non-material elements.[25] The machinery and the skills required, for example, together with the man-management interaction are dependant upon the technical arrangements in this latter sense. It is for this reason that Blauner has been seen as a 'technological determinist'[26]. Later work in this tradition therefore runs the risk of a similar charge of determinism.[27]

This is not to suggest, of course, that no relationships exist between technology, behaviour, organisation structure or work group formation. Woodward for example examined the relationship between organisational forms and technical complexity and found that firms using 'similar technical methods had similar organisational structures.'[28] She was able to devise a scale of technical complexity based on a combination of the engineering characteristics of the process (unit, batch, mass, continuous) with the nature of the product (integral or dimensional).[29] There was no one general principle of organisation; structures varied within constraints partially set by technology.

There has been further development building on these ideas. The frequency of major product changes has been added,[30] together with measures of the 'routineness of work'.[31] Perrow has distinguished the effects on organisation structure due to non-routine work. The need to deal with exceptions leading to high power and high discretion whilst routine work leads to low power and discretion, with coordination by planning.[32]

The importance of technology as a factor affecting

work groups has been emphasised by a number of authors.[33] Some have noted the prevention of work group formation,[34] others have pointed to the importance of job characteristics.[35] Attempts to relate these various effects and to include additional variables, such as interaction with the environment, have led to the adoption of a so called Socio-Technical Systems approach.[36]

Socio-Technical Systems Theory

This perspective sees the formal sub-structures of an organisation, the technology, and the members' requirements as being inter-related. Each of these aspects is considered to be at an equivalent analytical level so that explanation is in flow-chart terms. It merely records the direction of the relations and indentifies the demands, the inputs and outputs, of each sub-system. This leads to a principal concern with the design of the particular structure that best balances the disparate elements and allows the attainment of the main goal of the organisation.

It was noted above that a causative chain linking technology with organisation structure and on to affective consequences invites charges of determinism. A Socio-Technical Systems approach treats this problem by allowing higher order interaction. Technology may interact with organisation structure and this may in turn have consequences for members' possible reactions. Thus 'what seems to happen is that technology is very often a partial predictor.'[37] The concept of technology as a predictor, albeit partial, then incorporates the idea that;

> 'control systems are constrained by technologies but also that they are man-made attempts to perceive and cope with a technology. They thus intervene between technology and behaviour.' 38

Dependence upon technical arrangements is not however

the only constraint on organisation structure; members requirements may exert an effect. Of special relevance to this thesis is the work of Trist and Bamforth on the mechanisation of the mines. They examined the ways in which the 'needs' of mine workers were not met by concomitant changes in the organisation structure.[39]

The traditional 'single place working' system in the mines was based on largely autonomous work groups which were self-selected and which were able to use their multiple skills to completely work out their own small part of the coal seam. The introduction of the mechanised 'conventional longwall method' changed this basic system. Specialist shifts were introduced; the first cutting the coal with machines, the second loading the coal onto a conveyor and the third advancing the props, cutter and conveyor for the next cycle. The result of the introduction of this system was the break-up of the gangs and the undermining of the cohesion within the workforce. The routinisation and standardisation of procedures also meant that coordination was by planning, in fact by supervisors on the surface. The closeness of supervision caused hostility and dissatisfaction.

This situation may be directly compared with that of the Manchester Dock workers whose gangs occasionally faced dissolution by the operation of the NDLB as reported by the Liverpool University researchers in 1954:

> 'The disruption of a gang has several unfortunate consequences. First and foremost, it creates a group of dissatisfied men, for if a dock worker values permanence in his relationships sufficiently highly to remain a gang member, he is likely to feel resentful when it is destroyed by circumstances beyond his control....The disruption of a gang has, moreover, an effect on all permanent gang members, for it threatens the existence of informal working relationships.' 40

Trist goes on to argue for the introduction of a 'composite longwall method' which would allow the men to use their skills, reduce supervision and de-specialise the work roles - thus he juggles the elements to optimise the system's performance.

The organisation structure therefore interacts with the demands of its members, with the technology adopted, and with the environment in which it operates. In Socio-Technical Systems theory the basis of members' reactions is usually non-problematic, a set of psychological and universal 'needs' in the sense discussed above. Technology however is counted a variable and in the work so far mentioned its action has been seen as more or less homogeneous at each level. That is to say as linear. It is possible however that the effects of technology on organisation structure are tempered by external factors and some authors have argued therefore that local characteristics modify the homogeneous effects.[41] In addition, some Socio-Technical Systems theorists have given consideration to the concept of the environment, especially in its economic aspect. One attempt at a general theory having been made by Emery and Trist.[42]

Socio-Technical Systems theory overcomes some of the inherent limitations of its constituent approaches. However it also has a tendency to accumulate their faults. It will be useful to examine these in connection with the theoretical frameworks in which they first appear. Four such shortcomings may be discerned which are best labelled deficiencies of assumption, emphasis, internal logic and ommission.

In taking over some part or all of the conception of man developed by the organisational psychologists the Socio-Technical Systems theorist makes the assumption that

men seek common objectives in work. Workers have needs that are to be met at work and where organisation structure or technical arrangements prevent this the system will malfunction. The needs of men are assumed to be universal in order that the theory may account, systematically, for just such malfunctions. However, as will be discussed below, other satisfactions may be sought by workers that tend to devalue the emphasis placed on the work context. Further, far from workers seeking to satisfy universal needs in work, it can be argued that different groups of workers require different things from work. In a given situation, although some universal requirements may exist, workers may nevertheless display differential behaviour.

Socio-Technical Systems theory shares with early organisation theory a concern to evaluate performance. This prescriptive emphasis undermines the explanatory power of the theory. The factors in the theory can be altered to produce a new system state, which may lead to a more efficient operation, but by themselves they do not necessarily constitute an explanation of the causes of particular organisation structures or of particular systems behaviour. For example there may be parallels between work groups of miners and dock workers in terms of skill concentrations and resentment of interference. The reaction of the members of such groups may be unpredictable however if the rationale of the group is assumed to be limited to the kind of issues examined by Trist. In the following description it is clear that the dockwork gang exists as an economic bargaining unit and its disruption would mean not merely interference in autonomous working but possible loss of earnings:

> 'After an hour or two, working with their expert knowledge and skill, based on years of experience, they sum up what the yield will be on a piece-work momentum in conjunction with the rate for the

commodity they are handling. If the manner in which the cargo has been stowed creates obstacles to a piece-work output, they will stop the job, sum up what a day's output would yield over and above the time-rate, the agreed minimum hourly rate, and if the yield is too small to warrant an all-out backbreaking piece-work effort, they will call in the ship's foreman and tell him that the job warrants extra men, plus money to make it pay on a piece-work basis... If the ship is required to make her sailing date on time, to avoid a stoppage or a refusal of piece-work (in favour of a time-rate that could delay the ship for many days) they (the employers) will probably agree to the first demand or step up their offer.' 43

Socio-Technical Systems theory shares with Structural Functionalism the basic notion of a social system as an organic whole and alike with it also the most serious internal logical deficiency; the danger of the reification of the system. The impersonal processes and the unintended consequences that feature in such approaches lack an adequate treatment of the rational, intended, activities of people. Whilst it can provide an illustration of the inter-relatedness of social factors a systems theory that couches explanation in terms of goals, rather than merely end-states, runs the risk of imputing rationality to a theoretical construct, of committing 'a theoretical legerdemain'.[44]

Possibly the most substantial objection to Socio-Technical Systems theory however concerns its exclusion of external interactions. Although some attention has been paid to the environment by Socio-Technical Systems theorists account should also be taken of the variability in the members that has its origin outside the organisation.

<u>The 'Action Approach'</u>

When attention is directed outside the organisation the worker's interpretation of his situation and the manner in which the worker arrives at that interpretation become

relevant. Social structural factors, which constitute the context in which the worker originates therefore acquire a certain significance in organisation theory.

> 'His (the worker's) plans together with the system of expectations determine the meaning that he gives to the work situation. Different workers will find different degrees of satisfaction in the same situation, according to whether, for example, they come to the firm to use their skill or only to earn a living, that is to say according to their own kind of personal goals.' 45

Inkeles among others has pointed to the relevance of social structure to perceptions in the industrial context, and accounts of behaviour within industrial organisations have been constructed which acknowledge this subjective dimension.[46] Inadequacies in previous organisation theory, together with a concern to elucidate the derivation and consequences of these subjective responses, have resulted in the development of the 'social action' approach.

The work of Goldthorpe and his collaborators provides an important example of an attempt to relate the subjective aspects of worker behaviour to the wider social structural context, whilst paying proper regard to socio-technical elements.[47] However the researchers' findings generally 'did not accord well' with what they labelled 'the "Technical Implications" approach or with Human Relations'.[48] In particular they contend:

> 'The nature and extent of the differences are not such that they would lead us to challenge in any comprehensive way the 'image' of the car assembler which is generally accepted. However, the 'deviant' aspects of our findings do indicate certain <u>theoretical</u> weaknesses in the sociology of the assembly-line workers as this has so far progressed: specifically, they suggest that (a) too great a weight has been given to technology as a determinant of attitudes and behaviour in the work situation; and that (b) too little attention has been paid to the prior orientations which workers have towards employment, and

> which inturn influence their choice of job, the meaning they give to work and <u>their definition of</u> the work situation.' 49

Therefore:

> 'The approach which we have found necessary, in order to make intelligible the attitudes and behaviour of our Vauxhall assemblers, entails a 'social action' perspective. The starting point is not with the assembly-line technology, but rather with the ordering of wants and expectations relative to work, and with the meaning thus given to work, which result in men taking up and retaining assembly-line jobs. And the key explanatory notion to which we have then referred is not that of the enterprise as a production system, but that of the definition of work and of the work situation, dominant among the assemblers we studied;..' 50

The notion that expectations are of importance in understanding workers' behaviour originated with Morse.[51] Her explanation of the satisfaction derived by workers emphasized the extent to which the situation provided the particular rewards that the worker sought. Those with higher expectations therefore would be less satisfied, in a given situation, than those with low expectations.

The ideas associated with the 'social action' perspective however extend this notion to examine the related expectations of such members and the overall understanding that they have of their situation. Indeed understanding the meaning of an expectation relies upon an understanding of the individual's orientations and his total social position.[52] Explanations of behaviour in organisations therefore require, at least initially, some examination of the worker's orientations, his 'finite provinces of meaning.'[53]

The concept that underlies this kind of explanation therefore is that of 'verstehen', of subjective meaning.[54]

> 'An action is explained when the meaning which the

> typical actor attributes to it has been demonstrated. At the same time, action is motivated on the basis of the actor's background and environment: this is its 'because' motive. I act in a certain way, therefore, not only in order to attain certain desired ends but also because I see myself as the sort of person who engages in acts of this nature.' 55

Silverman is here concerned to develop 'a view of social reality as socially constructed, socially sustained and socially changed',[56] and in this respect also wishes to argue that the frame of reference of the action approach conflicts with that of the Systems Approach. However as has been said it is not the concern of the present research to reconcile the wider theoretical issues that are involved here.[57]

Orientations to Work

In their original formulation Goldthorpe et al.[58] distinguish three 'ideal-types' of orientation: instrumental, bureaucratic and solidaristic. 'Work', as Thorns[59] points out 'has generally been conceived either as having intrinsic value for the individual or as a means to an end', and it is this dichotomy that forms the basis for the typology that the authors give. The instrumental orientation therefore involves a conception of work as primarily a 'means to an end, or ends, external to the work situation.'[60] As a result of this view of work the worker's life is sharpely dichotomised between work and non-work aspects, his job is not of central importance in his life.[61] Those with a bureaucratic orientation however view their work as a service to an organisation. Their work represents a central interest in their lives and self concepts formed through work will carry over into their non-work lives. Finally, those with a solidaristic orientation, although they will see work as a means to an end, will also perceive it as a group activity. Work therefore takes on significance in providing for workers'

affective needs. Work will 'help form the basis of workers' out-plant social existence,' and there will be 'some distinctive occupational culture and occupational community.'[62]

Ingham[63] examined these ideas in greater detail. On his view workers can have an instrumental, an instrumental/expressive(positive) or an instrumental/expressive(negative) orientation.[64] The retention of the word instrumental seems intended merely to convey the fact, stressed by Goldthorpe et al. and Ingham, that 'all work activity, in industrial society at least, tends to have a basically instrumental component...'[65] Orientations are therefore basically estimates of the relative importance attached by workers to economic and/or expressive elements in work, together with the kind of expressive relations involved. For example whilst the instrumental worker seeks only to maximise his earnings those with an expressive (positive) orientation may seek non-economic rewards in a work situation with a large affect component. By contrast workers with an expressive (negative) orientation value solidarity and define the work situation as one of conflict.

In his later formulation Ingham adopts a terminology which allows a concern for economic aspects to vary independently of the instrumental. The latter can then be seen as the opposite pole to expressive concern.[66] Four basic types could be discerned and it becomes possible, for example, to categorize workers as non-economic but instrumental - that is as having a view of work as a means to an end but without specifying what that end might be.

At this point it has to be established that orientations refer not merely to wants but also to expectations. Workers recognise variation in the possible provision of conditions so orientations must 'always be viewed in terms of the structure of "ends" from the actor's point of

view.'[67] Those with high economic requirements and high expressive requirements will therefore tend to give priority to the economic requirements if work capable of providing both types of reward cannot be found, and in just this sense they will be instrumental.[68]

It is clear that the worker will encounter variation in the real world whatever his orientation. The combination of an orientation and a particular organisation will lead to a specific form of involvement. The way orientations are met in an organisation produces the direction and intensity of affect response.[69] Inclusion of the notion of involvement has followed the typology given by Etzioni.[70] Three major types are presented:

i) Calculative, which may be positive or negative but is of low (affect) intensity;
ii) Alienative, which is a negative commitment of high affect;
iii) Moral, which is a positive commitment of high intensity.

Etzioni's classification is based on the attitude of the lower-level participants to their superiors' method of control and hence each kind of involvement reflects a type of compliance with a particular sort of power. There is a parallel classification of power and involvement; remunerative with calculative, coercive with alienative and identive with moral.[71] Etzioni argues that there is a tendency, a 'strain', for power and involvement types to occur together. Following the notion of prior orientation however this strain towards congruence - where there is evidence of it - can be seen as the result of members' self selection into organisations which they see as suitable for their requirements. By the same reasoning within a particular organisation there may be members with different perceptions of the form of power, and therefore with different forms of involvement.[72]

Satisfaction can now be assessed in the light of this approach. '"Satisfaction"', as Palmer et al. note, 'does not necessarily denote positive feelings of commitment. So reluctance to leave is not necessarily correlated with work satisfaction.'[73] Workers can be satisfied or not with a job in terms of its meeting their principle requirements, and satisfied or not in a job in terms of the tasks involved.[74] '"Satisfied"' as Mann remarks, 'without being "happy" in their work.'[75]

The initial 'deviance' discovered by Goldthorpe, that a negative job attitude may co-exist with a positive attitude to the firm, can be explained in these terms. The joint authors, Goldthorpe later explains, queried whether 'dissatisfaction which assemblers typically experience in performing their work tasks necessarily becomes generalised dissatisfaction...'.[76] As it was originally developed therefore their theoretical perspective seems able to resolve these apparent contradictions. A full statement of the approach is as follows:

> '(a) That industrial workers do not enter different kinds of employment in quite a random manner in terms of their social characteristics, but rather tend to form labour forces which are in some respects relatively homogeneous.
>
> (b) That this homogeneity will frequently be greater than could be explained in terms of limiting factors such as ability, training, skill levels, etc.; it will also result, and in particular under conditions of full employment, from workers making choices between different kinds of employment available to them, according to their existing wants and aspirations relative to work.
>
> (c) That in this way, members of labour forces of particular enterprises, or more probably sections of these, will tend as collectivities to have a distinctive orientation towards work and to inject a certain set of meanings into their work situation; these meanings will then play an

important part in determining their behaviour within this situation.

(d) That since the homogeneity in question results from individual choice of employment - that is, from a process of self selection - the sources of the specific content of orientations to work and of definitions of work situations will to some significant extent be located externally to the industrial enterprise and pertain to non-work aspects of the individual's total life situation; for instance, to his community, to his status position and experience of social mobility, etc.' 77

In other words the emphasis is on self-selection and factors external to the organisation. Critisism has centred on this aspect. It has been claimed that the approach falsely assumes workers to have an ordered and consistent set of priorities which is manifest throughout all aspects of industrial behaviour.[78] However those using this approach have usually pointed out that external (and prior) factors do not entirely account for orientations.[79]

Whelan[80] has examined the theoretical basis of the argument; he concludes:

'All that is logically required, in adopting a social-action perspective, is evidence that the orientations in question are independent of a particular structure with which one is concerned. It does not necessarily imply the assumption that the orientations take the form of clear-cut priorities, nor that they alone or mainly determine all aspects of behaviour in the situation, nor that self-selection is the only process which makes them relevant.' 81

The penultimate point, that explanation does not rely upon orientations alone, has also been noted by those concerned to apply the social-action perspective in empirical work.[82] The extent to which workers direct their own activity may be the most important element in understanding industrial behaviour[83] but:

'The way in which work is experienced depends neither on work factors nor orientation alone, but on the interaction of the two. Furthermore, an orientation to work should not be thought of as arising outside and brought into the work situation but as something which derives from the individual's total experience. In moving outside the factory gate we should beware of creating a false dichotomy between work and non-work life.' 84

It has to be noted also that the interaction of orientations and organisation structure is not a single isolated event. The 'total experience' of the worker is also a 'process'.[85] All prior experiences are 'marshalled into a personal, subjectively meaningful coherence'[86] as a result of the continual traffic between social sub-structures of norms and values, perspectives and rationalisations, produced and encountered in the course of everyday life.

If orientation to work is to be used as a variable in the examination of a particular organisation then its value is called into question unless, as noted above, it can be shown to be <u>independent</u> of that organisation. The issue then arises as to the origin of the orientations under study, or, to reduce the assumptions implied in that statement, the origins of the detectable variation in orientations.[87]

At this point aspects of the study of social stratification become salient, for it is in the wider social structural context that the sources of variation in orientation must be sought. Furthermore, if orientations are derived from community structure, and if in turn community structure is shaped by the industrial and occupational structure of an area, it is obviously 'impossible to understand orientations except in the context of this latter structure.'[88] Indeed, the notion of orientations was developed by the authors of a study which had as its primary theoretical concerns particular social structural phenomena.

Their results were presented in support of sub-strata being associated with particular constellations of attitudes and belief. If we agree therefore that orientations contribute to an understanding of behaviour in industry and that:

> 'Personal evaluations of life situations are relative to the precise social locations which people occupy...' 89

then an examination of a particular industry must of necessity include an appreciation of the social structural location of its work force.

Sources of Variation in Orientations and Social Imagery

The relevance of the Affluent Worker study in the present context arises because it is an example of an examination of industrial attitudes and behaviour in conjunction with social structural variables and related perceptions. Its own principal rationale however sets it firmly in the tradition of the examination of class structure. The authors point out[90] that the treatment of industrial attitudes and behaviour was, in fact, a 'by-product' of that work. The research they conducted;

> 'arose out of the debate on the working class in the particular form in which this was being carried on in one industrial country, Great Britain, at one period of time, the late 1950's and early 1960's.' 91

In particular the study was conducted to test the so-called theory of 'embourgeoisement' which could be summarized as follows. By the middle of the twentieth century the aspects of the development of capitalism that Marx 'had manifestly failed to anticipate'[92] might legitimately be combined in a perspective that viewed as likely the 'progressive integration of the working class into the structure of capitalism.'[93] Following the Second World War the

break-up of old communities and the development of a high mass consumption economy might further be seen as evidence of the 'decline and decomposition of the working class.'[94] In other words it could be theorised that the working class would become difficult to distinguish from the middle class in terms of its economic resourses and consumer power and further that the working class would adopt middle class life styles.[95] The adoption of the normative aspects of middle class life having special significance since it would mean an end to the possibility of a radical consciousness within the working class,[96] an important and necessary correlate of which is class identification.[97] What therefore are these changes in the working class?

> 'The particular type of development on which interest has focussed has differed somewhat from country to country: for example, in Great Britain it has been the extensive building of new estates and new towns mainly through the agency of public authorities;... But in all cases one common outcome has been stressed: the decline of the traditional type of working class community, the decline of the 'urban village', founded upon the residential stability and social homogeneity of its inhabitants.
>
> As communities of this kind have been disrupted or deserted, so, it has been argued, has the matrix of the traditional working-class way of life been destroyed. It was through the network of kinship, the pattern of neighbouring, the collective activities and rituals of communal solidarity which characterised such districts that working-class culture was transmitted and preserved. Once this basis is gone, therefore, the local and particularistic nature of working-class life is immediately threatened. In the new communities that have been formed, manual workers and their families are often physically separated from their extra-familial kin and live in far less intimacy with their neighbours than previously. Thus, they become more fully exposed than before to the varied and powerful pressures of the wider society - to the impact of mass media and to the influences exerted through their greater contact with other social groups and strata than their own. And in this way, it is then claimed, they are made more receptive to the appeals of higher standards and new styles of living; their expectations and aspirations cease

to be defined by traditional norms and values. In contrast with the class-based solidarity and equalitarian emphases of the old community, a concern with status and with status distinctions emerges. In other words, these families aim to share, and indeed come to share, along with those of the bulk of white-collar workers, in a way of life of what one writer has referred to as the 'middle-mass' - a vast amorphous collectivity within which no clear-cut lines of economic or socio-cultural division can be drawn.' 98

Now the notion of embourgeoisement is not central to the present study. However in the exposition related to the 'Affluent Worker' research dock workers appear as 'Traditional Proletarians'; one of two 'largely hypothetical'[99] 'traditional' types within the working class. The main concern of that empirical work however is with a type dependent on recent historical changes and the traditional types are included for comparative purposes.

Lockwood early made it clear that he was aware of the need to relate work experience to class indentification:

'The size of the factory, the organisation of the work group, its relation to supervision and management, the degree to which the worker has control over his work process, the extent to which the job facilitates or prevents communication between workers, the rigidity ofthe distinction between staff and workers, security of tenure, the progressiveness of earnings, and job discipline; these represent some of the points of reference for a construction of a typology of work relationships, without which no clear appreciation of class identification can be obtained.' 100

Indeed as the full picture builds up of how an individual views his society, in other words when an individual's 'image' of his society is made clear, so then the more clear becomes the rationale of his answers to particular contextual questions.[101]

Objective circumstances therefore, including work,

are related to particular subjective views, including views of work.[102] In an industrial setting the work of Hopper[103] provides an example of this relationship. It is, he claims, reactions to authority that govern worker responses. In general;

> 'normative expectations of authority vary between complete receptivity to complete rejectivity'

and he concludes;

> 'one of the most important sources of variation in normative expectations of authority would, therefore, be the social class of the subordinate.' 104

In his principal statement Lockwood[105] reaches similar conclusions. He elaborates the possible responses and delineates the types which appear in the Affluent Worker study. In so doing he draws on earlier work that had pointed to the different world views held within sections of the working class.

Popitz[106] had abstracted from the responses of industrial workers categories of views of society which are all based on a dichotomy between 'us' (the workers) and 'them' (the bosses). The dichotomy is seen as;

a) An Ordered Structure which is either:

   i) Static (and harmonious) or,
   ii) Progressive (changing in favour of the workers)

b) Unchangeable Dichotomy which is either:

   i) Collective Destiny (and therefore unquestioned) or,
   ii) Collective Fate and an Individual Conflict (involving individual resignation)

c) Class Society which is either:

   i) Susceptible to Reform or,
   ii) Changeable only by Revolution

This dichotomy, identified with manual workers, is called by Bott[107] a 'power model'. Bott distinguishes two basic approaches, the power and prestige models, and finds examples of four types;

i) Two valued power model (the basic dichotomy);
ii) Three valued prestige model (used by those who place themselves in the middle class);
iii) Many valued prestige model (used by those who experience some incompatability in their self placing as working class);
iv) Mixed power and prestige model (used in an unstable way).

Bott clearly identifies the sources of variation in such images as being in the immediate social context;

> 'People do have direct experience of distinctions of power and prestige in their places of work among their colleagues, in schools, and in their relationships with friends, neighbours, and relatives. In other words, the ingredients, the raw materials, of class ideology are located in the individual's various primary social experiences, rather than in his position in a socio-economic category.' 108

Lockwood accepts the point that social consciousness is influenced by the immediate social context but notes that, although the principal differences treated have been between classes, structural factors among 'manual workers exhibit a very considerable diversity.'[109] Structural changes therefore may be associated with changes <u>within</u> the working class. It is this consideration that leads to the delineation of three different types of worker and associated types of image. These are;

I) Traditional Proletarian worker, who will typically possess a dichotomous power model;

II) Traditional Deferential worker, who will view society as a status hierarchy;

III) Privatised worker, who will see society in 'pecuniary' terms.

Now the basic polarity within this typology exists between types (I) and (II) considered together, and type (III). Its basis is to be found in Bott; it concerns the relative strength of experiential contacts:

> 'If their experiences are similar, they are more likely to have similar class reference groups. But if their experiences are not only similar but also shared - that is if they form a close-knit network or an organised group - they are even more likely to converge on a common definition. Thus one would expect to find more consensus in a mining village than in a mixed working class area where experiences were similar but not shared.' 110

Although different therefore, in ways which are discussed below, types I and II share certain common features, and type III needs to be seen in juxtaposition to them. Lockwood notes that the traditional worker is likely to be found in industries and communities that are 'backwaters of national industry and urban development'.[111] These are the declining industries of modern society and the effects of this decline are increased by the residential mobility of those who are employed in them. These older communities are therefore breaking up.

The social expectations of the traditional worker are bounded by the local community and, further, work and community relationships involve the reinforcing of interpersonal influences. These workers are, in other words, highly integrated into the community and will see the strata or classes of which their social world is composed as 'active social formations.'[112]

In comparison with this the privatised worker represents an emerging trend:

> 'Basically, the pecuniary model of society is an ideological reflection of work attachments that are instrumental and of community relationships that are privatised.' 113

The privatised worker is relatively socially isolated at work. However not being a member of a cohesive work group, whether as a result of technological constraints or not, is a matter of indifference to him. He possesses no desire to carry work associations over into his leisure time. His central interests are with the family and the home.[114] His home itself is likely to be in one of the newer council or private low-cost housing estates, especially the latter, where he will live amongst a population of strangers.[115] In his community life therefore the privatised worker is a member of a system based on attributive rather than interactive criteria.[116] The status order of his society is consequently based on conspicuous consumption.

In his formulation Lockwood is preparing the ground for the explanation of the findings in the Affluent Worker study and that work therefore comprises the bulk of the evidence for this type.[117] Supporting evidence for the Deferential Traditionalist[118] however was not so readily available and derives primarily from work on the deferential voter.[119] At this point it may also be noted that Lockwood originally claimed a sociological rather than an historical meaning for the word 'traditional' and that therefore the type is not limited to some particular time.[120]

In comparison with the somewhat anonymous world of the privatised worker the deferential worker is likely to be found in small towns or rural areas or will be employed in small scale enterprises. He is likely to be engaged in a service occupation or a skilled craft and a major feature of his relations at work will be frequent direct contact with his superiors. Paternalism is the characteristic of authority in the work situation. The deferential worker views society in hierarchical terms and sees those in positions of power as legitimate occupants of that position. A notion such as "breeding" provides the basis

for this belief, even to the extent, it has been suggested, that when giving support to the Labour Party he will prefer middle class leadership.[121] Now it is precisely this legitimacy that separates the deferential from the proletarian worker.

The Traditional Proletarian Worker

The proletarian worker is firmly embedded in a community and has an oppositional view of society. Lockwood is able to draw on several sources to develop his idea of this type and it will be useful to examine the background to this formulation. The basic feature of all traditional working class life is supposed to be its unity:

> 'A high degree of residential stability, deep commitment of people to their neighbourhoods, and closeknit social organisation within the local area are among the most striking features of working class community life.' 122

this situation encourages conformity;

> 'The wide network of friends, neighbours, and kin... is a factor of significance in encouraging compliance with the views and expectations of others... Certainly it is the case that working class men and women, caught in a dilemma between their own personal views and those of a group of peers, are likely to go along with the group.' 123

Building on various empirical studies[124] Lockwood takes this kind of overall view and locates the proletarian worker:

> 'The most highly developed forms of proletarian traditionalism seem to be associated with industries such as mining, docking, and shipbuilding; industries which tend to concentrate workers together in solidary communities and to isolate them from the influences of the wider society. Workers in such industries usually have a high degree of job involve-

ment and strong attachments to primary work groups that possess a considerable autonomy from technical and supervisory constraints. Pride in doing "men's work" and a strong sense of shared occupational experiences make for feelings of fraternity and comradeship which are expressed through a distinctive occupational culture. These primary groups of workmates not only provide the elementary units of more extensive class loyalties but work associations also carry over into leisure activities, so that workers in these industries usually participate in what are called "occupational communities". Workmates are normally leisure-time companions, often neighbours, and not infrequently kinsmen. The existence of such closely knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours and relatives is the hallmark of the traditional working-class community. The values expressed through these social networks emphasise mutual aid in everyday life and the obligation to join in the gregarious pattern of leisure, which itself demands the expenditure of time, money and energy in a public and present-oriented conviviality and eschews individual striving "to be different". As a form of social life, this communal sociability has a ritualistic quality, creating a high moral density and reinforcing sentiments of belongingness to a work-dominated collectivity.' 125

The major empirical study of dockworkers that Lockwood could draw on had established that some of these features were to be found amongst the work force in Manchester.[126] It had drawn attention to the solidarity of the men and had attributed this to an enforced isolation due to the attitudes of those outside the occupation.

> 'The lack of separation between work and home, the patriarchal family structure and the tradition of the son following the occupation of his father have all contributed to the development of closely-knit dock communities with their own routines of life and system of values, but probably the most important single factor in this process has been the attitudes displayed towards the dock workers by people outside the industry who generally consider it a low status occupation.' 127

The consequences of such solidarity have been examined in a study[128] of differential strike activity. In this

dock workers are bracketed with other groups which are claimed to be similarly isolated, usually for geographical reasons.

> 'The miners, the sailors, the longshoremen, the loggers, and, to a much lesser extent, the textile workers form isolated masses, almost a "race apart". They live in their own separate communities: the coal patch, the ship, the waterfront district, the logging camp, the textile town. These communities have their own codes, myths, heroes, and social standards. There are few neutrals in them to mediate the conflicts and dilute the mass. All people have grievances, but what is important is that all the members of each of these groups have the same grievances: industrial hazards or severe depression, unemployment or bad living conditions,... or low wages or intermittent work... The employees form a largely homogeneous, undifferantiated mass - they all do about the same work and have about the same experiences. It is hard to get out of this mass. The jobs are specialised, and the workers come to be also... Protest is less likely to take the form of moving to another industry and more the character of the mass walkout.' 129

Thus a close inter-relation is asserted between the job and the community; the community 'supports' the occupation 'in the sense that the individual is orientated towards the occupation from an early age'.[130] And one may note, with Caplow,[131] that isolation is likely also to promote the inheritance of jobs. This situation, of close occupational and community interaction, has been called an 'occupational community'.[132] In the form used by Lockwood the concept involves workers socialising more in their off-hours with others in the same occupation with whom they frequently 'talk-shop', in addition the occupation constitutes the reference group for the employees, guiding conduct with its system of status and standards of behaviour. It creates 'a high moral density', as is perhaps well demonstrated in this reminiscence of Jack Dash:

> 'I recall, just a few years back, as I stood talking to an elderly docker, nodding a "Good Morning" to another older chap as he passed; "Jack," said my

> old pal, "for Christ's sake don't lower yourself to talk to that no-good, dirty, black-legging, scabbing bastard!" Apparently he had scabbed in the big strike of 1912 - and this was 1964!' 133

Lockwood's statement represents an attempt to generalise these sorts of findings and to link the type so formed to a particular image of society. The main elements of the Traditional Proletarian worker are summarised in the Affluent Worker study:[134]

i) A basic conception of society as an unalterable dichotomy;
ii) wants and expectations that are fixed so economic concerns comprise the maintenance of existing standards;
iii) fatalism and orientation to the present;
iv) emphasis on collective action and group solidarity with concomitant restraint on individual advance.

A considerable body of work has followed the Affluent Worker study, attention being paid mainly to the two types of traditional worker. However there has, in addition, been some criticism of the approach on theoretical grounds.[135] Briefly, since the concern of the present research is with the proletarian traditionalist, it may be noted that attempts to locate the deferential worker have been relatively unsuccessful.[136] Deferential behaviour may, in fact, exist as a form of 'instrumentalism' - that is:

> 'individuals may behave deferentially,... in situations where their ends are served by doing so, but without necessarily adopting deferential positions across a spectrum of social and political issues.' 137

It was possible at the time of the Affluent Worker study to observe 'that even within one industry a plurality of self-interpretations of the working class and of societal images exists'.[138] However the typology discussed above requires the demonstration of some reasonable connection between the type found and the industry in which it is found.

In their study of shipbuilding workers Brown and Cousins[139] believe:

> 'those occupational groups which Lockwood specifically points to as providing the basis for a class conscious "traditional proletariat" (namely miners, dockworkers and shipbuilders) are historically misrepresented by such a description. Lockwood, in common with others, seriously over-estimates both the homogeneity and the class consciousness of these kinds of worker.' 140

Partially this may be the result of the very processess that Lockwood identifies, namely the fact that status systems are interactional and not attributional amongst such workers. As Brown and Cousins observe:

> 'the traditional industries of mining, dockwork and shipbuilding are, or were, strongholds of piecework. This payments system focuses industrial conflict on the relationship between "gaffer" and worker in the day-to-day struggle for good jobs, better prices, concessions for special difficulties. This may seriously dilute the workers' awareness of an external "them".' 141

Brown and Cousins are led to suggest therefore that 'a social situation which gives rise to a coherent image of society may well be the exception rather than the rule.'[142] Their conclusions may be summarised as follows:

i) There is considerable diversity of social perspectives amongst shipbuilding workers;
ii) Workers nevertheless display a sort of 'latent proletarianism';
iii) There is a mild structuring of the ideas related to images;
iv) That there is not one unambiguous image held consistently by individuals;
v) There is no automatic link between images and industrial attitudes;
vi) There are some links between some types of image and social characteristics. 143

The diversity and inconsistency of views has been

noted by several authors[144] and, indeed, it has been observed that such diversity was also present amongst the affluent workers of Luton.[145] In their survey of related ideological conceptions amongst a group of non-skilled workers Blackburn and Mann[146] suggest that the inconsistencies that may be found can be seen as 'attempts to grapple with the real contradictions of the worker's situation'.[147] In the words of another similar study:[148]

> 'Depending upon the immediate situation, men will down tools and talk a militant language or feel favourably disposed towards their jobs and employers. One wonders which evidence gives the true picture and the answer is that both pictures are true. Different situations strike different chords and there are no pressures demanding overall coherence.' 149

In this latter study however the notion of a proletarian worker is endorced as a useful type,[150] although, in passing, it may be noted that no particular industry was studied and the 'proletarian' workers were identified as those who were highly integrated into their occupational community.

By the time the present research was underway a study by Hill[151] appeared to confirm some aspects of the received view of dockworkers but presented evidence that suggested a weaker concentration of attitudes and images than is implied in the typology. Hill notes that non-economic bonds were exploited for instrumental purposes at work[152] and that solidarity could be seen as a response to a situation generated by the casual system in the sense noted by, for example, Cousins and Brown.[153]

Hill warns that whilst there is evidence to suggest the appositeness of the model drawn in the literature it may well be inappropriate in its extreme formulation:

> 'In the docks there were elements of activity (and

> sentiment) which reflected the community idea, though these should not be overestimated in the way many other occupational studies have done in their search for such communities.' 154

It proved difficult to trace any systematic links between those elements of community that could be identified, and industrial behaviour:

> 'It is noteworthy that local communities do not appear to have any impact on orientations. The "traditional worker" theory has argued that the society outside work has a major impact on orientations, particularly the local community in isolated, single-occupation areas, and that solidaristic ties are more important than instrumental rewards in traditional communities... The evidence of this research shows that there are no variations either by area of residence or distance from the dock gates and that instrumentality is <u>not</u> related to local communities in the predicted way.' 155

What links did exist were rather diffuse;

> 'The evidence suggests that patterns of sociability and labour recruitment do reflect the existence of a kind of occupational community, though this is neither very concentrated geographically nor are people's lives greatly influenced by it, in contrast to what older descriptions of dockland have maintained.' 156

However, Hill's respondents were mostly employed in conventional dock work and at a time when the Devlin reforms, which ended casualism, had just been introduced. The radically new technology and the operation of the docks under these reforms had not yet had much effect. Also, in London, where the research took place, the Docks were in serious decline. By comparison in Southampton the new technology had grown rapidly since the mid-1960's and the situation might be seen as similar to that of Tyneside shipbuilders where change in the industry had 'considerably reduced the differentiation of the workforce'.[157] Cousins

and Brown had concluded that this situation might actually lead to a pressure towards a proletarian outlook:

> 'If men's social consciousness is influenced by their immediate social context; and if we are right in stressing the importance of the market and work situations as influencing consciousness, then, one must expect "Proletarian" social perspectives to increase in importance. Whether the logic of the situation will work out in this way must remain uncertain, but the "modernisation" of a traditional industry may indeed have produced for the first time the conditions in which a "proletariat" can emerge.' 158

The Southampton Research

The Southampton study is an examination of a traditional industry that had undergone considerable change. The Docks labour force contained a substantial proportion of recruits who only had direct experience of this 'modernised' industry. The literature reviewed in the preceding sections locates the study of this labour force in its theoretical context. These theoretical considerations call for a wide ranging descriptive approach but some particular directions for analysis are also indicated.

Both organisational and extra-organisational factors need to be covered. Silverman has suggested the areas that might be included in the action analysis of an organisation. Although it is not sufficient, bearing in mind the wider concerns of this research, this plan provides a useful general approach within the organisational context:

> '1. The nature of the role-system and pattern of interaction that has been built up in the organisation, in particular the way in which it has historically developed and the extent to which it represents theshared values of all or some or none of the actors.

2. The nature of involvement of ideal-typical actors and the characteristic hierarchy of ends which they pursue. The way in which these derive from their biographies outside the organisation and from their experience of the organisation itself.

3. The actors' present definitions of their situation within the organisation and their expectations of the likely behaviour of others with particular reference to the strategic resources they perceive to be at their disposal and at the disposal of others.

4. The typical actions of different actors and the meaning which they attach to their action.

5. The nature and source of the intended and unintended consequences of action, with special reference to its effects on the involvement of the various actors and on the institutionalisation of expectations in the role-system within which they interact.

6. Changes in the involvement and ends of the actors and in the role-system, and their source both in the outcome of the interaction of the actors and in the changing stock of knowledge outside the organisation.' 159

Factors not limited to the organisational setting also require examination. The principal of these is social structural imagery. However the concern in the typology with 'communal sociability' indicates that attention should be paid in addition to both the strength and distribution of individuals' inter-relationships together with the typical patterns of sociability. One important aspect of these latter elements is the physical setting. Terms such as 'water-front district' and 'urban village' together with the emphasis on neighbours indicate the facilitating or constraining role of geographical location.

The descriptive study measures the work force against the typology overall but certain analytical procedures are suggested. The exact part played by geographical factors

is unclear but given the notion of the 'break-up of traditional communities', and the terms noted above, it might be expected that traditional proletarians within the work force would be geographically concentrated. Both the basic distribution and some form of area analysis therefore are called for.

Related to location is the notion of the 'closeness' of the community. This, together with the importance of kin and the 'patriarchal family structure' suggests that it might be useful to search for any systematic differences between docker's sons and others. The former might well be expected to demonstrate greater 'orientation to the occupation'.

Two factors argue for an examination of the work-force in terms of differential length of service. The changing technology has affected the pattern of working and weakened the role of the 'primary work group' to which the traditional proletarian is supposed to have 'strong attachment'. Differential exposure to traditional and new working techniques may be related therefore to the distribution of 'proletarianism'. Probably of greater significance however are the changes inaugurated by the decasualisation and modernisation agreements. There is, as indicated by Cousins and Brown, uncertainty as to the consequences of such changes. It may be for example that the agreement on work-sharing and the de-specialisation caused by the new technology will 'homogenize' the work force.

There is a second possible consequence of some interest however. The 'emerging trend' of the instrumental/privatised worker may be reflected in recruitment following the regular-isation of employment. Given the theoretical emphasis on self-selection the high pay and good job security might be expected to attract such workers to the docks after de-

casualisation.

All these considerations require an analysis in terms of differential experience and to this end details of length of service appear in the study wherever appropriate. However a convenient initial focus is provided by dividing the workforce about the year 1970 which marks the implementation of the modernisation agreements.

The research undertaken in Southampton takes all these various elements into account. It is introduced, in the next chapter, by a review of the local and national historical developments. This refers not only to the experiences of docks labour forces but also to specific aspects of the Port. A detailed examination follows of the sources of data and the research procedures adopted. Use was made of both employment records and interviews. The results of a preliminary analysis based on the records appears in Chapter Four. It includes fundamental population parameters, an examination of absence and a geographical social area classification.

The next five chapters report on the responses of a randomly selected sample of dockers. The sample's background is first examined and the men's prior expectations of their present job described. In Chapter Six the men's more general expectations are revealed together with their reactions to dockwork and its context. Chapter Seven reports an investigation of the ways in which the workers perceive the various structures within the Docks organisation, in conjunction with their definitions of the employment situation. Aspects of their associations and patterns of communal sociability are the subjects of Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine brings together the work aspirations of the men and the patterns of their social structural imagery. In the last chapter these different elements are brought together by a summary and some final conclusions are drawn.

Notes and References

1. As for example the Scientific Management School of F.W. Taylor. See The Principles of Scientific Management.

2. See F.J. Roethlisberger & W.J. Dickson, Management & the Worker.

3. Note however that an 'economic' explanation of Roethlisberger's results, especially quota restriction, may be possible in terms of workers' long term goals. See D. Roy, 'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop'; and 'Efficiency & the Fix'.

4. D. Silverman, The Theory of Organisations, pp.31-2. Silverman is good on the general theory and much of this section derives from his exposition. Note however that Silverman is concerned to produce a generalised 'action approach' based on recent empirical work.

5. An example of this type of approach is provided by A.N. Turner & P.R. Lawrence, Industrial Jobs & the Worker.

6. Silverman, op. cit., p.35.

7. See the discussion of these themes in A. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology.

8. Notably E.H. Schein, see, Organisational Psychology.

9. A good example being the work of C. Argyris, Integrating the Individual & the Organisation; and see 'Individual Actualisation in Complex Organisations,' in G.D. Bell, (ed), Organisations and Human Behaviour.

10. Closest in this respect is A. Zaleznik who extends the original approach by including other generalised personality needs. See, for example, an early paper with F.J. Roethlisberger & C.R. Christenson, 'The Motivation, Productivity & Satisfaction of Workers'.

11. A.H. Maslow, Motivation & Personality.

12. A survey of this and other related perspectives appears in M. Argyle, The Social Psychology of Work. Note also the similar concepts of F. Hertzberg, whose hygiene, maintenance factors and motivators govern dissatisfaction or satisfaction at work; see Work & the Nature of Man.

13. Silverman, op. cit., p.94.

14. V. Vroom, Work & Motivation, p.119. An example of situationally conditioned behaviour can be found in 'Ego Involvement, Job Satisfaction, & Job Performance'.

15. This notion is usefully discussed by T. Kynaston Reeves, 'Constrained & Facilitated Behaviour.'

16. J.M. Shepard, 'Technology, Alienation & Job Satisfaction.'

17. This summary is based on that given by Shepard, op. cit.

18. A useful summary of this whole field appears in A.H. Marcson, (ed), Automation, Alienation & Anomie.

19. L.R. Sayles, Behaviour of Industrial Work Groups.

20. cf., 'The relationships they establish can easily be disrupted, however, either because there is no formal recognition of the existence of the gangs or because gang members can, if they so wish, repudiate at will the controls that hold them together.' University of Liverpool, The Dock Worker, p.83.

21. C.R. Walker & R.H. Guest, Man on the Assembly Line. They see the organisation continuing to be operational in the face of this dissatisfaction due to the intervention of management. See also R.H. Guest, Organisational Change; who reiterates this point.

22. R. Blauner, Alienation & Freedom, p.15.

23. ibid, pp.16-26.

24. ibid, p.166.

25. ibid, p.6, but see also N.J. Smelser, The Sociology of Economic Life, p.96.

26. Silverman op. cit., p.108; and see also the conclusions of L.E. Davis & J.C. Taylor, 'Technology, Organisation & Job Structure', in R. Dubin, (ed), Handbook of Work, Organisation & Society.

27. These needs are made explicit by certain authors, such as E.E. Lawler & D.T. Hall, who additionally distinguish 'need' satisfaction & its component of 'performance' satisfaction; see 'The Relationship of Job Characteristics to Job Involvement, Satisfaction & Intrinsic Motivation.' For those who

see satisfaction as dependent on technology see, e.g., E.E. Lawler, 'Job Design & Employee Motivation'; E.E. Lawler & C.W. Porter, 'Perceptions Regarding Management Compensation'; J.R. Hackman, 'Nature of the Task as a Determiner of Job Behaviour'; S. Cotgrove, J. Dunham & C. Vamplew, The Nylon Spinners; H.L. Wilensky, 'Work as a Social Problem', in H.S. Becker, (ed), Social Problems.

28. J. Woodward, Management & Technology, p.16.

29. J. Woodward, Industrial Organisation: Theory & Practice, p.39.

30. See E. Harvey 'Technology & the Structure of Organisations'.

31. For example as operationalised by J. Hage & M. Aitken, 'Routine Technology, Social Structure & Organisation Goals'.

32. C. Perrow, Organisational Analysis: A Sociological View. This, of course, is precisely the change that occurs when individual cargoes become standardised loads.

33. For example S. Timperly, in 'A Study of a Self Governing Work Group', who also notes similar remarks by A. Fox, in A Sociology of Work in Industry.

34. A good example is provided by T. Lupton, On the Shop Floor.

35. See e.g. E.F. Borgatta & R.N. Ford, 'A Note on Task & Situational Factors in Work Orientation & Satisfaction'; W.W. Ronan, 'Relative Importance of Job Characteristics'; R. Cooper, 'Man, Task & Technology'; and including notions of personal self assessment, of male self-concepts, which arise in the context of work roles, see A. Kornhauser, Mental Health of the Industrial Worker, (esp. p.8.).

36. See F.E. Emery & E.L. Trist, 'Socio-Technical Systems', in C.W. Churchman & M. Verhulst, (eds), Management Science, Models & Techniques, p.94.

37. C. Davies, S. Dawson & F. Francis, 'Technology & Other Variables: Some Current Approaches in Organisation Theory', in M. Warner, (ed), The Sociology of the Workplace, p.161.

38. ibid.

39. See E.C. Trist & E.K. Bamforth, 'Some Social & Psychological Consequences of the Longwall Method of Coal Getting'.

40. University of Liverpool, op. cit., p.78.

41. See W.A. Faunce, 'Automation & the Division of Labour'; M.E. Simpson, 'Social Mobility, Normlessness & Powerlessness in two Cultural Contexts'; B. Tudor, 'A Specification of Relationships between Job Complexity & Powerlessness'; J. Child, 'Organisation Structure, Environment & Performance'; J. Child & R. Mansfield, 'Technology, Size & Organisation Structure'. W.H. Form says 'We should modify or abandon technological explanation of alienation and anomie', 'Technical & Social Behaviour of Workers in Four Countries'.

42. F.E. Emery & E.L. Trist, 'The Casual Texture of Organisational Environments'.

43. This description of working procedure is given by Jack Dash, Good Morning Brothers, pp.108-109.

44. P.L. Berger & T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, p.170, quoted by Silverman, op. cit., p.232. Berger & Luckmann also suggest that: 'A purely structural sociology is endemically in danger of reifying social phenomena'.

45. C. Durand, in A. Touraine et al., Workers's attitudes to Technical Change, p.29.

46. A. Inkeles, 'Industrial Man: the Relation of Status to Experience, Perception & Value', in H.A. Landsberger, (ed), Comparative Perspectives on Formal Organisations. See also, The Modernisation of Man. V. Vroom had urged that the basis for work motivation was to be sought in social status. See Work & Motivation, p.41. See also, G.I. Susman, 'Process Design, Automation, & Worker Alienation'; 'Job Enlargement: Effects of Culture on Worker Responses'; 'Automation, Alienation & Work Group Autonomy'. Also M. Meissner, 'Technology & the Worker: Technological Demands & Social Processes in Industry'; 'The Long Arm of the Job: Social Participation & the Constraints of Industrial Work', and M. Seeman 'Alienation & Engagement', in A. Campbell & P. Converse, (eds), The Human Meaning of Social Change. Turner & Lawrence, Industrial Jobs and the Worker, were obliged to search for explanations in terms of 'predispositions' when no relationship between job complexity and satisfaction could be found.

47. An initial statement is contained in J.H. Goldthorpe, 'Attitudes and Behaviour of Car Assembly Workers: A Deviant Case & a Theoretical Critique'. A fuller account of the research appears in J.H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Workers, 3 vols., and with respect to the present theoretical concerns especially

vol.1., Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, pp.37-42, & pp.174-186.

48. J.H. Goldthorpe, 'The Social Action Approach to Industrial Sociology'.

49. J.H. Goldthorpe, 'Attitudes & Behaviour of Car Assembly Workers', op. cit., (emphasis in the original).

50. ibid.

51. N.C. Morse, Satisfaction in the White Collar Job, and see N.C. Morse & R.S. Weiss, 'The Function & Meaning of Work & the Job'.

52. A point made by L. Karpic, 'Expectations & Satisfaction in Work', and reiterated by Silverman op. cit., pp.149-150, & Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.185, fn.3.

53. This is Silverman's definition of 'orientations', op. cit., p.150.

54. This is M. Weber's concept; see The Theory of Social & Economic Organisation, esp. Parson's note, p.87, fn.2.

55. Silverman, op. cit., pp.139-140.

56. Silverman, op. cit., p.5. An idea following the work of P. Berger & T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality.

57. Goldthorpe, for example, as C.T. Whelan points out in 'Orientations to Work', never intended the social action approach to be 'generalised in the manner of Silverman's work', see J. Goldthorpe, 'A Revolution in Sociology?'.

58. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., pp.37-42.

59. D.C. Thorns, 'Work & Its Definition'.

60. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.38.

61. R. Dubin had earlier established that this situation exists; he found that three out of four of the men he studied (N=491) did not count work and the workplace a central life interest. He notes that 'primary human relations take place only in situations where the social experience is valued by the individual'. See 'Industrial Workers Worlds: a Study of the "Central Life Interests" of Industrial Workers'. Similar evidence is contained in studies of popular definitions of work, see R.S. Wiess & R.C. Kahn, 'Definitions of Work & Occupation', and see Thorns, op. cit.

62. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.41.

63. G. Ingham, 'Organisational Size, Orientation to Work & Industrial Behaviour'.

64. Silverman, op. cit., pp.178-9, as R.K. Brown notes, renamed these orientations Economic Man, Hawthorne Man and Marxian Man. See 'Sources of Objectives in Work & Employment', M.J. Child, (ed), Man and Organisation.

65. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.41.

66. G. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation & Worker Behaviour, pp.41-56. Ingham's special concerns in this work lead him to simplify the orientation structure and concentrate on the two extreme cases: (i) those with high economic/instrumental, and (ii) those with high non-economic requirements and low economic requirements (non-economic/expressive).

67. G. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., p.49.

68. It is this distinction that allows Ingham to combine those 'basic' types that include high economic requirements, regardless of non-economic requirements, into an economic/instrumental category. He calls it a 'syndrome of wants and expectations'. Size of Industrial Organisations..., op. cit., p.50.

69. This is the way Ingham defines 'involvement'. See 'Organisation Size...', op. cit.

70. Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations, esp. 3-16.

71. Ingham, Size of Industrial..., op. cit., p.53, argues that workers in small firms are 'to some extent morally involved in the enterprise in so far as their involvement is based, at least in part, on identification'. Identive power is defined as 'the power derived from the ability to make people identify.' (emphasis in the original).

72. A point made by Silverman, op. cit., p.178.

73. G.L. Palmer et al., The Reluctant Job Changer, p.34.

74. W.W. Daniel makes this distinction, see 'Beyond the Wage Work Bargain'.

75. M. Mann, Workers on the Move, p.40.

76. Goldthorpe, 'The Social Action Approach', op. cit., (emphasis in original). It is ironic that the dis-

tinction made by Daniel, op. cit., should apparently fit so well with this general approach since in this article Goldthorpe is answering Daniel's severe criticism of the action approach.

77. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., who attributes this summary to an unpublished paper by Goldthorpe.

78. W.W. Daniel, 'Understanding Employee Behaviour in its Context', in J. Child, Man & Organisation, p.49 and R.K. Brown, 'Sources of Objectives in Work & Employment', also in Child op. cit., p.27.

79. For example by Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., p.136.

80. C.T. Whelan, op. cit.

81. ibid.

82. For example by H. Beynon & R.M. Blackburn, Perceptions of Work, and, although started from a different viewpoint, see the conclusions of D. Wedderburn & R. Crompton, Workers' Attitudes and Technology, p.151.

83. A claim made by M.L. Kohn & C. Schooler, 'Class, Occupation, & Orientation'.

84. Beynon & Blackburn, op. cit., p.4. The results of this empirical study lend support to the orientations approach.

85. Silverman, op. cit., pp.184-194.

86. G. Salaman, Community & Occupation, p.16: Salaman is summarizing C. Hughes, Men & Their Work who examines just these aspects of occupational life.

87. See for example Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., pp.57-60.

88. A point originally made by Gavin MacKenzie, 'The Affluent Worker' study: An evaluation and critique in F. Parkin, The Social Analysis of Class Structure, but also reiterated by Whelan, op. cit.

89. W.H. Form & J.A. Geshwender, 'Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of the Manual Workers'.

90. Goldthorpe et al., preface to vol.3., The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure.

91. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit.

92. ibid, p.4.

93. ibid, p.5. See also R. Dahrendorf, Class & Class Conflict in Industrial Society, and R. Bendix, Work & Authority in Industry.

94. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.6. Emphasis in the original.

95. Explicitly claimed by for example J. Klein, Samples from English Culture, vol.1., p.420. and by F. Zweig, The Worker in an Affluent Society, who, without examining the structural reasons why it might not have been possible at that time, notes that the 'new forces' are not found in the docks', p.205. A further aspect of this supposed process involves the idea, which follows from Blauner's conception of an inverted 'U' curve of alienation, of the working class becoming a knowledge based group due to the evolvement of technology - a notion that has informed Continental theories of the 'New Working Class'. See Blauner, op. cit., pp.181-2, and the summary of these related theories in A. Giddens, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies, esp. pp.192-7 & pp.215-222.

96. The consequences of such a change for political life are obvious and popular notions of this change were associated with the failure of the Labour Party at the polls. See D.E. Butler & R. Rose, The British General Election of 1959: 'Traditional working class attitudes had been eroded by the growth of prosperity', p.2.; and A. Crosland, Can Labour Win?: '(workers)... have acquired a middle class income... and sometimes a middle class psychology'., p.13. These arguments are reviewed by B. Hindness, The Decline of Working Class Politics. A recent reiteration of the argument is given by J.C. Goyder, 'A Note on the Declining Relationship between Objective & Subjective Class Measures'.

97. What Giddens, op. cit., calls 'Class awareness' to distinguish it from class consciousness, p.111. For recent general class theory see Giddens, passim, and the related ideas in M. Mann, Consciousness and Action among the Western Working Class, esp. Ch.3.

98. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.13. The reference is to H.L. Wilensky, 'Mass Society and Mass Culture'.

99. Giddens, op. cit., makes this attribution, p.221.

100. D. Lockwood, 'The New Working Class'.

101. J.H. Goldthorpe & D. Lockwood, 'Affluence & the British Class Structure'.

102. There is, in other words, a set of limits to the

knowledge available to a person due to the social distribution of knowledge; See P. Hiller, 'Social Reality & Social Stratification'.

103. Earl Hopper, 'Some Effects of Supervisory Style'.

104. ibid.

105. D. Lockwood, 'Sources of Variation in Working-Class Images of Society'.

106. H. Popitz et al., 'The Worker's Image of Society', in T. Burns, (ed), Industrial Man, pp.281-324.

107. E. Bott, Family and Social Network, esp. pp.174-8.

108. ibid., p.163. W.G. Runciman makes the related point that working class expectations derive from immediate reference groups, see, Relative Deprivation & Social Justice, passim. A similar point is made by M. Fried who says that working class people are 'more immediately practical', see The World of the Urban Working Class, p.195. See also H. Rodman, 'The Lower Class Value Stretch'.

109. Lockwood, 'Sources...', op. cit.

110. ibid.

111. ibid.

112. ibid.

113. ibid. Note that this principal distinction - solidarity v. instrumentality is close to the formulation of F. Tönnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, used to conceptualise the emergence of Industrial society. See, Community and Association.

114. See the related findings of Dubin, op. cit.

115. Lockwood notes the summary of effects given by J. Klein, Vol.2., op. cit., Ch.5.

116. Lockwood notes that this distinction was made by M. Young and P. Willmott, Family & Kinship in East London, esp. pp.134-5.

117. Some of the findings of G. MacKenzie are comparable however, see, The Aristocracy of Labor.

118. Both these terms are the subject of essays by E. Shils, see, 'Deference', in J.A. Jackson, (ed), Social Stratification, and 'Tradition', in Comparative Studies in Society & History.

119. See Runciman, op. cit., esp. Ch.9.; M. Stacey, Tradition & Change; R.T. McKenzie & H. Silver, 'Conservatism, Industrialism, & the Working-Class Tory in England'. The full report of these latter authors was not available until after Lockwood's article was published; see, Angels in Marble.

120. This view has been questioned since; see, J. Cousins and R. Brown, 'Patterns of Paradox', in M. Bulmer, (ed), Working-class Images of Society, pp.55-6. Lockwood replies in the same volume, 'In Search of the Traditional Worker', pp.239-250. Usage of this term may be confusing; for example a different usage, but in discussion of an essentially similar area, can be found in B. Jessop, Traditionalism, Conservatism & British Political Culture.

121. E.A. Nordlinger, The Working Class Tories.

122. Fried, op. cit., p.94.

123. ibid., p.197., and see M.C. Kohn, Class & Conformity. R. Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, describes this kind of living,(esp. Ch.3.).

124. Lockwood cites; University of Liverpool, op. cit.; N. Dennis et al., Coal is our Life. A similar piece can be found in J. Tunstall, The Fishermen.

125. Lockwood, 'Sources...', op. cit.

126. University of Liverpool, op. cit. R.C. Miller, 'The Dockworker Subculture', suggests that their culture is international.

127. ibid., p.50.

128. Kornhauser et al., (eds), Industrial Conflict. Although the authors seem to give emphasis to the physical isolation of 'separate communities' such as 'waterfront districts' they add a note that dockers may be socially isolated within the metropolitan community. See p.191, fn.5.

129. ibid., pp.191-2.

130. D. Dunkerley, Occupations & Society, p.20.

131. T. Caplow, The Sociology of Work, p.215.

132. Lockwood uses the notion developed by R. Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction & Industrial Trends in Modern Society', in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset, (eds), Class, Status & Power, esp. p.351. I.C. Cannon gives an illustration of such a community amongst compositors, 'Ideology & Occupational Community'. A recent

re:examination and attempt to extend the concept has been made by G. Salaman, Community & Occupation; and see D.H. Allcorn & C.M. Marsh, 'Occupational Communities', in M. Bulmer, op. cit.

133. J. Dash, op. cit., p.19. - a similar account appears on p.75.

134. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., pp.118-9.

135. A theme of criticism, of which the joint authors were partly aware at the time, involves the nature and consequences of changes in working class life; see esp. J.H. Westergaard, 'The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus'; 'The Myth of Classlessness'; 'The Withering Away of Class'; and with H. Resler, Class in Contemporary Britain, esp. pp.23-27. Daniel, op. cit., has questioned the assumptions underlying the typology. On this and related criticism see Whelan, op. cit. See also R. Blackburn, 'The Unequal Society', in R. Blackburn & A. Cockburn, The Incompatibles.

136. K. Roberts et al. make this claim, see, The Fragmentary Class Structure, p.44. See also C. Bell & H. Newby, 'The Sources of Variation in Agricultural Workers Images of Society'; H. Newby, 'Paternalism & Capitalism', in R. Scase, (ed), Industrial Society: Class, Cleavage & Control; E.V. Batstone, 'Organisational Size and Class Imagery'.

137. ibid, p.45.

138. F. Fürstenburg, 'Structural Changes in the Working Class', in J.A. Jackson, (ed), Social Stratification, p.170.

139. R.K. Brown & P. Brannen, 'Social Relations & Social Perspectives Amongst Shipbuilding Workers'; R.K. Brown et al., 'The Contours of Solidarity'; and J. Cousins & R. Brown, 'Patterns of Paradox', in Bulmer, (ed), op. cit.

140. Cousins & Brown, op. cit., pp.55-6.

141. ibid.

142. ibid, p.57.

143. ibid, p.79.

144. Blackburn, op. cit.; & T. Nichols, 'Labourism & Class Consciousness'.

145. Westergaard, 'The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus', op. cit.; and Mann, op. cit.

146. R. Blackburn & M. Mann, 'Ideology in the Non-Skilled Working-Class', in Bulmer, op. cit.

147. ibid, p.155.

148. Roberts et al., op. cit.

149. ibid, p.101.

150. ibid, p.51.

151. S. Hill, The Dockers.

152. ibid, p.22.

153. ibid, p.21. and Cousins & Brown, op. cit.

154. ibid, p.55.

155. ibid, p.66.

156. ibid, p.176.

157. Cousins & Brown, op. cit., p.80.

158. ibid, p.81.

159. Silverman, op. cit., p.154.

CHAPTER TWO

The Historical Background

Development of the Port

'The large and convenient docks at Southampton will be a useful public improvement, and the estate of the Dock Company appears very favourable for their construction. In combining great security as a harbour, ease of access for ships of large burden in all weather and at all times of the tide, a good roadstead and holding ground, a very gentle run of tide but little deposit, and an expeditious connection with London, by railway, Southampton possesses peculiar advantages.'

President of the Institute
of Civil Engineers. (1842) 1

The Harbour Commisioners were established in Southampton by an Act of Parliament in 1803 but there followed a considerable period of inactivity until the incorporation of the Southampton Dock Company in 1836. It was 1838 before the first major development was commenced. Southampton had been known as a port since Medieval times; trading in wool and wine it had been the third port of importance in 1450 but with the opening of the Outer Dock in 1842 it entered the modern era.[2]

The Outer Dock was completed two years after the construction of the London to Southampton railway and in 1851 an Inner Dock was added. By coincidence the engineers who built the London to Southampton railway were also employed to construct the Docks, with the result that the two undertakings could be closely correlated and railway lines run direct to the berths.[3]

The sheltered waters of the Itchen River were exploited in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century by the gradual extension of River Quays around the 'made-up' ground of the peninsula between the Rivers Itchen and Test. In 1890 the Empress Dock, excavated from this peninsula, was opened by Queen Victoria making the total quay length up to over 10,000 feet.[4]

The Empress Dock represented a much needed improvement in facilities, the lack of which had precipitated, eleven years earlier, the withdrawal of the P. & O. Company. The Docks Company however had been unable to fund the necessary deep water provision and, when the Royal Mail Company threatened to withdraw in 1885, it was only with financial support from the London and South-Western Railway that the building of the Empress Dock was commenced.[5]

Although the Corporation was willing to purchase the Docks at this time it was unable to do so and, in 1892, the Docks were sold to the London and South-Western Railway Company. With its capital resources the Railway Company was able to continually improve its newly acquired possession. By 1911, with the opening of the Ocean Dock, the so called Old Docks had reached its completed state. It provided fifty-one berths and a total quay length of 18,700 feet serviced by a large and comprehensive internal network of railway tracks and terminal buildings. The Ocean Dock itself, having a low-water depth of 40 feet, could accomodate the largest vessels afloat.

The Docks passed to the Southern Railway Company in 1923, following the reorganization of the British Railway Companies, and four years later work was commenced on an ambitious scheme to provide entirely new docks along the North bank of the River Test. When completed in 1934 these New Docks, as they were called, comprised some 1½ miles of quay giving 40 feet depth of water at low tide. They had been built on 400 acres of land reclaimed by the dumping of dredged river bottom sediment from the Test;[6] a technique later repeated for the construction of the Container Port.

The Docks was closed for most of the Second World War and sustained considerable damage but much of this was quickly made good. Post-war expansion was met by the provision of increased facilities by the British Transport

Commission. This was set up after the nationalisation of the railways in 1947 and later became the British Transport Docks Board (BTDB). The ever increasing number of passengers using the port led to the building of the Ocean Terminal which was completed in 1951. A two story building, it is able to deal with a large number of passengers and simultaneously cope with their baggage and the ships' stores. Similar arrangements, but with a greater emphasis on cargo, were provided for the South African Union Castle liners at 102 berth at the New Docks.

The main cargo business of Southampton has involved produce for rapid transit, especially that from South Africa. Some 95% of the deciduous and 65% of the citrus fruit trade of that country with Britain is handled each year. In addition to fruit, timber, wool, hides and wine, canned goods and copper are all handled. There is provision for refrigerated meat storage in the Cold Store erected in 1958 at the Western end of the New Docks to replace the original that was destroyed in the war. Produce from the Channel Islands, tobacco from the United States and grain from Australia and Canada are all received together with the bananas that constitute a major fruit import in Southampton. Grain is the only bulk cargo imported and is sucked by pipeline direct to the Solent Flour Mill of Joseph Rank Ltd. Exports include a range of most of the manufactured goods of Britain.

Southampton was Britain's most important ocean passenger port, although fifth in cargo tonnage, at the time of the Rochdale Report in 1962.[7] Cargo had been generally less important in Southampton than the passenger traffic. In 1961 only four percent of British imports and exports passed through the port; the total volume at that time however, 13.6 million tons, included 12.3 million tons of crude and refined petroleum, leaving or entering the ESSO refinery at Fawley.[8]

Fears concerning the stability of the passenger traffic, which faced increasing competition from air transport, together with the recommendations of the Rochdale Committee, have produced a considerable change of emphasis in the Docks in recent years. Rochdale recommended taking advantage of Southampton's physical conditions to develop it into a major dry cargo handling port:

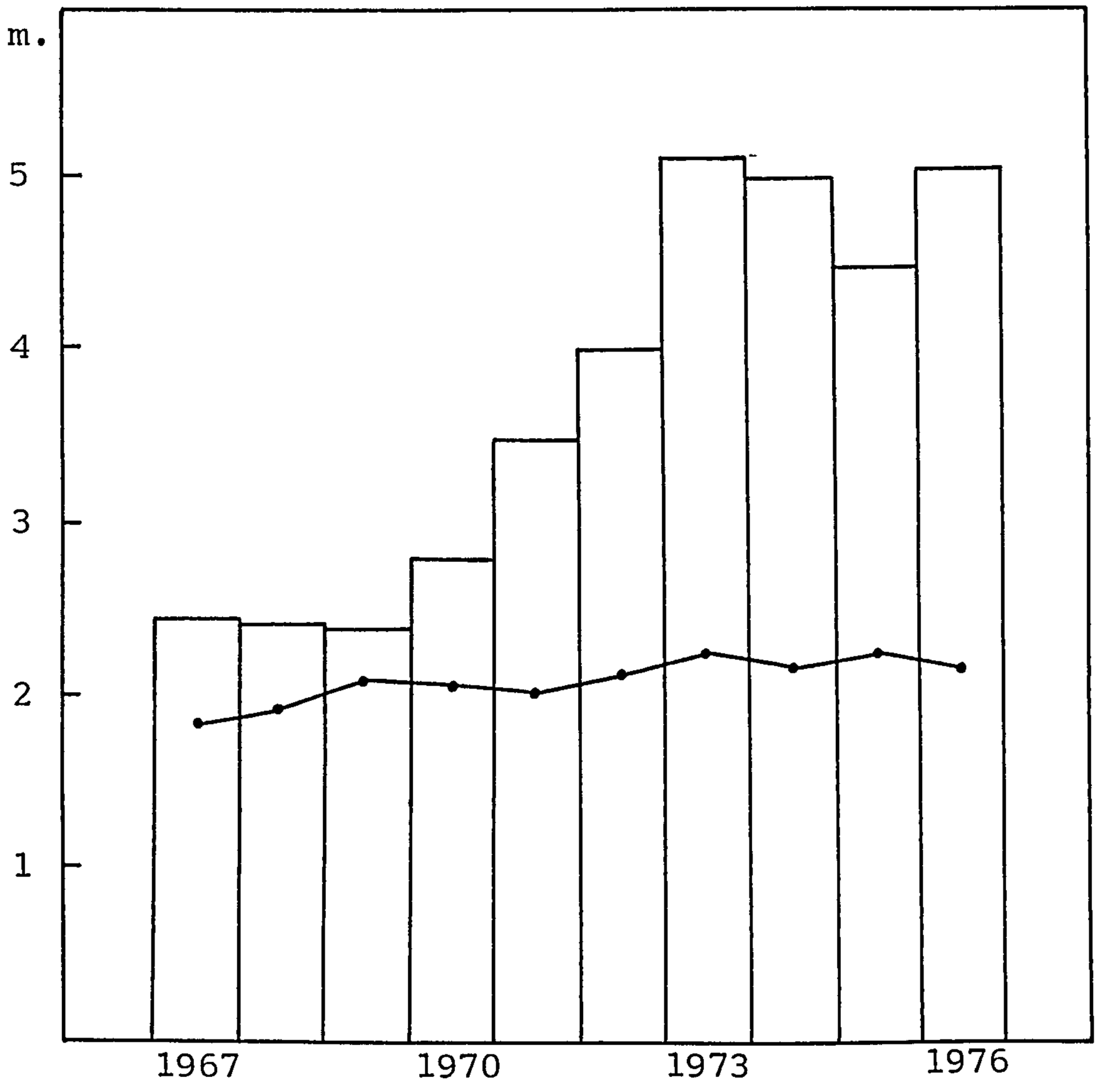
> 'We are convinced that there is a strong case for extensive development of Southampton as a cargo port... here is a convenient site in the Southern part of Britain where deep water berths can be constructed without the need for expensive impounding.' 9

Southampton possesses an impressive list of natural advantages as a major ocean trading port. The sheltered deep water approaches, the double tides phenomenon, a small tidal range and a low fog incidence are combined with a central geographical location. The latter is advantageous to inland users as well as to costly ocean going vessels that need to steam less far to reach Southampton. In addition the maintenance costs of the channel are low since natural scouring and low sedimentary deposit reduces the need for constant dredging.[10]

The method chosen by the ship owners to utilize their ocean liners in the face of increasing costs and a reduced passenger traffic was a change towards holiday cruising. The large and famous liners have always been associated with Southampton and continued business with, for example, the Queen Elizabeth II has been possible as a result of this approach. The main thrust of change however has been in the direction of increased cargo tonnage since: 'any drastic reduction of passenger traffic would have to be replaced by a new freight traffic.'[11] In fact, as Figure 2.1 shows, cross channel ferry services have helped maintain passenger numbers whilst dry cargo has grown considerably.

Fig 2.1

THE GROWTH OF DRY CARGO AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PASSENGER NUMBERS IN THE PORT OF SOUTHAMPTON 1967 - 1976.



Dry Cargo (million tonnes)

Passengers (millions)

SOURCE: BTDB.

The BTDB authorised expansion of the docks in 1963 and £100,000 was spent in the following year on a preliminary study of ways to implement the Rochdale recommendation. The Northern foreshore of the Test from Millbrook to Redbridge was already in the possession of the BTDB and Parliamentary Power was sought originally for thirty new berths. The necessary Bill was passed in 1966 and a scheme for a container berth of 1000 feet backed by 20 acres was authorised in 1967. In 1970 the scheme was extended to 2,100 feet backed by 66 acres. A road bridge across the railway at Millbrook linking the new container area to the public road system was also commenced. In the following year the scheme was further enlarged to 3,000 feet.[12]

The Container Port, as it is now called, has continued to expand. Work has been completed on the berths, dock side cranes and back-up area for the South African trade, finally containerised in 1978. The Container Port is served by a 'Freightliner' (railway) depot and road connections, via the new road bridge, include a motorway link to the M27 and thence to the M3.[13]

ACL agreed to come to Southampton in 1968 and in 1970 the Far Eastern trade was opened by a consortium forming the Solent Container Services. The original container berth is operated by the BTDB and includes a container stuffing depot. The existence of this facility within the Dock estate is in marked contrast to the situation that obtained at, for example, Liverpool where the creation of external, independantly owned and operated container stuffing firms was associated with considerable industrial strife.[14]

Although the Container Port represents a major development akin to the building of the earlier Docks, other, technological, change within the Docks has proceeded con-

tinuously. Travelling cranes, rail cranes and ship-to-shore conveyors have been installed and the turn-round of ships has been made ever quicker.

The reduction of costs in maritime transportation during the post War period has depended upon two major factors; an increase in the effective size of cargo vessels and the speed with which those vessels are discharged and/or loaded. Large vessels can carry large quantities of goods but need to be at sea for as great a proportion of their operating life as possible. The unproductive time spent at the dockside increases costs.

> 'The growth in size of conventional general-cargo liners, and hence the achievement of economies of scale, has been effectively constrained by inefficient terminal handling methods.' 15

Development in the transportation of cargo has proceeded in ways which reflect these two interrelated factors.

> 'No single cause contributes more to the cost of living of a maritime country than the speed at which ships are turned round in its ports.' 16

Various techniques were developed after the War to increase the efficiency of port operations and to allow increases in the size of cargo vessels. Mechanisation in some form was necessary. The traditional labour-intensive methods were due to ship design and the dockside layout and attempts to alter the situation needed changes in both areas. Two important techniques evolved in this period; the utilisation of fork-lift trucks and the development of roll-on/roll-off vessels (ro-ro).

Fork trucks can lift certain types of cargo direct but variable sized goods or small cartons require to be packed onto boards, called pallets, before they are readily transportable. The use of fork trucks on the

docks has been accompanied by changes in the design of ships to allow the use of forks on board. Thus flush deck hatches and wide 'open-deck' hatches have been developed on conventional cargo vessels.[17]

Roll-on/roll-off techniques follow the wartime experience with landing craft. Side ports in ships developed after the War allow the removal of goods by fork truck or, with the provision of access ramps, by direct roll-on/roll-off vehicles.[18] Specialised ferries using this technique minimise dock work. Lorries can drive direct onto a ferry or the trailor can be detached and towed on or off by a tractor unit. Only this towing operation, and the controlling of the access ramp, are carried out by dock workers. The import of cars (Renault chose Southampton in 1963) involves a similar operation with the dock workers driving the cars off the ferry to a large parking area.

The modern handling techniques have been adopted in Southampton quite rapidly. In 1963 the first roll-on/ roll-off service began and since that time much of the Old or Eastern Docks, as it is now called, has been re-organised to provide further facilities of this kind. The freight ro-ro service has grown alongside the passenger drive-on ferry services which have, in recent years, increased the passenger throughput.

The advantages of the increased mechanisation of cargo handling were apparent in the early 1960's. Ship owners, facing rapidly increasing costs, saw in the unitisation of cargo the means to reduce the unproductive time that their vessels spent in port. The packing of various goods into unit sizes or onto standardised pallets enabled, in suitable ships, the full mechanisation of the loading/unloading process. 'Where the unit loads are on pallets, there are instances of the speed of handling being doubled.'[19]

Even the savings from palletisation could be improved upon however by a rethinking of the complete transportation system. A fully standarised unit load and a full range of specialised handling equipment could constitute a completely mechanised system. As a result 'the ultimate unit for mixed cargoes has become the container.'[20] Containers reduce 'to a minimum the number of times that a piece of general cargo is handled.'[21]

Before the First World War biscuits had been transported from Dublin to London in standardised metal containers[22] but individual boxes represent no real savings. The container is efficient as part of a complete system.

> 'a total transportation system, which has specially designed terminals and equipment, including ships, trucks, rail cars, and containers themselves, as well as high speed cranes for the loading and unloading of ships and transportation equipment for the transporting, sorting and storing of ten to thirty ton units in various size containers which are from 20 to 40 feet in length.' 23

Large cranes and specialised vehicles are needed to transport the containers. 'Straddle carriers', usually referred to by the men as 'van carriers', are equipped to lift containers from lorries or from under cranes and to transport and stack them up to three high. The machines are some thirty-five feet high and are shaped like an inverted U. In operation they straddle the load or lorry and retrieve the container by lowering a rectangular frame. Purchase is obtained at the four corners by twist locks.

In addition trailors, drawn by motorised units, receive or deliver containers to the railhead which is itself equipped with travelling cranes that load direct onto flat-bed railway wagons. The containers are standardised eight by eight feet by either twenty or forty feet. (Container movement statistics are usually given

in twenty foot equivalents). The container is basically a metal clad box and is protected from the weather and securely locked. Specialised containers are fitted with refrigeration units that will operate on a lorry or when connected to a suitable electrical outlet in the stacking area or on board ship.

In America, where containerisation began, containers had demonstrated their value in terms of speed and greater security. Over half of U.S. inter-coastal general cargo was being carried in containers by 1964.[24] The risk of loss due to damage was much reduced and,

> 'On the basis of U.S. experience it is claimed that the turn-round time of a container ship is a tenth of that of a conventional ship.' 25

Other figures[26] indicate that conventional cargo typically was handled at a rate of 1.7 tons per man per hour, palletised cargo at 4.5 tons/man/hr. but that containers were worked at the equivalent of 30 tons/man/hr.

The first all-container Atlantic crossing came in 1966[27] and Southampton was well positioned to obtain a large share of the new traffic that was to follow. Since containers constitute a total transportation system and need large open areas for stacking and sorting, together with considerable special equipment, handling them on a large scale requires considerable resources. The capital intensive nature of this kind of operation limited the number of docks able to take advantage of the trade. The area owned by the BTDB suited the requirements and could be extended as and when necessary.

The Container Port now comprises the berths operated by the BTDB together with the packing/unpacking facility and the berths operated under licence by the consortium mentioned above. The berths operated by the SCS Company

are centrally controlled and computerised. The van drivers receive their movement instructions by two-way radio and the radio network also provides links between the central control, the firm's personnel, foremen on board ship and crane drivers. When these berths are operating no pedestrians are allowed onto the stacking area as the vans have restricted visibility and can be extremely dangerous.[28]

Other special handling machines are required elsewhere in the Docks due to the increased use of units on most routes. Side-loading machines transport boxes on board ferries via the usual 'link-span' that connects the vessel to the quay and there are other straddle-carrier type machines in the ferry marshalling areas to cope with the containers transported by those ships. The increase in these techniques has reduced considerably the demand for expertise in the use of ships' gear, winches and on-board cranes, which, never very important in the transfer of cargo, have become much less so.

By 1977 the Docks had changed considerably. The Eastern Docks had been largely stripped of its sheds. The main feature has been the clearing of large areas for the parking of vehicles in transit and the construction of new terminals to service the Continental ferries. Under-utilised sheds in the New, or Western Dock as it is now called, have been converted into container packing and unpacking depots. Much of the cargo handled in the Docks is now unitised. Pallets are handled quickly and efficiently by a large number of fork trucks. Where double handling of cargo still occurs a considerable labour force is required. The new technologies present in comparison an almost deserted dock.

The Labour Force

The history of dock labour until the Devlin reforms

is a history of casual labour. The identification of the consequences of such employment and the attempt to ameliorate its effects began in the Nineteenth Century and continued until the 1960's. The post-war scheme, setting up the National Dock Labour Board (NDLB), was a major effort to regularize the employment situation but complete decasualisation occurred only with the implementation of the Phase I program in 1967. Of the dock workers in this study only a small number have experience of the industry before the 1939-45 War, whereas many have experience of the post-decasualisation era. For all however the casual era has some relevance. The nature of the work and the form of employment together with the structure of the men's response to their situation has produced a tradition within the industry noted by all who have examined it in the past.[29]

Casual labour arose in the docks as a result of fluctuations of demand:

> 'the work of loading and unloading ships must, from its nature, be subject to frequent and violent fluctuation... In consequence of these fluctuations it has always been the practice of employers to engage their labour, or a large proportion of it, each day as required and to dismiss it the moment it is not wanted. The system necessarily depends on the existence in each port of a pool of available labour sufficient to meet the full demands of the port on the busiest day, with the obvious result that on all other days there must be a 'necessary margin' of labour available for work but unoccupied.' 30

There was casual employment in many industries during the Nineteenth Century,[31] but the dock worker, who was submitted to the vagaries of the weather, the demands of his employer and the fluctuations of local and national trade, was frequently in a worse position than his contemporaries.[32] The method of his employment meant that it was the dock worker who carried all the hardships that resulted from the inevitable fluctuations.[33]

Although the Southampton dock workers were not subjected to quite the same sort of variation that was experienced on a large scale in major cargo handling ports like London, the development of the passenger port brought considerable strains of the same kind.

> 'The passenger vessels, and especially the "Queens", have been a mixed blessing for Southampton. While contributing greatly to the growth of the port and the town, they have presented a major social and economic problem in that the employment they offer is highly irregular.' since: 'One "Queen" is equivalent to ten or a dozen average-sized cargo vessels in its effect on dock employment.' 34

Between 1927 and 1932 the range of variation in the maximum number of men required in Southampton was between 7.8% and 13.7% with an average at 10.6%.[35] There were some 4,250 dockers registered as insured in 1930 but probably more who attended infrequently. The difficulties of estimating such numbers were well known but the above number probably gives some near idea. In 1921 4.2% of the population of Southampton were dock workers.[36]

The conditions in which dock labourers lived aroused comment from those concerned with poverty, with which casualism had been associated. Mayhew in 1851,[37] and later Charles Booth[38] and Beatrice Webb[39] found terrible poverty amongst dock workers and the Royal Commission on the Poor Law found pauperism to be three times higher among dock labourers than the national average.[40]

The labour force was obtained by a completely free recruitment and was composed of those who sought regular work at the docks,[41] together with the unemployed and a number of those demoralised by infrequent employment in the docks or other industries.[42] An important area of recruitment, and one which has featured to a notable extent in Southampton, has been seafaring. There has been a relationship historically between sailors, dock

work, and ship building and repair. Some interchange between these industries on a seasonal scale as well as in 'permanent' recruitment having been noted. 'It is therefore to the shipyards that seamen must look if they want work in their slack period. The dockers themselves have slack winter months. Do they move to the shipyards?' In fact many do.[43]

The number of men who sought work in the docks infrequently were probably responsible for the early development of the idea that dock work was suitable only for the 'refuse' of society.[44] This view has persisted and brought 'a stigma to the docks that the considerable growth in earnings since the Second World War has not dispelled.'[45] It was noted by earlier commentators[46] and in 1954 by the Liverpool University study[47] which attributed group loyalty in the docks partly to an awareness by the men of this view of their status.

Attempts to alter the conditions of the labour force were begun in the early part of this century; indeed the history of the docks is to a great extent the history of the attempts to ameliorate the effects of casualism. The full scale decasualisation of the industry was suggested but was unlikely at this early stage. The first important and far reaching achievement, namely registration, could only follow the sort of examination of the casual system that was conducted by Beveridge in 1909.[48]

The elements in the surplus margin of labour that Beveridge identified were those due to the volume of trade, the poor deployment of the work force and chance. The first of these was the most problematic, it relied upon the general economic situation and the particular requirements of ship owners. The poor deployment resulted from the practice of employers to retain a small

nucleus of men or to encourage men to frequently apply to them and no other employer in order to generate a work force of dependable and known labour.[49] The deployment problem was further exacerbated by the practice of the men in 'following' one line of work, a single ship or wharf.[50] The men often received limited information of the opportunities for work from their informal communication network[51] and tended to become specialists to increase their security.[52] In this context the division between ship and shore was the most fundamental,[53] ship work being regarded as requiring a somewhat superior type of worker.[54]

These sorts of problem were at their worst when the actual situation of the work exaggerated them, when large areas and long journeys could be involved and when many small employers were operating. A large employer could supercede the informal networks of its employees and could transfer men to the areas where they were required.[55] In Southampton the early involvement of the Railway Company somewhat reduced these problems. 'The existence of a single control over a large proportion of the men is a great advantage.'[56]

The free call system of employment allowed anyone to attend and attempt to obtain work. The final element in the casual labour force was composed of those who sought work infrequently or whenever it suited them. Some men would work only for as long as was necessary to meet their minimum requirements.[57] It was to deal with this aspect of the situation that the idea of registration was developed. An analysis in Liverpool demonstrated the extent of the problem and the Liverpool Scheme was started in 1912 to regulate the number of men employed and assist in the distribution of labour.[58]

The discipline of the register was resented to some extent by the men who had become monopolists in certain

spheres and now felt their freedom threatened. However, the greatest strain on the operation of registers was due to the employers' views about labour requirements.[59] The employers worried that they would be deprived of a sufficient margin of labour and were apprehensive of the dual control with the unions that the scheme entailed.[60] They wanted large registers and this problem was to dog all future efforts to control the size of the labour force.

The various registration schemes that developed were not a complete success but they 'helped to break down prejudice on both sides.[61] Schemes became widespread by the 1920's[62] but both sides were often slow to register. This was true of the scheme started in Southampton in 1917 (revised in 1925). Companies and unions were both slow to accept registration although the scheme was to involve fourteen employers and cover 2,888 casual men.[63] Tallies rose from 2,500 in 1919 to 3,000 in 1927.[64]

The mere control of numbers that was attempted by registration did not, of course, represent any change in the condition of those men who worked within the scheme. Registration merely excluded certain people. The problems of the employment remained, were well known and roundly condemned. The need was for some form of maintenance of the work force in its slack period.

> 'if a reserve of labour is required by any industry, then that industry should maintain that reserve, not only when working, but also when it is unavoidably unemployed.' 65

Ernest Bevin in his speech to the Shaw Inquiry[66] condemned the profiteering of employers during the First World War and made the suggestion that dockers' wages could be met out of the employers' excess profits.[67] The Shaw Inquiry denounced the casual system in very strong terms but little progress was made in the direction of maintenance payments.

> 'If men were merely the spare parts of an industrial machine, this callous reckoning might be appropriate; but society will not tolerate much longer the continuance of the employment of human beings on these lines. The system of casualisation must, if possible, be torn up by the roots. It is wrong.' 68

Decasualisation however was not considered a real possibility at the time[69] and the progress of registration schemes was monitered with special regard to the claiming of Unemployment Insurance by dock workers.[70]

The situation remained basically unchanged until 1939[71] and in fact earnings in the docks were generally lower than in other industries during the depression years of the 1930's.[72] The Second World War however had a considerable effect. 'Forced by the exigencies of the situation' Bevan had the 'opportunity to do something about his long run aim to decasualise dock work.'[73] In June 1940 he issued the Dock Labour (Compulsory Registrations) Order.[74]

The wartime scheme included important new elements. Employers were to be approved and the men were required to prove attendance and availability for work since the Scheme made provision for maintenance payments.[75] Since, as Allen notes, 'It was a logical and equitable step then to ensure that dockers under statutory control should receive guarantees concerning their wages and conditions.'[76] After the War, and with some confusion among the interested parties, the war-time scheme was given permanent status as the 1947 Dock Work (Regulation of Employment) Order. It included, as had the registration schemes, the principle of joint control.[77]

The Scheme was administered by the NDLB and was to control the recruitment and discharge of men from the port registers. The Scheme charged the NDLB with responsibility for the training of the men and for their welfare and the

provision of amenities. These activities were to be supported by a levy of up to 25% of the wages bill paid to the men.[78] In practice the NDLB has controlled numbers by a twice yearly review of the size of the register. The Board also paid the men's wages and National Insurance contributions.

The unique quality of the Scheme was the formalising of the principal of joint control. Local boards are composed of equal numbers of representatives from both sides of the industry and although normally the elected chairman has no casting vote this is not the case in Southampton. Subject to this joint control are the disciplinary powers that are vested in the Board, and there is an appeals structure.

The Scheme as it was implemented however did little more than 'formalise local practice'.[79] The fall-back guarantee payment gave some measure of economic security but could not guarantee regular work. Thus the problems associated with the casual system were not eradicated but, to an extent, reinforced by the formal sanction of the Scheme. Major change in the post-war period was in consequence made much more difficult.

> 'Certainly the wartime schemes brought the dock worker considerable benefits... There was much less chance that he would go to the dock gate in the morning to find that there was no work available for him, and even if this did happen he could be sure that he would at least receive some kind of payment.' but; 'Under the 1947 Order, dock workers... were still casual employees.' 80

The Liverpool study (commenced in 1950) noted this situation and recognized that the troubled history of the industry since the War was due in part to the difficulty of producing properly disciplined work groups and introducing modern techniques of selection and training. It concluded that dock work remained 'an essentially casual

occupation.'[81]

The Scheme was to serve in the gradual decasualisation of the industry and the permanent (perms) force was to be built up at the expense of the casual worker. In effect the needs of employers for broad margins of labour tended to work in the opposite direction and the industry became if anything more casual. In Southampton the number of dockers was reduced with the introduction of the Scheme but was still 'rather too great for the winter demand' although 'about right for the increased demand in the summer months.' The necessary supplementation of the labour force was accomplished by the importation of NDLB employees from other ports and only occasionally was resort made to the casual labour available in Southampton.[82]

The difficulties experienced with the Scheme were associated with the strike proneness of the industry[83] and by the time of the first Devlin Inquiry (1956)[84] it was clear that employers disliked dual control[85] and that the Scheme was in need of review. The Inquiry found however that the Board had 'potentialities far beyond its present activities.'[86]

Some attempt at reform was clearly necessary by the early 1960's. Various recruitment stops had led to a distorted age structure in the industry and the forecasting of labour requirements was inefficient.[87] The overall trend of labour demand, as a result of changing technology and trade patterns, was downwards. Suggested reforms were not successful; one attempt, the 'Crichton-Cousins Manifesto' was rejected outright by the men in Southampton.[88]

Southampton was not insulated from the situation, as it was to be to some extent after the implementation of the Rochdale recommendations. In 1964 'a measure of real decasualisation of employment' was seen as 'more urgent in Southampton than in other ports, since the pro-

portion of dock workers on a regular weekly engagement is well below the national average; 10% as, for example, against 35% at Hull.'[89] However the problem of surplus remained and it was said that any 'sudden transition from the existing method of working to a much more efficient organisation would probably result in the industry being over-manned for some years.'[90]

The need for some fundamental restructuring of the industry had been apparent since the earliest indentification of the problems but had, by the mid 1960's, become acute. The Devlin Committee[91] report on the wage dispute in 1964 was followed by a major analysis of the situation and subsequently a large program of reform, split into two phases, for the complete decasualisation of the industry.[92]

It was yet again the system of casual labour that Devlin identified as the main cause of the problems in the industry;

> 'It would indeed be surprising if the casual system of employment in the docks did not produce a more irresponsible attitude than that in industry generally. Casual labour produces a casual attitude.' 93

His solution was for a 100% allocation of men to employers and the retention of the Scheme, which by this time had come to be regarded by the men as an important protection of their rights.[94]

The two phase approach was simply to enable the operationalisation of such a huge project.[95] It envisaged the decasualisation of the labour force in return for the buying out of restrictive practices which had been evolved by the men during the casual era to protect their jobs. The second phase[96] of the operation was to include a pay and productivity deal, based on a review of the wages structure, and leading to the modernisation of the industry.

Employers would be licensed and a review of pensions and sick pay would be carried out. Devlin promised not only that the Scheme would be retained but that there would be no discharges of men as an immediate result of the implementation of the program.

The National Modernisation Committee set up after the publification of the report defined the wasteful practices that were to be removed. It concentrated on labour mobility and overtime. In the past;

> 'Rather than mechanise or draw labour from a common source in port, the ship owner came to rely more heavily on a casual supply and the use of incentives to ensure high outputs.' 97

The aim of the pay and productivity deal was to regularize the situation and guarantee reasonable earnings whilst attempting to maintain productivity in the now permanent work force. Given the decline in employment at the time however, new technologies developing apace and the guarantee of no redundancies, this was rarely achieved in practice. Just prior to the Devlin Report some 86% of the jobs in Southampton were piece rated[98] but the deal reached in 1970[99] bought out all the bonuses and left no individual incentive element.

The anomolous age structure of the industry was to be corrected by a voluntary severance scheme; implemented one month after Phase I in London and nationally in 1969. It was financed by a government loan, the NDLB and a levy on the employers wages bill.[100] In addition the retirement age, previously 68, was reduced following a report[101] in 1968, to 65.

The other area of difficulty identified by Devlin concerned union organisation in the industry. The difficulties centred on the lack of a shop-steward system which was a hindrance to communication between the unions

and the men.[102] In Southampton however a shop steward system had been in operation since the War:

> 'In Southampton, when the port re-opened in 1944, many of the dockers who had been transfered to other industries returned to the port. Some of these men had spent the war working in the engineering industries of the Midlands and had seen the shop steward system in operation. When these men returned to Southampton they set to forming a shop stewards' committee in the port, which established itself immediately because of the need to bring organisation to the port in the chaotic period following "D-Day".' 103

The union structure nationally was criticised for its lack of effective control which stemmed from the existance of minority unions. This situation also obtained in Southampton, as a legacy from the railway ownership. However the distinction in Southampton has always been between the crane drivers and checkers, who are members of the National Union of Railwaymen, and the dock labourers, who are members of the Transport and General Workers Union. In 1964 for example, the selection of foremen recruited from the ranks caused inter-union strife and was the subject of an official inquiry.[104] Elsewhere the work force were divided by the 'blue-eyed' National Association of Stevedores and Dockers (NAS&D). Attempts to establish the NAS&D in Southampton in 1954 and in 1955 failed, partially as a result of the existence of the shop-stewards committee, which was against it. This fact, coupled with the importance of the T&GWU in influencing the establishment of relatively 'fair' work allocation through the Port Labour Officer (PLO), led to a greater unity between the various groups of dockers in the Port.[105]

In general therefore the situation in Southampton at the time of Devlin was attended by less dissension than nationally. The expanding port gave some hope for the future and the local negotiations resulted in an accept-

able settlement that, in part, enabled the BTDB in Southampton to produce an operating surplus in the early 70's.

The conditions of employment that obtained in Southampton at the time of this study were largely as a result of the phase I (decasualisation) and the phase II (modernisation) agreements although their particular form drew on the long established practices of the Port.

Most importantly work is allocated by the PLO i.e. independantly of the employer or, more properly, of the labour user.[106] Work tasks are shared so that a particular employee will be moved around the Dock estate each week, subject of course to specialist training. Weekend work (overtime) is governed by a roster also administered by the PLO.

The basic working week consists of the two shifts of 8am to 5pm and 5pm to midnight for Monday to Friday with continuity of work ceasing at 5pm Friday (or last shift Thursday) and commencing again on Sunday (if necessary) or Monday. The increasing importance of the specialist berths (& container Port) and their high capital investment involved the recognition of the necessity of some twenty-four hour working; this has proved a recurrent problem since 1970 but the container port was operating a voluntary 4-11 and 11-7 shift system at the time of this research.

In addition to regular weekly changes of location, a gang that finishes during a working day can be transfered to another job under the mobility agreement but in practice no transfers are made after about 3pm. Gang sizes also vary and include the same individuals only to the extent that their roster numbers coincide. Certain categories of men (specialist skills or light duties) will work more frequently in certain locations.

The problems that have arisen in the dock industry since the period of the Devlin reforms have been largely absent in Southampton. The overriding concern in the 70's has been the problem of work definition. This has arisen as a result of the coming into being of the container system and the setting up of specialist firms to pack and unpack the containers. 'Inland depots are now in operation at Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool and London.'[107] As has already been noted this situation has been avoided in Southampton and the work goes to the existing labour force within the dock walls.

Notes and References

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2. ibid, p.1.
3. L.E. Tavener, 'The Port of Southampton'.
4. C.P. Eastburn, W.F. Griffiths & G.R. Denton, 'The Port of Southampton', in F.J. Monkhouse, (ed), A Survey of Southampton and its Region, p.284.
5. A.R. Patterson, 'Southampton in the Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries', in Monkhouse, op. cit., p.235.
6. Most of the foregoing description is taken from Eastburn et al., op. cit., pp.284-286.
7. Report into the Major Ports of Great Britain. (Rochdale) Cmnd. 1824.
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9. Rochdale, op. cit., para.527.
10. D. Stringer (Port Director), from the text of a paper given to the WEA Southampton University.
11. Rochdale, op. cit., p.18, para.36.
12. Southern Evening Echo, 'Port & Shipping Review'. The summary of recent developments is derived from the above. In addition the various stages of development planned, costed and initiated in Southampton are described in a series of articles in the Dock & Harbour Authority, vol.48, p.118; vol.49, p.239; vol.51, p.96; vol.54, pp.95,477 & vol.55, p.489.
13. Rochdale, op. cit., specifically recommended that attention be paid to the existing road connections with Southampton, which were felt to be inadequate. The motorway link has greatly improved the situation. Rochdale also recommended that there should be a rationalisation of the authorities in Southampton Water and in 1967 the BTDB became the sole authority combining the interests of the oil users, Trinity House and the ship owners. See The Southampton Harbour Reorganisation Scheme.
14. D.F. Wilson, Dockers, pp.146-7.
15. K.M. Johnson & H.C. Garnett, The Economics of Containerisation, p.37.

16. R.B. Oram, Cargo Handling and the Modern Port, p.4.

17. R.B. Oram & C.C.R. Baker, The Efficient Port, p.37, & p.69, and see G.J. Bonwick, (ed), Automation on Shipboard.

18. ibid, p.36.

19. A.A. Evans, Technical and Social Changes in the World's Ports, p.22.

20. Oram & Baker, op. cit., p.1.

21. Evans, op. cit., p.7.

22. Oram, op. cit., p.95.

23. Evans, op. cit., p.7, who quotes the Report by the Standing Committee to the 5th Congress of the International Association of Ports and Harbours; viz. Containerisation. (1967) p.2.

24. Evans, op. cit., p.8.

25. ibid, p.11.

26. National Ports Council, Port Progress Report, 1969. These figures are derived from the table of comparisons given on p.79 of this report.

27. Wilson, op. cit., p.138.

28. The description of operations in the SCS operated berths were obtained with the assistance of the Company.

29. As for example, 'we, like everyone else who has ever studied the dock labour problem, have been struck by the extent to which many facets have to be understood against the background of history.' Rochdale Report, op. cit., p.128.

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32. H.A. Mess, Casual Labour at the Docks, p.11.

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35. P. Ford, Work and Wealth in a Modern Port, p.72.

36. ibid, p.60.

37. P. Quennell, (ed), Mayhew's London, p.568.

38. C. Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, vol.1., 1st ser., pp.277 and 286.

39. Quoted in D.F. Wilson, Dockers, p.18. Beatrice Webb noted the irony that is always apparent in the docks due to the condition of the men who handle the goods and the nature of those goods. One respondent in the present study described the job that he disliked the most as unloading bullion from South Africa, the necessary security made the job more difficult as the entrance to the bullion store was narrow and awkward.

40. Royal Commission on the Poor Law, Cmnd. 4499, p.801 and p.1186.

41. Lovell, op. cit., pp.31-2.

42. ibid., and Wilson, op. cit., p.21, and Booth, op. cit., III, 1st ser., pp.87-95.

43. Ford, op. cit., p.86.

44. Lovell, op. cit., pp.31-2.

45. Wilson, op. cit., p.17.

46. e.g. H.L. Smith & Vaughan Nash, The Story of the Dockers Strike, p.24.

47. University of Liverpool, The Dock Worker, pp.55-6. Reference is made to J. Hall & D.C. Jones, 'Social Grading of Occupations', the results of which showed dockers second from the bottom on the scale and were circulated amongst the work force.

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49. Lovell, op. cit., p.33.

50. D.C. Jones, (ed), Social Survey of Merseyside, II, p.136.

51. R. Williams, The First Year's Working of the Liverpool Docks Scheme, p.85.

52. R. Williams, The Liverpool Docks Problem, p.6.

53. Lovell, op. cit., p.33.

54. E. Rathbone, Inquiry into the Conditions of Labour at the Liverpool Docks, pp.7-8.

55. Lovell, op. cit., pp.30-31.

56. Ford, op. cit., p.71.

57. Williams, First Year's Working..., op. cit., p.98 and Wilson, op. cit., p.69.

58. Rathbone, op. cit.

59. Lovell, op. cit., pp.35-6.

60. M.P. Jackson, Labour Relations on the Docks, p.9.

61. Jensen, op. cit., p.124.

62. Jackson, op. cit., p.10.

63. Report on Port Labour, (Maclean).

64. Ford, op. cit., p.70.

65. Williams, First Year's Working..., op. cit., p.133.

66. Report Concerning Transport Workers Wages. (Shaw) Cmnd. 936-7.

67. See Bullock, op. cit., and report in Wilson, op. cit., pp.72-92 and also Jackson, op. cit., p.11.

68. Shaw Inquiry, op. cit., para. X.

69. For example in Lascelles & Bullock, op. cit., p.120, 'The first principle to be recognized seems to be that decasualisation in the strict sense of the word is impossible... The problem then is not how to abolish casual labour but how to remedy the evils of underemployment.'

70. Jackson, op. cit., pp.16-17.

71. ibid, p.21.

72. Wilson, op. cit., p.20.

73. Jensen, op. cit., p.134.

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77. ibid, p.39 and Wilson, op. cit., p.95.

78. Wilson, op. cit., p.97.

79. ibid, p.96.

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82. P. Ford & C.J. Thomas, A Survey of the Industrial Prospects of the Southampton Region, p.21.

83. Jackson, op. cit., p.41.

84. Report into the Operation of the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Scheme, (Devlin), Cmnd. 9813.

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87. Wilson, op. cit., p.115 & p.117.

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99. The deal reached in November 1970 gave £38.10s. for 40 hours.

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103. J.P. Fisher, The T&GWU and the Devlin Modernisation Program in the Port Transport Industry with Particular Reference to Southampton, p.90.

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106. Fisher, op. cit., p.154, reports shop stewards at the time claiming the Southampton system to be the 'fairest system of allocation in the country.'

107. Jackson, op. cit., p.115.

CHAPTER THREE

Sources of Data and Research Procedures

Research Procedure

Data for social research can be obtained in several ways, each of which is subject to limitations. The choice of a particular method will depend on opportunity, available resources and compatability with the aims of the research. Four such principal methods have been identified; documentary sources, observation, mail questionaires and interviewing.[1] In this research the characterisation of the 'traditional proletarian' worker is relevant and therefore, as well as the collection of the more obvious basic data, various attitudes and 'images' require to be probed. Most work in this field has placed a 'striking reliance upon interview data gathered in a social survey'.[2] In fact within the possible means of data collection the interview seems clearly the most appropriate.

However the opportunity to collect additional data relevant to the study was presented when application was made for access to the register of employees; the most useful source for the generation of a random sample. A range of data was made available which proved to be fairly complete for a set of basic variables. It also offered the possibility of conducting a quality check on certain aspects of the sample[3] and supplied complementary information about the total population.[4]

The research procedure adopted therefore was as follows: before the design of a schedule and the conducting of interviews a preliminary analysis was performed on the data from employment records. This not only established basic population parameters but included an examination of absence behaviour and the location of the workforce within a social area classification. The results of these analyses appear in Chapter Four. Details of the records, together with collecting and coding procedures, appear below. Finally in this chapter

the sampling procedure, which takes some account of the preliminary results, is given along with the structure of the interview schedule.

Documentary Evidence

Documentary sources can be classified as 'expressive' or 'non-expressive',[5] the former are personal documents and records such as diaries and the latter, treated here, are documents produced in a non-involved way by institutions. The use of such documents is associated with various problems.

Access to information collected by some organisation for its own purposes may be denied or restricted for reasons of confidentiality. The present research makes use of records which were made available by the BTDB, after the sanction of the T&GWU had been obtained, and by the NDLB on the authority of the local officer. It was requested that no record be made of the information relating to complaints and disciplinary action.

Representation may be a problem if records are kept of some section of a population or purport to be of a complete population but derive their information in such a way as to limit the opportunity of all population elements to be represented. However employment records are unlikely to omit many employees.

Similarly, at least for certain basic facts, the coverage of employment records is likely to be fairly complete. However routinely collected records may not remain stable over time. Due to lack of organisation, re-organisation or interruptions in the normal routines gaps may occur in the record and later simplifications may be inserted.[6] The categories and definitions used in routine records have been considered inappropriate

for scientific research because of the lack of precision and rigour.[7] In the employment records use was made of objective data, such as age, and the criteria for the extraction of the information were designed to avoid the problem of missing data by using the simplest basic items. Such a procedure also avoids the possibility that superfluous information may have been taken as central,[8] except in the special case of the sickness record where transcribed information is in turn subject to the limitations of DHSS certification.

Such considerations also raise the question of the <u>reliability</u> of documentary evidence which might be interpreted as an answer to the questions 'would someone else extract the same information from these documents'?,[9] and 'is the "primary witness" accurately reported with regard to the specific detail under consideration?'.[10] Given the techniques suggested above and the special nature of employment records reliability is likely to be reasonable. However the sickness record is suspect in this regard since it is;

a) subject to the problems associated with medical certification; 11

b) transcribed and interpreted (simplified) by the recording personnel; and

c) extracted by the researcher who may not be familiar with the particular clerical simplifications which might be considered to constitute a 'private code'.

The primary interest in this record however was as an indication of one type of workers' 'withdrawal' behaviour[12] and consequently the datum of significance is the occurence of sickness. Due to the use of the record for payment purposes this can be considered highly reliable.

For similar reasons the <u>validity</u> of the data in the

record may be assumed. The age and length of service are both crucial to the determination of retirement date or the calculation of redundancy payment and for these sorts of data the answer to the question which might define validity, namely, 'was the "primary witness" willing to tell the truth'?[13] is likely to be yes. External corroboration of the data, a further check on validity,[14] was possible only by a comparison between BTDB and NDLB records which are, in any case, available to both organisations and have been compared by them in the past.

Finally the consideration of expense is relevant to the choice of documents. The existence of centrally located records provides a substantial economy but they may require longer periods for transcription and coding. In the present case the large population was compensated for by the limitation to a few basic facts per person.

Sources and Nature of the Records

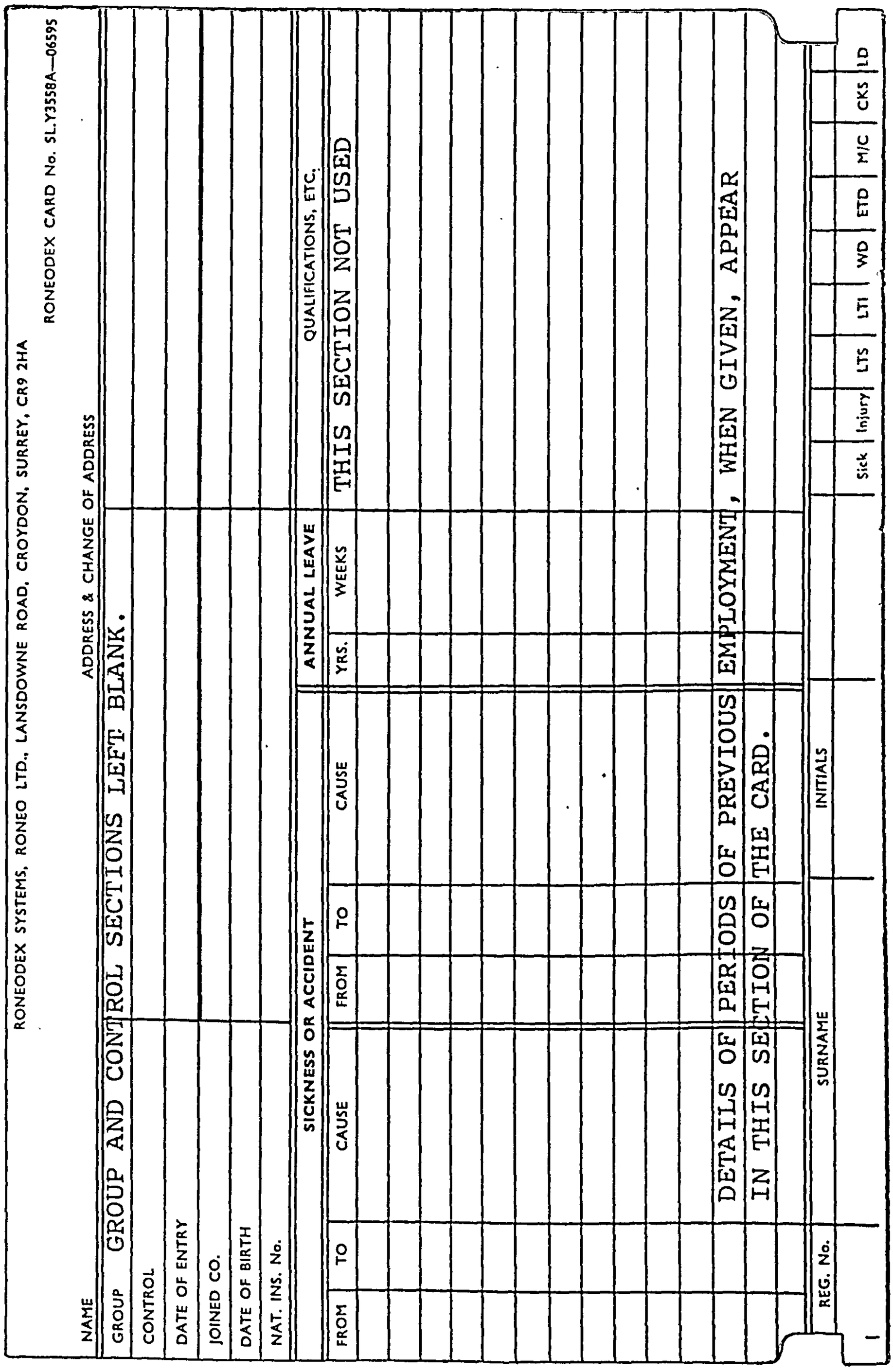
The records supplied by the Southampton branch of the NDLB duplicated the information kept on a card index by the BTDB but included in addition details of disciplinary appeals and the parentage of employees. The information held by the BTDB was recorded in three different ways; on a record card index, in a book form register and summarised as statistical returns.

The card index (see figure 3.1) is a standard Roneo system which consists of one card, and its continuations, for each employee. The upper face of each card records date of birth, date of entry, address and changes of address and the sickness and accident history. The lower face records complaints and actions taken. The card provides for other information, for example qualifications, but this record is no longer kept.

In addition to this index a complete list of employees,

Fig 3.1

UPPER FACE OF EMPLOYEE RECORD CARD.



including name and works number, is kept and brought up to date from time to time. This is the 'Current Register' of employees and copies are supplied to the NDLB. A permanent register of the skills gained by each man is also kept in book form.

The BTDB collate various data into statistical returns on a standardised form. This record is similar to the published record of the NDLB for whom the returns are provided. The NDLB groups together Southampton, Weymouth and Poole as the 'South Coast Ports'. Consequently the returns lose their specificity in the published account, in which they appear as a contribution to the 'Average Disposition of Workers Register' and the total registers of dock workers.[15] These BTDB returns detail the variations in the size of the register since September 1967, and in addition the variaties and levels of absence from work.

Individual employees could not be identified within the statistical returns which are prepared weekly. The figures given represented the size of the register at the end of a working week and the various categories of absence in man/days. Because of the sharing of responsibilities between the BTDB and the NDLB the authorised absence figures originate with the Port Labour Officer who keeps a daily record of authorised absence, called the 'excuse book', for the NDLB. Access to this book was obtained in order to gain an impression of the nature and distribution of absence in this category. The unauthorised absence figure is derived from supervisory reports of absence, or involves workers who are not excused for some reason. The combined sickness/accident record is derived from the DHSS certificates at the end of the week.

Accuracy and Scope of the Records

The BTDB records were commenced in September 1967 when

the BTDB took control from the Southampton Cargo Handling Company. In the transcription of such records only basic and current facts are usually recorded and as a result the records are only complete for those men employed since September 1967. In detail this means that, for those already in employment in September 1967, the record of previous addresses may not be complete and length of service dates from the time of first 'continuous' service and does not include previous periods of 'lay-off' or service on the temporary register. In addition, the sickness and accident record prior to September 1967 is absent.

The clerical system has been refined since the re-organisation period and the accuracy of the sickness record cannot be considered adequate for anytime before September 1969 when the present system was introduced. The basic information on the cards has however been checked at least once with the NDLB duplicate and is kept up to date by the present clerical procedure.

The section of the record card headed 'qualifications' refers to any skills gained within the industry as there are no formal educational requirements for the job. This record has not been kept consistently but the skills register provides the same information with a reliable level of accuracy since it is used as the basis for planning and for the alocation of men to specific types of job.

The NDLB records added little or nothing to the BTDB card index. It was requested that no note be made of the disciplinary appeals so the only additional information was a record of Docker's sons. This record appeared highly suspect in that it seemed to seriously under-estimate the number of docker's sons. Furthermore no relationships associated with docker's sons emerged during the record analysis. The sample yielded a check on this

record which seems to confirm that it is inadequate. Consequently the distribution of docker's sons based on the record is not reported in Chapter Four. Details of this distribution and the check appear in appendix E.

The NDLB records date from the inception of that organisation in 1947 and no reliable record of service prior to that time was available. The proportion of men involved however is relatively small and is compensated for in the sample which relied on the individual's response.

When these various data were extracted the work force consisted of 1718 permanent workers and 555 temporary workers. The temporary workers were however mostly recruited in the previous year and had therefore little actual experience of the industry. Given the size of the register it was decided that the individual records would be extracted only of the permanent force but the temporary workers would be included in the extracts from the statistical returns which were already in a more usable form.

The statistical returns may be considered to be accurate within the limits of normal clerical error but their coverage is limited to the period following the reorganisation. In addition the authorised and unauthorised absence figures are given separately for the permanent and temporary forces only after 1969.

Collection, Coding and Checking of Record Data

Examination of the available records led to the preparation of a printed form, analagous to the record card, with provision for the later coding of the data. (see appendix B) The information was transcribed complete, with the exception of the qualification section. Skills were added later from the register in simplified categories. Retention of the individual's works number

facilitated this procedure.

The statistical returns were recorded in a similar manner. A sheet for each year was prepared which was divided into columns for each of the categories given. (see appendix C) The PLO was interviewed and his comments concerning the excuse book were recorded.

Proper analysis in research is made possible by the editing and coding of raw data into forms usable for statistical treatment. This 'data reduction' process is subject to the methods to be used in analysis and the ultimate aims of the research. In addition the raw data must be examined with respect to its quality before, during, and, if possible, after the various coding operations.

The checking of raw data may be carried out at the collection stage but additional checking will usually be required. In this respect three types of check have been suggested:[16]

a) Completeness. That there is an answer (recorded value) for each question (category).

b) Accuracy. That each answer (value) is correctly given (or recorded).

c) Uniformity. That each answer (value) is based on the same interpretation (or rationale) of each category.

Each of these remarks applies to both the sample and the employment records. However the limited nature of the records and their location enabled thorough checks to be made throughout the procedure. The records' office staff were available to explain variations or ambiguities at the collection stage and any later confusions or omissions could be easily traced. After the completion of the coding operation the data were prepared

for machine processing on punched cards.

Each coding decision should be based on considerations such as follows:[17]

a) What information arranged in which categories is required for the purposes of the study?

b) How can a particular code enable the most thorough use of the information available?

c) How can error be minimised?

d) What limitations are placed on the coding process by resource limitations?

In addition each coding category must;

a) be mutually exclusive for the values on a single variable;

b) allow an exhaustive classification of all possible values.

Although the nature of the information will largely determine the form of a code the theoretical considerations relevant to the particular study must help in providing the rationale for the formulation of categories if these are to be of use in the subsequent analysis and interpretation.

Register Changes and Absence

The information provided as statistical returns did not require machine treatment or coding. The weekly figures were summarised as four-weekly averages and the absence figures were converted to percentages to the base of the register size obtaining. Later simplification was possible by repeating this process to yield four mean levels per year in each of the categories of absence.

Age and Length of Service

Both age and length of service were 'field coded',[18] to the nearest year. The dates of birth and of commencment of service were transformed into years to the end of April 1975. The choice of starting date to use in the coding of length of service was largely determined by the lack of a full record for every man. A typical record with, for example, twelve years service might provide only one date whereas that of a man with four years service might show his first employment, a lay-off, a subsequent re-entry and the date of his entry to the permanent register. The number of redundancies (seasonal lay-offs) could be more than one but the period between the final re-employment date and the date of entry to the permanent register was usually eighteen months. The continuous service is reckoned from this last re-employment date.

Although most men will have experienced some periods of work on the temporary register, not all will have experienced periods of redundancy. The average exposure to the industry may be considered longer than the recorded continuous service for most men but can only be accurately determined for a few men. For this reason the continuous service date was used to give length of service.

The consequences of this decision are two-fold:

1) The length of service which appears in the analysis is an approximation and does not include the full previous experience of all men. The error period may vary from zero to five years.

2) Part of the period of length of service therefore will have been spent on the temporary register; usually about eighteen months.

In addition a later check on lengths of service of the sample requires that it is the continuous service date

that must be collected at the sample stage. (see appendix E)

Skills and Equipment

Unlike the rest of the information the skills were simplified during collection and grouped into generic categories for coding into 'factual' codes of a 'yes' or 'no' type.[19] The principal interest in skills arises because at the time of inquiry, the obtaining of skills was voluntary and trained men had been able to slightly increase their earnings. Analysis of skills could therefore provide some indication of the workers' attitudes to the various techniques and their approach to work.

The principal division of skills is between major operating machinery and less complex ancillary equipment and processes. The dividing line is obscured by the fork truck family of equipment which is also the only skill open to temporary workers. The T&GWU have agreed with management that each worker should possess only one major skill and for their purposes the category of major skills excludes the fork truck. It should be noted however that a few workers do possess more than one major skill.

For the purposes of this research little was to be gained by the inclusion of exact codings of the several variaties of equipment. Although the major - minor division would be of principal interest a simplified coding of the separate types of equipment and training would provide adequate classification and enable later collapsing of categories for analysis.

The three major skills involve the newer handling techniques. The Inner Movement Vehicle (I.M.V.) which

tows container-laden trailors to and from the railhead; the Tugmaster, which replaces the power unit of an articulated lorry for the internal transfer of road trailors and the Straddle Carrier which lifts and transports containers. The container handling facility was the criterion used for the inclusion of a machine into the straddle or 'van' carrier category.

The fork truck family, machines with various alternative attachments and of various capacities, were grouped together. Although fork trucks are treated as a separate skill there appears to be a less rigid control of their use; unskilled workers do occasionally operate fork trucks.

The other skills involve the operation of winches, i.e. ship's equipment of minor importance, and the lashing of cargo, or containers, to decks. No separation between conventional cargo and containers could be made with regard to lashing.

The categories devised yield six codes of which three are 'major' skills; Vans, IMV's and Tugs; two are 'minor'; lashing and winch driving and one intermediate - fork trucks.

Sickness and Accident Incidence

Two types of information are yielded by these records; that which is of a mostly medical nature and that which is social. Interest in the medical aspects of the record exists only in so far as these provide a limit to explanation in social terms.[20] The need for highly detailed coding is therefore absent and only the distinction of broad categories of illness need be made. In addition there is a need for a coding system that will enable the demonstration of effects specific to the population.

This calls for a presentation which enables a comparison with the previous research of this kind.

The social aspects of the sickness record appear in two forms;

a) as partial determinants of, or correlates with, disease types (including accidents); and

b) as a contribution to the frequency of absence within the population.

To allow for the examination of more socially related absence and to provide a comparison as a control for industry specific effects twelve broad disease groups were chosen and each allocated to a frequency field code.[21] In this system industrial accidents are treated as a separate category, that is, as a disease group.

A variable for the total sickness absence per man during the period covered by the record (1970-1974) could be generated at the analysis stage from the frequencies provided within the disease group codes, given that these are based on individual records.[22] As with the distribution of disease types, comparisons of long term incidence levels provide a check on those phenomena that may be industry specific.

Geographical Distribution and Area Type

There is no well known and clearly defined dockland area in Southampton. There may be areas that approximate in some sense to such a description but their extent and character are not obvious. The provision of the postal address of each employee could be used to investigate the geographical spread and to identify any concentrations of workers. The identification of concentrations of workers however only provides a crude means of categorisation for analysis.

Although placing each employee on a map would be necessary in any scheme of categorisation such a map would be unlikely to yield other than an extremely wide and vague set of groups if indicated by some criterion such as local population density or distance from the Docks. An alternative would involve a system in which individual's addresses could be allocated to codes based upon a knowledge of the characteristics of particular well defined areas. An analysis of this sort however requires to be soundly based and represents an enormous research task in itself. The prior existence of such a system, devised for other purposes in the 1971-74 period, enabled the adoption of this technique.[23] Both an impression of location patterns, based on the original manually-derived mapping, and a machine coded area-type analysis were then possible.

The advantages of an area typology are clear - the provision of a few types of reasonable size allowing a coding system with a few meaningful codes. Attempts can then be made to answer such questions as 'what type of area does the population predominantly inhabit' and 'are there identifiable sub-groups within the population with particular area type locations'? In addition some comparisons can be made with the sample and an 'objective' check on responses concerning the perception of area types is possible.

The principal operational problems with such a system are that it reduces locational resolution and, by including a range of demographic information, introduces the possibility that two or more geographically separate areas may fall within the same type. In other words location could be lost completely within one code. However to redress such effects specific locations were analysed separately on the coding map. In addition a system devised for other purposes may not be completely suitable for the present research; there will be problems of theoretical acceptability as well as of particular population coverage.

The study of the social geography of Southampton is of a type that has been called 'factorial ecology'[24] and is based on an analysis of census data. The large amount of data contained in the census is reduced in such studies by some factor analytic technique.[25]

> 'The widespread use of factor analysis since the early 1960's has enabled the handling of very large numbers of variables, by reducing them, through linear combinations, to a smaller number of independent or orthogonal axes or dimensions which statistically explain a large proportion of the initial variance of the input data.' 26

This process follows a series of basic steps[27] to arrive at a number of factors, as in the case of a factor analysis, or components, as in the case of principal components analysis. The latter technique was used in the Southampton study. With it; 'Masses of data can be reduced to a parsimonious subset... and an empirical typology can be defined.'[28] Amongst British studies[29] using this or similar methods there has been;

> 'a marked similarity in the types of components which have been identified. The leading components have repeatedly been interpreted as indicators of housing tenure (especially local authority housing), housing conditions and social class.' 30

The importance of this concensus arises as a result of the objections that have been raised against research of this kind. In the first instance, it has been argued, these techniques reduce to a few factors a large number of variables of theoretically 'indeterminate relevance' and hence produce a questionable output.[31] Further, interpretation of results is complex; some would question for example, what it means to say that somebody lives in an area that loads highly on Factor I.[32] The danger inherent in the application of such results is that to extend the characteristics associated with areal units to individuals is to commit the logically unacceptable

'ecological fallacy'.[33]

Nevertheless people in cities do tend to 'cluster spatially into homogeneous areas'.[34] The data on which multivariate analyses are usually performed include most of the variables that a first attempt at the categorisation of such social areas would contain. Furthermore despite the limits to explanation of, and inferences from, ecological data, the 'residential area is one important context within which personal behaviour takes place.'[35]

The choice of variables in the Southampton study was dependent upon the need in that research to cover the 'major aspects of the social characteristics of an urban population.'[36] The variables were derived from the 1961 and 1966 census data and were measured over the 'enumeration districts' of the city. In 1961 there were 278 e.d.'s and in 1966 104. The study was based on an aggregation of the smaller 1961 units into the 1966 system, which was in turn reduced to 70 to eliminate those e.d.'s with very small populations.[37] (see figure 3.2)

Separate principal components analyses were performed on the 1961 and 1966 data and in the first case produced six, and in the second five, components[38] that 'explained' 87.1% and 77.6% of the initial variance respectively.[39] Following this procedure the separate component scores for each of the 70 e.d.'s were used as the basis for an iterative cluster analysis.[40] In this procedure the observations are assigned to one of a number of regularly spaced points or cluster centres, being allocated to the 'nearest' centre on the basis of their five dimensional euclidean distance, their five component scores. An initial solution with many such clusters is found and progressivelyreduced towards the limit of one cluster that contains all the observations. As the number of clusters decreases the amount of 'information' lost

Fig 3.2

SOUTHAMPTON : MAP OF WARDS AND 70 AGGREGATED ENUMERATION DISTRICTS.

increases and an arbitrary decision must be taken to fix the number of clusters required. This decision involves a compromise between the proportion of lost information that is acceptable and the largest number of clusters that is useful in the research. In the work refered to here the nine cluster solution was chosen which lost only 18.4% and 22.9% of the total information content of the original observations of 1961 and 1966 respectively.[41] (see figure 3.3) These solutions were tested for their stability over the intervening period and, the author concludes, 'exhibited very marked stability over the 1961 to 1966 period.'[42]

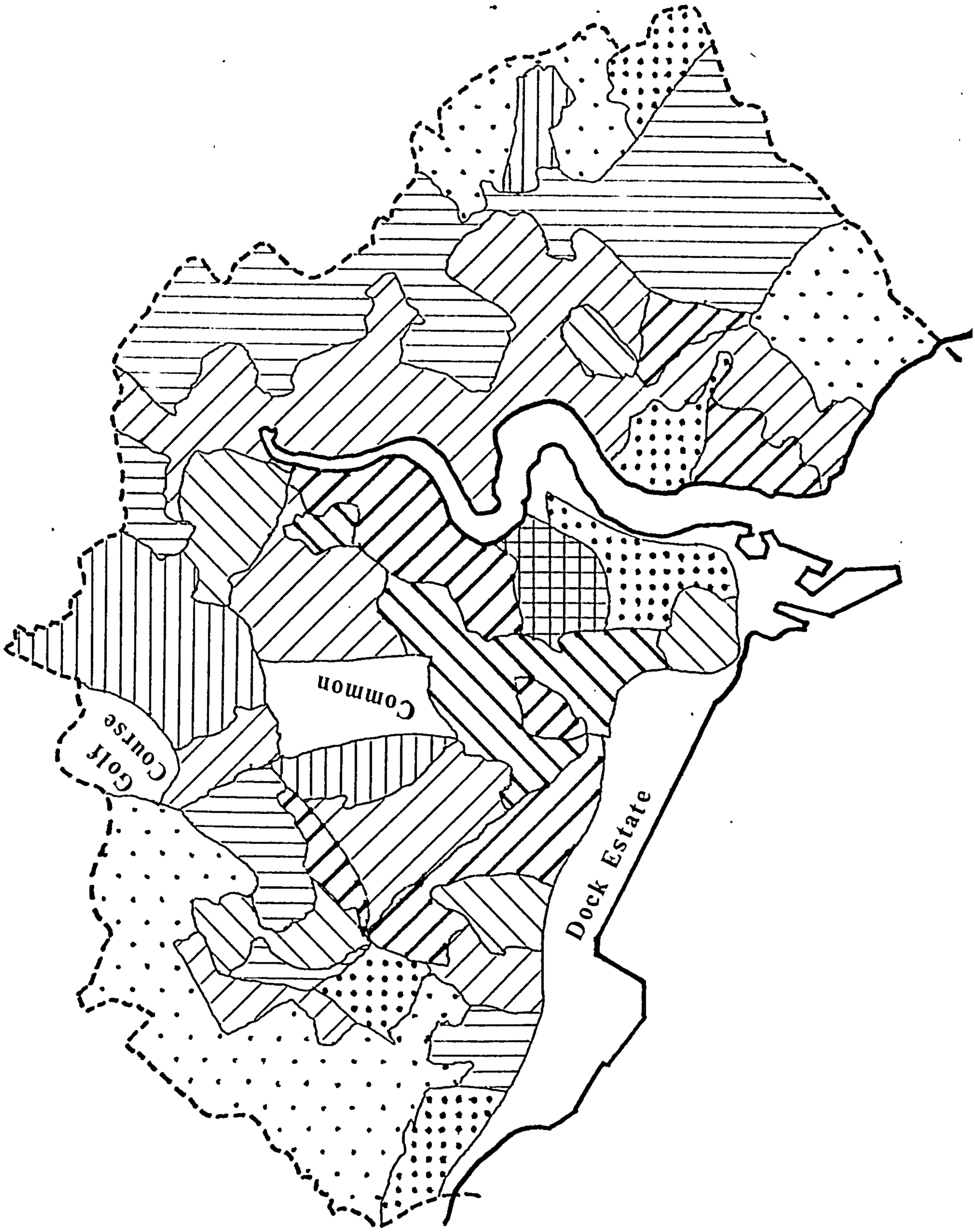
It is in the labelling of multi-variate classifications that the problems of interpretation become most obvious. Given below are the details of the bases used for the labelling of the nine social clusters adopted.[43] The descriptions given are, of course, all in terms of the original variables and components scores.[44] However it will be useful to preface this description with a brief account of residential development in Southampton. (Areas are identified by numbers in parenthesis which refer to wards shown in figure 3.2)

Southampton was mainly a place of residence for the wealthy prior to 1830.[45] With a population of about 18,670 the major part of the town remained in and around the medieval core. Further from this centre were numerous large villas or estates, especially near the common. In the outlying areas were several villages which now form the nuclei of present day suburbs.

With the arrival of the Railway and Docks (1842) a new phase of development began. Large areas of terraced working-class housing were constructed adjacent to the Itchen and the Port developments. Further, similar, housing was erected in the 1860's in the area of St Denys.

Fig 3.3

SOUTHAMPTON: SOCIAL AREA TYPES (CLUSTERS).



(Most of the earlier development has been replaced through slum clearance).

Between 1870 and 1914 Southampton grew considerably. The Victorian estates were sold and these areas became characterised by two or three story detached villas; by 1906 however this northern extension of middle class residence was over, the area became one of working class residence. The opening of the Floating Bridge (1836) and the building of shipyards at Woolston in the 1870's stimulated the development of the areas to the East of the Itchen and large numbers of terraced houses were built in the Woolston and Sholing areas.

The next major area to be built up was the Shirley district after 1914, but Ford[45] estimated in 1931 that some 86,590 people were living in overcrowded housing. Many of the worst areas were removed by major slum clearance in the 1930's. The new housing made necessary by this clearance was largely provided by private builders but the council did build a number of dispersed estates; in the Coxford area, the 'Flowerlands' at Swaythling and Merryoak. (Peartree 15)

Further development to the East had been limited by inadequate accessiblity across the river, but after the Corporation's purchase of Northam Bridge and its freeing from toll payment, inter-war development proceeded in the Bitterne area. Since 1945 the main characteristic of the town has been the building of massive council estates. At first adjacent to the inter-war council estates and then in the Millbrook area, Weston, (Woolston 9/10) Thornhill and Harefield (Bitterne 22-26/30). The areas which had been cleared of slums in the early post war period were redeveloped by the council, often by the building of medium or high rise flats; Northam and Central area (St. Marys 20-22). Private housing has accounted for

a much smaller proportion of the total since the war, typically about 30%.[47] Major private developments have taken place to the east of the river and in Basset. East of the common there has been infilling of war damaged property by flats and maisonettes. By 1971 the population of Southampton had grown to 215,118.

The clusters identified are as follows:

Cluster 1. Those areas built in the Victorian and Edwardian eras for the residence of the wealthier classes and characterised by large proportions of privately rented and shared accomodation. These areas are of low 'housing class', that is they lack basic household amenities, but they have a high proportion of 'middle class' residences. In addition these areas have large numbers of young mobile persons and many small dwellings and single persons. There are also many people of pensionable age. This cluster was labelled 'Rooming-house-reception'.

Cluster 2. Areas characterised by low levels of in-migration from outside the city, high proportions of council tenants and low 'housing class'. These areas are the local authority housing estates built between the wars; the Flowerlands and Merryoak for example. This cluster was labelled 'Inter-war council estates.' (Bassett 4, Swaythling 9/10 and Peartree 15).

Cluster 3. Characterised by large proportions of privately rented and owner-occupied housing and low social class. Mobility is low and many dwellings lack household amenities. This cluster was designated as a 'stable working class - poor housing quality' zone.

Cluster 4. The largest area defined within the system this cluster isolates large proportions of owner-occupied housing, high housing class, low mobility and large dwellings. It was characterised as a 'stable lower

middle class' zone.

Cluster 5. These areas differ from cluster 4 in that they score higher on the housing class component, have greater maturity in demographic structure, and a higher rate of mobility. It was designated mobile middle class area.

Cluster 6. Areas with significant proportions of local authority housing mixed with privately rented accomodation. With small sized households and a fair proportion of middle class inhabitants this cluster was called 'post 1945 council housing - high housing class'.

Cluster 7. The principal characteristic of the areas contained within this cluster is the large proportion of council tenants living in high and medium rise flat developments built in the 1960-1966 period. This cluster differs from the other post-1945 council housing by its preponderance of small households and dwellings and was called 'post 1960 council flats'.

Cluster 8. Local authority housing and mature segments of the population. It had higher levels of mobility and larger dwelling/household size than the other council housing areas. Earlier blocks of council housing in these areas are mixed with recent in-filled council estates and new council tenants imported to the areas. It was labelled 'recent council housing'.

Cluster 9. The central area of the town and characterised by extreme scores on all components. The area is predominantly privately rented with sub-divided housing and low levels of household amenities. High recent mobility and the major concentration of Commonwealth immigrants led to this cluster being called an 'immigrant-reception' area.

At this point it must be noted that the above class-

ification is limited to the City boundary and does not include two areas within the City (e.d.'s A52 and A54) which came into the City after the 1966 census. The basic limitation of this system was therefore that a section of the population would live outside the area covered. What choices were open with regard to the exact configuration of codes to be used?

The preparation of the pre-coding map demonstrated that almost all of the men who lived in the enumeration districts not covered were, in fact, residents of the Lordshill council estate. This estate, newly built (1970 onwards) and with mostly 'new' tenants, is adjacent to areas within cluster 8 and could be seen as an extension of that area type. Although it could not be based on a full analysis in the same manner as the original it seems, for the present purposes, perfectly acceptable to extend the scheme in this particular instance.

Of those men who remained unclassified most inhabited areas of unknown type and, naturally, covered a reasonably wide geographical area. One group however inhabited areas the characteristics of which were well known to the researcher and which promised to be of some interest. These areas were easily identifiable private housing estates built since about 1960. A fair number of employees lived in them. Although, again, no statistically systematic method based on detailed demographic data could easily be used to characterise these areas the principal concerns of the research would be served so long as this category was kept distinct and carefully defined. In fact, to control uncertainty in the allocation of men to the code based on these areas only those which could be definitely identified were used and doubtful individual addresses were consigned to a residual code.

The address coding system therefore comprised eleven codes. Nine were derived directly from the Southampton

social area study, with one minor extension based on the principal characteristics of the relevant cluster. One labelled 'new private estates', was created on the basis of direct observation and was characterised by owner-occupied new housing estates in the immediate suburbs. The final category was of unknown type.

The employee card also lists previous addresses but, as is noted above, the accuracy of this particular record is in doubt. Specifically, employees who were already in employment in September 1967, but who had moved at some time before September 1967, would not have that previous address recorded on their card.

During the preparation of the data it was noted however that a considerable proportion of the population had moved at least once. A check on the kinds of area that moves were made from could be acheived by adopting the same address coding scheme and any anomalies could then be identified. The total amount of movement could easily be determined but in view of the above remarks all the conclusions based on this record are subject to careful interpretation.

Sampling Procedure

In a primarily descriptive work the collection of data must be arranged to cover those members of the population that are representative of the whole or of any obvious structural sub-groups. Only for the most broadly descriptive tasks will casual selection suffice and in the absence of any well known sub-structure a range of potential respondents must be included.

The results given in Chapter Four do not give any clear grouping within the population but are suggestive of some structure. For example variations in housing and skill level may be viewed as age dependent or, more

likely, as a reflection of whatever set of factors underlie the motivation to enter the industry at a particular time. Coverage of a population with a range of apparently different characteristics without a clear selection criterion, such as, for example, geographical concentration, enforces the notion that a random sample is needed to more clearly draw the contours of possible groups. However it can be argued that a formal approach, especially the highly formalised 'brisk interview'[48] may not be appropriate for the study of social structural imagery and other related attitudes.

Thus a conflict of requirements arises: a random sample of medium size, which will limit time and place restrictions on the circumstances of the interview, and the need for something other than the above mentioned 'brisk interview'. Fortunately the arrangement of working within the Docks made a compromise possible.

The degree of informality or of extension of interview can vary considerably.[49] Several repeated visits can be made[50] or the interview can be entirely informal and even take the form of a discussion between interviewer and interviewee or within a group.[51] The need to identify men from a random list and the constraints of time imposed by the numbers involved must be judged against these techniques. The lengthy detailed discussions severely limit the number of men that can be covered.[52] Within the normal working of the docks however men are rarely to be found alone - when working alone they are in any event unobtainable[53] - but are usually in groups, often resting between active periods of job rotation. An interview conducted in such a situation could develop easily into a more informal and extended talk and not compromise the generalising power inherent in the standardised questionaire.

The procedure adopted made use of this situation.

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A standardised questionaire was developed and a list of possible respondents selected at random from the previously filed works record.[54] A check was made each operating day to discover where particular men were working and a visit paid to this place. Batches of men who collect their wages from a central place on Fridays were approached and prior permission sought for an interview to be held later the next week. Others, who are paid by cheque (about half the men), were approached direct once their location on a particular day was established. The formal interview was conducted and only the respondent heard and answered the questions. If more than one potential respondent was present he would be interviewed next and then the final section of the questionaire, which is in any event relatively unstructured, could lead to a more general discussion and extended to include others as well. During such talks the interviewer could round out the meanings that the respondent attached to particular items as these were revealed in conversation.

To include if possible some four or five respondents from the minor categories of skill and housing and enough to give some meaning to statistical descriptions within sub-groups[55] a target sample size of about 5% was selected. Given that the interviews were to be conducted at the place of work a response rate in the region of 80 - 90% might be expected[56]: 126 men were selected which would yield about 100 respondents at the lower of these levels. In the event 2 men had been removed from the register and subsequently 17 declined to be interviewed so that the final sample consisted of 107 men - a response rate of 86.3%.

During the conduct of the interviewing other men, not included in the original selection, had a chance to express their ideas and discuss their views. In a few cases, by chance, some were present on more than one occassion. Three men, with whom a more informal relation-

ship developed, were later interviewed at their homes with their wives. Although the questionaire served as a framework for the basic discussion these men were not included in the formal part of the analysis and the results of the interviews are contained in illustrative case studies given in appendix A.[57]

The Interview Schedule

The situation of the interview and the rationale of the above procedure suggested that an overlong questionaire would be less than useful. The formal questionaire was therefore limited to 65 questions. Apart from the collection of data duplicated in the employment records and other personal data what information was required? The purpose of the enquiry was to provide a quantitative description of the Southampton Dock Worker and to provide for comparison with other workers and the 'traditional worker' concept. Such an aim predetermines the relevant areas of inquiry. Indeed to this end many of the actual questions are best retained from previous work.

The interview schedule (see appendix D) was designed to collect information from eight areas:

A) The occupational history of the respondent and his father, including training and attitudes to former jobs.

B) Attitudes to the job and its conditions.

C) Attitudes to absence.

D) Attitudes to Trades Union organisation and industrial action.

E) Attitudes to, and images of, industrial organisation and personal aspirations.

F) Information relating to friends and associates, including social club activities.

G) Personal data.

H) Social class imagery.

The complete schedule was tested on eight men chosen arbitrarily and not appearing on the random sample list. As a result of the simple structure of the schedule only small revisions were made necessary. The question on attitudes to industrial action (Q.24) was rewritten from its original form which had suggested that men could choose not to strike if a strike had been called. In fact the strength of normative sanction implies that after a decision is made men see a strike as a 'compulsory' event. The question in its present form therefore enquires about those situations about which men are prepared to vote for industrial action. The question concerning differential images of industrial organisation was allowed to take more than two possible answers after its inherent ambiguity became clear. (Q.25).

Wherever possible the variability in the answers was accomodated by a full set of values so that minimal information would be lost. Detailed discussion of particular questions and their related variable values appears in the body of the work below.[58]

Notes and References

1. A classification given by C.A. Moser & G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, p.238 & p.6.

2. M. Bulmer, Working Class Images of Society, pp.165-6.

3. D. Wedderburn & R. Crompton, Worker's Attitudes and Technology, for example take advantage of this situation, which rarely occurs.

4. The complimentary data method is used for example by, C.R. Tittle & R.J. Hill, 'Attitude Measurement & Prediction of Behaviour'.

5. A distinction made by Angell & Freedman, 'The Use of Documents, Records, Census Materials and Indices', in L. Festinger & D. Katz, (eds), Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences.

6. See M. Duverger, Introduction to the Social Sciences With Special Reference to Their Methods. Interruptions associated with the Second World War for example.

7. Asserted by R. Merton, in Social Theory & Social Structure.

8. M.D. Shipman, The Limitations of Social Research, makes this point, p.108.

9. ibid.

10. B.S. Phillips, Social Research; Strategy & Tactics, p.126.

11. As G. Kalton says, 'The general practitioner's diagnosis is made only in order to satisfy the requirements of the Ministry of Social Security and may therefore be inaccurate or vague.'; 'The Contribution of Research in General Practice to the Study of Morbidity'.

12. 'Withdrawal' from the work situation includes in this study sickness and accidents. See J.M.M. Hill & E.L. Trist, 'Changes in Accidents & Other Absences with Length of Service', 'accidents are in part used, however unconsciously, as a means of withdrawal from the work situation.' See also P.F.C. Castle, 'Accidents, Absence and Withdrawal from the work situation.'

13. Phillips, op. cit., p.126.

14. ibid.

15. Given in the NDLB Annual Report & Accounts, appendix.

16. Given by Moser & Kalton, op. cit., pp.411-414.

17. See C. Selltiz, L.S. Wrightsman & S.W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, p.441.

18. See D. Muehl, (ed), A Manual for Coders, p.15.

19. ibid.

20. It has been said that 'local or regional differences in sickness absence rates have practically nothing to do with differences in the physical state of health of the groups of workers concerned.' M.J.W. De Groot, Proc. 2nd Int. Conf. Sick Absence Statistics, Amsterdam. Quoted by P.J. Taylor, 'Shift and Day Work'.

21. For broad categories of disease see especially P.J. Taylor, 'Personal Factors Associated with Sickness Absence'. The diagnostic groups are based on the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries and Causes of Death. 8th Revision (1965), W.H. ORG.

22. The method using frequencies counts a spell of one day or a spell of three weeks as one absence. Its use is suggested by A.N. Turner & P.R. Lawrence in, Industrial Jobs and the Worker; however it is subject to the weakness that long absence reduces the opportunity for further absence in any given period, - noted by Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation & Worker Behaviour, p.20., fn.4.

23. The system used was developed by S.D. Taylor, see, The Geography and Epidemiology of Psychiatric Illness in Southampton with Particular Reference to Schizophrenia, pp.224-322.

24. A term given by F.L. Sweetser, 'Factor Structure as Ecological Structure in Helsinki and Boston'.

25. Introductions and discussions of this whole family of techniques appear in D. Child, The Essentials of Factor Analysis, and H.H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis.

26. B.T. Robson, 'A view on the Urban Scene', in M. Chisholm, (ed), Research in Human Geography, p.206.

27. Summarized by P.H. Rees, 'Factorial Ecology: An Extended Definition, Survey & Critique of the Field', and see, 'Problems of Classifying Sub-Areas Within

Cities', in B.J.L. Berry & K.B. Smith, (eds), City Classification Handbook, pp.265-330.

28. R.J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis, p.13.

29. Early work by E. Gittus, 'An Experiment in the Definition of Urban Sub-Areas', in 1964-5, followed by, for example, B.T. Robson, Urban Analysis, in 1969, D.T. Herbert, 'Principal Components Analysis and Urban Social Structure', in H. Carter & W.K.D. Davies, (eds), Urban Essays, 1970 and D.J. Evans, 'A Comparative Study of Urban Social Structure in South Wales', in B.O. Clark and M.B. Gleave, (eds), Social Patterns in Cities, 1973.

30. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., p.234.

31. B.S.R. Green, 'Social Area Analysis & Structural Effects'. Arguments in this context are usually associated with the supporters of the 'theory first' Social Area Analysts exemplified by E. Shevky & W. Bell, see, Social Area Analysis.

32. Green, op. cit., and see L.F. Schnore, 'The Myth of Human Ecology'.

33. See J. Galtung, Theory & Methods of Social Research, pp.45-48.

34. Green, op. cit., p.1.

35. A point made by A. Felman & C. Tilly, in, 'The Interaction of Social & Physical Space'. Emphasis in the original.

36. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., p.245.

37. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., p.220. There are some problems associated with the use of census data as the basis for this kind of research especially with the 10% sample census as in the case of 1966. The situation is reviewed by Taylor, see, pp.219-20., and see, e.g. G.C.K. Peach, 'Under-Enumeration of West Indians in the 1966 Census'.

38. These components were chosen on the basis of their latent roots being greater than one.

39. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., pp.259 & 281.

40. A system developed by E.M.L. Beale, Cluster Analysis.

41. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., pp.302-3.

42. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., p.322. The stability tests'

details appear on pp.317-322.

43. The 1966 distribution was the one chosen for the present work.

44. S.D. Taylor, op. cit., gives details of the loadings and some selected variables for the nine clusters. See Tables 7.24 and 7.25, pp.305-309.

45. E.M. Sandell, 'Georgian Southampton', in J.B. Morgan & P. Pederdy, (eds), Collected Essays on Southampton, pp.79-87.

46. P. Ford, A Civic Survey.

47. L.C. Herold, A Social Geography of the Portsmouth & Southampton Region.

48. Bulmer, op. cit., p.167. Alternative approaches are urged by, for example, I. Deuscher, 'Asking Questions', and by D.L. Phillips, Knowledge from What?.

49. Discussed in general by Moser & Kalton, op. cit., pp.270-296.

50. As in the work of Elizabeth Bott, Family & Social Network.

51. As in the case of R. Lane, Political Ideology, described by Bulmer as, 'discursive, dialectical and contextual'; that is refering to an inter-active conversation between 'interviewer' and 'respondant', op. cit., p.167.

52. Bott had 25 families, Lane only 15.

53. For example when at the Container Berth operating the Straddle Carriers - the berth parking area is closed to pedestrians for safety and the machines operate continuously.

54. The employment records were filed on magnetic tape and a random sample could be generated direct with the computer program and traced back via works numbers to the men. All analyses were conducted using the SPSS program. See N. Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

55. Simple percentages for example should ideally be based on numbers of at least 45-50, see H.M. Blalock, Social Statistics, p.28.

56. In a similar situation in the 'Seagrass' study the rate was almost 92%, see Wedderburn & Crompton,

op. cit., p.34.

57. These studies are not intended to reflect any sub-groups. In fact by chance all three men are docker's sons. It is hoped their histories 'improve on the stale choosing of variables'; H.S. Becker, 'The Relevance of Life Histories', in N.K. Denzin, (ed), Social Methods, p.419.

58. Reported results include percentages with significance levels based on z scores or chi-square tests, the latter written as X^2 in the text.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis of Employment Records

This Chapter reports on the analysis of the data taken from the various employment records. It first establishes certain basic population parameters. It is also possible however to examine for differential patterns of behaviour. Cross-comparisons can be made of groups defined in terms of their length of service, their patterns of skills attainment and their residential distribution. In addition an analysis of patterns of absence behaviour can be made; although this cannot be directly related to individuals it does cast some light on the nature of the employment relationship. Thus these analyses prepare the ground in various ways for the subsequent analysis of attitudinal data collected in interviews.

Age Distribution

The distorted age distribution in the docks industry, based on numbers of elderly and unfit men, is yet another legacy of the casual era. Under that system 'there was no limit on who could present themselves for work and the average age was consequently high'.[1] The casual system, which tended to favour those men with wide informal contacts and years of experience, also therefore tended to favour the elderly worker. This situation has been exacerbated by the various stops on recruitment since the War.

The NDLB has struggled with the problem but as job opportunities have declined it has met only partial success. Various severance schemes were introduced to reduce the number of unfit and elderly men but, in extreme cases such as London in the late 1960's, the closing of docks meant that there was a need to reduce the overall numbers as well. As a result of the National Voluntary Severance Scheme (July 1969 to December 1971), voluntary retirement[2] and the London severance in 1968 the register dropped by some 50% over the period of the

Devlin reforms.[3] The average age however has remained fairly high.

In 1970 the NDLB reported that it;

'is still concerned with the high average age (44.8) of the Industry and is taking steps towards achieving the better balance which technical developments demand.' 4

Although the average has reduced somewhat during the 1970's, it was at its lowest (42.5) in 1973, it has risen again latterly. In 1976 the NDLB, reporting an increase to 43.8 from 43.4, was obliged to point out that;

'whilst this increase in itself is not significant, it does mask the serious imbalance, in the context of an ageing register, at a number of Scheme ports which is giving rise to considerable concern and is a situation which the Board is keeping under constant review.' 5

Table 4.1 gives the distribution of ages in Southampton and nationally. The small proportions of men in the youngest groups are the result of recent recruitment stand-stills. Apart from this there are evenly spread groups below the median in Southampton (40.03) and reduced proportions in the older groups. The average of 41.2 years is below any level reached nationally. In fact the situation in Southampton is the reverse of that found nationally and this can be partially attributed to the growth of the port. However although the Port has grown in terms of trade the labour force has remained substantially the same during this period. The considerable reductions due to the severance schemes being subsequently made up by recruitment.

Table 4.1

COMPARISON OF AGE STRUCTURE IN SOUTHAMPTON AND NATIONAL REGISTER (1975)

Age groups	NATIONAL A.		SOUTHAMPTON B.		Difference (B - A)
	Number of men	% of Total	Number of men	% of Total	
Under 20 years	4	0.01	0	0.0	-0.01
20 to 24	388	1.21	24	1.4	+0.19
25 to 29	2,315	7.18	189	11.0	+3.82
30 to 34	3,937	12.21	259	15.1	+2.89
35 to 39	5,218	16.18	346	20.1	+3.92
40 to 44	5,133	15.92	291	16.9	+0.98
45 to 49	5,495	17.04	233	13.6	-3.44
50 to 54	4,960	15.38	174	10.1	-5.28
55 to 59	3,524	10.93	144	8.4	-2.53
60 to 64	1,269	3.94	58	3.4	-0.54
TOTALS	32,243	100.0	1718	100.0	..
AVERAGE AGE .	43.4		41.2		-2.2

Source: NDLB

Length of Service

Figure 4.1 shows the pattern of length service in single years. At this resolution the effect on recruitments is clearly seen.[6] For most of the analysis in this study however such detail is unnecessary and in later work a three year grouping is used. The median falls at 10.97 years, in the 1964/65 period, thus about half the population have been in the industry since the beginning of the new technologies and 34.3% have joined since the implementation of the Devlin programme.

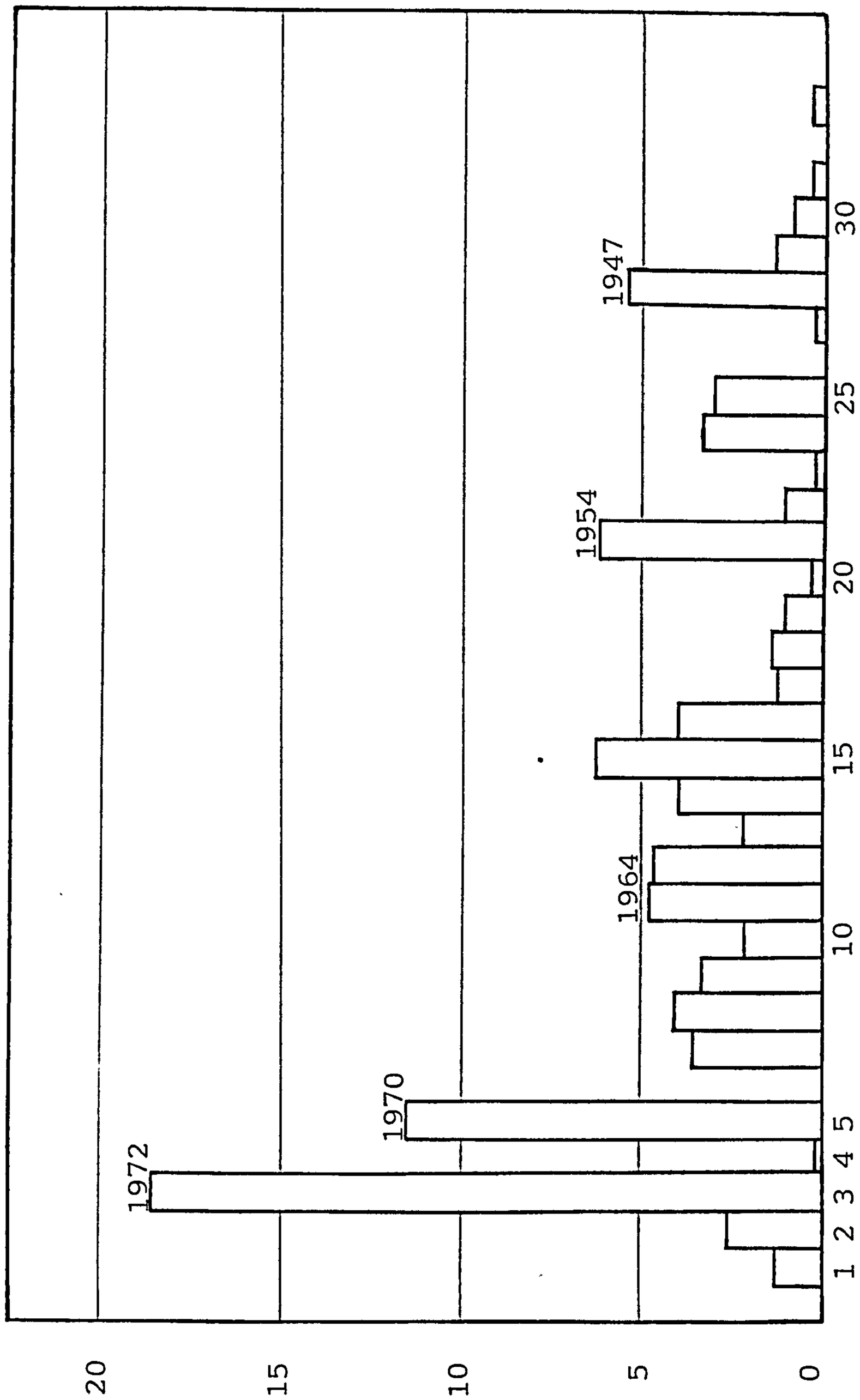
The various distortions mean that attempts to trace differences between groups with different lengths of service will have to take account of the spread of ages. The distribution is asymetrical; a good example being the first length of service group (1-3 yrs) where there are more men over 30 than under 30. Although age and length of service are obviously correlated (r=.67 N=1718) less than half the variance is accounted for by age (44.9%) and consequently the variable 'length of service' actually measures something reasonably different from the variable 'age'.

One thing which adds to the age distortion is the waiting list. Men become eligible for dock work at the age of 21, if they then apply for entry the reduced requirement for labour will mean a considerable wait before the chance of employment. Many will have already had the chance to commence other careers and may even continue these whilst waiting to be called to the docks. Even when a man is eventually taken on he will probably have to serve a period on the temporary register. This entire process means that a fair number of mature workers, often with extensive experience in other industries, have only a few years service on the permanent register.

At the time when the records were made available the

Fig 4.1

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF TOTAL WORK FORCE



waiting list was some 800 strong and had been closed to all but docker's sons. It was made clear that men towards the end of the list would have a wait of several years before they would be required. In fact by the time a person's name has reached the top of the waiting list other docker's sons may have become eligible and would get preference.

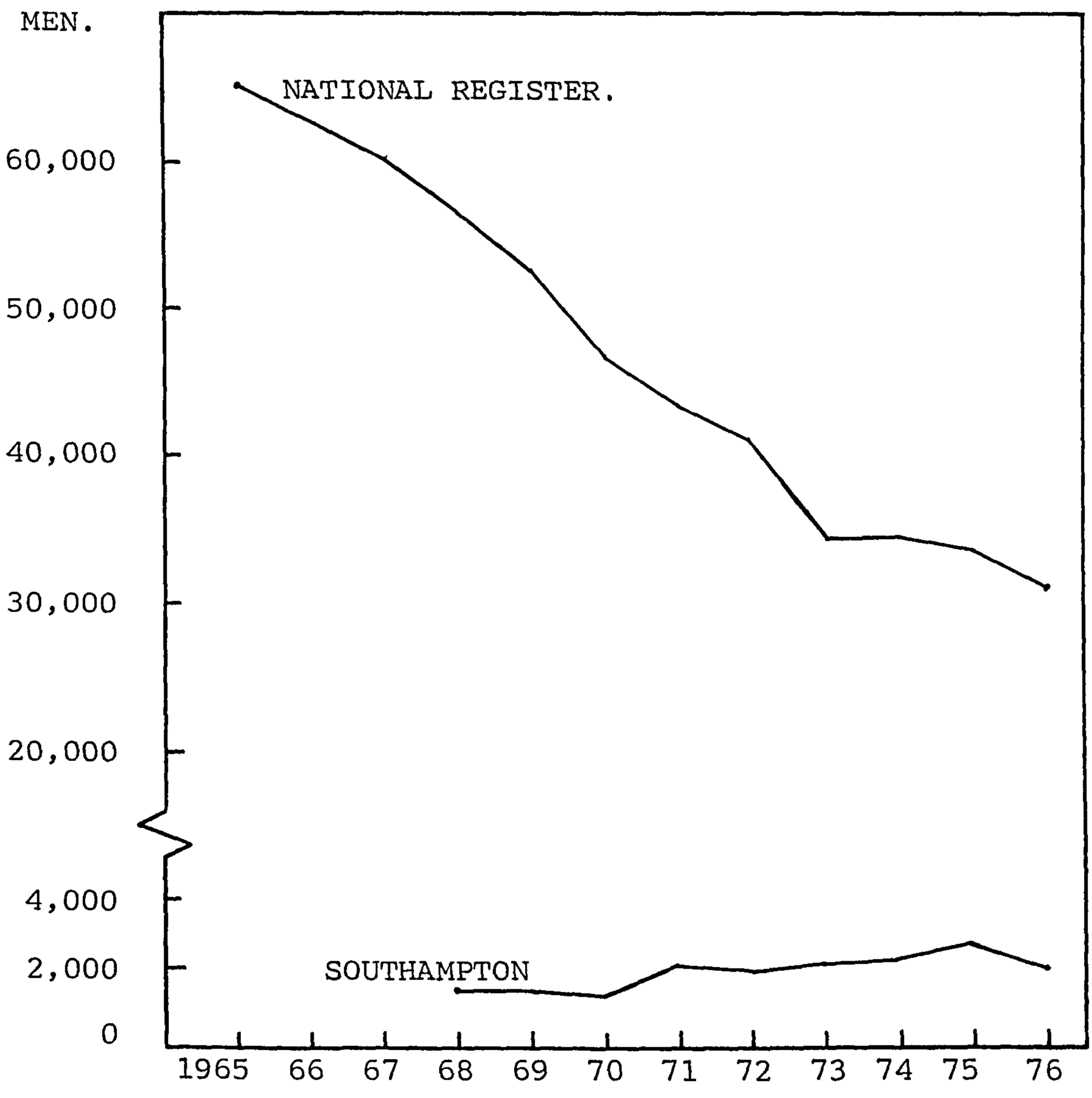
Register Size

It was noted above that the National Register has been in decline for some years. Figure 4.2 gives recent mean yearly employment levels on the National and Southampton Registers. The difference is quite clear. Whilst the Industry in general has suffered a dramatic reduction the work force in Southampton has remained relatively stable. The size of the register in 1976 (2028) is not greatly different from the level in 1968 (1884) and the overall pattern, when compared with the increase in dry cargo during this period, demonstrates the increase in the productivity of the work force. The levels shown in figure 4.2 however are the total register levels comprised of both permanent and temporary forces. The relative sizes of these two forces in Southampton are shown in figure 4.3.

The 'normal' seasonal pattern of recruitment occurs in the early years shown in figure 4.3. It is a repeating cycle of recruitment and lay-off with the maximum work force in the summer of each year. In later years however the pattern has changed. Whilst the permanent force has been reduced, more temporary workers have been recruited and fewer laid-off. Some, having joined in 1972 for example, were still on the temporary register in 1975. The major reductions in the permanent register in 1970/1 and 1973/4 were a result of the severance schemes and the relative success of this procedure in Southampton is attested by the younger age group structure

Fig 4.2

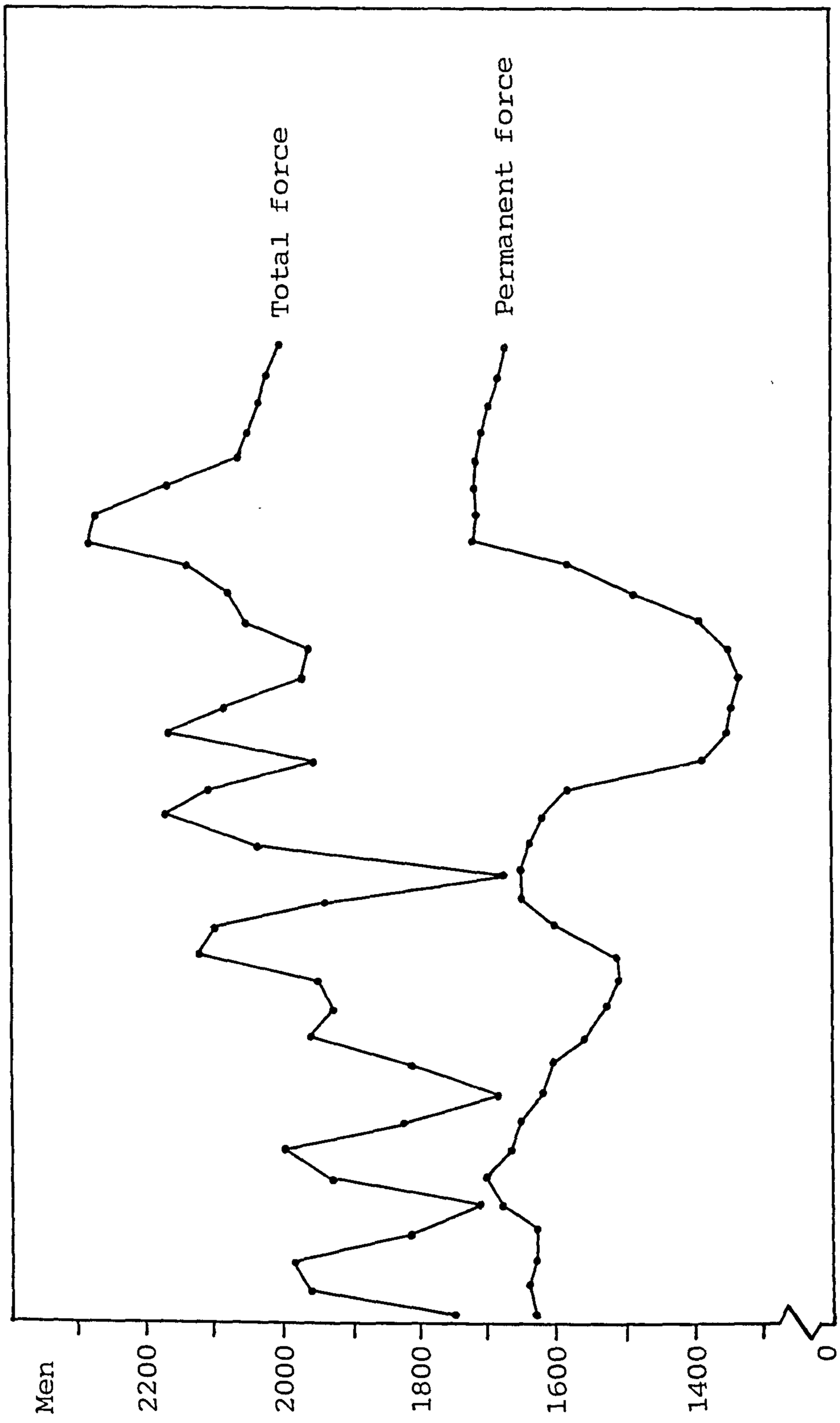
NATIONAL AND LOCAL VARIATIONS IN REGISTER SIZE.



SOURCE : NDLB.BTDB.

Fig 4.3

VARIATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT LEVELS SHOWING EFFECT OF TEMPORARY REGISTER.



noted above.

At the end of 1974 the permanent force was brought up to strength by 'making - up' men from the temporary register. Since that time the total register has gradually declined. Part of the reason for this is the containerisation of the South African trade. This was the only major trade already dealt with in Southampton, the bulk of previously containerised work being 'new' to the Port. The South African trade employed an average of seven hundred men so the BTDB limited the growth of the temporary register. This register finally disappeared in 1979 when the remaining men were given permanent status. Further reductions in the force will continue by a process of 'natural wastage'.

Skills

The basic distribution of skills is given in Table 4.2. It is clear that the 'minor' skills are not widespread and, given their nature, relatively unimportant for subsequent analysis. Lashing for example, which used to require considerable knowledge and expertise, is now reduced to a one day course. On containers it involves little more than affixing pre-made clamps and wire ropes in standardised positions. Similarly, as ships' gear is of diminishing importance in cargo handling, only 7.6% of the men are trained as winch drivers. Most men who are trained in these techniques are also qualified to operate other machines so that only 5% (86) possess only one or other of these minor skills.

In contrast to these low levels the intermediate technology represented by the fork truck is comparitively widespread. It is the single largest category of skills. However there is also a considerable overlap between fork truck driving and the 'major' skills representing the various new handling techniques. About a half of the

Table 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS IN SOUTHAMPTON

SKILL TYPE	TRAINED		UNTRAINED		% of those with at least one skill
	Number of men	% of total	Number of men	% of total	
Fork Trucks	655	38.1	1063	61.9	65.6
Lasher	208	12.1	1510	87.9	20.8
Winch Driver	131	7.6	1587	92.4	13.1
Van Carrier	391	22.8	1327	77.2	39.1
I.M.V.'s	240	14.0	1478	86.0	24.0
Tugmaster	134	7.8	1584	92.2	13.4
MINOR SKILLS** ONLY	267	15.5	*1244	*72.4	26.7
AT LEAST ONE MAJOR SKILL	732	42.6	986	57.4	73.3
TOTALS	999	58.1	719	41.9	..

*These figures represent the total with no minor skill

**Defined as Fork Truck,Lasher or *winch Driver*

force possess at least one of these major skills (42.6%) and a similar proportion (38.1%) are trained to operate fork trucks. This fact reflects the policy that limits the temporary worker to fork trucks. The worker who sees his interest in becoming skilled in the new technology will probably have already demonstrated his approach by learning to operate a fork truck whilst on the temporary register. Thus many (64.8%) of the workers with at least one major skill are also fork truck drivers. In comparison only a few (12%) have both a major and a minor skill.

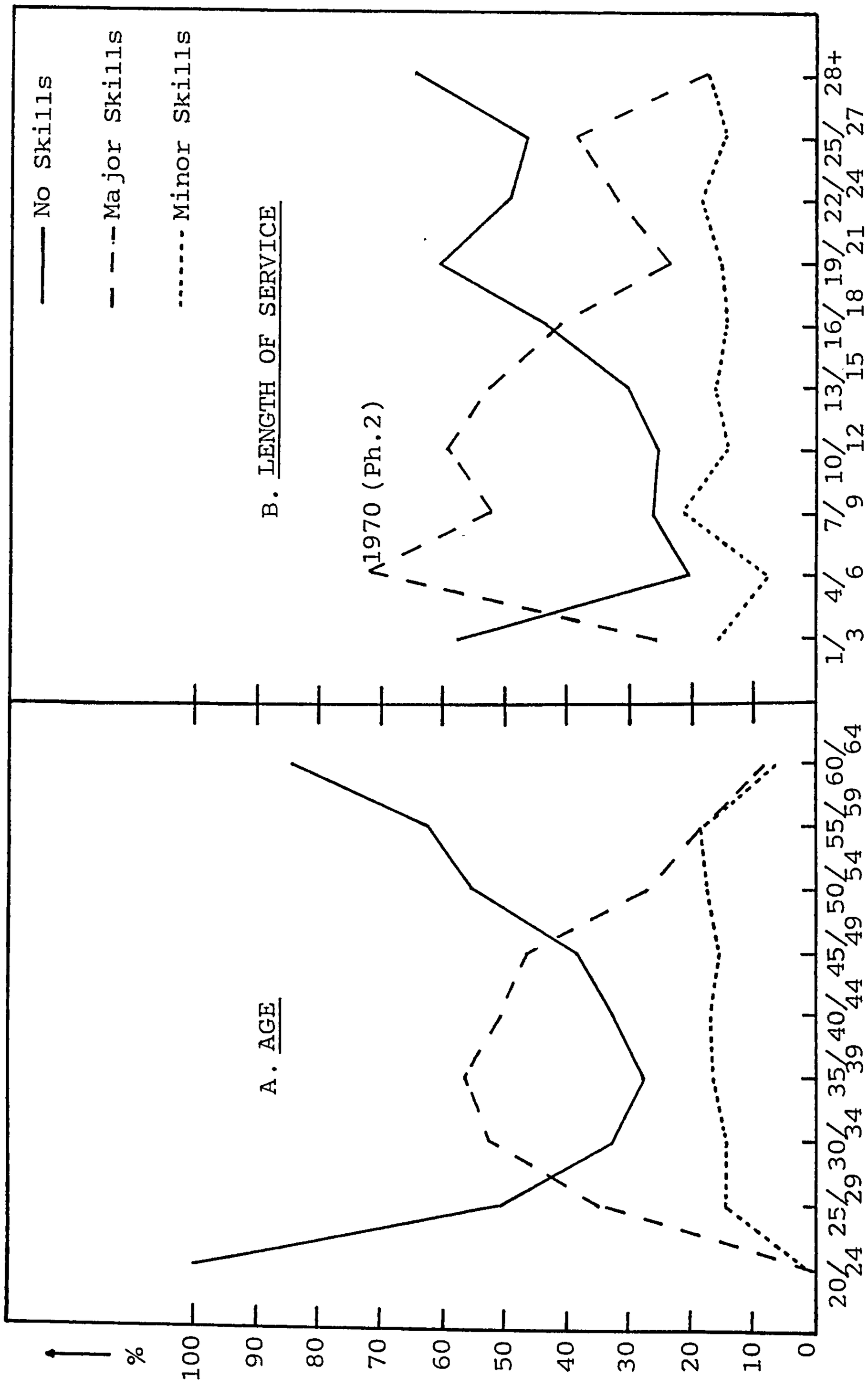
Following the collection of this data the Docks Board revised its policy of reliance on the voluntary acquisition of skills and new intakes were required to learn to operate one or other of the new machines. Obviously the growth of the Container Port is seen to require the supply of a suitably trained labour force but in the past the voluntary supply had served. The change in policy can be seen in part as an attempt to redress the effect caused by a certain proportion of workers who were apparently unwilling to voluntarily attain these skills. However, the differential payment for skills had also ceased and this may help explain the change of emphasis.

Given the previously voluntary system, and the differential payment, the main interest lies in the distribution of major skills. The proportions of men who are trained only to operate a fork truck or who have only 'minor skills' remain at very similar levels within age and length of service groups. For this reason, and to simplify the presentation, these two categories are combined in subsequent analysis to help provide a contrast with the distribution of the major skills.

How do men of various ages and length of service behave with respect to skills? Figure 4.4 shows the

Fig 4.4

DISTRIBUTION OF SKILL TYPES BY AGE AND LENGTH OF SERVICE.



patterns of three divisions of skills attainment:

a) men with at least one major skill;

b) men with only a minor skill, or trained only on fork trucks;

c) men with no skills at all.

Figure 4.4 part A, gives the variation in skills within age groups. The minor skills are relatively independent of age. Because of this the other two categories are nearly images of one another and what can be said concerning the major skills is applicable in reverse to the unskilled.

In fact the effect of age on major skills is mostly confined to the extremes. The youngest age group, which in any event contains only 24 men, is largely unskilled. Otherwise it is only after the age of 50 that the proportion of trained men begins to fall significantly. Two different explanations seem appropriate. In the case of the younger men there will generally not have been much time for the taking up of training. This is reflected in figure 4.4 part B, which shows very low levels amongst the most recent recruits. In the case of the older men however reluctance to train may be the more appropriate explanation. These men might well think it not worth their effort to take up new skills, given that traditional work continues to be used. If this explanation is valid it should also appear in the interviews.

Were there a close and symetrical relationship between age and length of service little more could be added, however, within particular length of service groups there is a considerable spread of ages. Furthermore between the ages of 30 and 49, which account for 66% (1129) of the work force, there is no significant variation in the proportions of men trained to operate

one of the major new machines (X^2 = 5.687, 7df., n.s.) Relations between skills and length of service therefore emerge fairly clearly.

The distribution of skills within length of service groups is given in figure 4.4 part B. If length of service were not related to the propensity to attain a major skill the central portion of this distribution would be more or less constant. In fact the level is considerably higher in the group with less than six years' service. The level reached by this group is marked in figure 4.4 part B with the year corresponding to the centre of the class limit of the group; namely 1970, the time of the Devlin Phase II agreement.[7] The proportional levels attained by the three groups who joined prior to this time can be seen to be approximately the same. In fact they do not significantly differ (X^2 = 2.83, 2df., n.s.) from one another, but, considered together, do differ from the post 1970 group (X^2 = 20.03, 3df., p< .0002).

Here is some evidence therefore of change in behaviour associated with the period of decasualisation. Now length of service reflects motivation to the extent that workers choose within the constraints of recruitment policy to join the industry at a certain time. Given the voluntary attainment of skills the apparently greater propensity to train amongst men joining the modernised industry could be taken as evidence of a specific variation in orientation to work.

Sickness and Accident Record

The principal interest in the sickness record is as an indicator of absence behaviour. At the time of the collection of data the exact pattern of the sickness record was unclear due to the existance of the 'excuse book', or 'other authorised' absence. In fact the major

cause of absence in this category turned out to be that attributed to minor sickness. Thus sickness absence is not totally covered in the personal, individual record. As a result of this any analysis of total absence must be based on the full statistical return, and individual record analysis must be viewed with this in mind. Some of the specific peculiarities of the latter record can in fact be best understood as a result of this dual system.

Controlling for the more nearly medical aspects of the 'sickness' record requires a comparison to establish 'expected' levels. The problems of such a comparison are many; different men in different occupations at different times and in different places may display unlike patterns of sickness, but some general indications should emerge if the populations are broadly similar:

> 'Recent evidence from several centres has shown that the <u>pattern</u> of diseases differs very little between industrial groups even when their sickness absence <u>rates</u> are markedly different.' 8

The spells of sickness absence of an industrial work force in the south of England have been placed in broad diagnostic categories,[9] and on the basis of these frequencies a comparison was made with the docks population. Table 4.3 shows the proportions within each of the twelve categories and gives the differences between the Southampton frequency and that of the comparison group. Because of the problems associated with such a comparison only gross anomalies are examined. (significant at $p < .01$, 2t.) Four categories display differences at this level; upper respiratory tract infections, gastro-enteritis, bronchitis and occupational injuries.

The high level of industrial accidents in the docks is a well known phenomenon[10] and the higher proportion in this category was to be expected. An analysis of

Table 4.3

MEN HAVING SPELLS OF SICKNESS ABSENCE IN BROAD DISEASE GROUPS.

Diagnosis	No. of men	Proportion of force %	Expected %	Difference	Sig. p< (2 t)
Upper respiratory tract diseases including 'flu ..	407	23.7	38	-14.3	.014
Gastro-enteritis	106	6.2	25	-18.8	.000
Musculo-skeletal disorders	334	19.4	13	+ 6.4	ns
Gastritis and dyspepsia ..	105	6.1	13	- 6.9	.037
Neuroses	86	5.0	2	+ 3.0	ns
Ill-defined	204	11.9	7	+ 4.9	ns
Non-occupational injuries ..	135	7.9	4	+ 3.9	ns
Bronchitis	88	5.1	13	- 7.9	.009
Migraine	10	0.6	2	- 1.4	ns
Sepsis	42	2.4	2	+ 0.4	ns
Occupational injuries ..	285	16.6	2	+14.6	.003
Other conditions	147	8.6	13	- 4.4	ns

industrial accidents was carried out but no significant changes in the recorded frequency in each of the years could be found. Furthermore the attributed causes of accidents were examined for the beginning and end of the period (1970 and 1974) but no significant difference could be discerned between accidents of a generally abrasive type; caused by falling objects or the knocking of extremities etc., and those of the strain type; back pain, muscle strain etc. Clearly the new technology, which reduces lifts and hence the possibility of strain, had not as yet had any discernable effect on the pattern of accidents.

The explanation for the much lower levels of URTI and gastro-enteritis in the population is however of a different kind. It is almost certainly the result of the dual recording of sickness. Since the War there has been a noticeable increase in absence from work and:

> '"influenza" is by far the main diagnosis involved in the growing number of claims, but sickness absence has to be labelled something, and if influenza is responsible... it is an epidemic severe distemper. Over the period (1949-64) more certificates were also given for other URTI, for diarrhoea and enteritis.' 11

Since the comparison frequencies were based on <u>total</u> absence, the low levels in these two categories seem most likely to be due to men who would otherwise have fallen into them choosing to obtain 'excused' absence rather than a medical certificate. Such behaviour is consistent with the general finding of the 'underuse of facilities by those in social classes IV and V'.[12] The findings suggest therefore that the 'self-definition'[13] of illness suitable for 'excuse' is limited to these disease types generally.

Over the period (1970-1974) the cumulative sickness

absence record will be affected by the 'under-recording' due to the 'excused' category. Since the largest contribution to the latter is associated with the 'minor' conditions and since these conditions also have higher frequencies of occurence[14] the overall frequency can be severely depressed. The long term absence rate is shown in figure 4.5. Such an unequal distribution has been interpreted as an indication that theoretically equally at risk populations have unequal chances of sickness absence over periods longer than a year.[15] The levels in figure 4.5 however are lower than might have been expected on the basis of previous work.[16] The deficiency in the distribution, and the resulting low average rate, are almost certainly due to the brief duration conditions which, as noted above, are normally the most frequent causes of absences. It is precisely these absences however that are of most interest in the present context since:

> 'short spells of absence attributed to sickness tend to have more of a "social" than medical content... lengthy absences tend to have a substantial medical content.' 17

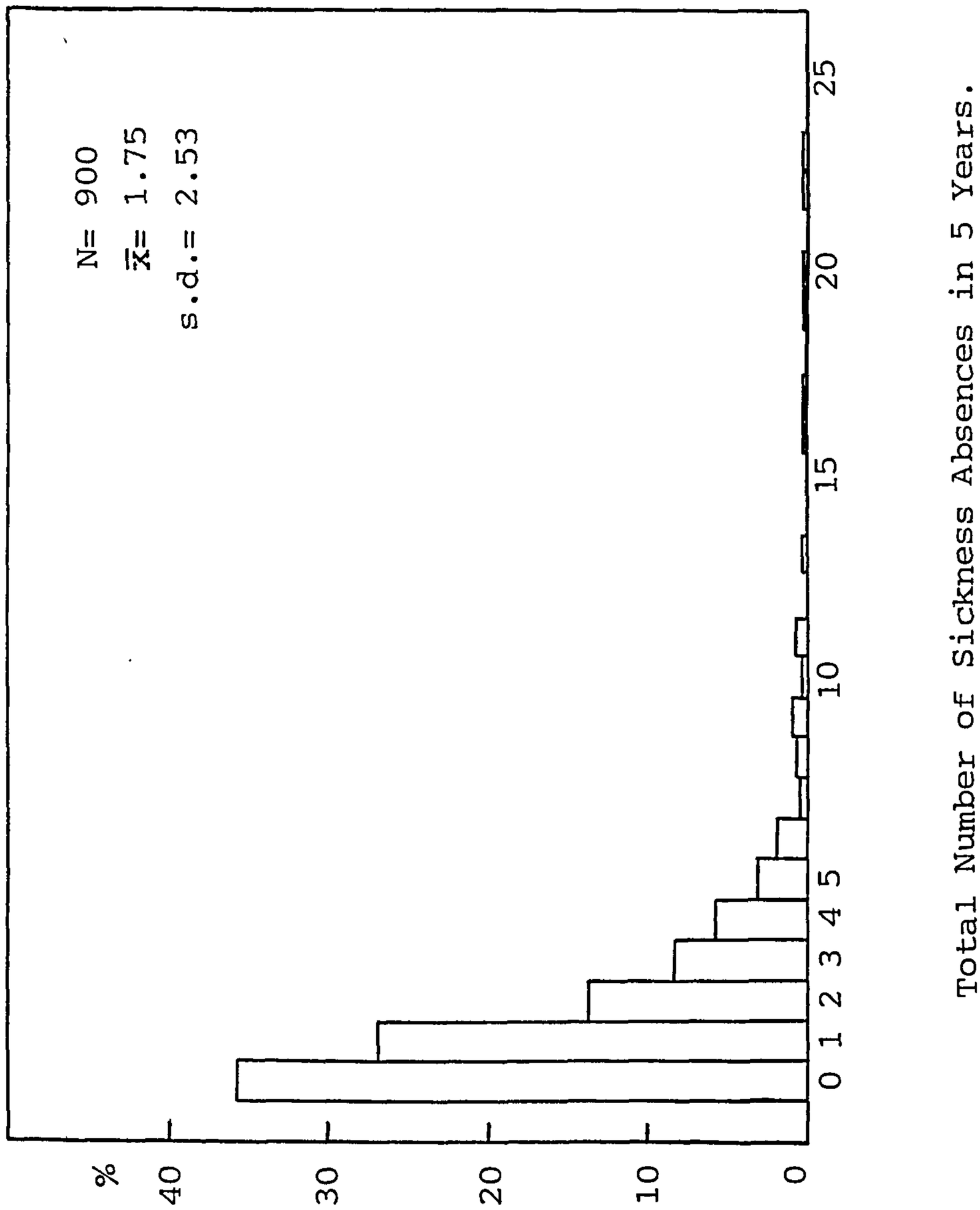
Further analysis therefore places greater emphasis on the non-certified categories of absence as these appear in the statistical returns.

Absence

Within the statistical returns certified sickness, which includes industrial accidents, is kept separate from the excuse book absence and the unauthorised absence. The authorised or excused absence includes a number of different attributed causes and the unauthorised absence includes men found to be absent without leave as well as those refused an excuse who subsequently stay away; thus this last is a less precise measure.

Fig 4.5

NUMBER OF SICKNESS ABSENCES PER MAN
(1970-1974)



The excuse book records daily levels each week and displays the well known unequal Monday maximum and Friday minimum that has been used by some researchers as the basis for an index of absence; the so-called 'blue Monday' index.[18] In addition to minor illness, which was reported (by the PLO) as the major contributor to this category, holiday extensions are sanctioned and jury service, hospital visits etc. are included. Most of these additional uses will be randomly spread throughout the year, but holiday extension will obviously cluster around the official holiday periods, which in 1975, were from 6th January to 24th March and from 2nd June to 8th September. During these 13 and 16 week periods staggered groups of similar proportions of men were off.

Absenteeism is often treated as a measure, albeit a rather imprecise one, of the nature of the relationship between the worker and his employer:

> 'Capacity and incapacity for work... is physical, mental and social - reflecting group behaviour, the mood of the time and a multitude of pressures.' [19]

The importance of absence in the present context arises as a result of the suggestion that the explanation for absence behaviour is to be sought, not merely in the nature of the employment relationship, but also in the motivation of the employees.

Early studies linked absence rate with the notion of 'morale'[20] but subsequent theorists[21] have refined this notion and have pointed to the effect on satisfaction at work of various intervening factors such as job content and level of bureaucracy. Indik[22] examined several versions of a basic model designed to incorporate such organisational and psychological processes. However Ingham[23] has suggested important modifications to this general approach. Basically Ingham argues that extra-

organisational factors are important, specifically that the worker's orientation to work is an independent variable in the analysis of 'attachment'. The nature of the worker's 'involvement' in the organisation is thus made central to any understanding of his behaviour in it.

In Ingham's categorisation of orientations low absence can occur even in large scale, bureaucratically remote organisations if an instrumental orientation with calculative involvement predominates in the workforce. On the other hand men with an instrumental/expressive-negative orientation, which in this scheme would include dockers, have alienative involvement giving low attachment and resulting in high absence. Ingham generalises:

> 'The rate of absence varies inversely with the level of moral involvement and identive power in an organisation'

And, he goes on, where moral involvement and identive power are not present 'absence varies with the level of workers' economic needs.'[24] There are difficulties with this formulation however. The general statement seems to assume that moral involvement levels are additive. In other words the morally neutral, calculatively involved worker and the morally negative, alienated worker will tend to combine to produce the higher levels of absence, especially in periods when such workers are able to afford to take time off.

However, the expressive-negative workers are defined in terms of their prior requirements, and they define the work situation, Ingham says, as one of conflict. The solidarity of the workforce therefore will have considerable significance. The expressive concerns of such workers, although negative from the viewpoint of the organisation, will involve strong moral commitment to their fellow workers. Now although this circumstance may enable

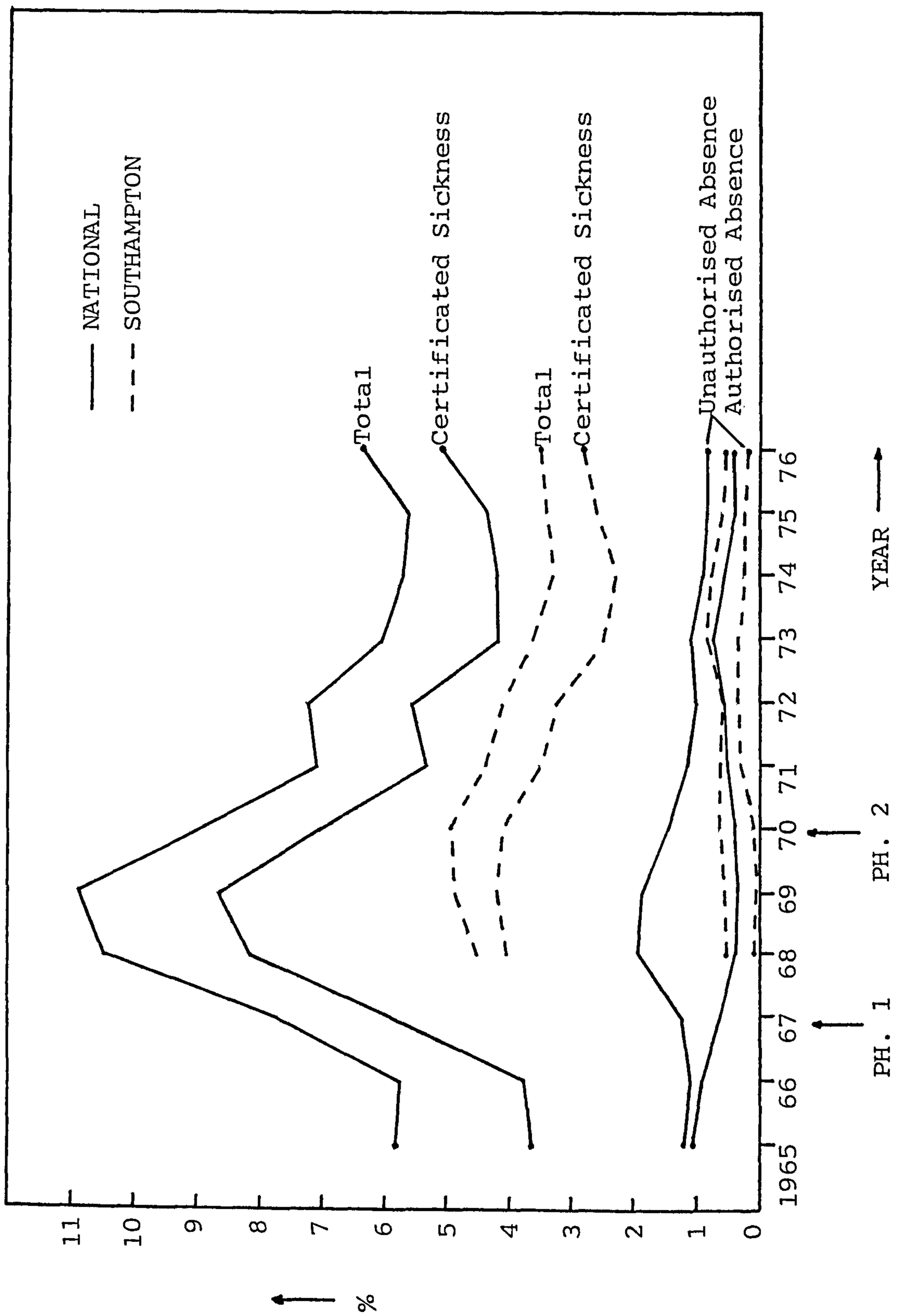
various group behaviours of a negative kind to take place[25] it may also lead to similar patterns of individual behaviour from different orientation groups. In other words, the 'attachment' of the alienated worker to his fellows might produce a low level of absence. The circumstances governing absence for such workers would then depend much more upon the immediate work situation and working arrangements. Where such arrangements remain unchanged for some period of time therefore a steady level of absence might evolve. When changes occur this level might well be disrupted.

To fully examine the nature of absence behaviour attitude data, collected at interview, are required. However the record data can provide some useful information on the actual pattern of absence. How has the dock worker reacted to the changes in his industry assessed in terms of absence behaviour? Figure 4.6 shows the variation in the levels of absence of all forms for the industry as a whole during the period from 1965 to 1976.[26] What is immediately obvious is the rise in most forms of absence during the period of the Devlin reforms, but a qualification must be inserted here before further conclusions are drawn. The Devlin agreement had included a new sick scheme[27] and rises in sickness absence associated with 'the availability of paid sickness leave...' have been noted before.[28] However it is noticeable that the rates return to the pre-Devlin levels after the implementation of the scheme and, further, that during the troubled period there was a substantial rise in unauthorised absence which is not directly affected by sick scheme arrangements. The overall rate for the industry compares with that found elsewhere for state owned firms[29] but was some 2½ times greater between 1967 and 1970.

Although specific information for Southampton was not available for the years before 1968 the general pattern

Fig 4.6

NATIONAL AND LOCAL ABSENCE BEHAVIOUR
(ALL FORMS)



SOURCE : NDLB. BTDB.

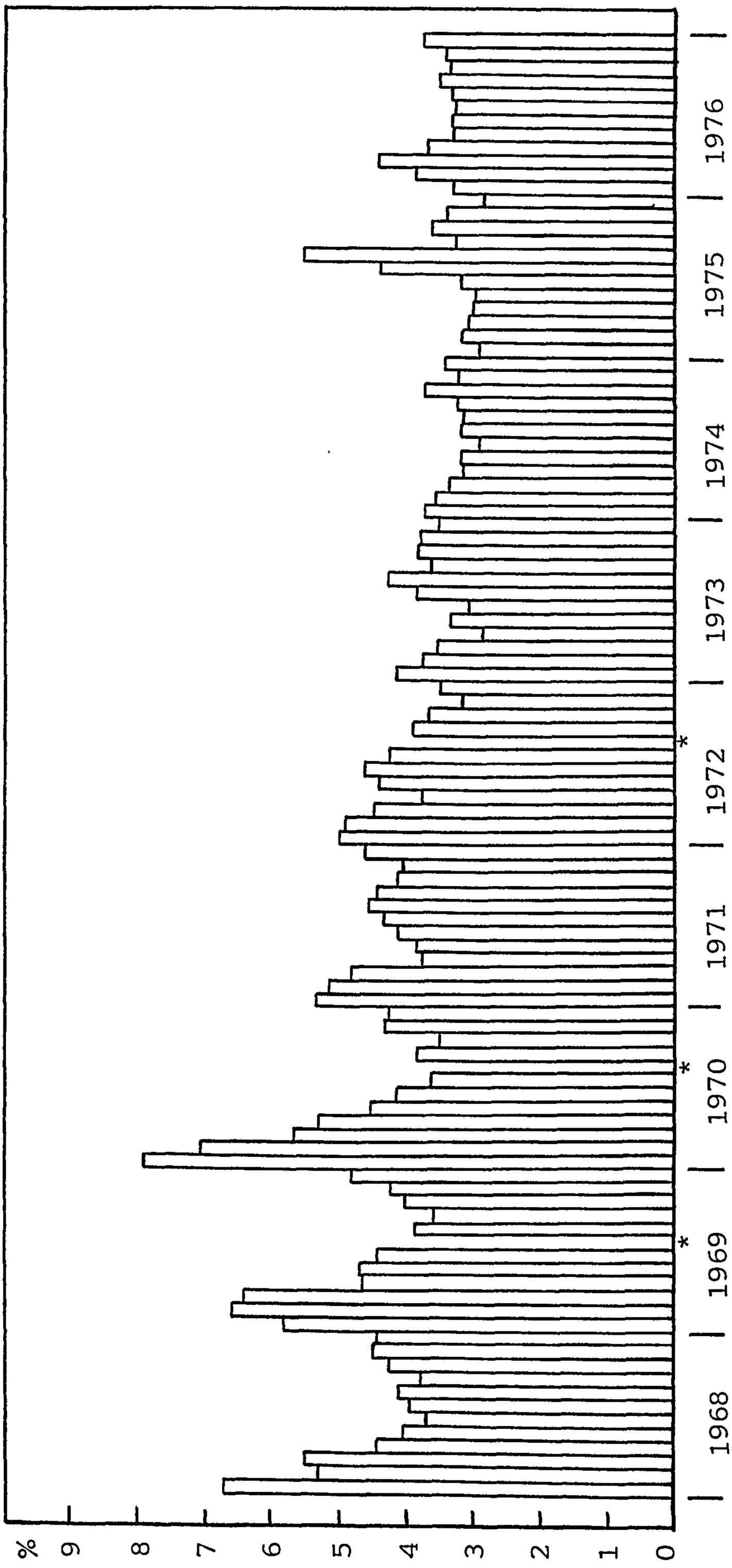
seems clear and follows that of the industry as a whole. The total levels of absence in Southampton however are lower than the national levels at all times and for all types except authorised absence. If the levels have returned to their pre-1967 values this might suggest that the reorganisation of the industry merely caused a temporary change in the behaviour of the workforce but although the average levels have returned to the lower values the pattern of absence has not remained the same.

The scale of figure 4.6 cannot reveal major changes in the authorised or unauthorised absence since these have lower average levels at all times. Variations within any given year are also obscured at this level of presentation. The Southampton data are shown in figure 4.7 at the higher resolution of mean four-weekly periods. The basic pattern is of large seasonal variation and as such is similar to that found in most studies of absence rates.[31] Although certain features can be associated with particular medical events, for example the peak in 1970 with the 'flu epidemic of that year,[32] it is clear that the basic sequence changes after 1970. Morris[33] notes that about 40% of the total national increase in absence since 1953 has been due to summer season absence. However for the period to 1970 the Southampton data display the pattern associated with most post-war absence, namely that of high winter levels and low summer levels. After 1970 the winter peaks subside and the overall oscillations are damped until, by 1973, the levels remain virtually constant. The summer levels however have remained much the same throughout the period and indeed after 1970 are more likely to be the maximum levels in any one year.[34] So three basic changes in the pattern can be identified: an overall decrease in mean levels, a reduction of variation and a change of emphasis to summer maxima.

A major part of the explanation of these changes is

Fig 4.7

TOTAL FORCE ABSENCE (ALL FORMS) IN MEAN FOUR-WEEKLY PERIODS.



* Data obscured by industrial disputes.

suggested when it is remembered that during the period the severance scheme was introduced specifically to reduce the number of 'sick-prone' individuals. Figure 4.3 shows that the level of the permanent force reduced first in 1970 and then, by a larger amount, in 1973 and these reductions coincide with the changes in the total absence rate. It might be supposed that the replacement of these men with younger men would result in a further decrease in the levels of absence. However younger men can be expected to display higher levels of absence and this is not immediately obvious in the data.[35] The older worker however, although he is sick less often, is more likely to suffer more severe and hence more prolonged illness[36] and it has been noted that such absences will tend to occur in the Autumn and Winter periods.[37]

The change in the structure of the work force can explain the overall reduction and the variation which is due to the winter peaks. However the summer levels have remained at similar values throughout the period. Removal of 'sick prone' members of the work force ought to affect the overall picture of absence but if this is the case then the fact of consistant summer levels can only be explained by a relative increase at these times. This situation is made clearer by an analysis of the separate categories of absence. These are shown separately in figures 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10. (Note that the mean four-weekly levels are replaced in these and all subsequent analyses by mean quarterly rates to simplify the presentation).

The yearly mean levels of certified sickness are shown in figure 4.8. The main body of the figure shows that the drop in levels dates from the end of 1972 when the permanent force was reduced. The pattern of certified sickness absence is anomolous, that is to say without a winter maximum, in only one year (1975) and from the end of 1972 the variations are much reduced. The increase

Fig 4.8

TOTAL FORCE: CERTIFICATED SICKNESS ABSENCE.

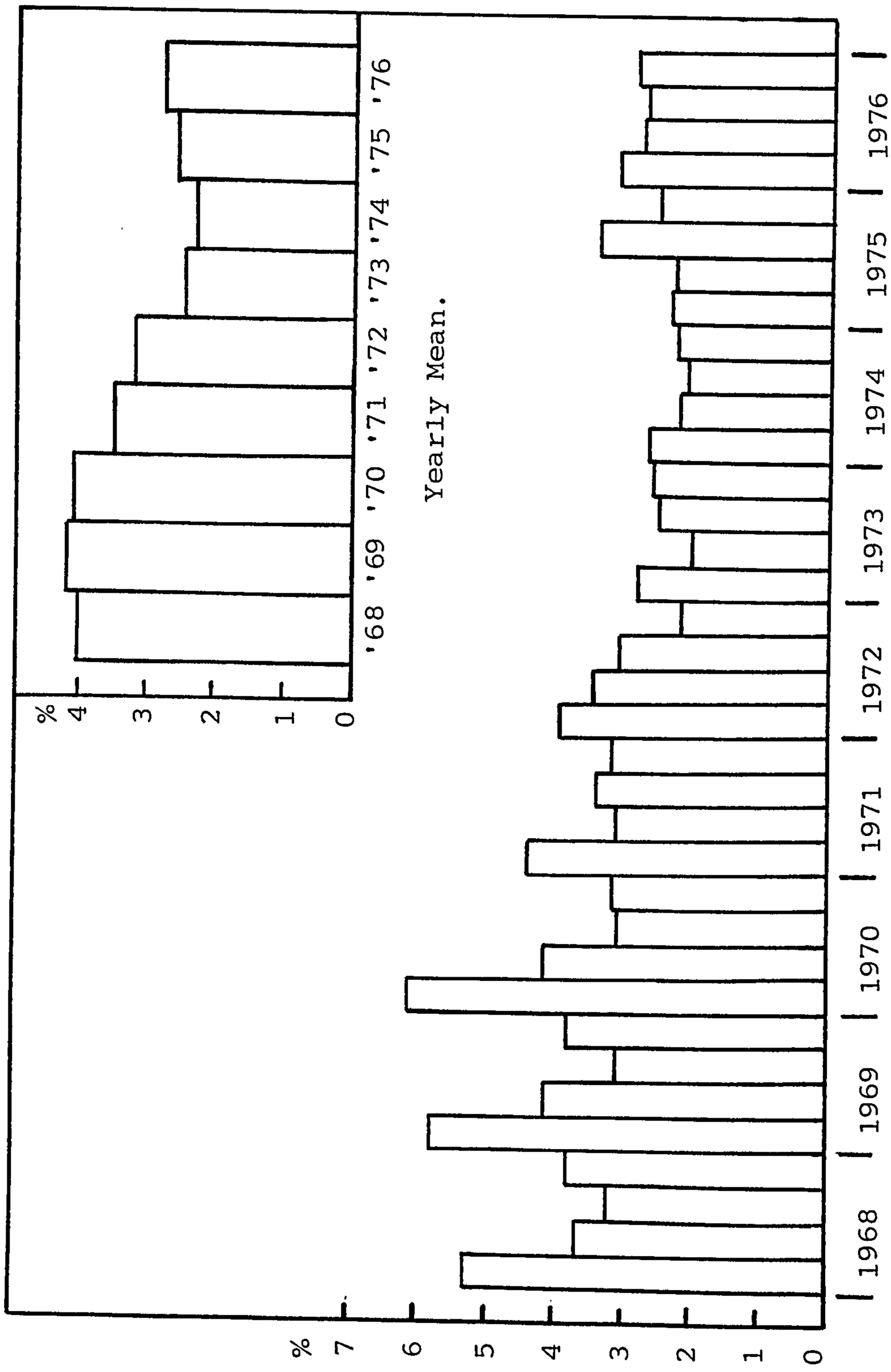


Fig 4.9

TOTAL FORCE: AUTHORISED ABSENCE.

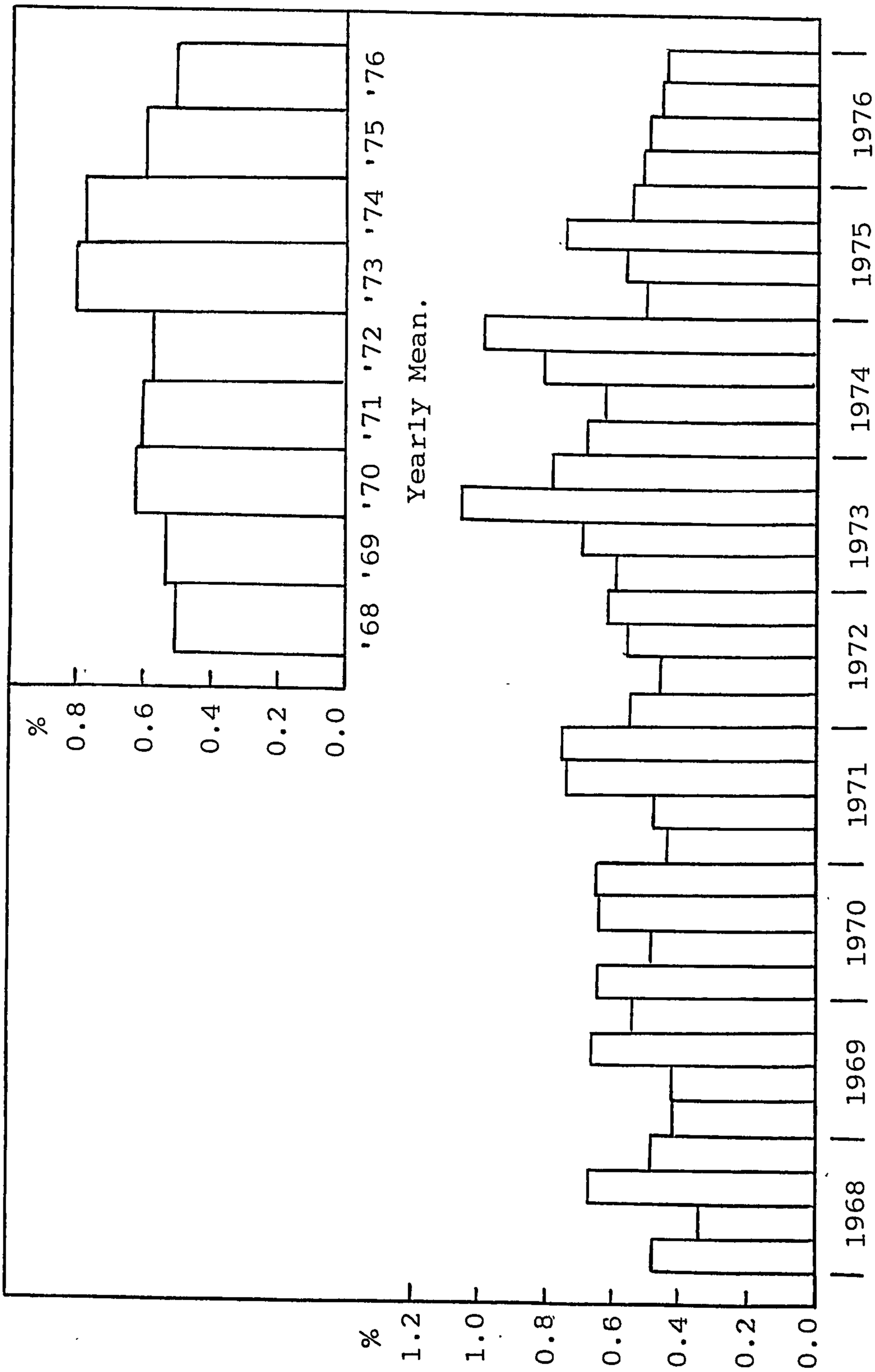
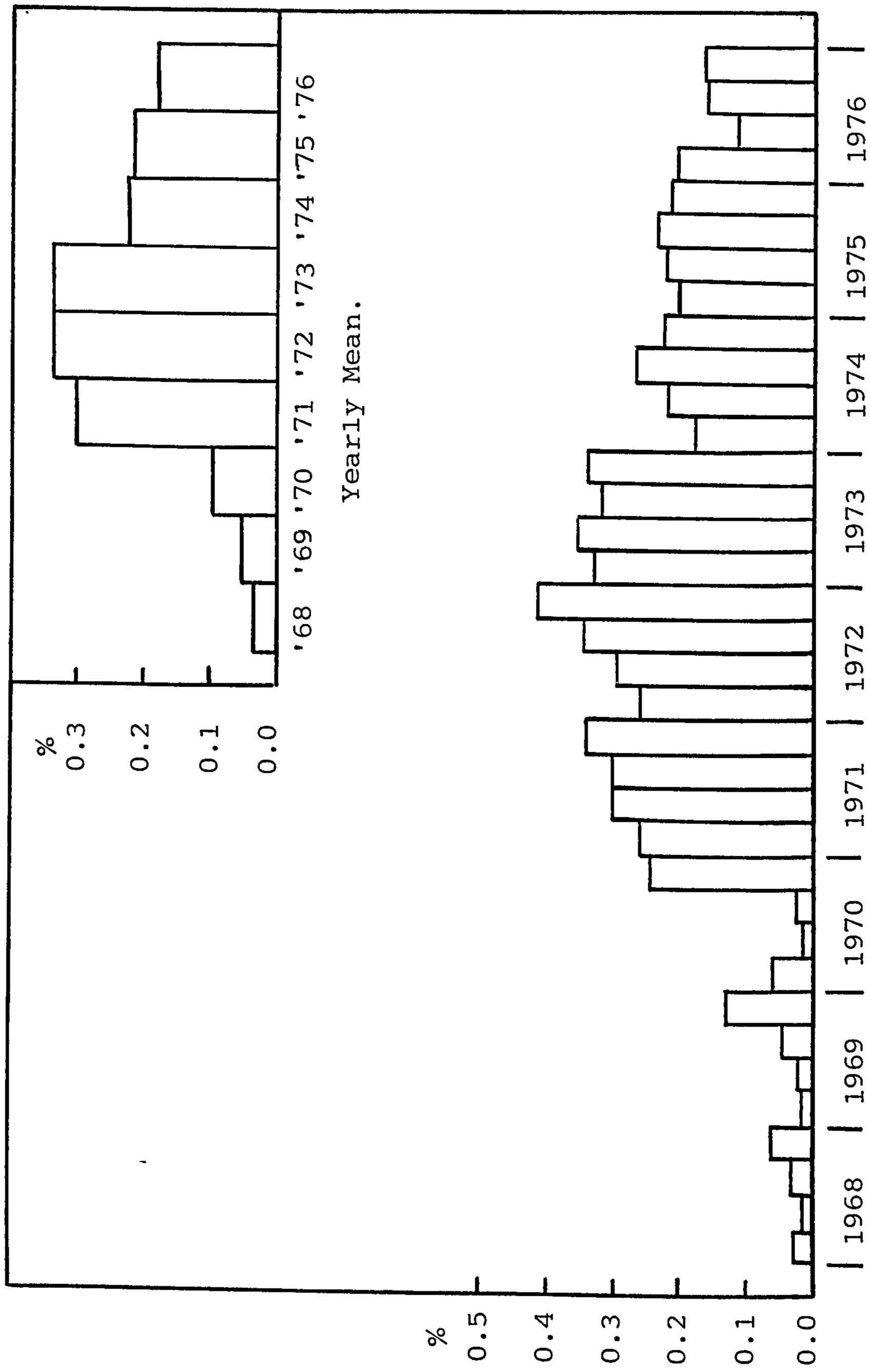


Fig 4.10

TOTAL FORCE: UNAUTHORISED ABSENCE.



in the total absence in the summer months therefore is due to the other categories of absence.

In figure 4.9 authorised absence is shown and it is clear that a summer maximum has always been characteristic of this type. The yearly mean levels increase in 1973 and the body of the figure shows that this was also an overall increase within each year. When it is recalled that younger men have more frequent brief spells of absence, and that the authorised category is generally limited to a maximum of three days absence at a time, it is fairly clear that the increased rate is a reflection of the increased proportion of younger men at this time.

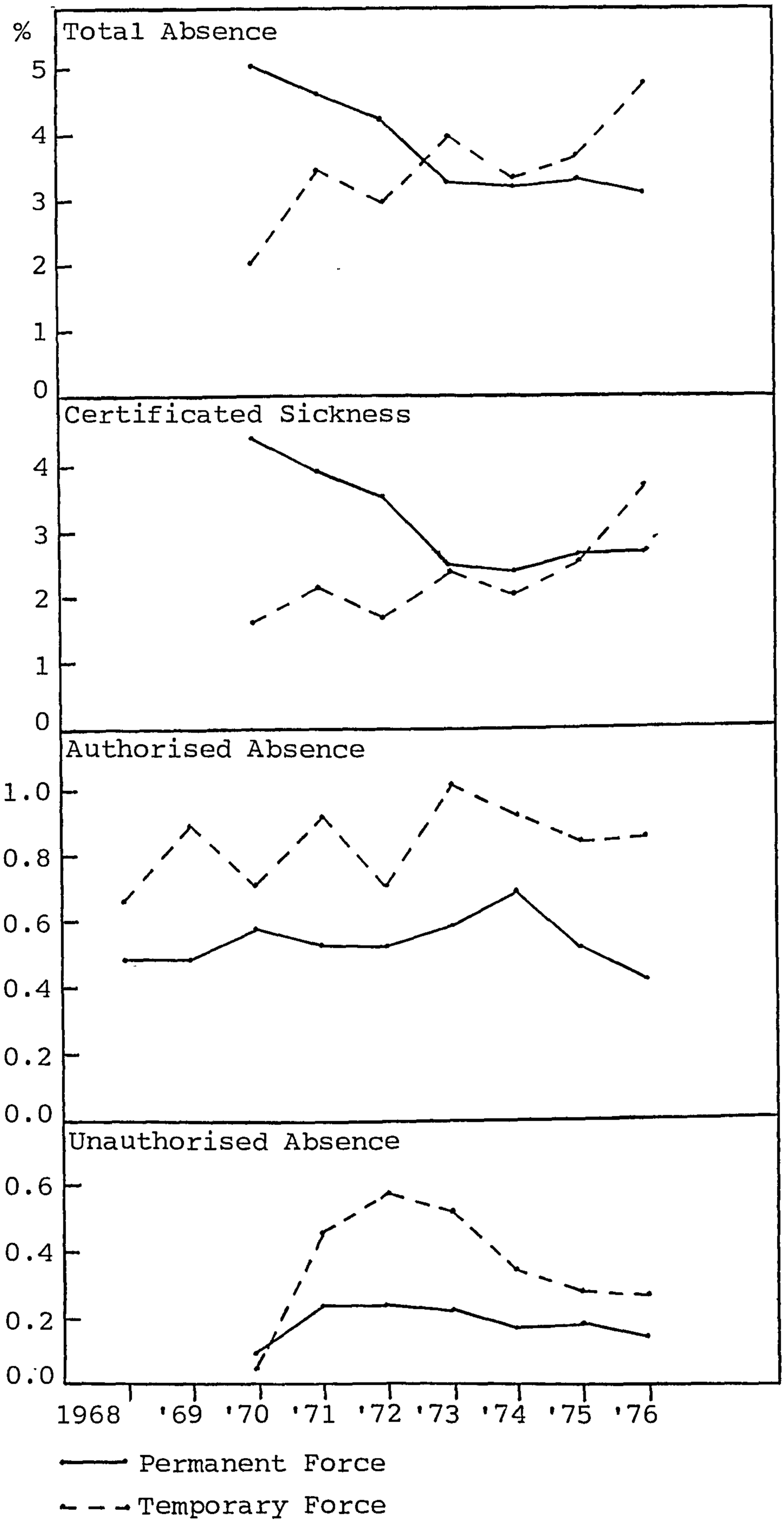
Figure 4.10 gives the pattern for unauthorised absence. The interest in this category is not so much in its small contribution to the total overall pattern but in its own internal variation. Following the closure of the Phase II agreement there was a five or six fold increase in unauthorised absence. It is possible that the organisational change itself resulted in more men being 'caught' and hence produced an 'increased' rate but it seems entirely more likely that the increase is a reflection of the change to time-rated working.

Explanations of effects based on changes in the permanent register alone cannot be uncritically applied to the absence of the total force however. Contributions to the total rates are made by the permanent and the temporary forces. To understand the variations within these categories therefore it is necessary to examine the effect of the temporary register. The separate categories of absence in each force are given in figure 4.11. Several features are apparent:

a) since certified sickness forms the bulk of all absence its pattern dominates the total;

Fig 4.11

COMPARISON OF THE ABSENCE PATTERNS OF THE PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY FORCES.



b) the voluntary severance scheme brought the permanent force's rate of certified sickness down to that of the temporary force and the two forces subsequently have similar rates;

c) in the case of brief absences however the temporary force nearly always has a significantly higher rate;

d) temporary force brief absence has much greater variability.

The first two of these features needs little comment. The arrangements introduced in 1968-1970 have resulted in a normalisation of both the pattern and level of sickness which now resemble that found in other industries.[38] The other features, which concern temporary force brief absence, require further examination. Each of the three categories of absence for the temporary force are shown separately in figures 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14.

A comparison between these patterns and those for the total force, the levels in which are mainly determined by permanent men, shows that the overall patterns of the two forces are similar. The temporary force authorised absence shows summer maxima and unauthorised absence rose steeply after Phase II. However the rates of brief absences are at most times higher and the variation is considerably greater.

A classic explanation of the first of these observations, the greater overall rate, could be made in terms of the notion that absence rate measures degree of attachment. The situation of the temporary workers could be seen as entirely more likely to lead to higher levels of short-term absence; they are younger, have served much less time in the Docks and they face an extremely uncertain future. All these factors could be expected to result in an alienated involvement in the organisation and a lower level of attachment. However, whilst such

Fig 4.12

TEMPORARY FORCE: CERTIFICATED SICKNESS ABSENCE SHOWING NO CLEAR SIZE EFFECT.

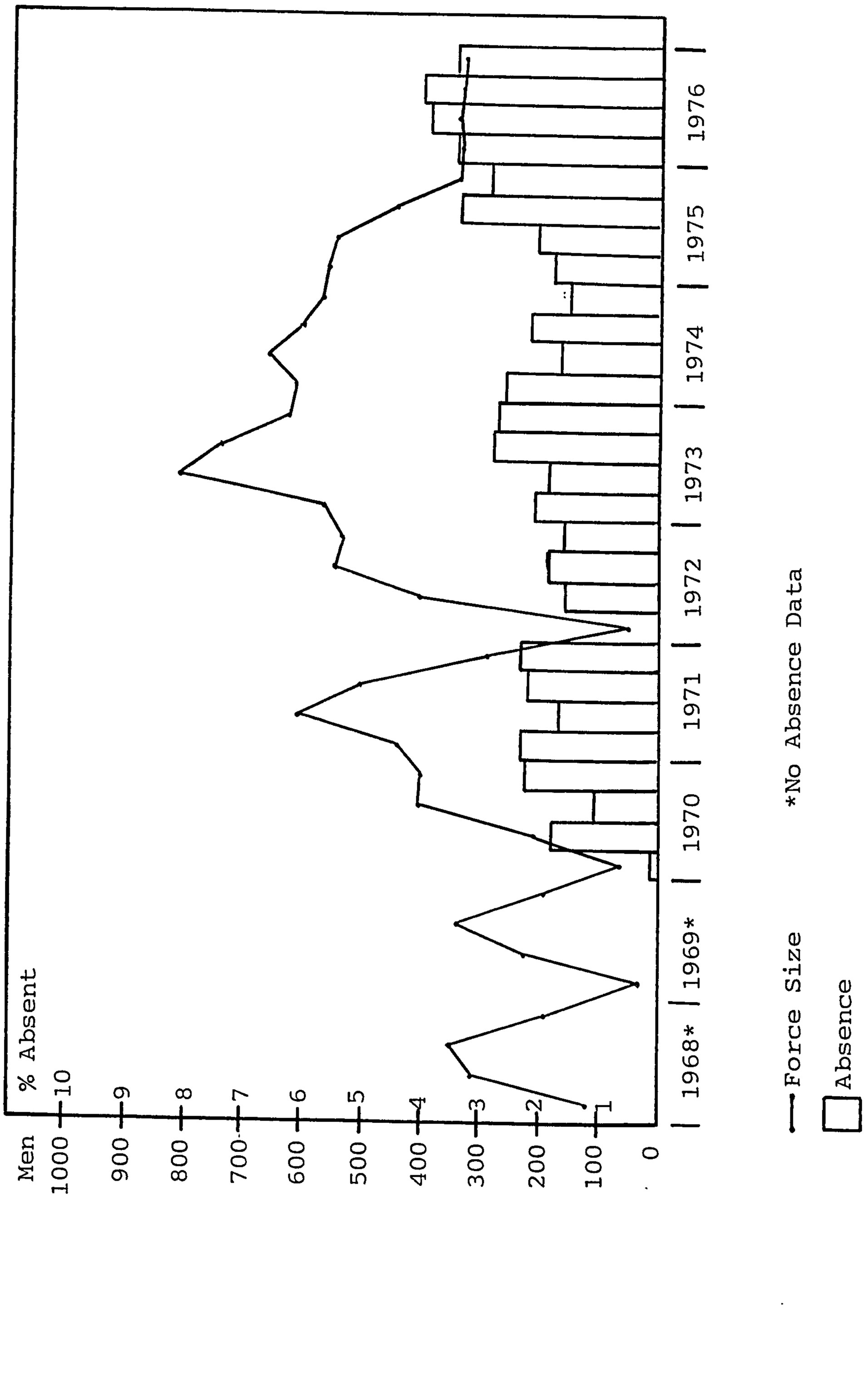


Fig 4.13

TEMPORARY FORCE: AUTHORISED ABSENCE
SHOWING SIZE EFFECT.

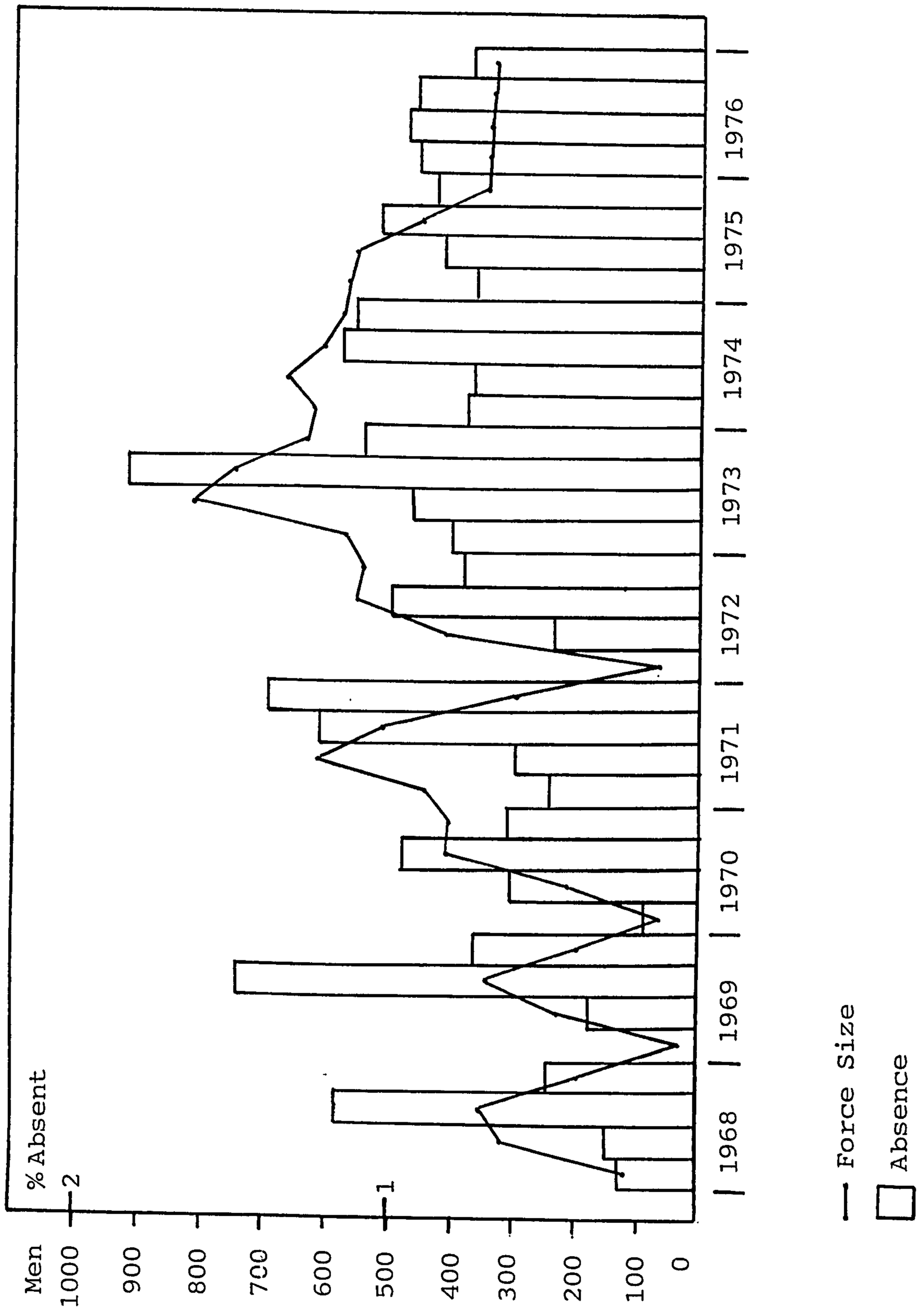
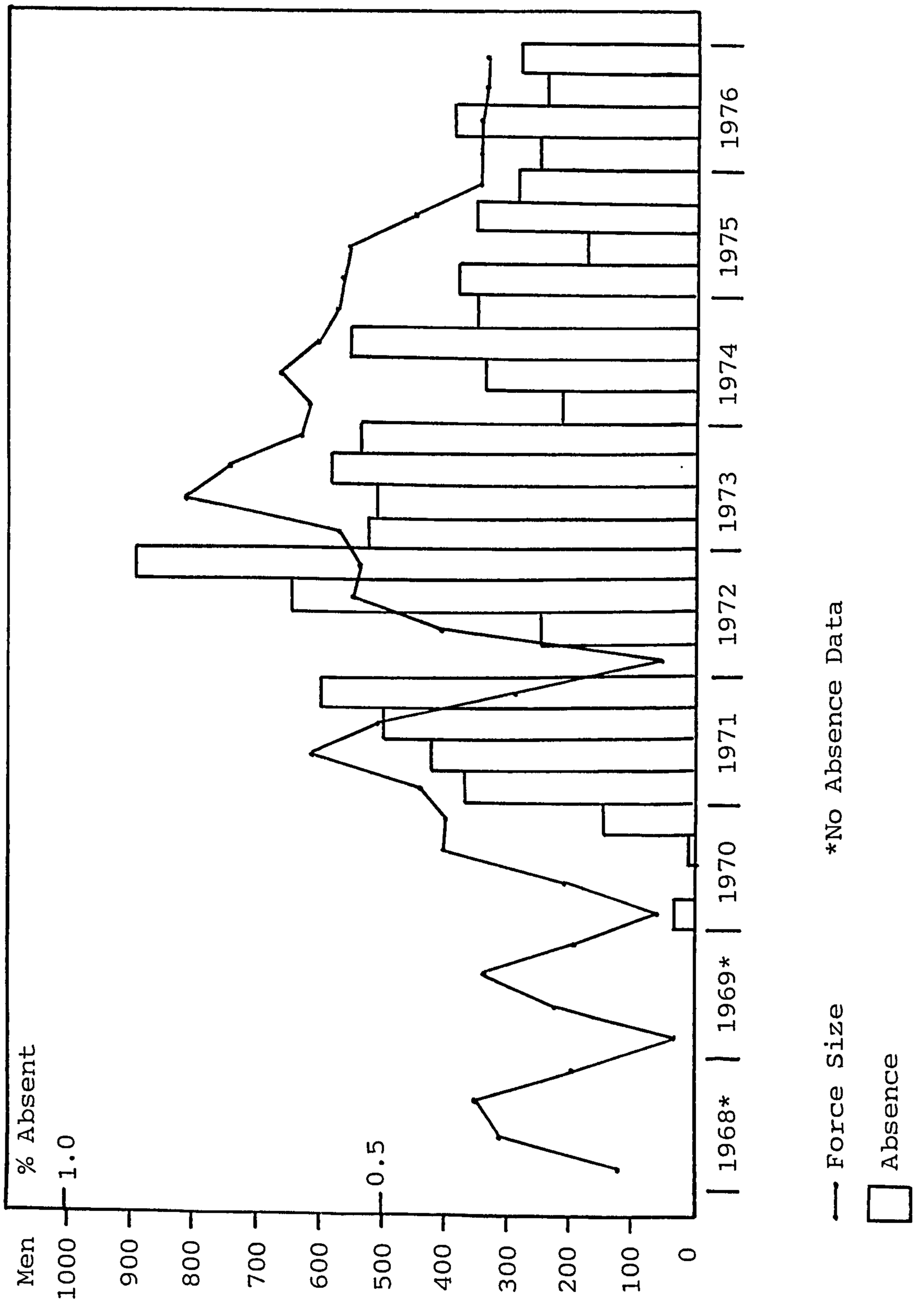


Fig 4.14

TEMPORARY FORCE: UNAUTHORISED ABSENCE SHOWING SIZE EFFECT.



an explanation, may convincingly explain the higher rate, the actual situation is somewhat more complex. It seems unlikely that the 'attachment' of the temporary workers should be subject to fairly rapid and considerable variation.

The most noticeable aspect of the variation in the temporary force absence is that it is coincident with the variation in the number of temporary employees. In figures 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14 the number of temporary employees is shown on a superimposed scale and the coincidence is clear in the two brief absence categories. Now a connection between 'size', defined in terms of number of employees, and absence has frequently been noted in the literature. Usually a positive correlation between size and absence has been found.[39] Most studies however are cross-sectional and include comparisons made between organisations of different size, where size is relatively crudely defined.[40] Explanations of effects are usually given in terms of the sort of intervening variables mentioned above - a development of theory that has produced the notion of absence as a measure of 'attachment'.

A similar size relation has been noted within a single organisation. However although the authors[41] of that particular study advance an explanation for the effect in terms of 'morale' they give no further evidence to support what is in effect an hypothesis. In the present case the brief absence rates appear to vary with the number of temporary employees over time in a close and responsive way. Given that this behaviour may illuminate the employees' subjective interpretation of the employment relationship it must be asked how extensive this co-variation is and whether or not the permanent workers behave differently.

Because of the large proportion of certificated

sickness and the fact that this was drastically reduced by the voluntary severance scheme at a time when the overall employment level was high there is an inverse relationship between total employment and total absence. (N=48, r=-.41, p < .003). Further examination however demonstrates that this is not the case for the minor categories, which may be supposed to be less obviously medical in nature. Unauthorised absence is related to overall size, (r=.54, p< .001) and so is authorised absence (r=.53, p < .001).

Similar results are obtained when the two forces are examined separately. For permanent employees:

unauthorised absence and total force size	r=.45, p< .004 (N=40)
authorised absence	r=.41, p< .004 (N=48)

for temporary employees:

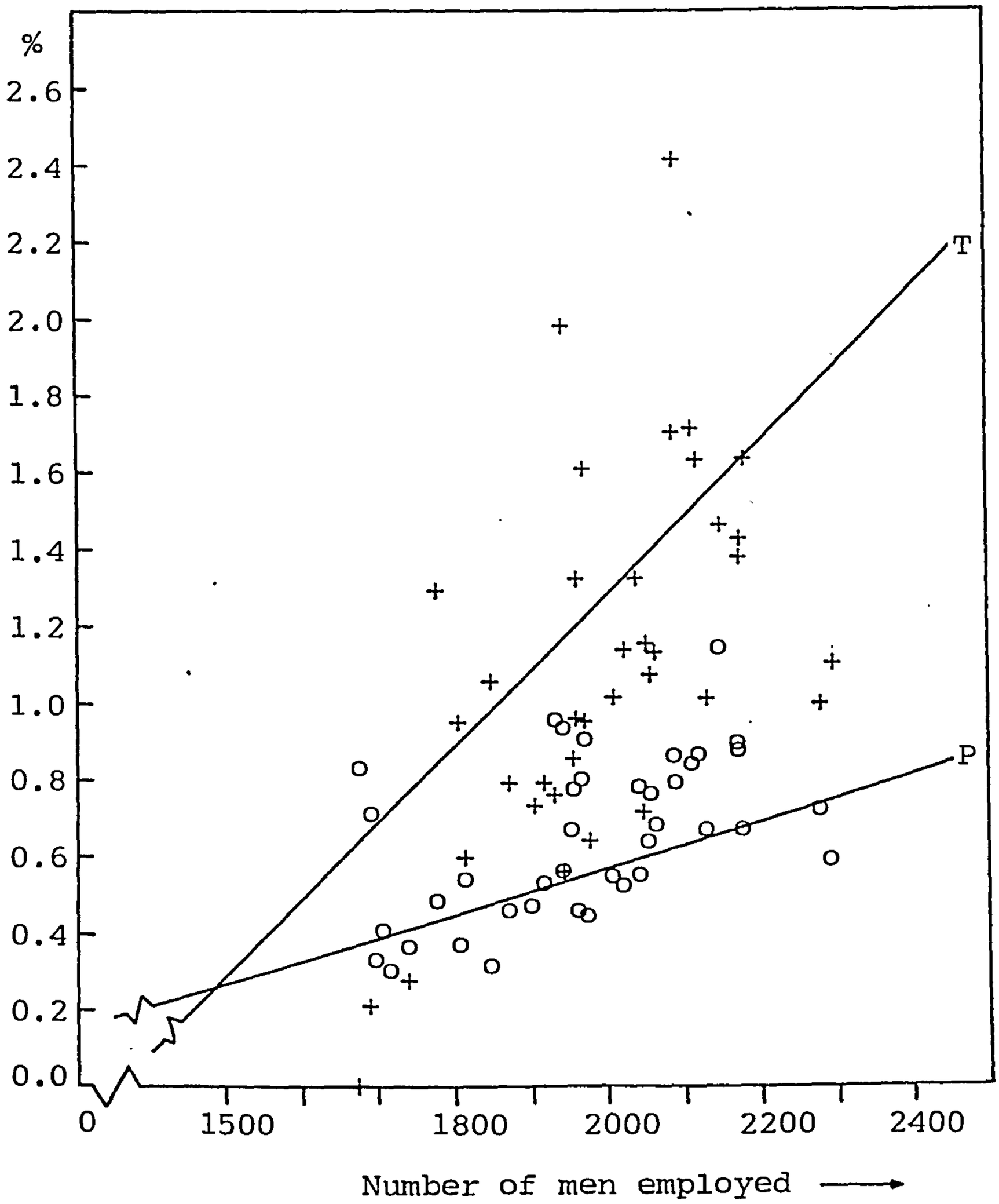
unauthorised absence and total force size	r=.54, p< .001 (N=34)
authorised absence	r=.57, p< .001 (N=44)

It makes sense to simplify the situation and consider these two categories together as 'brief duration absence'. In figure 4.15 the resultant zero-order correlations of this absence with total force size are shown for permanent and temporary men separately. Both these correlations are highly significant and there is no significant difference between them. Although the strength of the relationship between size and absence is much the same for both groups however the level of the increase in absence per unit increase in size (slope) is higher for the temporary men. Thus both the rate of brief absence and the rate of increase in brief absence are higher for the temporary men.

However there is a problem of interpretation of these results in that at any one time both groups are present. It is for this reason that the variation in absence is

Fig 4.15

PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY FORCES: CORRELATIONS OF BRIEF DURATION ABSENCE AND SIZE OF FORCE.



o Permanent men r=.52 (Y=0.003X - 3.19)

\+ Temporary men r=.58 (Y=0.01X - 13.6)

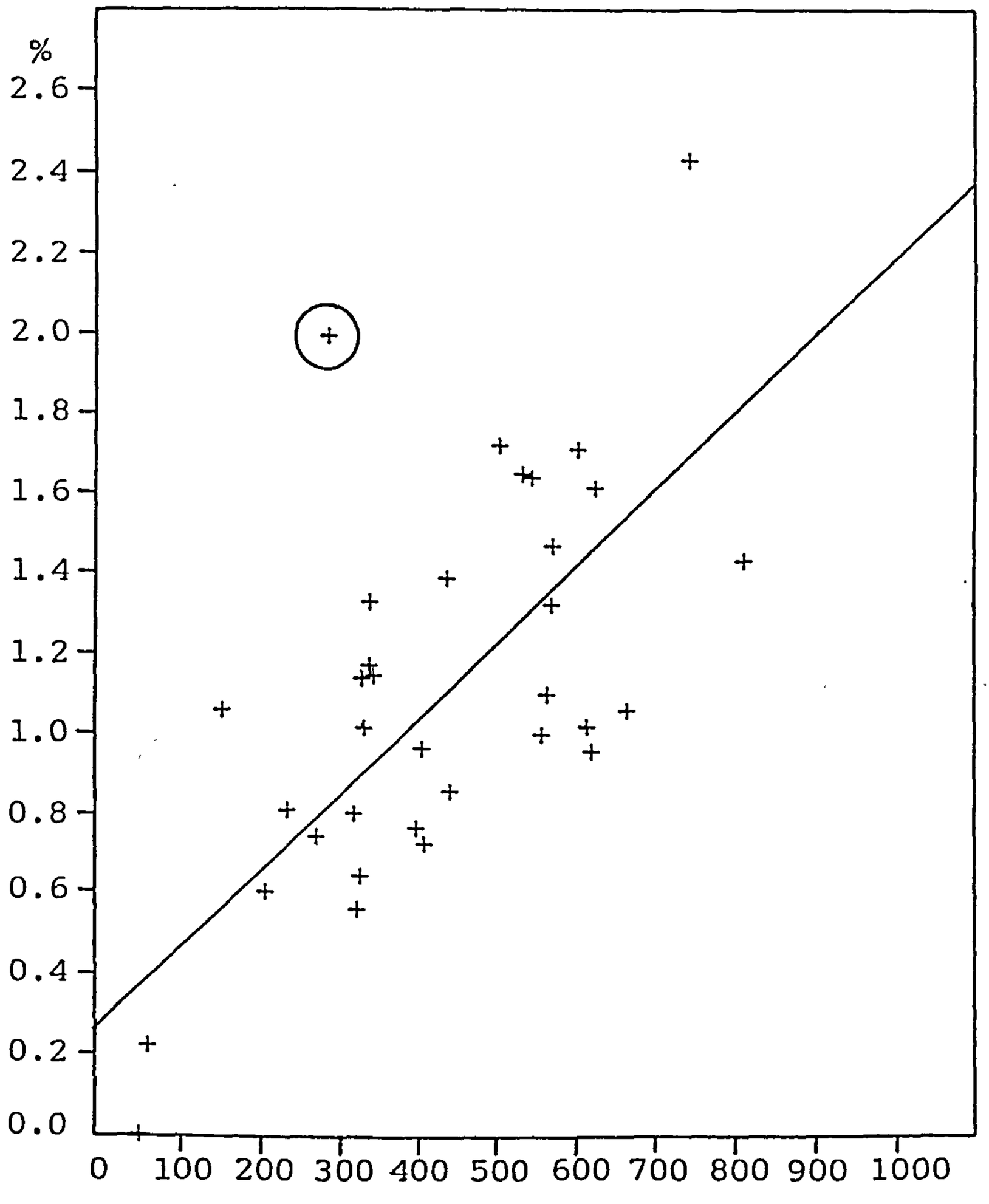
viewed as a function of the total force employed at any one time. However it is the case that the size of the total workforce is mainly determined by the permanent men whilst the variation is mainly due to the temporary men. It makes sense to partial out the variance due to the temporary force, in other words to control for the effect of the temporary register on permanent men's absence rates. When this is done the correlation between permanent employees' absence rate and size drops from .52 ($p < .001$) to -.12 (n.s.). Thus the permanent men's absence varies with the number of temporary men.

A similar operation can be carried out for the temporary force. This is equivalent to asking the question: what is the effect of the variation in the permanent force on the absence rate of the temporary force? When this is done the correlation between temporary employees' absence and size remains virtually unchanged. Its original value of .55 ($p < .001$) changing to .54 ($p < .001$). The temporary men's absence rate varies with the number of temporary men.

This relation argues for an interpretation of absence as 'opportunistic'; associated with the increased 'slack' in working arrangements caused by the inflow of temporary workers. Its responsiveness suggests that it is essentially calculative in nature. Further evidence consonant with this approach becomes visible when the temporary force brief absence rate is viewed in conjunction with the temporary force size alone. In figure 4.16 the ringed value represents a high level of absence at a time when the temporary register was low. It corresponds to the mean quarterly value marked X in figure 4.17. It is immediately clear that the high rate precedes a lay-off of the labour force. In fact the mean levels in figure 4.17 obscure the fact that this was a complete lay-off.[42]

Fig 4.16

TEMPORARY FORCE: CORRELATION OF BRIEF DURATION ABSENCE AND SIZE OF TEMPORARY FORCE.

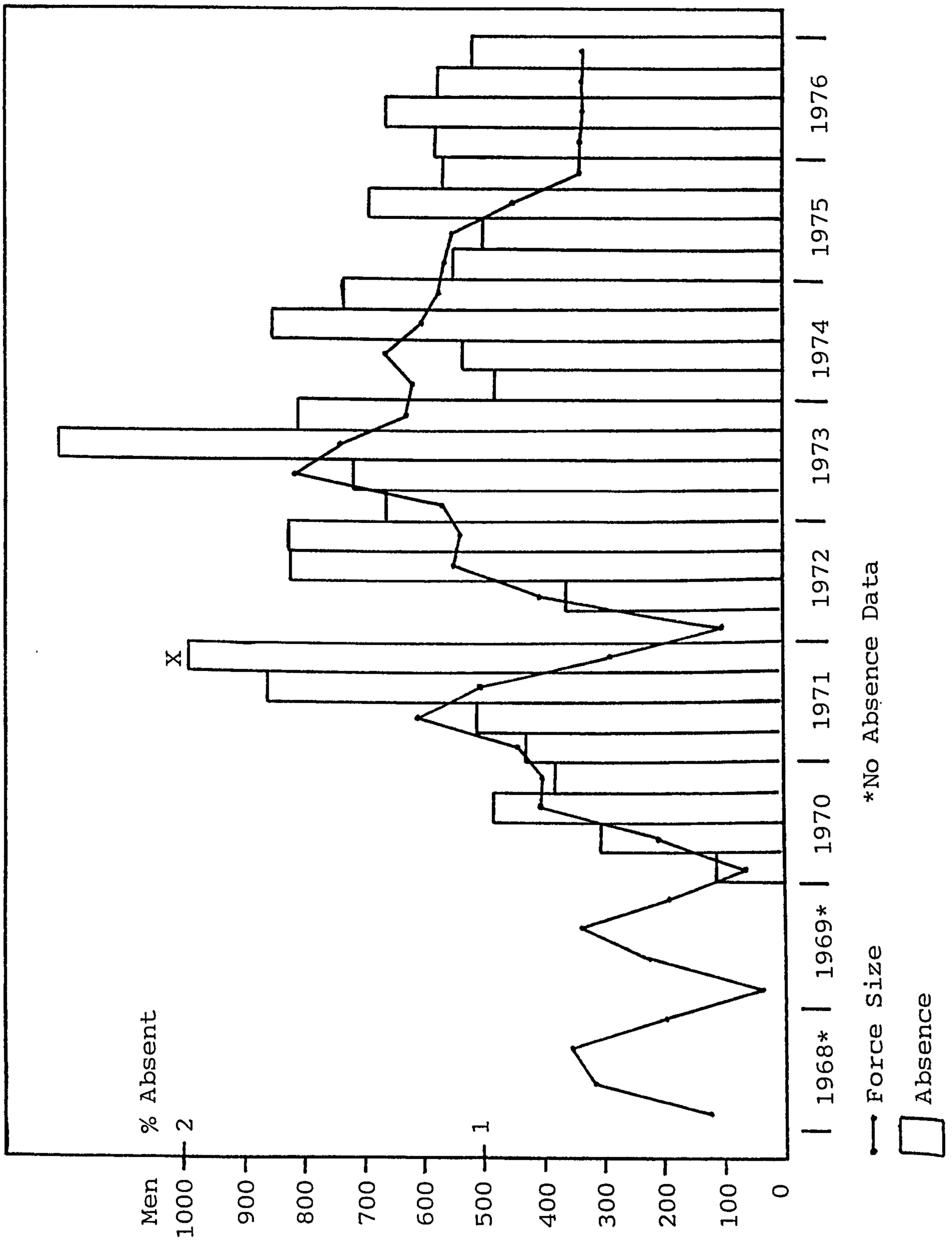


r= .63 p<.001 (Y=0.28+0.002X)

Variance = 40%

Fig 4.17

TEMPORARY FORCE: SUM OF AUTHORISED AND UNAUTHORISED ABSENCE WITH SIZE EFFECT.



Informally organised absence in the docks has been noted before.[43] The practice known as the 'welt', which grew up in the era of casualism, involved the extension of jobs by gangs. The gang split a shift by sending half the men off for a period and then the other half when the first returned. But despite a partially documented history of widespread organised absenteeism in the docks, and despite fairly frequent legitimate opportunities for time away from work, what is probably most remarkable in these findings is not the perceivable 'size effect' but the apparently steady underlying situation. It is fairly clear that the presence of the temporaries disturbs the 'basic absence rate' of the permanent employees. Recent theorists[44] have called for further investigation into the aspect of absence that seems reflected here, namely the possible existence of norms of accepted absence,[45] or what may be called 'absence cultures'.[46]

The apparent existence of a basic rate of absence, of an accepted rate which is only disrupted by changes in the working arrangements associated with extra men, suggests that calculation linked with opportunism is at the basis of the incidental brief absenteeism examined above. This would be compatible with Ingham's notion of an expressive-negative orientation and alienative involvement but it would appear to be better explained in terms of an instrumental orientation and calculative involvement.

Residential Distribution

The initial location map is shown in figure 4.18. In this presentation each individual is represented by a dot. The locations given at this scale are accurate to street level except in the case of high rise developments where the dots are artificially spaced to give an

Fig 4.18

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE SHOWING LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING AREAS.*



*Source: Southampton Corp. Housing Dept.

impression of the density. The concentrations in the central area are the most obvious examples of this (St Marys 20/21/22)[47] but noticeable flat concentrations occur at Woolston (Tower Blocks at Weston; Woolston 7/8) and Shirley (Shirley Towers; Shirley 1/2). 225 men (13.1%) live outside the City boundary and are not shown in figure 4.18.

Figure 4.18 also includes local authority housing area boundaries and it is clear that many employees live in these areas. In fact about 51% of the force live in a local authority housing area although some may now own the house. Partly as a result of this, and because of the Authority's policy of developing large suburban estates, the bulk of the labour force can be seen to live away from the immediate dock area; a situation untypical of such populations as described in the literature.[48]

The Dock estate in Southampton is several miles long and follows the River Test foreshore along the Southern boundary of the City; even so a relatively small proportion of the labour force live within easy walking distance of any one part of it. Approximately 18% live less than one mile from the nearest part of the Dock to them and only about 24% live between one and two miles distant. Some 58% therefore live more than two miles away and, as is clear from figure 4.18, many live around the outer boundary of the City about four or five miles from the nearest part of the Docks. In comparison the sample studied by the University of Liverpool had 61% of the men living within two miles of the main dock gates.[49] If distance is measured in this way in Southampton, say from the main gate in the Eastern Docks, then only about 6% live within a mile and only 22% under two miles.

The apparently higher densities visible within the council areas are not exclusively due to the effects of

high rise accomodation, local concentrations occur in conventional housing areas also as, for example, at Merryoak (Peartree 15) and the 'Flowerlands' (Bassett 4/5 & Swaythling 9/10). In non-council housing areas however there are no immediately obvious preferred localities and the spread of population appears fairly even with the exception of the (Middle class) region surrounding and to the North of the common.

The Map in figure 4.18 was used as the basis for identification within the area coding scheme, shown above in figure 3.3. The complete distribution of the work force within this scheme is given in Table 4.4. In addition to the codes shown within the City boundary it should be noted that 103 (6%) inhabit 'high quality private estates' outside the City (code 0) and 122 (7.1%) live in areas of unknown type, (code 10).

The new council estates house the largest proportion of the men (code 8) and, excluding the inter-war estates, council housing generally since the War accounts for 51.7% of the force. A total of 1085 (63.2%) live in areas that are predominantly composed of local authority housing.

It may be noted that at the extremes of housing quality/social class dimensions the labour force is represented by small and indeed identical proportions. 21 men inhabit the central immigrant area and 21 the high quality mobile middle class areas. A similar small number live in the rooming house area. The older, stable, low housing quality areas of both working and lower middle class house 19.7%. Comparison with figure 3.3 shows that about a third of these, that is about 6% of the total, inhabit areas immediately adjacent to the dock estate, and more especially the Old Docks. (Freemantle district, Millbrook 16/17, Peartree, Bargate & Woolston 11).

Table 4.4

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKFORCE WITHIN SOCIAL AREA TYPES.

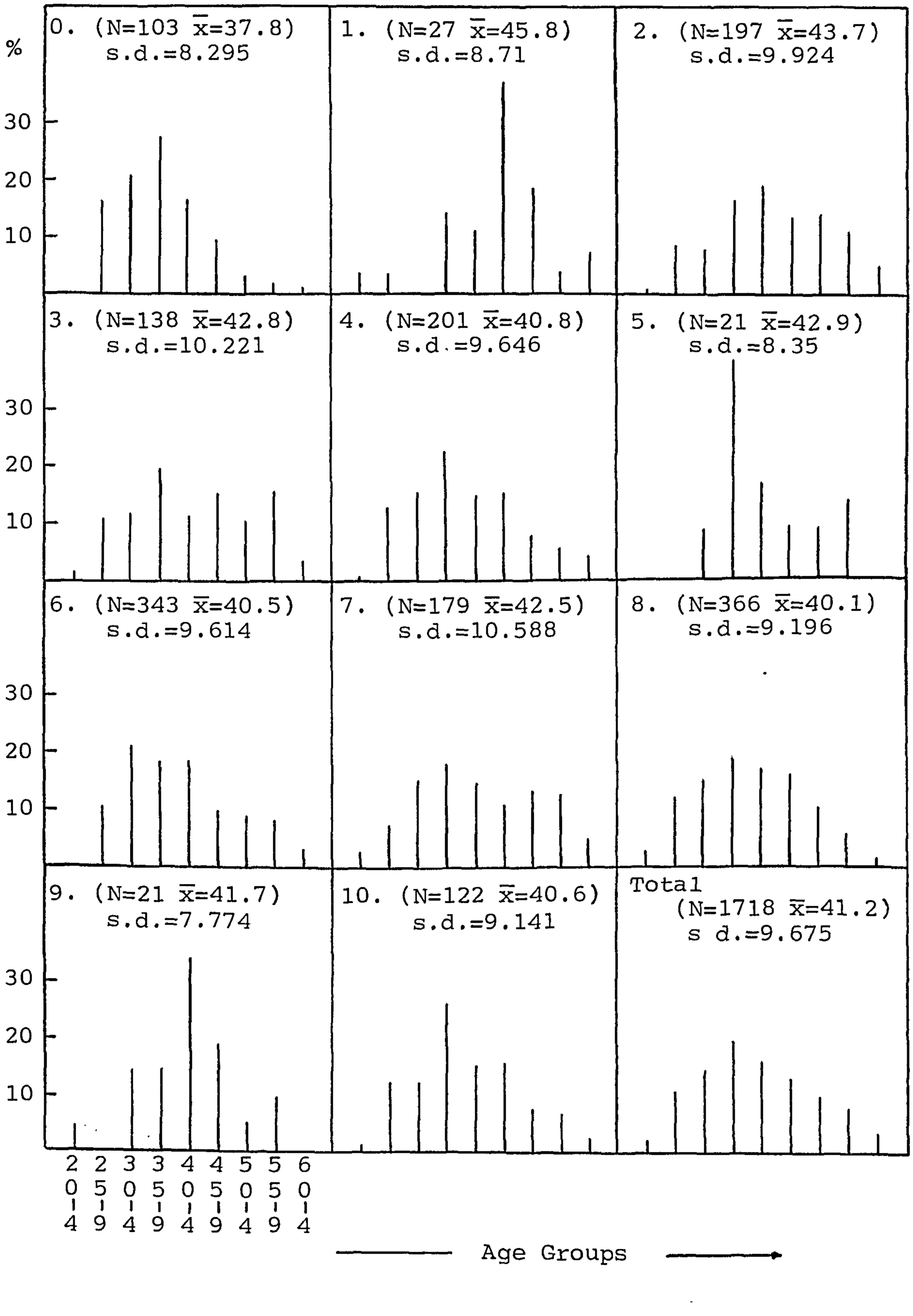
Code	Social area type	N	%
0	New owner/occupied estates (outside City)	103	6.0
1	Rooming-house/ reception area	27	1.6
2	Inter-war council	197	11.5
3	Stable working class- poor quality	138	8.0
4	Stable lower middle- class	201	11.7
5	Mobile middle class	21	1.2
6	Post 1945 council- high housing class	343	20.0
7	Post 1960 council flats	179	10.4
8	Recent council housing	366	21.3
9	Immigrant/reception	21	1.2
10	Unknown type	122	7.1

The area classification is based on census returns which will include responses from the population under study but within each area the contribution by the labour force will be minimal and comparison of the men with the general characteristics seems acceptable on these grounds. Figure 4.19 gives the frequency distributions of ages within each area type. In general the separate areas reflect the character given by the census based description. The recent council areas (8) being the closest to the overall distribution with a nearly normal spread about a mean of 40.1 years (pop. mean = 41.2). The older council areas (6) have a slightly greater proportion of men in the older groups. The council flats (7) have a bi-modal distribution, reflecting the changes in density in those areas brought about by the rehousing of the inhabitants of the previous poor-quality working class housing. The stable working class housing area (3) in contrast has a more even spread of ages and is similar to the inter-war council estates (2) in that it is well represented in the older groups. These two area types (2,3) share other characteristics; their housing nature and quality are similar, they have stable populations and they are nearly always adjacent to one another. Reference to figure 4.18 shows that the typical inhabitant of a type 2 area will live fairly close to another employee, often within the same street, and this is also true, although less often, in type 3 areas.

There is less difference in age distribution between the type 4 areas and either the older types (2,3), or the large council types (6,7,8). The typical type 4 area in fact will be similar in appearance to that of types 2 and 3 but has somewhat higher housing class as well as a greater proportion of lower middle class occupants. Despite the similar average age of the properties however older men are a little under-represented in these areas. The new private estates, in contrast and not surprisingly, are characterised by a much narrower band of ages about a

Fig 4.19

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS WITHIN AREA TYPES.



significantly lower mean, (37.8 yrs). (The distributions of areas 1,5, & 9 are shown for the sake of completeness but are based on numbers too small to provide much useful comparison).

Figure 4.20 treats length of service in a similar way. The age distributions are matched in most respects by length of service and it can be noted that inhabitants of the counci flats regions are more likely to have served longer periods; that the inter-war estates and older working class areas provide similar proportions of men throughout the years and that the mobile middle class areas and the new private estates are under represented amongst those who have served the longest.

Comparison with sample data, which will involve much smaller numbers within categories, requires a simplification to be made. The above patterns help to suggest a useful way of summarising the data by collapsing the categories. Bearing in mind the concern with 'waterfront districts' that appears in the literature, the apparently higher concentrations of men in the stable, older areas and the similarities of housing character and quality exhibited by these types, three major groups can be formed. These combine the descriptive factors but also include a location element. The age and length of service distributions for these combined areas are given in figure 4.21.

There are some difficulties with such a formulation however. It is fairly clear that the 'unknown' category, 7.1%, should be excluded. Areas 1 and 9, which together account for only 2.8% of the population, are probably also best excluded. If areas 0 and 5 are combined, on the basis of tenure and housing quality, as a third group, then only areas type 7 present a problem of classification. Housing 'two' populations - recently housed and re-housed older tenants - makes its position somewhat ambiguous.

Fig 4.20

LENGTH OF SERVICE DISTRIBUTIONS WITHIN AREA TYPES.

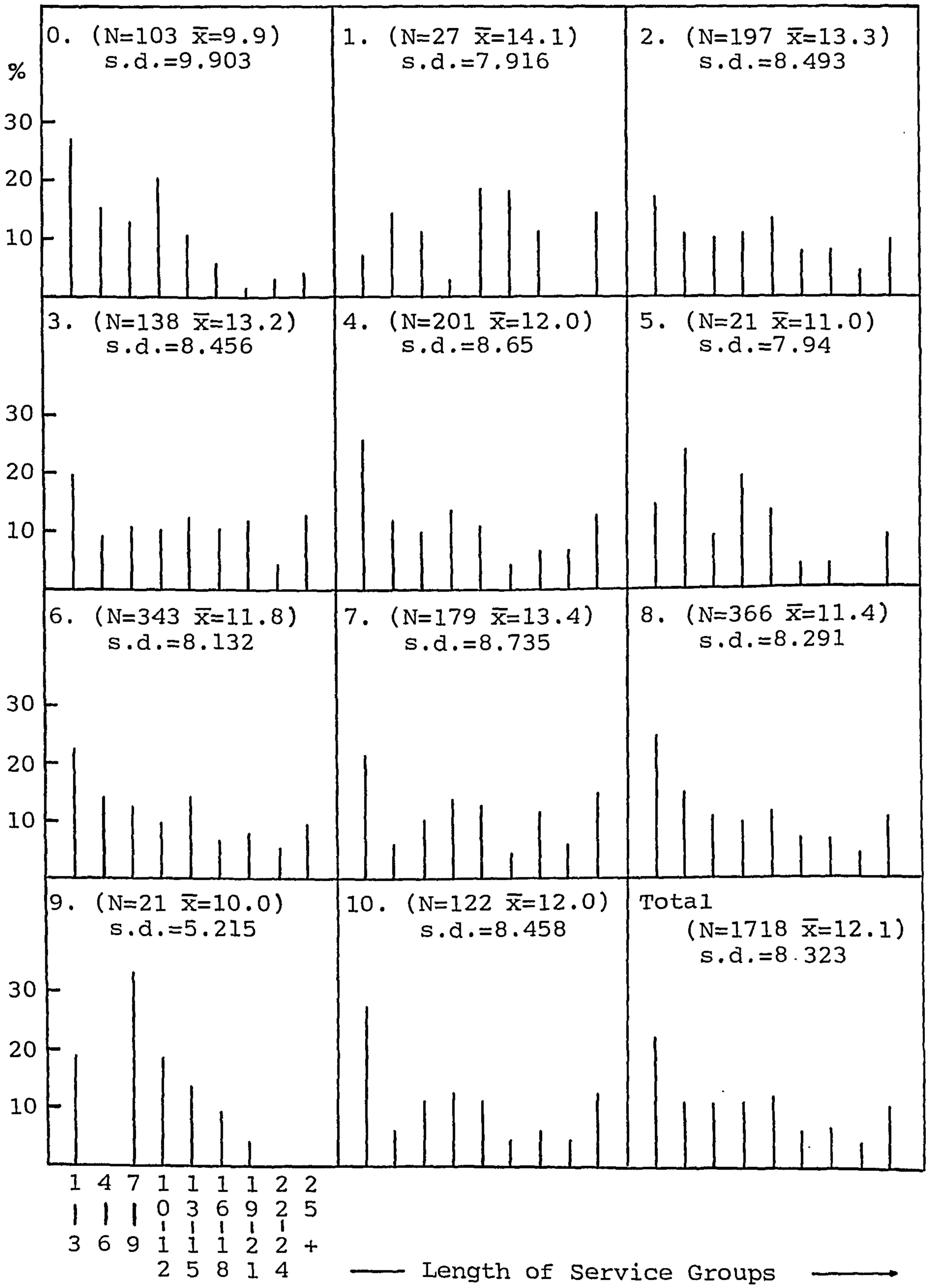
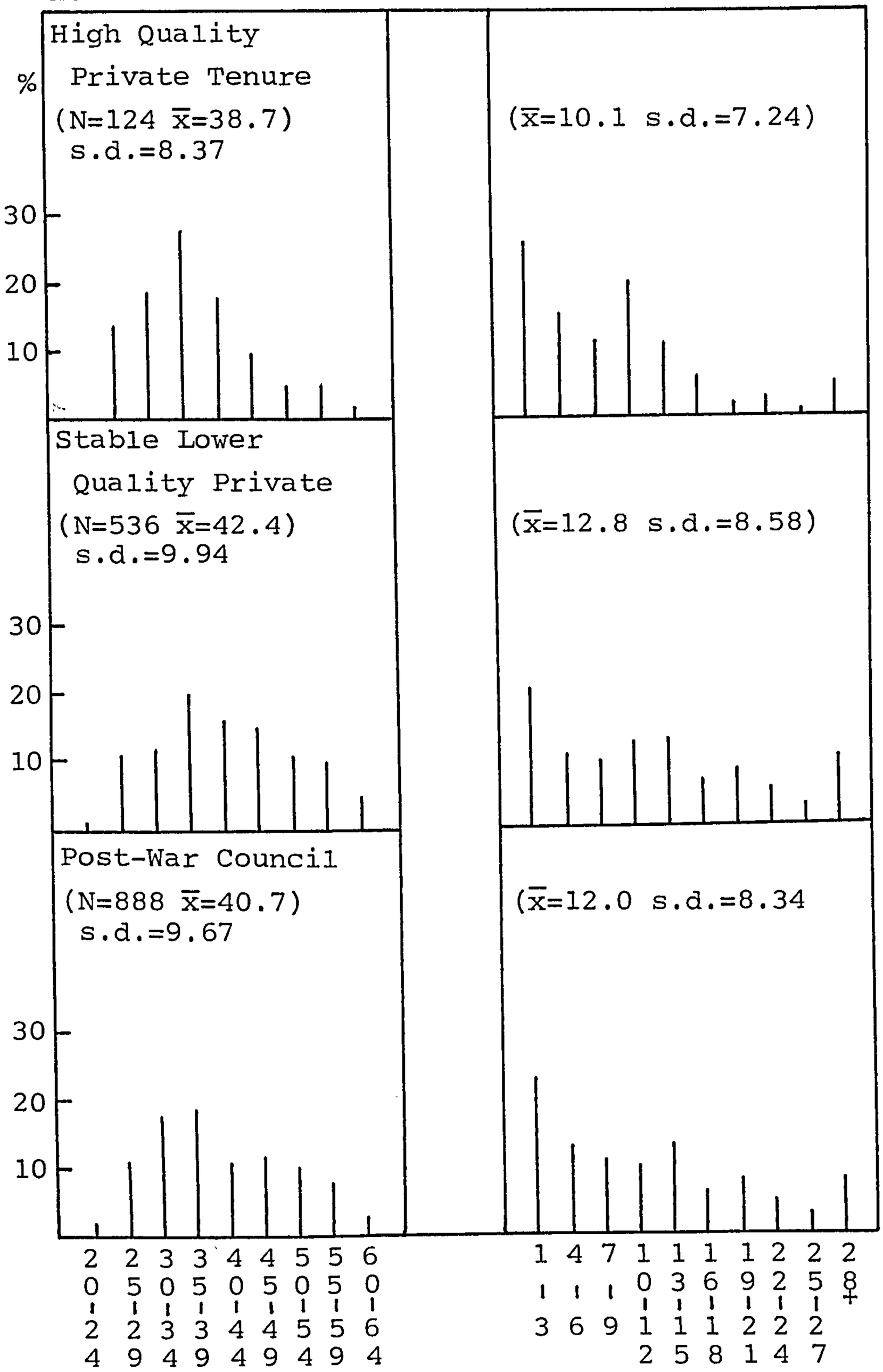


Fig 4.21

AGE AND LENGTH OF SERVICE DISTRIBUTIONS IN GROUPED AREA TYPES.



In terms of character and age these areas are nearer to areas 6 and 8 but two of the five areas of type 7 are close to the Docks. Given that there is a geographical balance however in terms of the numbers of such areas and that the population contains a substantial element imported at the time of redevelopment it seems the more conservative procedure to include all type 7 areas in the 'council' or 'outer' group. Figure 4.22 shows the two amalgamated zones produced by this scheme which are located within the City.

These, generally somewhat different, groups can now assist in further analysis. Do the inhabitants of these broad areas approach the industry's skills differently? Table 4.5 gives the skills dispersal amongst these various groups. In total roughly equal numbers of men have either no skills including minor skills, or at least one major skill. A smaller number in each case, about ten per cent, being trained for fork trucks only. A simpler classification, grouping forks with the other major skills, would be possible but does not affect the analysis since the proportions in the former category are so similar in each group.

The theoretical considerations reviewed in Chapter One suggest that 'traditional' workers are more likely to be found in the inner zone. Here there might be a more developed community facilitated by geographical proximity and the low mobility of previous generations of dockers. Possible reaction against the new technology, which again might be expected from men who value the gang-based conventional working, might therefore be relected in higher levels of unskilled men in those areas. By the same argument higher levels of skilled men might be expected in the high quality new estates. These men would be almost certain to be repaying a mortgage and interested in maximising their earnings whilst protecting their security with additional training. In table 4.5 the

Fig 4.22

PRINCIPAL RESIDENTIAL ZONES INHABITED BY WORK FORCE.

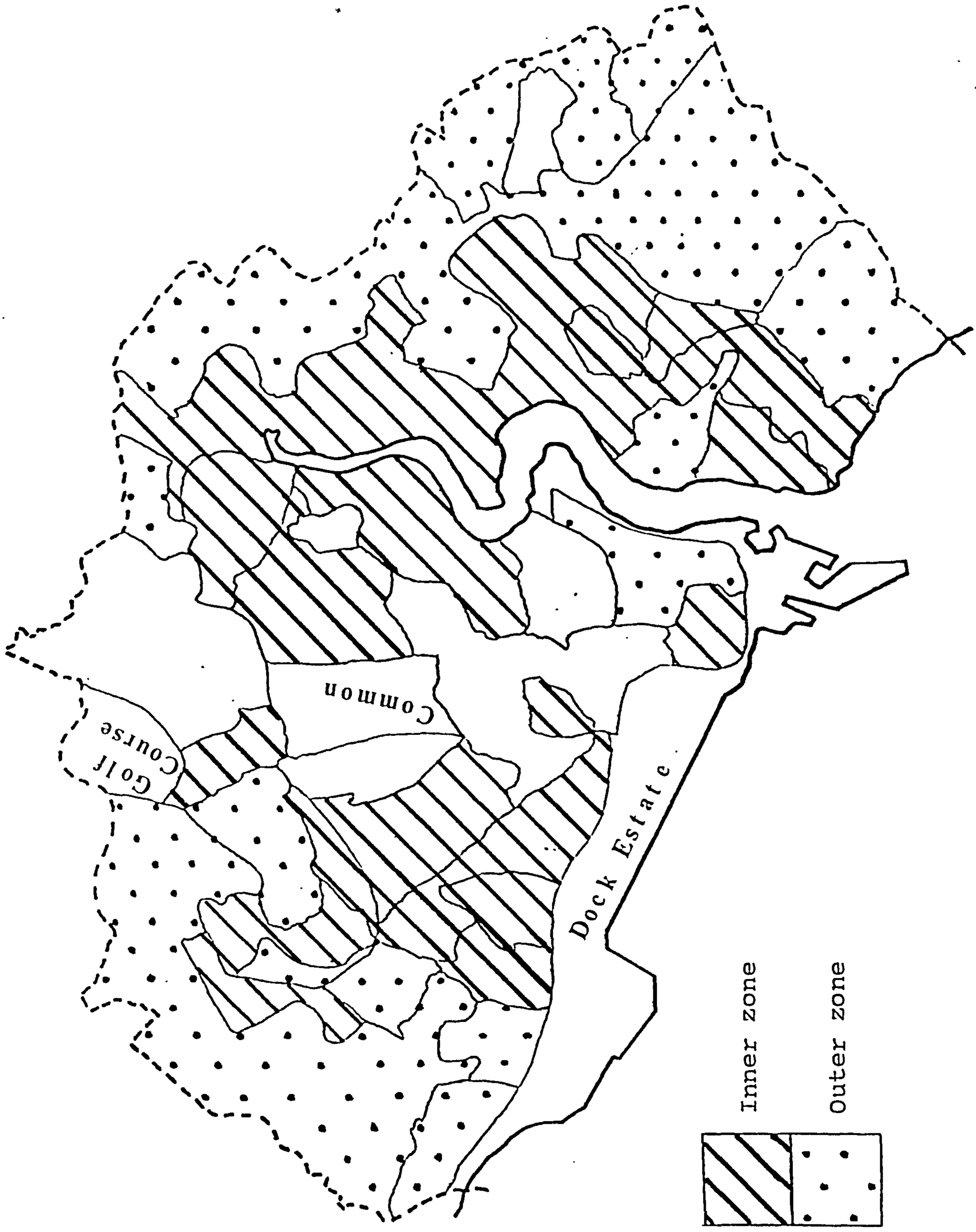


Table 4.5

DISTRIBUTION OF SKILL TYPES BY GROUPED AREA TYPES.

Skill Type	Inner zone Areas 2,3,4.		Outer zone Areas 6,7,8.		High quality private areas		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None or minor skill	262	48.9	421	47.4	43	34.7	726	46.9
Forks only	67	12.5	82	9.2	15	12.1	164	10.6
At least one major skill	207	38.6	385	43.4	66	53.2	658	42.5
Totals	536	100.0	888	100.0	124	100.0	1548	100.0

groups are arranged in order of increasing skill. If the above assumptions are made then the inner zone men are less likely to be skilled in the new techniques (diff. sig. $p < .037$, $z=1.78$) than their mates in the outer zone; and the inhabitants of the new private estates are more likely than either group to be skilled, (diff.sig. $p < .02$, $z=2.057$).

It is not possible to give an entirely rigourous assessment of actual mobility based on previous addresses since, as was noted in Chapter Three, this record was incomplete. However the information obtained showed no particular anomalies. The proportions within each category did not reveal any prefered areas for movement and were similar to the distribution based on current addressess. The total amounted to 44.2% having moved at least once within the period since 1967.[50] On this basis it would not seem appropriate to characterize the work force as being particularly immobile, at least within the context of Southampton City and its suburban environs.

Summary

In the period following the Devlin reforms some of the distortion in the age structure of the labour force has been removed. The situation in Southampton is more regular than that found nationally in that there are lower proportions of older men. The size of the labour force has been approximately maintained during the period although technological developments imply future reductions. About a half of the labour force joined the industry after the first introduction of the new technology and about a third have joined since decasualisation. The starting age limit of 21 however, and the time usually spent on the Temporary Register, has resulted in a considerable spread of ages within this recently recruited group.

Changes in sick scheme arrangements and the voluntary severance scheme have resulted in a drop in overall recorded

absence but unauthorised absence rose sharply after decasualisation. Examination of recorded brief absences shows that the presence of temporary workers disrupts the pattern of absence of the permanent workers. Both groups display variation that suggests opportunistic behaviour and implies the existence of habitual and informally organised absence based on calculative involvement in the organisation.

Information on the geographical aspects of the notion of a dockland community also reflects recent changes. There is no obvious major concentration of dockers in Southampton but there are several areas of greater population density. These mostly occur in local authority housing areas; two-thirds of the labour force live in these areas. Certain of the older of these areas have regularly supplied men to the Docks since before the Second World War, although more men came from these areas in the past. In contrast more of those men who joined since decasualisation live in outer areas and new private housing estates. A simplified categorisation of areas into zones, which distinguish older housing nearer the docks from outer, higher quality housing, shows that men from the outer areas are more likely to have volunteered to train in the new techniques.

Analysis of the record data has established the values of several basic characteristics and changes in the pattern of these over time. It is possible to infer that men deciding to join the industry since decasualisation approach the job with a more instrumental attitude. This is reflected in their interest in the extra earnings potential offered by the new technology and their higher economic commitments associated with buying a house in the private estates. However, individual attitude data are clearly required to further examine such inferences and analysis of the attitude data collected in interviews follows below.

Notes and References

1. D. Wilson, Dockers, pp.117-8. 'In Booth's day,' Wilson goes on, 'the average age of dock labour was about 40, already a high average.'

2. The retirement age was lowered to 65 in 1969. See Report on the Reduction to 65 of Docker's Compulsory Retirement Age, (Wordie).

3. Wilson, op. cit., p.121.

4. NDLB Annual Report and Accounts 1970, Address to Secretary of State for Employment.

5. NDLB Annual Report and Accounts 1976, p.6.

6. Note that the reflection of recruitment gets less accurate, as a result of differential resignation, the longer the length of service shown.

7. The nominal class limit of the 4-6 group is of course 6, that is 1969 but, as a glance at figure 4.1 will confirm, the actual limit is 5. There were no men taken on a year earlier than this. This argues for an even more 'specific' effect for this group.

8. P.J. Taylor, 'Shift & Day Work', emphasis added.

9. A group of oil refinery workers in Essex 1964, selected as a control on the basis of their 'normal' sickness absence. P.J. Taylor, 'Personal Factors Associated with Sickness Absence'.

10. See for example, University of Liverpool, The Dock Worker, pp.198-202.

11. J.N. Morris, 'Sickness Absence: Return to Work?'.

12. M.R. Alderson, 'Social Class & the Health Service'.

13. See A. Ward Gardner & P.J. Taylor, Health at Work, 'it is the worker himself who is usually the one who decides if and when he is going to stay off sick...'. Previous studies based on total absence cannot of course control for 'self-selection' - noted by P.J. Taylor, 'Shift & Day Work', op. cit. The difference in the levels of bronchitis is not included here; the lower incidence found in the Docks almost certainly has an entirely 'medical' explanation reflecting the environment of the work.

14. In the comparison group some 39% of all spells were

due to these two categories. See P.J. Taylor, 'Personal Factors Associated with Sickness Absence'.

15. P.J. Taylor, 'Individual Variations in Sickness Absence'.

16. ibid.

17. A. Ward Gardner & P.J. Taylor, op. cit., p.39.

18. See C.A. O'Muircheartaigh, Absenteeism in Irish Industry, pp.67-8, and H. Behrend, 'Voluntary Absence From Work'.

19. Morris, op. cit., p.821, and see P.J. Taylor, 'Sickness Absence Resistance'.

20. See particularly, Acton Society Trust, Size & Morale, parts I & II; R.W. Revans, 'Industrial Morale & Size of Unit'.

21. Notably S. Talacchi, 'Organisation Size, Individual Attitudes & Behaviour'.

22. B.P. Indik, 'Some Effects of Organisation Size on Members Attitudes & Behaviour'; and 'Organisation Size & Member Participation'.

23. G.K. Ingham, 'Organisation Size, Orientation to Work & Industrial Behaviour', see also, Size of Industrial Organisation & Worker Behaviour.

24. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., pp.124-125. Identive power is defined as 'the power derived from the ability to make people identify'; ibid, p.53.

25. Viewed of course from the organisational point of view, e.g. strikes, go-slows etc.

26. Note that although the Southampton figures are included in the derivation of the National figures these are not cumulative but mean rates and the Southampton levels can therefore be compared on the same scale.

27. Initially, under Phase I, it gave £6, then £7, and after Phase II £9 for the first two weeks and £8 thereafter. By 1974 the scheme paid £25 for the first 18 weeks.

28. P. Bryson, 'Factors Influencing Sickness Absence in Young Workers', and see also, O'Muircheartaigh, op. cit., p.52, ff. and E.B. McGinnis, 'The Effects on Sickness Absence Rates of Sick Pay Schemes and

the Earnings Related Benefit Scheme'.

29. O'Muircheartaigh, op. cit., p.38.

30. Note that three such periods are omitted due to obfuscation by industrial disputes. In addition the Christmas periods in each year are omitted to simplify the presentation since all categories are distorted by 'artificial' rates at this time.

31. See for example, Morris, op. cit.; O'Muircheartaigh, op. cit., p.52, and G. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., pp.122-3.

32. The variations attributable to such events are of little interest except where they might obscure other issues. O'Muircheartaigh, op. cit., also identifies this epidemic and points out that it is only one of the large variations in his data-which are drawn from that year.

33. Morris, op. cit., p.822.

34. This is the basic pattern found for example by Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., see p.122.

35. For differential age behaviour see, O'Muircheartaigh, op. cit., p.84; Behrend, op. cit., p.126; and R.B. Buzzard & F.D.K. Liddell, Coalminers Attendance at Work.

36. 'Both frequency and disability rates decrease with age, except that owing to greater severity of illness for older workers, the disability rate increased in the age group 55+'. H.R. Kahne, C.M. Ryder and L.S. Snegireff, Age & Absenteeism, p.147.

37. See Morris, op. cit., p.824.

38. G. Ingham, Organisation Size..., op. cit.

39. Acton Society Trust, op. cit.; a review of other issues connected with absence behaviour and related studies appears in J.K. Chadwick-Jones et al., 'Absence from Work'.

40. A 'small, medium & large' categorisation has been employed most often. The basis for such a categorisation is given by T. Caplow, 'Organisation Size'.

41. D. Hewitt & J. Parfit, 'A Note on Working Morale & Size of Group'.

42. It is also fair to note however that some part of this increase may be accounted for by men being

sanctioned to seek alternative employment.

43. D.F. Wilson, Dockers, pp.215-216.

44. N. Nicholson et al., 'Absence from Work & Job Satisfaction'.

45. P.K. Edwards, 'Strikes & Unorganised Conflict', and see, 'Attachment to Work & Absence Behaviour'.

46. Nicholson et al., op. cit.

47. The area identifications refer to the e.d's and wards given in figure 3.2.

48. See for example, E. Ogg, Longshoremen & Their Homes, p.48. Living near the waterfront is one of the conditions identified as helping to produce the 'dockworker sub-culture' see, R.C. Miller, 'The Dockworker Sub-Culture', and note, for example, R. Sasuly, 'Why they Stick to the ILA', p.370: 'More than in any other industry in a big city, it appears that waterfront jobs belong to particular working class communities'. The spread of characteristics in the present study is indicative of a 'time lag' in cultural change from this early genotype; a process suggested by Miller.

49. University of Liverpool, The Dock Worker, p.43.

50. A figure similar to the national level for manual workers (35%) see 1966 Sample Census, Migration Tables, p.248.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Worker's Backgrounds and Choice of Dockwork

A study which seeks to take account of workers' understanding of a situation as well as their observable behaviour must examine carefully the prior circumstances of those workers. In an industry with a well established history and set of traditions such as the docks, this will involve examination of both work experience and family background.

Fathers' Occupational Status

There is a popular belief, not least amongst certain dockers, that a great variety of people have come to work in the docks. In the words of one man;

'It's liquorice allsorts in here.'

Alternatively the importance of close kinship and of continuity of employment within families has been stressed in all studies of dock workers.[1] The first question that can profitably be asked therefore concerns the family of origin of the worker and, in particular, the occupational status of his father. The distribution of the occupational status of the sample's fathers is given in Table 5.1. Because of the special importance of father-son inheritance in the docks a distinction between dockers and all other fathers was made at the outset. At this point it is worth noting the difficulties apparent in any system of classification based on skill levels. As Caplow says;

> 'Although most occupational categories include a category of the unskilled, it is difficult to attach any precise meaning to the term. It is only careless usage which regards freight-handlers and farmhands in regular employment as less qualified than punch-press operators...'. 2

However a scheme such as this essentially measures the status of different occupations. Furthermore, the value of such schemes is that they allow for comparison between

Table 5.1

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE SAMPLE'S FATHERS.

Occupational status level	N	%	Cum.%
White collar (lower level)	3	2.8	2.8
Intermediate (supervisory)	6	5.6	8.4
Manual:			
Skilled	7	6.5	14.9
Relatively skilled	18	16.8	31.7
Semi-skilled	10	9.3	41.0
Unskilled	12	11.2	52.2
Dockers	49	45.8	98.0
Not applicable	2	1.9	99.9
Total	107	100.0	100.0

different groups of workers which will be valid at least to the extent that they are subject to the same sort of errors. So, although many dockers may possess a variety of necessary skills, as a group they have been consistently placed near the bottom of social gradings.[3] In table 5.1 therefore they are shown grouped with the other unskilled.

Within the sample there are 46% (49) docker's sons and these men may be expected to display some systematic differences from the rest of the force.[4] On the basis of this proportion alone it would seem that Southampton possesses a somewhat less family-based work force than has been found to be the case by studies in Manchester, where there were 75% docker's sons,[5] or London, where there were 67%.[6]

In the analysis of the employment records a much smaller proportion of docker's sons was found (26.3%, 451) and no differences could be identified between them and the rest of the work force. There is good reason to believe however that the sample proportion is more nearly accurate in this respect. The argument for this position is given in appendix E.

When the distribution is considered overall it is clear that the labour force comes from a predominantly working class background. The small proportion (3%) of fathers in clerical jobs agrees with findings in London[7] as does the proportion in the intermediate (manual) category, all of whom were foremen. Including dockers therefore over half (57%) are, or were, in unskilled manual occupations. With only 7 of the fathers in skilled manual occupations it would seem fair to summarise these findings by describing the present workforce as coming from a generally low skilled, manual working class background.

Age and Length of Service

Possibly age may be regarded as the most basic characteristic of the workforce. For example it is not generally to be expected that the same set of attitudes and views of employment will be encountered across different generations. However when there is continuity of employment between generations some lessening or accentuating of certain features may become evident. Indeed it is for just this reason that consideration of docker's sons as a separate group is indicated.

The age and length of service distributions in the sample are sufficiently close to those based on the record analysis that they are not reproduced here. In any event the relevant frequencies appear in the body of the various tabulations given below. It is worth noting at this point that the spread of docker's sons with regard to age and length of service is much the same as for the rest of the sample. Overall there are similar numbers of docker's sons and others, and between the ages of 35 and 54 there are similar proportions of each. However in the youngest age groups there are twice as many docker's sons (35%) as others (17%) and in the oldest group nearly three times as many others (21%) as docker's sons (8%). It is the falling demand for labour in conjunction with the waiting list that has resulted in a higher proportion of docker's sons entering the industry in recent years. As a result of this the average age of docker's sons (39.5) is a little less than that of the rest of the sample (44.4).

Age, as such, has been found less useful than other age-related variables, such as length of work life and length of service, in the study of workers' attitudes.[8] Hill reports that in London;

> '...comparatively few items are affected by age, and that the differences which do occur are usually slight.' 9

In the Southampton data the differences, when they appear, are visible only over the extreme range, that is to say between the very youngest and very oldest men.

One of the principal age-related characteristics that has been identified in the study of work and associated behaviour is position in the life cycle. In the Affluent Worker study the search for instrumental attitudes led to respondents being limited to married men under 46. The authors argue that;

> 'Men who are in this position, we would suggest are, ceteris paribus, more likely than men at either an earlier or a later stage in the life-cycle to take up an instrumental orientation towards their work.' 10

Five stages in this cycle may be distinguished.[11] The first is the period before marriage when financial responsibilities are low and this is followed by the early years of marriage before starting a family. Next are the years when the children are young and the wife is at home to care for them. As the children grow older and make heavier demands on the family finances the mother may return to work and, finally, when the children have grown up and become independent the wife is free to work if she so desires and the family as a whole is released from financial pressures.

The family structures of the sample are given by age in Table 5.2. As would be expected there is a noticeable difference between the oldest workers and the rest; most of the older men have no dependent children. Amongst the rest of the men however there is less differentiation. Because of the restriction on age at entry there are few single men in the youngest age group. Indeed, in this

Table 5.2

LIFE-CYCLE POSITIONS: 1. FAMILY STRUCTURE BY AGE AND PARENTAGE.

Family structure	AGE. 21 - 34			35 - 44			45 - 54			55 - 64			TOTAL		
	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.
Single	2	4	6	1	2	3	-	3	3	-	1	2	4	10	14
Married:															
No children	-	-	-	2	-	2	3	5	8	2	10	12	7	15	22
One child	4	3	7	1	4	5	4	3	7	1	1	2	10	11	21
Two children	8	-	8	4	7	11	2	2	4	-	-	-	14	9	23
Three or more children	3	3	6	8	8	16	3	2	5	-	-	-	14	13	27
TOTAL	17	10	27	16	21	37	12	15	27	4	12	16	49	58	107

D. - Docker's Son
O. - Others
T. - Total

group there are no married men without children either. In addition, up to the age of 45, there is no significant difference in the number of married men with at least one dependent child. It is only over the age of 45 that there is a decline in this category ($p < .007$, $z=2.44$). However the 45-54 age group are in a broadly similar situation to the younger men. Thus a large part of the workforce are in a similar position with respect to their family structure and most are in the financially demanding stage of the life-cycle.

The position of docker's sons and others is similar with respect to family structure. However the differential recruitment of docker's sons in recent years means that there are relatively more docker's sons in the early phases of the life-cycle. Detailed distinctions within age groups are suspect due to low cell frequencies but overall there are significantly more docker's sons with at least one dependent child ($p < .02$, $z=2.29$, 2t.).

In their discussion of life-cycle position and instrumentality Goldthorpe and his collegues point out that although the majority of workers pass through the difficult stage of having young families, it is not necessarily the case that all will be motivated to increase their economic returns from work at this time. The alternative possibility the authors propose is that of accepting a fixed or even a falling living standard. Among those most likely to take this course, they argue, are the 'traditional' workers; the dockers, miners and trawlermen.[12]

In table 5.3 family structures can be examined with reference to length of service. The most recent recruits, those with 6 or less years service, have the greatest proportion of men with at least one dependent child (84%, 32). This is significantly higher than the same proportion (62%, 13) in the next group ($p < .03$, $z=1.9$) or even

Table 5.3

LIFE-CYCLE POSITIONS: 2. FAMILY STRUCTURE BY LENGTH OF SERVICE AND PARENTAGE.

Family structure	LENGTH OF SERVICE															
	1 - 6			7 - 12			13 - 18			19 - 24			25+			
	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	D.	O.	T.	
Single	2	4	6	1	3	4	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	2
Married:																
No children	-	-	-	2	2	4	3	3	6	1	3	4	1	-	1	3
One child	4	4	8	-	3	3	3	2	5	1	2	3	-	-	-	3
Two children	10	2	12	1	5	6	2	2	4	1	1	2	-	-	-	2
Three or more children	6	6	12	3	1	4	4	6	10	1	1	2	-	-	-	4
TOTAL	22	16	38	7	14	21	12	14	26	3	6	9	1	2	3	13

D. - Docker's sons
O. - Others
T. - Total

in the next two groups considered together (68%, 45; $p < .04$, $z=1.7$). Obviously in the longest serving groups this proportion is much lower. In addition, apart from those with 19 or more years service, there is no difference overall between docker's sons and others. In terms of the life-cycle therefore a much greater proportion of those men who joined the industry in or after 1970 have the financial burden of dependent children.

Previous Work Experience

Examination of the workers' background is now extended to their previous work experience. This experience has two aspects; the nature of the work and the level of skill attained. Variation in attitudes between men in different kinds of employment is part of the theory inherent in the present study. However researchers have also noted variations associated purely with level of skill. The principal and most useful distinction has been that between time-served tradesmen, that is those with apprenticeship training, and all other manual skills.[13]

A problem arises in the categorisation of previous work experiences since these can obviously vary over time for a particular individual. In the case of the docks, with its entry age limit of 21, most employees will have had a period of several years in which to take up various occupations. Also when a man is on the temporary register he may experience several periods of lay-off during which he may obtain quite different employment.

In general though a temporary worker will anticipate his return to the docks during the next season. Any employment that he does take up during the off-season probably will be seen as a short term expedient. Thus in categorising occupations it would seem reasonable to ignore these brief employments in favour of the last major employment in which a man was engaged.

In other cases there is less confusion as some men habituually return to the same employment; if not actually the same job then the same industry and the same sort of work. This is especially true of those men with a particular skill or trade, such as electricians. However it is also the case with other, less formalised skills, in which experience and demand enable a man to return to work he knows. In the categorisations of occupational status and industries of origin therefore the last major employment was taken to be the best single indicator of work experience. Using the same classification as in table 5.1., and bearing in mind the proviso concerning the rating of skill levels, the occupational status of the sample based on last employment is given in table 5.4.

There are no men with experience of white collar jobs and only 3 in the intermediate supervisory category (foremen). Within the manual category however there is a considerable range of skill levels. In fact a minority have an unskilled background and 13% (14) had been employed in skilled work. It is probably of little value to attempt to differentiate in detail between men on the basis of the other skill levels in a sample of this size. However overall it is clear that in comparison with the previous generation the present work force have considerably more experience in work that is generally thought to be of a higher status level. Only 41% (44) of their fathers could be classified as semi-skilled or above as against 77% (82) in the present force.

As well as determining the last major employment respondents were asked about any prior formal training they may have received at work, for the reason that craft training, like longer exposure to formal education, may lead to a reduction in the subsequent influence of the work situation.[14] The principal training of this sort is an apprenticeship and 19 men had completed an appren-

Table 5.4

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVEL OF LAST EMPLOYMENT BY PARENTAGE.

Occupational status level	Docker's sons		Others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Intermediate (supervisory)	1	2	2	3	3	3
Manual:						
Skilled	10	20	4	7	14	13
Relatively skilled	12	24	19	33	31	29
Semi-skilled	16	33	18	31	34	32
Unskilled	10	20	15	26	25	23
Total	49	100	58	100	107	100

ticeship at some time prior to their taking up dock work. If other formal training is included then 32 men could claim some recognised skill of this sort.

Docker's sons andothers have generally similar backgrounds with respect to occupational status level but there is a difference in the skilled category, shown in table 5.4, that reaches statistical significance ($p < .05$, $z=1.99$, 2t.). If the distribution of men with formally recognised skills is examined by length of service a majority of men with some such skill are found to have joined the industry after 1970. All together 45% (17) of the men who joined after 1970 had received some formal training compared to 22% (15) before that time, (diff. sig. $p < .01$, $z=2.49$, 2t.). In the case of docker's sons there was a considerable increase from 15% (4) to 50% (11; $p < .008$, $z=2.64$, 2t.).

Whatever considerations may enter into the choice of job the general availability of employment will constitute an important constraint.[15] In the case of most manual workers, this choice will also be restricted by availability within a fairly circumscribed locality. The nature of the work a man knows and the pattern of employment in a particular labour market will also partially determine the occupation he takes up. In considering the past experiences of the sample therefore any relevant variation in the industrial environment must be noted as well as the individual motivations which may be evidenced by particular job choices.

As was noted in Chapter Two one important source of supply of labour to the docks has traditionally been seafaring.[16] In the casual era men could alternate periods at sea with periods in the docks and would remain in the docks when they finally 'came ashore'. This usually happened when they married or when the first of

their children was born. Any port of course provides opportunities for work aboard ship, and Southampton, with its labour intensive passenger service could provide a considerable number. However, although the throughput of passengers at Southampton has remained high as a result of the introduction of many cross-Channel ferry services, there has been a dramatic decline in the number of traditional passenger ships. In addition the technological changes visible in the ports have been matched by concomitant changes in the ships using those ports. A small number of large vessels manned by small crews is now the norm.

In the sample a quarter of the men are ex-seamen. This is the largest single category of prior employment, and, as can be seen from table 5.5., this is true of both docker's sons and others. Because of changes in job opportunities at sea however the proportion of ex-seamen entering the docks has been considerably reduced in recent years. Prior to 1970 32% (22) were ex-seamen, since 1970 this proportion has dropped to only 13% (5; $p < .03$, $z=2.17$, 2t.).

Another industry traditionally linked with both seafaring and dockwork is shipbuilding and ship repair.[17] In sociological terms shipbuilding provides yet another example of a 'traditional' industry. As a result of the inter-changeability of employment between the sea, the shipyards and the docks, it might be that men with experience in either of the former could be expected to come to the docks with an outlook very similar to that of the rest of the men. This would tend to produce a relatively undifferentiated workforce. In fact about 13% (14) of the sample originate in the shipbuilding industry so that together with the seamen they constitute 38% (41) of the total. However the modernisation of the shipbuilding industry, and the general decline of job opport-

Table 5.5

INDUSTRY OF LAST EMPLOYMENT BY PARENTAGE AND LENGTH OF SERVICE.

DOCKER'S SONS

Industry of last employment	Pre 1970		Post 1970		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Seafaring	9	33	2	9	11	22
General manufacture	1	4	4	18	5	10
Construction	6	22	5	23	11	22
Shipbuilding	1	4	1	5	2	4
Service	2	7	2	9	4	8
Miscellaneous	8	30	8	36	16	33
TOTAL	27	100	22	100	49	99

OTHERS

Industry of last employment	Pre 1970		Post 1970		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Seafaring	13	31	3	19	16	28
General manufacture	5	12	3	19	8	14
Construction	5	12	1	6	6	10
Shipbuilding	10	24	2	13	12	21
Service	4	10	3	19	7	12
Miscellaneous	5	12	4	25	9	16
TOTAL	42	101	16	101	58	101

unities has meant that this traditional supply of labour to the docks has also declined in importance. The change in proportions, from 16% before 1970 to 8% after, is not statistically significant (z=1.17, n.s.), due to the one or two young men recently coming from the shipyards. However the average age (50) and length of service (16 years) of this group indicates the change that has taken place. It is also worth noting that only a very small proportion of docker's sons (4%; 2) has experience of work in the shipyards, (diff. sig. $p < .009$, z=2.6, 2t.).

Docker's sons in fact are more likely to have come from a wider range of occupations. Twice the proportion for example appear in the miscellaneous category which contains a variety of jobs including public utilities and transport. One important area of supply for docker's sons is the construction industry. Sykes, in his work on navvies, notes many similarities between such workers and dockers,[18] but such similarities; individualism, low status, competitiveness and 'floating' seem more likely to have been true in the casual era. In fact it is worthy of note that all five of those docker's sons who joined the docks after 1970 from the construction industry were skilled tradesmen.

Whilst seafaring and shipbuilding have been in decline there are no obvious replacements as major suppliers of labour to the docks. There has been an increase however amongst docker's sons coming from manufacturing industry that may be important ($p < .1$, z=1.61, 2t.) especially since, again, three out of the four men in this category to have joined since 1970 are skilled men. In the Liverpool University study the special circumstances of Manchester as a port meant that 61% of the workforce came from manufacturing industry[19] and in Southampton factory experience during the War led to the early establishment of a shop-stewards' committee in the port.[20]

The background of work experience within the labour force has substantially changed therefore during the past decade. As a result of reduced job opportunities the absolute numbers from the more traditional industries of labour supply have diminished. To replace those who would perhaps have continued to come from such industries, men now enter the docks from a wide range of occupations. Before 1970 nearly half (48%, 33) came from either the Merchant Navy or the shipyards; since that time this proportion has dropped to 21% (8). Nearly a third of the sample now come from manufacturing and service industries (32%,12) which before 1970 supplied only 17% (12) of the force.

Prior Informal Contact with the Docks

As well as variations in the industrial environment there are further elements in the mechanism of job selection to which attention may be paid. Within the number of job changes of manual workers happening at any one time[21] there will be limits to the range and type of employment possible for particular men. There is evidence to suggest that manual workers see a wide range of jobs as functionally similar[22] and it seems well established that overall the working class aspire to occupations within the lower status levels.[23] There is a further aspect to this process of job selection however since as well as normative determinants there are structural components of the differential access to desired occupations[24] such as formal education requirements and age.

One important aspect of access to an occupation concerns the information available to a prospective employee.[25] In other words within a particular social situation certain occupations will be more visible than others.[26] Within structural and normative limits therefore will be a range of possible occupations some of which will

appear more prominantly than others. Final selection of a job from this range may depend upon the existence of any prior contact a person may have had with it. In the case of most manual workers, this will mean predominantly informal contacts through the 'contact network' of friends, or more especially amongst semi-skilled and unskilled men, of kin.[27]

There are two elements in the operation of such a network; it will constitute both part of the explanation as to why a man takes up a certain job and how he finally obtains it. Of course the operation of a network in the latter sense will be subject to the type and level of formalised procedures that govern entry into the occupation. Where these are few, and relatively insignificant, the contact network and informal relationships in general will assume considerable importance.

The former of these elements is a result of the fact that manual workers seem to have a tendency to use their 'work associates and relevant family members as social references'.[28] Thus the normative component of a job choice is supplied to some extent by just those people who are most likely to be in a position to supply relevant information, concerning job availability, suitability of conditions and so on, that enhances the visibility of particular occupations. Furthermore, the prior existence of such informal relationships may encourage a man to enter a particular job in order to prolong or extend those relationships; and in this sense they constitute the 'reason' for a particular choice.

As discussed in Chapter One dockers, as members of a traditional industry, have been characterised as belonging to a wide and pervasive network of friends and relations so that they are oriented towards their occupation from an early age. They would, on this view, see the job as

an unavoidable, a desirable, or even a natural choice, and doing the job would have the character of a mere extension of the rest of their lives. However, the contact network of the dock worker has, or certainly had, considerable importance as a mechanism for obtaining work. Under the casual system the lack of agreed formal procedures of selection and the variable supply of work actively encouraged the formation of mutually supportive groups for the purposes of job getting.

> 'Given the inadequate institutions of employment, dock workers were obliged to seek informal structures which were interstitial and parallel to the formal ones. A system of personal bonds filled the "functional gaps" which existed in the social structure of the docks, where the formal institutional framework was unable to protect the individual satisfactorily against chronic uncertainty. The most obvious sources of these informal structures were to be found in the ascriptive, specific and personal ties with foremen which existed before the employment relationship, rather than in the "achievement" (performance)-oriented and diffuse ties which sociologists regard as characteristic of the modern, contractual institutions of employment which are typically found in developed industrial societies.' 29

Thus there is no necessary casual primacy in the existence of wide affective contacts or in the explanatory power of kinship as such. As Sykes maintains, the interests of workers may develop out of their responses to the employer and the employment situation.[30] In fact in the post-casual era, and in the Port of Southampton, the 'institutional framework' has become bureaucratic, even recognising the historical importance of kinship job protection by formalising, under union pressure, the father-son inheritance fostered by the casual system.

At the present time therefore the undoubtedly wide contact network of the docker[31] may continue to influence his choice of employment, both in the sense that he may wish to continue or enlarge his informal relationships

and because it provides him with information about the occupation. Only docker's sons can officially profit directly from a particular relationship but all will gain to some extent by the provision of knowledge about the employment, such as for example service on the temporary register, at a time when job opportunities are limited.

To examine the extent of such contacts information was collected from the sample concerning any prior associations. In table 5.6, this information, relating to both friends and relations, is given separately for docker's sons and others. It is dichotomised by length of service before and after 1970. It can be noted that two basic facts are expected to emerge; that there will be a generally extensive network and that docker's sons will probably have a greater number of friends and relations.

Certainly docker's sons have a greater number of relations in the Docks. 71% (35) of docker's sons had at least one other relation in the Docks before joining and 39% (19) had three or more. For the others the position is very nearly the reverse; 43% (25) had at least one relative and only 19% (11) had three or more. Summing for the complete sample therefore about half (56%, 60) had at least one relative in the docks prior to joining. There is no immediately obvious reason to expect much change after 1970 but the figures show that there has been some increase in number of relatives per person amongst docker's sons. In fact there are only 33 men who had no prior kin connection with the industry. So, overall, about two-thirds (74; 69%) of the workforce had at least one kin contact before entering the Docks.

In aggregate the proportions without friends or without relations are very nearly the same: there are 47 men with no prior relatives and 46 with no prior

Table 5.6

PRIOR ASSOCIATIONS BY PARENTAGE AND LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Relations

Number of relations	Pre 1970 N	%	Post 1970 N	%	TOTAL N	%
Docker's sons						
None	8	30	6	27	14	29
One or two	13	48	3	14	16	33
Three or more	6	22	13	59	19	39
Total	27	100	22	100	49	100
Others						
None	24	57	9	56	33	57
One or two	9	21	5	31	14	24
Three or more	9	21	2	13	11	19
Total	42	100	16	100	58	100

Friends

Number of friends	Pre 1970 N	%	Post 1970 N	%	TOTAL N	%
Docker's sons						
None	17	63	9	41	26	53
One or two	4	15	7	32	11	22
Three or more	6	22	6	27	12	24
Total	27	100	22	100	49	100
Others						
None	19	45	1	6	20	34
One or two	6	14	2	13	8	14
Three or more	17	40	13	81	30	52
Total	42	100	16	100	58	100

friends. However what can be said concerning relations can effectively be reversed in the case of friends. It is clear from table 5.6 that whilst docker's sons had in the main at least one relation, more than half had no prior friends in the industry. Amongst non-docker's sons however 66% (38) had at least one friend and 52% (30) had three or more. Furthermore since 1970 these men have been increasingly likely to already have had friends in the Docks. Most men in this category (81%, 13) had at least three prior associates (overall diff. $p < .005$, $z=2.79$, 2t.).

Of course merely counting the number of contacts can only provide a minimum of information concerning the effects of the contacts. A father in the industry or a favourite uncle may have a much greater effect on a person than several friends. It might also be objected that the older respondents could wrongly estimate the number of contacts and hence produce a bias. However such errors of estimation would be greatest amongst those with the longest service and there are fewer of these men. Furthermore, although faulty memory might reduce the proportion in the pre-1970 category it might equally well enhance it. In any event it is only within the latest group that a really significant change has occured.

An estimate of the overall density of prior informal associations requires that the categories be combined. If fathers are included there are 12% (13) with no contact at all, and, interestingly, the mean length of service of this group is 18.8 years. Some 10% (11) had only one such contact whilst 22% (24) had either 2 or 3, and 55% (59) more than 4. So a considerable proportion of the work force (44%, 48) had a level of contact with the industry similar to manual workers generally. However over half had substantially more than this and in this respect at least the docks is a special case.

When the overall density of contact is examined before and after 1970 the following distribution appears:

Number of contacts	Pre-1970		Post 1970	
	N	%	N	%
None	12	17	1	3
One to three	25	36	8	21
Four or more	32	46	29	76

($X^2 = 9.985$, $p < .007$, 2df.)

This considerable change is the result of the increased number of docker's sons and of the increased contact between non-docker's sons and their friends. It seems likely that this change is a reflection of the changes in the industry and, in particular, the greatly reduced job opportunities. It could be seen as the result of a better level of information and encouragement available to those with some contact, and where this cannot be obtained from relatives it has to be from friends. Those with such contacts therefore may be differentially selected into the industry. This can be illustrated with the comments of two of the respondents:

> 'I had four friends in here when I joined. My mate said "You want to get in here now. They only laid-off a handful of blokes last year and they reckon they'll need another lot later on. If you get in now I'll bet you won't get laid off before they make up again." So I thought "well why not it seems like a good bet".'

> 'My brother was in here first, then a load of my mates, blokes I knew from school, said they were going on the temporary register. I said I'd give it a try. When I came in they (personnel office) said "we can't guarantee you a permanent job." My brother, he says, "that's all balls, they're supposed to be taking on another lot this year and its last in first out. You'll be alright."'

The Choice of Dockwork

As was said above, some forms of relationship with people already in an industry may constitute part or all of the reason for a person entering that industry. So, having considered the aspects which may contribute to the process of getting the job it is necessary to examine the reasons that the men actually give for taking up employment in the docks.

Docker's sons and others are shown separately in table 5.7, which sets out the categories of reasons given in reply to the direct question 'why did you decide to come into the docks?' These categories require some explanatory comments, and, where they appear again in later tabulations, these same comments will apply. All but 2 of the respondents gave a single answer to this question; one mentioned 'money' and then 'family' and the other 'interest' and then 'money'. It seems reasonable therefore to include these men in the first category that they mention and to ignore their secondary remarks. The category labelled 'family' actually also includes 4 men, one docker's son and three others, who mentioned friends rather than relations already in the industry as their reason for joining. This is obviously a relatively insignificant variation. However the category labelled 'interest' covers a somewhat wider range of responses.

In giving their reasons for joining quite a number of men attempted a sort of general descriptive reply. The point is that many had encountered the industry before, either indirectly through the medium of friends and relations or because their previous employment had enabled them to view activities in the docks first hand. Not infrequently they were ex-seamen but, by the nature of its operation, the docks also has contact with many other industries. The sort of things mentioned therefore

Table 5.7

REASON FOR ENTRY BY PARENTAGE.

Reason for entry	Docker's sons		Others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family	23	47	14	24	37	35
Interest in job	7	14	19	33	26	24
Money	11	22	7	12	18	17
Security	5	10	7	12	12	11
Only available job	1	2	5	9	6	6
Drifted in	2	4	5	9	7	7
Don't know	-	-	1	2	1	1
Total	49	99	58	101	107	101

include the general atmosphere of the place, that it involves work with ships, offers variety or is 'outside' work. These are all intrinsic aspects of the job itself and this is therefore the criterion for inclusion in the 'interest' category.

The 'money' and 'security' categories were kept separate initially, although for some purposes they may be combined to represent the economic characteristics of the employment. It could be argued that the next category, that of the 'only available job', might also legitimately be considered part of a response to economic factors since it implies that the job was taken up with no positive feelings concerning its nature. However it is more appropriate to be conservative in this case and, where further combination occurs it is with the 'drifted in' category. Both sorts of reply suggest an initial neutrality towards the job.

From table 5.7 it is clear that one major difference between docker's sons and others involves the role played by the family as a factor in the decision to become a docker. Nearly twice the proportion (47%, 23) of docker's sons gave the presence of one or more family members in the industry as their reason for joining. ($p < .01$, $z=2.49$, 2t.). Docker's sons were also asked whether or not their fathers had made any relevant comment about their decision. Only three (6%) had been advised against it, a few (9, 18%) had received no advice one way or the other but three-quarters (37, 76%) had been advised to take the job. Their replies often indicate that the choice was virtually automatic:

'Working in the Docks; it's a family tradition. Like father like son.'

'I had to come in here. All my family's in here. Always have been.'

> 'Family really; it's a family tradition I suppose. When my dad retired he said things weren't the same down here anymore but I knew a lot of people in here. Half my family are here.'

Although the proportion of docker's sons making this sort of response is striking, the proportion in the rest of the force is not very greatly different from that to be found in other industries.[32] Whilst docker's sons are primarily drawn to the industry by the presence of kin the major reason for the rest of the men (33%, 19) is the attraction of the conditions. Part of this is the convivial atmosphere that may, in any event, result from the kinship network:

> 'I used to come in here when I was an errand-boy and I thought it seemed an interesting place; all the ships and different kinds of stuff everywhere. When I was older and didn't seem to be getting anywhere much I thought "I'll give it a try".'

> 'I used to come in here when I was on the vans. Always had a laugh when we came in here. When they wanted too many long runs I thought "stuff this" and applied for a job.'

In comparison with this only about a quarter mention either money or security and this proportion is about the same for both docker's sons and others.

It is perhaps not surprising that the number of docker's sons who gave an answer indicating a fairly neutral view of the job is quite small (6%, 3). However if the two neutral categories are examined for the rest of the men then 18% (10) seem to have taken up the job either because there was no apparently better alternative or without really considering the choice much beforehand.

The 'family' and 'interest' categories can be collapsed to form a 'non-economic aspects' group whilst

'money' and 'security' can be combined into an 'economic aspects' group. When this is done similar numbers of docker's sons and others are found to have given reasons based on the non-economic aspects of the job; 61% docker's sons (30) and 57% (33) others. However significantly more docker's sons mentioned economic aspects ($p < .03$, $z=2.18$, 2t.). The balance of other men, 19% (11), seem to have joined for what were apparently instrumental reasons but without necessarily evaluating the job in such terms. To understand these differences further it would seem profitable to examine the origins of these different groups of men.

In tables 5.8 and 5.9, the sample is cross-classified by 'industry of last employment' and 'reason for entry'. To simplify the presentation economic and neutral categories have been formed by combination. Within these categories there are in any event no great differences. At this level of analysis testing is difficult due to the low cell frequencies but a useful impression can be gained of the balance of reasons within each group.

Turning first to table 5.8, the docker's sons, and comparing the industries, it becomes clear that the ex-seamen are most likely to have joined because of kin. In fact, comparing with the marginal totals shows that about a third of those docker's sons giving this reason were ex-seamen. Economic aspects seem relatively less important to these men. This pattern, with a predominance of family and/or interest over money and security is repeated in the various industries included in the miscellaneous category but in others the reverse is the case. Docker's sons coming from the construction industry for example seem to prefer either the pay or the security that they feel the docks can offer. In the manufacturing industries, including shipbuilding, the importance of the family is similarly reduced.

Table 5.8

REASON FOR ENTRY BY INDUSTRY OF LAST EMPLOYMENT: DOCKER'S SONS.

Reason for entry	Seafaring	General manf.	Construction	Shipbuilding	Service	Misc.	Total
Family	7	2	1	-	1	10	23
Interest	2	1	2	1	-	1	7
Money or security	2	2	7	-	1	3	16
Only job available*	-	-	1	-	-	2	3
Total	11	5	11	1	2	16	49

*Includes 2 who 'drifted' in

Table 5.9

REASON FOR ENTRY BY INDUSTRY OF LAST EMPLOYMENT: NON-DOCKER'S SONS.

Reason for entry	Sea-farer	Construc-tion	Ship-building	General manf.	Service	Misc.	Total
Family	6	3	-	1	-	3	14
Interest	9	-	3	3	5	1	19
Money or security	-	3	-	-	4	4	14
Only job available*	1	-	1	3	3	1	10
Total	16	6	4	7	12	9	57

*Includes 5 who 'drifted' in (1 Don't know excluded)

This general pattern is repeated amongst the rest of the men as shown in table 5.9. It is again clear that ex-seamen dominate the 'family' category, nearly half of the men giving this reason are ex-seamen. When the interest category is included the relative importance of non-economic factors for these men becomes obvious. In most of the other industries however economic factors are counted more important or, at least, about the same.

Thus from seafaring, traditionally a major supplier of workers to the docks, come men who are most likely to conform to the picture of dockers given in the literature and discussed in Chapter One. For a few years, usually while he is still single, the sailor experiences work which is less meaningless, self-estranging and isolated than that of the typical factory worker.[33] When his family circumstances change he looks to join an industry that either already employs several of his relatives or offers work which retains the same sort of interest he has experienced at sea and which is carried on in a similar atmosphere:[34]

> 'All my mates are in the docks. When I came ashore it was natural: come in the docks.'
>
> 'It's the ships really, it's all I know. I wanted to stay with the ships when I came ashore so I came in here. It's a shame, that's what this docks needs; more ships.'

For most other men, including docker's sons from the manufacturing and construction industries, money or security are as important and often more important than either the family or the intrinsic qualities of the job. For these men economic attractions constitute the primary motivation to join. The nature of the work, or more particularly the atmosphere in which it is carried on, comes as a bonus. It is useful to compare those men from the 'traditional' industry of shipbuilding, mainly older

men, with those from the construction industry. The former are as likely to have drifted in to the docks than to have joined for any definite reason. The latter, especially if docker's sons, joined for money or security and were mostly tradesmen who had given up their trade to work in the docks.

'Let's face it, it's the money. I was working on the buildings but the money wasn't worth the aggro. It's a piece of cake here.'

'It was a skilled job, full time-served like, but what was the use? The money never got any better. Then I heard they wanted blokes in here. Good money in here.'

'When I was made redundant over there, (shipyard) there wasn't much else I could do. I was a rigger see. I didn't want to go unemployed again.'

Since 1970 however, as table 5.5 shows, the pattern of labour supply to the docks has changed. It is sensible to ask therefore what systematic changes have occured since that time in the motivation of the men as revealed in their reasons for entry. The various reasons are set out in table 5.10 by length of service. It is clear that amongst those men who joined the docks in the past the distribution of their reasons for doing so was very stable. Because the question attempted to gauge the men's initial reasons for joining there is no apparent increase in the relative importance of security amongst the longest serving men, which has been noted in other work.[35] It is probably therefore a fair measure. In any event in the past the docks was less able to offer such security.

The relative importance of the family has also remained stable. For most groups it is nearly matched in importance by the intrinsic aspects of the job, about a quarter in each group mentioned something that falls in this category. Amongst the longest serving men, possibly as a result of the larger proportion of non-docker's sons, the importance

Table 5.10

REASON FOR ENTRY BY LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Reason for entry	1 - 6		7 - 12		13 - 18		19+		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family	12	32	8	38	10	38	7	32	37	36
Interest in job	5	14	5	24	7	27	9	41	26	25
Money	12	32	2	10	2	8	2	9	18	17
Security	6	16	3	14	2	8	1	5	12	12
Only available job or drifted in	2	5	3	14	5	19	3	14	13	13
Total	37	100	21	100	26	100	22	100	106	103

of these intrinsic factors is a little greater although not significantly (z=1.03, n.s.). In contrast the differences in the latest group are significant.

Although the proportion giving family as their reason remains the same in the post-1970 group, the intrinsic features of the job are mentioned less often ($p < .03$, $z=1.83$), and money much more often, than previously ($p < .001$, $z=3.01$). There are also less men with no particular reason for entering the docks, which is entirely consistent with the much greater difficulty inherent in getting the job. Nearly half (49%, 18) of all the men joining after 1970 mention either money or security. The family remains an important reason for many men, but for the rest economic factors have appeared to govern their decision to enter the docks at the expense of the perceived nature of the place or the work. This change of approach is as true of docker's sons as of others.

Summary

From what has been said therefore a basic picture of the sample emerges. Existing observations of dock workers' backgrounds do not appear grossly inaccurate on this evidence. The men are as likely to be ex-seamen as they are to have drifted in from the construction industry or the traditional industries of shipbuilding and ship-repair. About half joined an industry in which they had relatives already employed, and, if not directly related to someone in the industry, they joined to experience work which they saw as interesting or in an atmosphere they knew to be friendly.

Through the years this basic pattern has remained relatively stable but since the Devlin reforms there has been a significant change. The reforms themselves have substantially altered the extrinsic rewards, giving

greater security for example, but during the past decade the job has gradually been changing as new technology has been introduced. Changes outside the industry have meant that there are no longer the numbers of men with experience in those industries that traditionally supplied the docks with labour. Men are now drawn, into a reduced number of jobs, from a wider range of occupations. Those that come are not infrequently skilled men, leaving their trade and taking advantage of their parentage or some other prior contact for reasons that are as likely to be based on the economic aspects of the job as not.

Given this overall view of the men's backgrounds and pattern of related experience and motivation it is now necessary to examine their more general expectations from work and their reactions to the job itself.

Notes and References

1. See University of Liverpool, The Dock Worker, pp.49, 74; D.F. Wilson, Dockers, p.50; S. Hill, The Dockers, p.22.

2. T. Caplow, The Sociology of Work, p.172.

3. Notably in J. Hall & D.C. Jones, 'The Social Grading of Occupations', a position which, as the Liverpool study notes, the men were well aware of themselves.

4. The Liverpool study suggests for example that docker's sons are more likely to display an aggressive attitude towards management, op. cit., p.50.

5. Liverpool University, op. cit., p.49.

6. Hill, op. cit., p.174.

7. ibid, (table on p.229).

8. H. Beynon & R.M. Blackburn, note this, see, Perceptions of Work, p.24.

9. Hill, op. cit., p.61.

10. J.H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Worker, vol.1., p.147.

11. Beynon & Blackburn, op. cit., p.24.

12. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.149 & fn2. They refer to J. Tunstall, The Fishermen; G. Horobin, 'Community & Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry'; N. Dennis et al., Coal is Our Life, pp.44-5, 79-82, and the Liverpool Study, op. cit., Ch. III.

13. See, for example, the findings of D. Wedderburn & R. Crompton, Workers' Attitudes & Technology, passim. Although note that these tradesmen were engaged in their trade whilst those in the dock have given it up.

14. That education might do this is a position argued by G. McKenzie, 'The Economic Dimension of Embourgeoisement'.

15. Any such constraints will also limit the expression of orientations in job choice. J.H. Goldthorpe, 'Daniel on Orientations to Work'.

16. Noted by the Liverpool study, op. cit., pp.46-7, and in Southampton by P. Ford, Work & Wealth in a Modern Port, p.86.

17. Ford, op. cit.

18. A.J.M. Sykes, 'Navvies: Their Work Attitudes & Social Relations'. The references for comparison noted by Sykes are from the Liverpool study, op. cit.: low status, pp.5, 56, 89; bad industrial relations, p.90; inter-union strife, pp.17-18, 26-7, 226; competitiveness, pp.66-7; floaters, pp.78-9.

19. University of Liverpool, op. cit., pp.46-7.

20. J.P. Fisher, The T&GWU and the Devlin Modernisation Program in the Port Transport Industry with Particular Reference to Southampton, p.90, and see Chapter Two above.

21. C.C. Hunter & G.L. Reid estimate this to be about 10 - 12% mean yearly changes, at least up to 1960. See, Urban Worker Mobility, p.54.

22. H. Rodman, 'The Lower Class Value Stretch'.

23. L.T. Empey, 'Social Class & Occupational Aspiration'; I. Kraus, 'Sources of Educational Aspirations among Working-class Youth'.

24. F.G. Caro & C.T. Philblad, 'Aspirations & Expectations'.

25. P.M. Blau et al., 'Occupational Choice: a Conceptual Framework', in C.D. Bryant, (ed), The Social Dimension of Work, p.272.

26. The term used by D. Dunkerley, Occupations and Society, p.17.

27. F.E. Katz, 'Occupational Contact Networks'.

28. W.H. Form & J.A. Geschwender, 'Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction'.

29. Hill, op. cit., pp.22-3.

30. Sykes, op. cit.

31. That such a network exists is hardly in contention. Wilson, op. cit., notes the 'unusually high ratio of kinship successions and many dockers today can count a dozen relatives in the same employ.' p.50. See also Liverpool University, op. cit., p.49 and Hill, op. cit., p.229.

32. Direct comparisons are often difficult because of the differential collection of data but, for example, in their study of workers at Brompton, Beynon & Blackburn found that 28% of the male employees

mentioned friends as their reason for taking the job. op. cit., p.41.

33. These terms are from R. Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, used in this way by L.A. Zurcher, 'The Sailor Aboard Ship'.

34. In addition he will experience a decrease in 'powerlessness' which is relatively high at sea. ibid.

35. An increase normally associated with older men, who will be clustered in the longest serving group of course. See for example the summary in M. Fried, The World of the Urban Working Class, p.161.

CHAPTER SIX

Expectations, Satisfaction and Attachment

In this chapter the relationship between the expectations of the worker and his assessment of the conditions of his present employment is examined. The satisfaction that a worker experiences in a particular job will depend partly on the congruence between his expectations and the pattern of rewards made available by his employment and partly on the actual nature of the job. So in order to examine the satisfaction of the workforce, it is necessary to relate the worker's behaviour to his prior conception of the job and his more general requirements from work.

However in the study of orientations, as was noted in Chapter One, there is considerable emphasis on the role of self-selection. Workers will aim, it is argued, to maximise the congruence between their requirements and the expected provision of rewards. Given therefore that both formal institutional and technological change are capable of altering the provision of rewards in industry attention must be paid to possible variations associated with such changes. In the present case this argues for examination in terms of length of service, especially before and after 1970 which provides a convenient focus for the modernisation of the Docks.

Wants and Expectations in Work

In the previous chapter some indication of the priorities of the men in their choice of work was revealed in the analysis of their reasons for entering the docks. However this specific choice only provides limited information about more general expectations. Does dockwork satisfy all or most of the worker's requirements or has just one over-riding consideration governed the choice? Put another way is dockwork seen as a particularly desirable occupation or as 'just a job'?

In order to assess the range of wants and expectations

amongst the men use was made of questions about a hypothetical job choice. No prior categories were supplied on the assumption that men would be likely to name as their requirements not only those elements that they considered the most important but also those that they might expect to encounter.[1]

The first choice of the complete sample can be seen in the final column of table 6.1. In this presentation some of the titles require expansion. 'Type of work' refers to replies that emphasized physical qualities such as, for example, 'outside' work[2] and is thus more specific than the 'interest or satisfaction' category. In the latter no restrictions were placed on the nature of possible employment since the men only stipulated that the work should interest them. The motivation behind both types of reply is similar however since both are based on the provision of rewards within the job.

> 'It would have to be like this; this sort of thing - outside work, in the fresh air. I could never work inside, I like to be out and about.'
>
> 'I could go back to sea I suppose. It would have to be something like this otherwise, something with a bit of variety, not like Fords. I couldn't put up with that.'
>
> 'I don't mind. Something with a bit of interest, something where you can feel you've done something in a day's work. Not like bloody Fords.'

There was relatively little variation in the response to the questions about a hypothetical job, and the categorisation in table 6.1 could be made virtually exhaustive with no real violence to the individual replies. Nobody for example mentioned promotion prospects, ease of travel to work or supervision. Money is the single largest category and, at 41%, is not greatly different from the sorts of finding typical amongst factory workers.[3] Security is next in importance and this too is what one

Table 6.1

PRINCIPAL REQUIREMENTS IN HYPOTHETICAL NEW JOB BY LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Principal requirement	LENGTH OF SERVICE										Total	
	1 - 6		7 - 12		13 - 18		19+					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			N	%
Money	22	58	9	43	10	38	3	14			44	41
Security	7	18	2	10	6	23	4	18			19	18
Type of work	3	8	3	14	3	12	6	27			15	14
Presence of friends	2	5	2	10	2	8	3	14			9	8
Interest or satisfaction	4	11	5	24	4	15	3	14			16	15
Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	4	3	14			4	4
Total	38	100	21	100	26	100	22	100			107	100

would expect from other studies. The need for relationships at work, apparent in the choice of dockwork, is not however reflected in what the men require or expect in work generally. This is evidenced by the small number of men who give it any importance in their reply (9, 8%).[4]

In fact a large number of men were unable to name more than one feature of a possible job even when pressed. Some 40 (37%) men gave only one feature of a job as something they would look out for and 27 of these (68%) were men who wanted certain sorts of work or interesting work. This suggests that the other, extrinsic, features of a job are of relatively less importance for these men than intrinsic or expressive features clearly are for those whose first priority is good money or security.

In the body of table 6.1 the various categories of reply are given by length of service groups. What is noticeable is that there is no real change with respect to interest, the presence of friends or security. It might be expected that more of the longer serving and generally older men would give priority to security but this is not the case, they are no more likely to mention security than those who joined most recently.[5] Amongst the longest serving group however there are more men who are likely to want work that is broadly similar to that which they now do; 27% (6) of the men in this group mentioned some feature of the actual job they required. (diff. $p < .05$, $z=1.93$, 2t.).

The most noticeable difference occurs between the newest recruits and the rest of the men. Amongst the former money is given significantly more often as the principal need in work, ($p < .009$, $z=2.62$, 2t.). Nor is this greater emphasis at the expense of security. Those who do not mention money first are still more likely to mention security than anything else. This is not the

case however with most of the other service groups who are just as likely to mention interest or job satisfaction. Thus there seems to have been a real change of emphasis. About three-quarters (29, 76%) of those who joined after 1970 mention either money or security as their first priority in work compared with less than half who joined previously, (34, 49%).

In table 6.2 the first and second responses to the questions concerning a hypothetical job are shown combined as 'orientations' to work. This system distinguishes between an economistic/instrumental orientation, based on a high evaluation of the wages and security offered by a particular employment, and a non-economic/expressive orientation based on a valuation of non-economic aspects such as task rewards and social rewards from peer relationships.[6] The non-economic rewards included here are generally positive features of the employment; that is they emphasise the rewards to be obtained from the job rather than from any chance to exercise control over the work situation. Thus this category is closer to an instrumental/expressive-positive orientation and not an instrumental/expressive-negative orientation that ought to be expected on the received view of dockers.

From table 6.2 it is clear that money or security were mentioned by a majority of the men (79, 74%) but not necessarily given priority. A quarter (27, 25%) of the sample mentioned only money and/or security but a very similar number (24, 22%) mentioned only non-economic features of work. The change of emphasis noted above is apparent in table 6.2 but it is also clear that, since 1970, the needs of the workers are likely to be broader. Although the post 1970 group give priority to economic considerations where they differ from their predecessors is not in a narrow concern for economic rewards but in the wish for both economic and non-economic rewards in work. Their

Table 6.2

ECONOMIC AND NON-ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS IN WORK BY LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Choice and rank of requirements in job	Pre-1970 N	Pre-1970 %	Post-1970 N	Post-1970 %	Total %
Economic only	16	23	11	29	25
Economic then non-economic	19	28	17	45	34
Non-economic then economic	10	14	6	16	15
Non-economic only	20	29	4	11	22
Don't know	4	6	-	-	4
Total	69	100	38	100	100

Economic only	16	23	11	29	25
Economic then non-economic	19	28	17	45	34
Non-economic then economic	10	14	6	16	15
Non-economic only	20	29	4	11	22
Don't know	4	6	-	-	4
Total	69	100	38	100	100

predecessors seem more likely to be content with non-economic rewards alone, (overall diff. X^2 =4.04, p <.05, 1df.).

At this point it can be noted that the reactions of docker's sons and others to the job and to work generally are very nearly the same. In the categorisation of rewards required or expected from work however the 'non-economic only' group are less likely to be docker's sons. Nearly half (47%, 27) the non-docker's sons give primacy to these aspects of work compared to 27% (17) docker's sons (p< .03, z=2.13, 2t.). As mentioned above, the former group are mainly longer serving men.

It is this group which, on the evidence of other research,[7] is somewhat anomolous. It could be asked therefore what, in terms of the differences so far distinguished, these men have in common. Furthermore, the principal category of reasons given for entering the docks was in fact the presence of family or friends. Why therefore, when asked what they would look for in employment, do the men giving this response not give greater importance to possible relationships in other work?

Ignoring those who gave no positive answer to the question concerning reason for entry, table 6.3 sets out the orientations to work of the men in each of the main categories of those reasons. By and large those who joined for economic rewards continue to expect and require those rewards in any possible future employment. Those who joined for some reason connected with intrinsic rewards are also much more likely to require a similar type of reward in any future employment. To the extent that these responses are consistent therefore, there seems to be a division in the sample with respect to orientation to work.

Table 6.3

ECONOMIC AND NON-ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS IN WORK BY REASON FOR ENTRY.

Choice and ranking of requirements in job for entry.

	Reason for entry.									
	Money or security		Family or Friends		Interest in job		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Economic only	13	45	9	26	2	8	4	11	35	100
Economic then non-economic	11	38	16	46	5	19	7	17	29	100
Non-economic then economic	2	7	6	17	7	27	12	46	26	100
Non-economic only	3	10	4	11	12	46	11	27	30	100
Total	29	100	35	100	26	100	34	100	124	100

(Excludes 14 who entered for no special reason and 3 don't know replies)

Those who give as their reason for entry the presence of friends and/or family respond to the possibility of other employment in a manner which, within reasonable limits, is much nearer that of the 'money or security' group. Their response to family and friends appears, in other words, to be a particular response based on particular relationships. There is no real evidence here to suggest the presence of a generalised desire for, or expectation of, such relationships in work.

In terms of wants and expectations therefore there appears to be a basic division in the sample between those who require work of a certain kind, rewarding in itself, and those whose first requirement is some extrinsic economic reward, (X^2=24.5, $p < .001$, 6df.).[8] Those who attach more importance to the latter features entered the docks either because it offered this type of reward or because their family or friends were already employed there. The presence of family and friends constituting in some cases an additional reason for making the choice and in others constituting part of the means or mechanism of that choice.

For many with family connections in the industry dockwork represents a choice of employment which satisfies their principal economic requirements but also provides the setting and support of familiar relationships. For some however the importance of the family connection is recognised mainly for any selection advantage that such relationships may provide. Whatever the relationship between their family and their choice of dockwork however most (25, 71%) of those making their choice for some such reason give primacy in general to economic considerations. For those who chose dockwork on a straightforward economic basis the job represents a fairly typical choice. Nearly half of these men only require such rewards in other work. As tables 6.1 and 6.2 show such economic considerations have become relatively more important in recent years, espec-

ially since 1970.

Sources of Satisfaction

Satisfaction with the employment due to the provision of a worker's particular requirements is likely to be high given the level of information available to most men before they join and the subsequent process of self-selection. Within the job however are secondary sources of satisfaction which may be experienced as incidental to basic requirements but nevertheless appreciated as a bonus. In other words particular orientations are not taken to 'desensitise' workers to other possible satisfactions in work.[9]

Changes in the structure of the industry or to the method of its operation however can obviously increase or decrease the sources, or the degree of satisfaction. For those within the industry particular changes may reduce or improve principal satisfactions by altering the congruence between expectations and rewards. Alternatively changes may merely decrease or increase secondary satisfactions.

There will be consequences outside the industry as well. Dependent on the level of information available people may revise their assessment of the employment in terms of their own requirements. At any one time however, although the balance of rewards may vary, men with different perceptions of the industry and different wants may enter together. How, within such groups, can further distinctions be made concerning the priorities men attach to the rewards they experience?

Differing perceptions of, and requirements from an industry can result in differential behaviour which thus can provide some estimate of priorities. In most cir-

cumstances the possibilities for variation in behaviour will be limited by the structure of the organisation. However the relative organisational freedom in the docks; the pool system, voluntary shifts and skills attainment give some scope for such variation to appear. Before turning to possible detailed variations however it will be useful to examine the overall reactions within the sample.

Studies of satisfaction in industrial work-forces tend to centre on the evaluations that people make of their work, since satisfaction itself is difficult to get at directly.[10] Indeed to some extent the level of satisfaction experienced by the worker will depend upon the norms with respect to work attitudes that are encountered in the work situation itself.[11] Satisfaction therefore can be examined to a degree by the variation in attitudes to its potential sources.

Various sources of satisfaction have been identified which can be used to characterise the sample.[12] However the questions used to examine reactions to work were not pre-classified in any such categories, again on the assumption that the replies would then contain more information of the actual perceptions of the men. Further, the question 'What is it you most like about working in the docks?' tends to concentrate attention on the actual job itself. Following, as it does, questions on more general expectations and reasons for entry, it should produce responses based on the range of satisfaction provided by the work tasks and their setting.

In table 6.4 the responses to this question and a further probe are shown combined in order of frequency magnitude. In fact the first responses alone do not differ significantly from the combined responses and it also became clear during analysis that there were no

Table 6.4

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF PREFERRED ASPECTS OF JOB.

Aspects mentioned	N	%
General atmosphere and presence of friends	47	44
Variety of jobs	44	41
Freedom (from close supervision)	25	23
General physical working conditions	18	17
Money	8	7
Preference for past conditions	4	4
Security	3	3

Note totals add to more than 100% as more than one reply is included.

significant differences in the pattern between docker's sons and others. Money and security, which together were counted as important reasons for joining and were a considerable part of many men's general requirements from work, are minimised by this form of question and, in a sense, represent an extreme sort of reply in this context. In general the men identified aspects of the work itself or its organisation.

Principal among the responses is the category of 'general atmosphere' which some felt was often due to the presence of friends. This category of course reflects the extensive prior contact with the industry which was at the basis of many of the men's choice of dockwork. The atmosphere, which is legendary in the docks, may depend on the great inter-relatedness of the workforce but it also springs from the gang system; the informal contacts built up, out of necessity, in the casual era.

The informal dimension in work depends mainly on the interaction opportunities that the structure will allow.[13] Blauner, for example, claims that there is considerable evidence linking high satisfaction with the membership of integrated work teams on the job.[14] Both the need to develop the gang system in response to employment opportunities and the methods of working necessitated by the movements of ships and cargo tended to produce highly integrated groups. These gave extensive opportunities for informal interaction and led to and sustained a widespread informal atmosphere in the docks. However, the changes in the structure of the employment relationship and the introduction of new working methods have removed much of the rationale of the gang system. Gang strengths may vary, task specialisation is virtually eliminated and in some working methods, with the new technology, gangs exist only as organisational structures and not as work groups at all. This has meant that the opportunities

for interaction have changed and, although such interactions are still extensive, in a sense for some men their essential vitality has gone.

The penultimate category in table 6.4 represents those men who refused to 'play the game' of this question. Although still satisfied with the basic, economic, provision of the job they were disheartened by the changes they had experienced during the past ten years or so. These men no longer appreciated the atmosphere, which for them had changed irrevocably. Indeed many of the men who gave priority in value to the informal atmosphere were nevertheless aware of a change and clearly regretted it:

> 'I used to look forward to work. Every morning I couldn't wait to get here. All your mates were here; it was great but the life and soul's gone out of it now. Nobody gives a bugger.'

> 'It was a joy to come to work but it's not the same anymore, there's not the same feeling. These young buggers they'd just as soon sod off and leave you to it.'

> 'It was better when a day's work was a day's work. You could rely on your friends then and have a good time.'

Mentioned by nearly the same number of men the next category, that of variety, is also a feature of the job that has undergone, and on present trends will continue to undergo, considerable change. The rota system and the different working techniques and cargoes provide a considerable variety of work tasks for most men. Only a small number are permanently attached to one place or task - usually older men who have been placed on light duties. For most men however movement around the large dock estate ensures that the monotonous tasks are relieved by a different setting, other men or the chance of more time off.

The satisfaction due to the variety of jobs of course is not due to the actual nature of the individual tasks. Most of these are in fact routine and some are liable to monotony of the sort experienced by, for example, assembly line workers.[15] In many of the jobs some autonomy is possible although as the mechanisation of the work proceeds the routineness of the work increases. In the latter circumstances the source of satisfaction within the work task is different. Drivers of the machines, although usually supervised directly over a radio link, can enjoy to some extent the satisfaction due to the control of the machine. Those who mention some aspect of the type of work however, as given in table 6.4, are mostly men who refer to the traditional conditions. These work tasks, albeit hard, could be completed by the gang, and prior to the package deal were linked directly to the economic rewards via the piecework system. Pride in accomplishment and use of skills was then linked to the level of remuneration.[16]

The new skills of course are obtained in a different way; informal training in the gang setting having been replaced with formal training schemes. These new skills involve only physical coordination since the stacking sequence, loading, order and stability of the cargo are all now matters for supervision. In the case of the more advanced section of the container traffic these things are determined by computer and merely relayed to the workforce by the planning operators. Many of the men are aware of the resultant degree of skill required of them:

> 'It's not a skill really is it? A trained monkey could do it, no trouble.'
>
> 'I like the driving, don't get me wrong, I've always liked driving but it's not what you could call a skill, not really.'

The rewards to be obtained from the new working methods,

may be minimal in terms of work tasks. Although, as noted above, for some men the potentially monotonous work does at least provide the interest of driving. However the principal reward made possible by these techniques concerns the possibilities for time off and this provision is as much a result of the supervision system as the work system.

Being able to leave the job early, to split shifts and to take days off all emerged as aspects of the freedom that the men pick out as an important part of the job. Nearly a quarter of all the men mentioned freedom but the term has a fairly wide range of meaning.[17] 'Not being watched all the time' is of course a benefit in itself, long established as a desirable feature of work[18] but there is also a positive aspect of freedom from supervision. Rather than the avoidance of resentment caused by the imposition of control, freedom from supervision may allow, or even result from, a work situation which generates satisfaction by permitting the workforce to exercise control over the work process. Blauner for example sees the satisfaction that is evident in certain occupations (railways and trucking) as the result of the 'high degree of control, especially as reflected in freedom from supervision, which the workers enjoy.'[19] This possibility, that of 'being your own boss', was part of the meaning that a few men attached to the term. In general though the term was used in a way which emphasised the lack of constraint on their movements.

Of those (65) who gave only one response to the questions concerning preferred aspects of the job, even after prompting, the highest proportion (73%, 8) were those naming some specific feature of dock work. In table 6.4 this category is labelled 'General physical working conditions.' These men, it became apparent, had joined the industry for just this sort of reason,

knowing in advance the nature of the work. A good, and typical, example is provided by the following ex-seaman whose reply is similar to one given in the previous chapter;

> 'I like to be in the fresh air but the sea is my first choice. I came in here to be near the sea and ships. That's what I like about the job I can go on and off the ships. It's a bit like being at sea.'

These are men who, having joined for such reasons, claim they would, if obliged, seek either very similar work or at least work which could provide similar non-economic rewards. In other words men who demonstrate that 'reluctance to change a customary way of life' that has been noted as widespread amongst industrial workers.[20] Since their satisfaction is so dependent upon the nature of the job they are more likely to be affected by changes in the job. This is less likely amongst their associates whose prime satisfaction derives from extrinsic reward. In other words work in the docks is for this minority of men much more than just a very good example of a job with many compensations. However, that is what it appears to be for the rest of the force, especially those who have joined since the period of reform.

Sources of Dissatisfaction

Workers' satisfaction with their employment of course can also be assessed in the opposite direction; what are the things they dislike about the job? What are the sources of dissatisfaction in the work? Given the nature of the work and the reasonably high level of rewards there are not likely to be many major dislikes. As table 6.5 shows a majority of the men readily answered 'nothing' in a fairly definite manner to the relevant question. Some men picked out certain jobs that they found boring

Table 6.5

ASPECT OF DOCK-WORK MOST DISLIKED.

Aspects mentioned	N	%
Nothing	59	55
Particular jobs that are boring or tiring	17	16
Lack of discipline (cooperation from men)	11	10
Shift work	7	7
Weather	5	5
Attitude of supervisors	5	5
Money or prospects unfair	3	3
Total	107	100

or excessively tiring but they obviously saw these as minor aspects of the work and usually said so. Very nearly three-quarters (76, 71%) of the sample therefore essentially viewed the job as being without features likely to cause more than incidental dissatisfaction.

Of those who did identify some source of dissatisfaction few were prepared to give more than moderate importance to it. For this minority of men the job seemed to be becoming virtually intolerable and they appeared to display a limited attachment to the industry; an issue which is returned to below. They include the three giving 'money or prospects' as unfair or limited, four who complained of the shift system, or of the presence of any shifts at all and one who mentioned the lack of understanding or cooperation between the men and management.

Thus there would appear to be little or no wide ranging discontent, at least within the context of the work itself or its basic organisation. The ten percent who made comments about the lack of discipline were mostly older men who compared the behaviour that they now witnessed with that to which they had been used before modernisation. Their complaints were not limited to a lack of cooperation between the younger men and management however but included the observation that the alleged ill disciplined behaviour produced problems for all of the men. Much of their complaint centred on the various practises of leaving the job or of not turning up to finish jobs, especially in the afternoon. In other words some men were 'letting down their mates' and this behaviour would not have been possible if there were more managerial control. In the past of course, as has been noted elsewhere in this work, the men themselves exercised control within the gang context and were subject to the discipline of economic constraint under the piecework system. It is to the memory of this situation that these men often refer.

In general management are not blamed for this situation. They did not exercise this sort of control in the past and if they fail to do so now it is to some extent the inevitable result of the necessary methods of working and the overmanning forced on them by the unions. In some situations there is surplus labour and most of the men recognise this. If such situations are taken advantage of, and men take turns to 'disappear', no one is obviously inconvenienced. In other situations such behaviour can lead to strain on the remaining men and it is this of course that causes the resentment alluded to above. The older men claim to treat of their opportunities as just that, a perk dependent on circumstances. They accuse certain of the younger men of treating such behaviour as a right and see the situation as getting out of hand. The problem, as they see it, might be susceptible to managerial interference but this is something to which they are not generally used. Since they see the necessary cooperation from the younger men as unlikely to be forthcoming they bemoan the consequences resignedly.

Those few who complained directly about supervision did so with reference to particular people and would not extend their complaint to the supervision in general. Complaints about the shift system were generalised more often however but only seven men mentioned this. In fact complaints about specific conditions were acknowledged as minor by most men,[21] although adequate protection against adverse weather may be an exception. The sample generally recognised that there had been great changes and clearly appreciated them:

> 'This is a proper industry now, there's not much left to do.'
>
> 'There'll always be a few little niggles of course but there's no real cause for complaint, not any more.'

When asked to be specific about possible improvements in the existing conditions most men (65, 61%) claimed to be content, although a few (10%) of these thought that some minor things might come to mind later or arise in the course of their work. About half of the men therefore thought that there could be some improvements and these are set out in table 6.6. The replies may be classified into four broad categories; little or no improvements, physical facilities, operations and organisation.

About the same number of men mentioned some aspect of the physical conditions as mentioned something to do with the organisation of the work. The provision of proper facilities had failed to some extent to keep up with the rapid changes in the industry and unfavourable comparisons between the Container Port and the older parts of the Port were frequently made. As a greater proportion of the work is transfered to the Container Port however this situation will change. Lacking particular jobs or 'homes' on the dock, due to the reorganisation and the work sharing, a common request was for the provision of lockers or rest rooms on the berth; a situation that only existed at that time in the Container Port itself.

Those who thought that the organisation of work could be improved were less specific in their suggestions and their answers usually followed on from their complaints about the supervision or the shift system. Again however most of their comments refered to the system as it was operated in the older docks; the non-container section. The shift most disliked being the five to midnight. On the Container Port the 4 to 11 and 11 to 7 shifts were voluntary.

A somewhat larger number of men however (19, 18%) were concerned to see improvements in the safety of the operations. In the analysis of the employment records no significant

Table 6.6

POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN CONDITIONS REQUIRED.

Improvements identified	N	%
None	54	51
Minor (unspecified)	11	10
Canteens	4	4
Berth facilities in general	7	7
Transport within docks	1	1
General safety	12	11
Machine maintenance	7	7
Organisation of work	8	7
Management and worker cooperation	3	3
Total	107	100

difference was detected between types of accidental injury following the introduction of the new technology. Dock-work has long been near the top of the national league table of accidents and injuries, in this regard at least being similar to the other traditional industries of mining and deep-sea fishing. Most of the men were aware of this poor record. The risks that they perceive however were not confined to the traditional working methods, even though they seem to feel that the new techniques are inherently safer. Two different approaches were made clear. On the Container Port, and with most of the new technology, the basic problem as the men saw it concerned proper maintenance of the machines. In fact there had been problems with the technology of the Container Port during its introduction and some machines had come to be viewed as unreliable. At the same time however it can be noted that the maintenance fitters had had a long standing dispute over 'parity' with the dock workers and there was some suggestion of a purposeful lack of co-operation on the part of those men.

With more traditional techniques a concern with safety might include more and better use of machines but equally unsafe working was seen as the result of the actions of the men themselves. Not only were men aware of slack safety practices amongst their fellows at work: they knew also of circumstances where potentially good practice was thwarted by the men's habit of leave taking. In some situations, as mentioned above, unofficial absence may go virtually unnoticed. The gang will 'carry' each member for one day throughout the week without imposing unnecessary strain on itself. In other circumstances however, and especially if somebody is unexpectedly missing, the gang strength may be reduced too far and working may then become potentially more dangerous. Of course those who point to this situation recognise their own culpability but also blame those foremen who, knowing

that a complaint by the men cannot be made because of the unauthorised nature of the absence, push the rest of the gang to get out the work. Although those who mention this kind of action would like the situation changed they could give no indication of how this might best be acheived, short of the very sort of managerial control that they, on their own admission, seemed least likely to accept. For some the situation was the result of a lack of discipline amongst the younger men, for others the inevitable result of the situation itself.

Given the levels of apparent satisfaction with their jobs; that is to say with a few specific complaints but little or no general dissatisfaction, how would the men compare their present job with any that they had done previously? when asked to compare dockwork with their last employment 64 (60%) men claimed that they prefered dockwork. This figure, it will be noted, is comparable with the number who did not specify any improvements in the job.

However despite the fairly high level of satisfaction with dockwork, and the belief made plain by many men that it would be difficult to imagine a better job for the unskilled man, there were nevertheless 15 (14%) who claimed to have preferred their previous job. Furthermore 19 (18%) were unable to give a definite answer and 9 (8%) thought that they liked both jobs about the same. Such a negative or neutral approach amongst a considerable proportion of the men (43, 40%) scarcely argues for the 'high degree of job involvement' supposedly characteristic of traditional workers. Rather it implies a narrowly economistic approach that is relatively independent of the content or context of the job. Such an approach will obviously have consequences for behaviour given that the relative provision of extrinsic rewards can vary.

Reactions to Technological Change

One way in which different approaches to the job may become visible is in variation in the types of skill that have been attained within the industry. In Chapter Four the acquisition of major skills in the workforce was shown to partially reflect the changes in the industry, especially those of 1969-1970. Given the voluntary nature of skill attainment at that time it was shown that men entering the industry after 1970 were more likely to have volunteered for the major skills, even though these had been in operation since about 1964.

Now although not all container work requires a skill of this sort in general the frequency with which a man is at the Container Port will depend upon his possession of a skill needed there. Other men will work there from time to time, on less specialised jobs, but those joining since 1970 for example will be somewhat more likely to spend their time at the Container Port. The men were asked to estimate the frequency that they were at the Container Port. Only 5 (13%) of those who had joined since 1970 were infrequent visitors, that is less than one week in nine, compared with 19 (28%) who had joined before 1970, ($p < .04$, $z=1.78$).

Of course not all the major equipment is limited to the Container Port but the operation of such equipment wherever it is situated does involve the worker in a different mode of working. The principal difference between this and the traditional methods being the relative isolation of the worker, at least during the operation of the equipment.[22] In the case of certain operations at the Container Port, when shifts are 'split' or shared unofficially between the men, individual operators may have the opportunity to interact with others only during meal times if at all.[23]

In table 6.7 the reasons men gave for their possession or non-possession of skills have been classified by the skills themselves. A crude division between unskilled and skilled has been made in order to yield acceptable cell frequencies. It seems reasonable to include those twelve men whose only skill is the driving of fork trucks in the 'major' category since six of these men joined before 1970 and six after.

Of those with none of the new skills nearly half said they felt they were just too old to bother with the machines, and these were of course the older men in the category.[24] Most of the other unskilled men however had not volunteered for any training because they were simply not interested in the work. Only three (8%) explicitly stated that they had avoided the machines because they preferred the traditional type of work.

The situation amongst those who had some training however is somewhat different. Only 10% had taken up a skill to avoid the traditional work, most had had some more positive reason: security of employment and money together counting for about the same proportion as a positive interest in the work itself. For some therefore (37%) their skill was an insurance policy or gave the possibility of improved extrinsic reward. For others it was an extension of the interest of the job. However for many in this latter group learning to operate the machines was, whilst adding to job variety, little more than coming to terms with the inevitable:

> 'Well this is the future isn't it? It's fascinating: up here I mean (the Container Port). It'll all be machines soon.'

The machines themselves, the entire operation of the Container Port and the computerised checking held this fascination for several of the men who inevitably compared

Table 6.7

REASON FOR SKILLS BY SKILLS POSSESSED.

Reason for skills attained	None*		Skill Level Major**		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Medical	6	16	1	1	7	7
Age	17	46	1	1	18	17
Advised or persuaded	-	-	8	11	8	7
Negative interest in type of work	10	27	7	10	17	16
Positive interest in type of work	3	8	27	39	30	28
Security	1	3	18	26	19	18
Possibility of overtime or more money	-	-	8	11	8	8
Total	37	100	70	100	107	100

*Includes Lashers & winch drivers

** Includes fork truck drivers

it with the old methods. Whilst recognising its effects they felt it was necessary to come to terms personally with the new methods just because more work would obviously go to the machines. Even so it also became clear that although these techniques regiment the operation of dock work they provide considerable opportunities for time off as well; more so in fact than the traditional working arrangements.

Working on the machines therefore involves the individual in a different situation from that prevailing in other operations. Usually an informal arrangement will mean that he will work off his part of a shift and then go home, seeing his mates perhaps at break time only. The work is potentially boring in itself and the men are physically isolated from one another. Those who choose to work the machines do not emphasise the boredom although they often made the point that the work would be boring if they were 'stuck up there all the time.' However those who have chosen not to operate the machines do mention both boredom and lack of interest more often as the reason for their avoidance of the new techniques.

In their study of chemical process workers Wedderburn and Crompton, whilst taking the point concerning the motivation and prior orientations of workers, nevertheless wish to trace a link between technology and variation in workers' attitudes. They claim to demonstrate that;

> 'different attitudes and behaviour <u>within the work situation</u> could be manifested by different groups of workers largely in response to the differences in the prevailing technologies and control systems.' 25

Now the skills discussed in the present study have all been acquired voluntarily so prior orientation could have played a part in placing men within the different technological contexts of their work. Attitude variation may therefore

be evidence of the predisposition that led to the choice of particular types of work. Part of the information needed to examine this question is given in table 6.8. This sets out the relative frequencies of prefered aspects of the work classified by the previously used skilled-unskilled dichotomy.

Two differences may be discerned between these two groups; the frequency with which particular aspects are mentioned and the relationship between those aspects within each group. Amongst the unskilled men the friendly atmosphere is the most important aspect and is mentioned by over half the group. A smaller proportion mention the variety but the context and type of work and the freedom from supervision have much less relative importance. Eight percent of this group actually insisted they preferred the conditions prevailing in the past.

The skilled group display a different constellation of attitudes to these job attributes. Variety is the aspect most often mentioned by these men and almost the same proportion mention the atmosphere. However only about a third mention either of these things compared with about a half in the unskilled group. Furthermore freedom from supervision is relatively more important for the skilled men; over twice as many skilled men mention it. The real difference here seems to be due to the greater importance given to freedom by the skilled men; not only do significantly more skilled men mention it ($p < .04$, $z=1.74$) but they also mention the friendly atmosphere significantly less ($p < .01$, $z=2.28$). In the operation of the machines they are subject to continuous supervisory control so their relatively higher evaluation of freedom from supervision is likely to refer to their opportunities to avoid work. The supervision is detailed only during the actual operation of the machines but the work allocation remains subject to the system that operates throughout the Docks.

Table 6.8

PREFERRED ASPECTS OF JOB BY SKILL LEVEL.

SKILLED	%	UNSKILLED	%
Aspects mentioned	76	Aspects mentioned	59
Variety	39	Atmosphere	49
Atmosphere	39	Variety	19
Freedom	26	Type of work	14
Type of work	19	Freedom	8
Money	19	Preference for past conditions	3
Security	9	Money	3
Preference for past conditions	6	Security	3
(N = 70)		(N = 37)	

Isolation in the machines and more time off means less time for social interaction at work but it is clear that many still value the friendly atmosphere. However the atmosphere is clearly of importance to less of the skilled men who are as likely to value the variety that provides them with a break from the potential monotony of the machines.

Now despite the obvious advantages that some men perceive in the new technology the continued expansion of the techniques implies problems associated with the threat of job reductions. Elsewhere in the Country the early 70's saw considerable disruption as the result of the introduction of container technology but the provision of container stuffing facilities inside Southampton Docks meant the avoidance of most of this problem. How then did the men react generally to the new technology?

In table 6.9 their reactions are presented cross-classified by parentage. This is principally to demonstrate that docker's sons, who might be thought of as having a more traditional approach to the job fostered by their upbringing, in fact react in a similar way to their colleagues. Indeed if anything, they display a tendency to be somewhat more positive in their assessment of the new technology. In table 6.9 the replies are grouped into three sets which represent strong positive approval, moderate approval or acceptance and disapproval and rejection. Significantly more docker's sons give strong positive approval ($p < .02$, $z=2.13$). However it should be recalled that the number of docker's sons increased considerably after 1970 and this proportion is a reflection of the differences manifest before and after that time.[26]

Disapproval of the technology was a minority reaction. Although specific problems may have focussed attention on technology in other ports the general introduction of these

Table 6.9

ATTITUDES TO THE NEW TECHNOLOGY BY PARENTAGE.

Attitude to the new technology	Docker's sons		Others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unqualified approval	16	33	7	12	23	21
General approval with minor reservations	7	14	10	17	17	16
Approved for ease of work	8	16	16	28	24	22
Accepted as an inevitable process and approved	8	16	6	10	14	13
General approval but with mention of redundancy	7	14	13	22	20	19
Seen as an inevitable process with unacceptable effects	2	4	4	7	6	6
Disapproval	1	2	1	1	2	2
Don't know	-	-	1	1	1	1
Total	49	100	58	100	107	100

methods was mostly seen as an inevitable process. For a few (8, 8%) the effects that this introduction produced were unacceptable and these men would have liked to have seen more action taken to protect the workforce. Most men however were less concerned with the long term effects and when they did mention any possible problem it was with reference to immediate job prospects. Given the Port's expansion, few problems were anticipated.

The judgement of the men in these terms usually included some idea concerning the overall economic efficiency of the operations as these affected the Country.[27] About a third of the sample reacted in this way (34, 32%);

> 'Well it's progress, you can't stop progress. It's got to be a good thing.'

A somewhat smaller number were prepared to give general support to the new technology and about a quarter (23, 21%) vigorously praised the Container Port and its method of operation. One respondent, waving energetically, said;

> 'Look at this Dock, it's marvellous! It's the greatest Dock in the world mate! We can handle anything up here now.'

What, perhaps more than anything, had helped apparently less enthusiastic members of the workforce to accept the technology was the quite dramatic reduction in heavy work that resulted from its introduction:

> 'Well it's a good thing I suppose. It's a damm sight better than digging out fruit anyway!' [28]

This sort of reaction of course was generally but not exclusively that of older men.[29] Whereas for many men the physical ease of the work was a bonus on top of the time-off possible under the new work methods for those longer

service men, and especially those who had not trained on any machines, the resultant lack of effort required was viewed with a certain amount of irony. Although it was clearly appreciated, especially when compared with the conditions of only a decade before, the lack of sustained physical effort seemed to many to have removed one vital element in the esprit de corps that the men had known in the gangs. One particular respondent colourfully explained his view in a way which echoes the suggestion of Morse and Weiss that;

> 'the individual is probably oriented to the effort rather than the end. Therefore life without working becomes life without anything to do.' 30

> 'You used to come in here early in the morning and work hard all day and have a good laugh and go home and fall in the armchair knackered. Then the Mrs would say "come on, I thought you was going to decorate the front room." And you'd get up and decorate the front room and go to work the next morning tired out. Nowadays you come into work, do fuckall, go home and fall in the armchair and the Mrs says "come and decorate this room;" and you say "No, I don't feel like it."'

The technology therefore has changed the relationship between the men and their work but has done so in different ways, the differences being dependent upon both the degree of exposure to the technology and the men's prior attitude to their work. Since, to a certain extent, the men have determined the amount of exposure that they have to the technology their overall reactions to it are an indication of their conception of the work. For some, and especially those for whom the technology was well established at the time of entry, the possibilities for more time off and the reduced physical labour have together improved the value of the contract that work tends to represent for them. For others, whose appreciation of the job is based more in intrinsic or expressive features, the reduction in hard labour is appreciated but is balanced to some extent by the

sense of loss of some or all of the prior conditions of employment or their related effects. From such men comes moderate approval often barely above the level of neutrality, either because of this sort of balance or, more frequently, because these men have to some extent avoided the new technology. When satisfaction in the job is based in expressive features the new technology, which has not removed all possibilities for interaction, is of much less relevance.

Attachment to the Job

Because such changes may have reduced the attraction of the work some men may be expected to have a reduced commitment to the job. The intensity of such workers' involvement in the industry may be reduced but the direction or type of involvement, dependent on the worker's prior orientation,[31] remains much the same. Whilst there remains an essential congruence between these prior orientations and the basic reward structure of the industry the attachment of the worker to his employment will remain strong.[32] Where there is an element of satisfaction[33] dependent upon job-related factors or on expressive interactions the technological change may result in reduction in attachment. However by avoiding the machines men oriented towards such rewards can still maintain them at much the same level. Such men would obviously be less likely to be tempted by changes outside the industry.

Whilst economic rewards remain high the attachment of men with a primarily instrumental/economistic orientation will also be high. However if they lack a concern with job-specific factors and share in the 'central tendency' of industrial workers to 'view work with detachment'[34] then such men may reveal a potentially weaker attachment when presented with possible alternative employment providing greater economic gain. Leaving aside the 'affect

component' of workers' involvement in the industry, which is dealt with in Chapter Eight, the strength and source of attachment is estimated on the basis of two questions: one offering a hypothetical job with a higher level of remuneration, the other concerning considerations given to leaving the employment. Further evidence on the nature of work attachment is provided by an analysis of attitudes towards absenteeism.

Some 21% (22) of the sample had thought at least once of leaving the docks and a further 17% (18) suggested that they might review their position in the light of the changes. For the rest a change of job seemed unlikely but not necessarily as a result of positive attraction to the docks. For some the docks obviously represented part of a way of life;

> 'I'll never leave now, I'm here for life.'

For others, including those who had given some thought to leaving, it was the perceived excellence of the conditions which kept them in the job and they admitted the possibility that they might be attracted 'outside' if conditions elsewhere change sufficiently. Some men actually answered this question by refering to conditions outside:

> 'If things ever change outside, then I might think again.'

and the nature of the 'bargain' they had made when taking a job in the docks:

> 'I know of a better job right now. I could get more money but it's travelling all the time, that's the trouble.'

The hypothetical job offer avoids such complications of course and may therefore be 'a little unrealistic'[35]

but if conditions generally were closer to those in the docks the stability of the work force would certainly weaken. Following the method so far it might be anticipated that the post 1970 group would display a greater propensity to leave for extra wages but against this must be put the obvious rejoinder that the older, longer service men would be in any event more stable in this regard,[36] having 'found their place' in the job.[37]

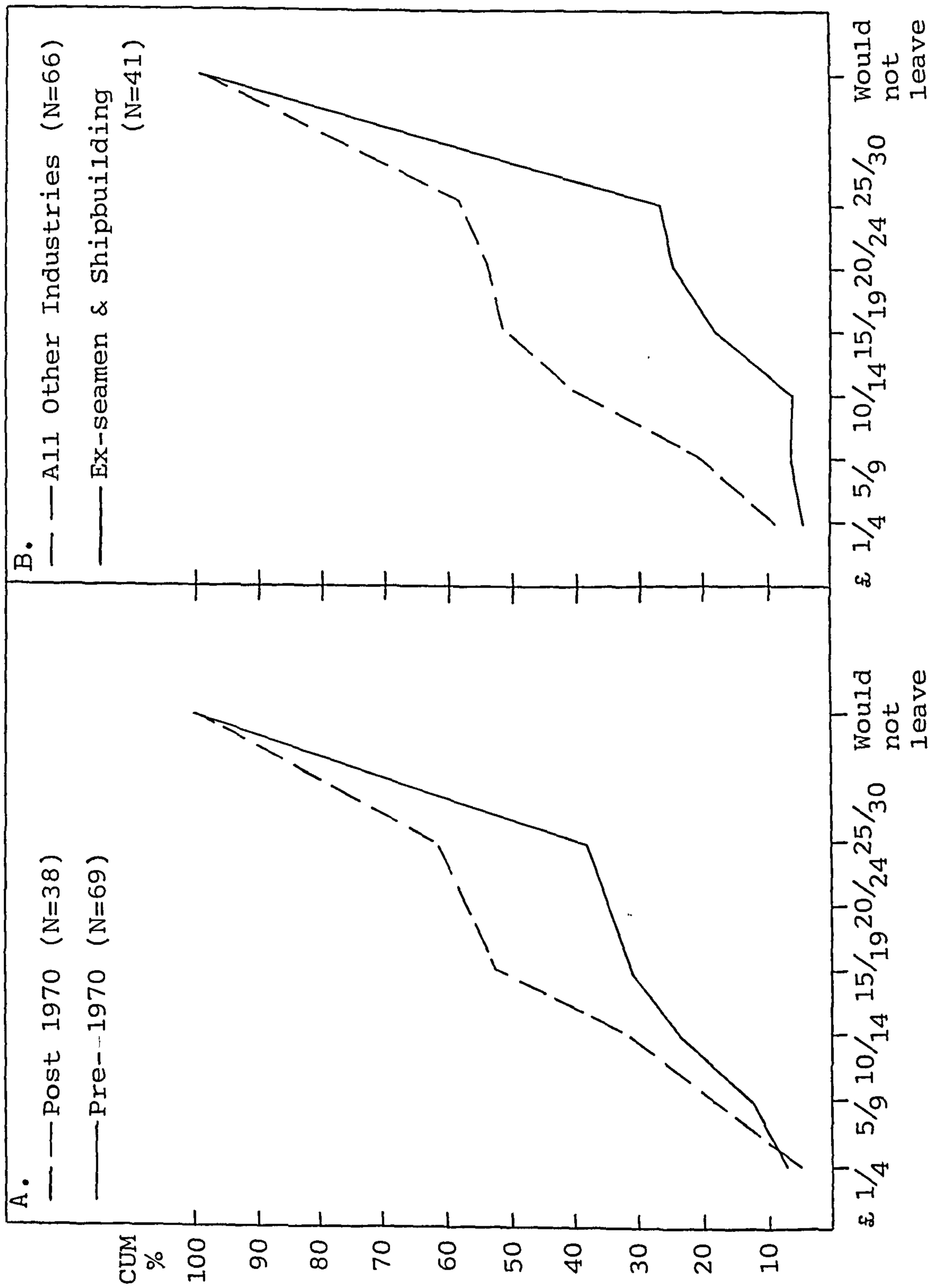
Most of the men in fact have made some investment in the industry simply because they are all likely to have spent some time enduring the uncertainty of the temporary register. Indeed the point can be made again that this process may act as a filter on those with potentially weak attachment. Bearing these comments in mind it can be noted that 50 (47%) men refused the hypothetical offer on any terms, although it was by no means clear that this response was entirely due to great attachment. Some of it at least seems to have been due to the perceived unreality of the hypothetical offer on the basis of the men's own knowledge of other employment opportunities.

Seven men (7%) demonstrate the appropriateness of this kind of measure however by their redefinition of the offer. They would be prepared to change their job, although mostly only if forced to do so, but would not be persuaded by any offer of increased wages. They wanted instead work of which they would approve in itself although for about the same economic reward. In the analysis of the responses to the hypothetical offer, and to simplify the presentation, these seven men are included with those unwilling to consider leaving for more money.[38]

In figure 6.1A the cumulative frequency distribution of additional wages required is given for the pre- and post 1970 groups. Neither exhibits a low level of attachment, as was expected, but the post 1970 group does demonstrate

Fig 6.1

ADDITIONAL WAGES REQUIRED TO LEAVE PRESENT EMPLOYMENT.



a slightly greater response to the economic scale.[39] In all 63% (24) of the post 1970 group were prepared to leave for some higher wage compared with only 39% (27) of the pre-1970 group ($p < .009$, $z=2.38$). In fact up to the level of about £15 extra the two groups have about the same proportion willing to leave. It is only for much more than this that a greater proportion of post 1970 recruits accept the offer.

The proportions willing to leave for some increased economic reward are the same in terms of age up to 50 years, whilst in terms of length of service the major difference is between the post 1970 group and the rest. The oldest (55+) and the longest serving (19+) are, of course, considerably less likely to consider the hypothetical offer. Such considerations are less important in figure 6.1B. Here the cumulative frequency distributions of two other possible sub-groups are given; the traditional industries of supply to the docks, sailors and shipworkers, compared with men from all other sources. The mean age and length of service of both these groups are not significantly different.[40]

The sailors and shipworkers display much higher attachment, only 29% (12) would consider leaving for any extra money, mostly only for considerably more. Amongst the men from other industrial backgrounds however some 58% (38) responded positively to the hypothetical offer, and generally at much lower levels of additional financial reward (diff. $p < .004$, $z=2.92$, 2t.). This finding clearly suggests that the sources of attachment differ in conjunction with original socialisation and entry intentions.[41]

As discussed in Chapter Four one measure of the strength of workers' satisfaction has been absenteeism;[42] the absence rate being seen as inversly related to the level of satisfaction, especially with non-economic rewards. A classic

example is provided by the case of the line workers studied by Walker & Guest:

> 'men with highly repetitive jobs, conveyor paced, and so forth, were far more likely to take time off from work than those whose job did not contain such job characteristics' 43

As was noted however this approach has been critisised by Ingham[44] who points out that it, and the suggestion that absence is also directly related to the level of impersonal controls in an organisation,[45] both ignore the importance of economic considerations. Instead Ingham argues that absence is to be seen in relation to the different types of worker involvement and as an indication of the effectiveness of different kinds of control structure.

In the bureaucratised organisation of the Docks, more so perhaps than in some other large scale industrial enterprises, the authoritative management must rely on impersonal regulations and remuneration - conditions not conducive to the workers identifying with the organisation. On the traditional view of the dock worker this lack of identification contributes to the development of antagonism and a solidaristic outlook. Even if some part of the workforce demonstrate an instrumental orientation their calculative involvement, combined with the alienative involvement of the more 'traditional' workers, will produce a high level of absence. However this approach ignores the effect, argued for in Chapter Four, of workers 'attachment' to their fellows.

In this regard the docks provides a good example. Despite the institution of the NDLB scheme most effective control in the work situation and over pay, at least in terms of the variation in potential earnings, was vested in the informal and personalised gang system. The change to time working and the placing of gangs at the employers'

discretion[46] has altered practices in the docks which now resemble large scale industry generally. The point is of course that workers, distanced from the bureaucratic control were, at least until the package deal, strongly involved in the gang structure and morally identified with these small groups.

Under the gang system there was and always had been high absenteeism but to a large extent this was the organised absenteeism of the gang. The practice known as the 'welt' had grown up in the days of casualism and was sustained by the wage structure.[47] It involved the extension of jobs by gangs who split shifts by sending half the men off for a period and then the other half when the first returned. In its organised form at least this practice is supposed to have been curtailed[48] since the Devlin reforms, there being no longer any economic basis for it and control of working having passed to more direct supervisory control. The practices of absence based in the payment system of casualism were further extended by the habit of the men to hold down other jobs to supplement their income - a tradition that still survives, according to Wilson,[49] in cab-driving, working in pubs or window cleaning and decorating.

The levels and pattern of absence were examined in Chapter Four and although the reduction in certificated sickness, from the high levels reached during the transition period, was probably due to the removal of a sick prone element the other categories of absence had generally increased since 1970. There was an especially marked increase in unauthorised absence after 1970. The 'size' relation examined in Chapter Four was interpreted as evidence for an opportunistic approach to absence, consistent with traditions in the docks. One major component of brief absence, even in the permanent force, was found to be due to opportunities associated with variation in the number of temporary employees.

The temporary workers probably learn their absence behaviour from the established permanent workers along with, and as part of, the acceptable levels of performance they absorb in their socialisation into the industry.[50] They learn however in different circumstances to those permanent workers, who, before 1970, learnt in the casually employed gangs. Although the effective control of the gang has been removed the moral commitment to it will probably remain an element in the attitudes of those workers with experience of the earlier system. Those who only have experience of the allocated work system on the other hand are less likely to develop such commitment, assuming that they do not import a commitment of this kind as part of their orientation to the work.

The different circumstances of the work process also provide differential opportunities for absence. In traditional working for example each member of a gang may expect one day off a week but, paradoxically perhaps, the more efficient new technology provides more extensive opportunities. Because each man works alone, by splitting his entire shift with his relief it is possible for him to stay at home for half the working week. This may in fact be part of the explanation for the recorded increase in unauthorised absence.

Now the frequency of absence is, on the model suggested by Ingham,[51] related to the economic needs of the workers but because of the freedom of movement of dock workers in the present instance the high levels of absence remain hidden and do not in the main incur an economic penalty. Furthermore there was some evidence that men continue to work at other self-employed jobs during time in which they would otherwise be at the docks. 'He's busy' or 'He's got a job on' being the sort of reply to enquiries about particular men's whereabouts, which it was revealed on further questioning refered to such extra-mural employment.

Such practices can only survive with the connivance of the men allocated to particular work and it was noted in Chapter Four that explanation of the absence findings required data on attitudes. To probe attitudes to absence in terms of commitment to the industry the men were asked about their views using a question originally devised by Ingham:[52] Respondents were asked to choose between:

a) 'A man should not stay away from work in any event, except when it is really necessary as in the case of genuine sickness.'

b) 'It's a free society and a man has the right to take a day off work once in a while if he wants to.'

Despite apparently widespread 'covering' for absentees the results of this questioning produced a majority support for statement (a), (69, 65%), and were entirely consistent with similar findings in other industrial settings.[53] As in these other studies however the stated reasons for the adoption of particular attitudes are revealing. It became clear for example that most men were referring solely or partly to possible effects on the gang. In other words it is clear that these statements in isolation do not adequately measure attitudes towards the employer and consequently the question must be subject to careful use.

In fact overall about half (52, 49%) of the men referred exclusively to their work mates. For these men absence was acceptable just so long as the rest of the gang were kept informed. Only a minority, (27, 25%) mentioned disruption to the employer and 14 of these mentioned both the employer and their mates. Amongst the rest however there was a suggestion that excess absenteeism, which some clearly throught to be occuring, might 'kill the goose':

'You can't go on taking time off, there's too much of it, it'll get out of hand.'

'Some of these new lads, they take it too far, they'll let you down.'

'How can you let your mates down? The union doesn't like it. How can they ask for more money when half the men are away down the pub or digging up the allotment?'

It is difficult to quantify exactly the various elements in these sorts of reply but they clearly include aspects of loyalty to mates. Altogether 62% (66) mentioned their work mates and this includes a number (15) who selected statement (b). However such loyalties do not appear as a straight reflection of solidarity within the workforce. There is evident concern that norms be adhered to and this strongly implies that disruption of norms is taking place. Further, insistence on such norms as well as mentions of problems caused for the employer emphasize that many men see their work situation as a bargain rather than as a conflict. Altogether 42 (39%) made replies that can be interpreted in this way.

Summary

The Southampton dockworkers demonstrate orientations to work that are characteristic of manual workers in general. Like their contemporaries employed in factories most dockers place their main emphasis on economic rewards. There is little evidence for the expectation of, or a need for, rewards associated with expressive relationships in work. Orientations are not uniform however. There is evidence of a minority who principally value non-economic rewards in work but these rewards are typically intrinsic to the job or its environment and rarely expressive.

In general expectations seem fairly limited and narrow

although there is some evidence to suggest that those who joined the modernised industry, and who place more emphasis on economic rewards, also more frequently include non-economic rewards in their requirements from work. However their somewhat broader expectations may reflect their better prior knowledge of the industry based on their greater number of prior associations. For example it is clear from Chapter Five that the presence of family and friends was an important element in the choice of dock-work for many men, but it is equally clear that the importance of these prior associations is not primarily a reflection of a concern with the expressive relationships that they represent. The pattern of requirements in work demonstrated by men who joined because of the presence of friends and family matches that of men who joined because of the level of economic rewards and this fact emphasises the instrumental value of such associations.

There is widespread general satisfaction with the job and its conditions. The features of the employment most valued being the friendly atmosphere and the variety of different tasks. Only a tiny minority dislike the changes in the industry despite the fact that these changes disrupt the original gang-based informality. The spreading new technology reduces the variety of tasks and is associated with different sources of satisfaction. Those men who have trained for the new machines, wishing to add to job interest and improve their security, tend to value freedom from supervision and variety more highly than their un-trained mates. Those few whose main interest is in intrinsic or expressive features have tended to ignore the new technology in so far as this is still possible and value most highly the friendly atmosphere that pervades the Docks.

Consequent on this apparent high level of satisfaction, attachment to the industry is strong. Just as the sources

of satisfaction vary so too does the strength of attachment. It is strongest amongst those with some attraction to a particular feature of the job itself or its setting. A good example being ex-seamen who see dockwork as a way of staying near ships and the sea. Attachment appears weakest amongst those men who have joined since decasualisation. This may reflect a more instrumental approach amongst these men whose principal sources of satisfaction are also more likely to be economic.

Assessment of the nature of the men's involvement in the employment based on their attitudes towards absence is not clear cut. The analysis of actual absence reported in Chapter Four strongly suggests that there is a basic accepted rate of absence which can nevertheless be disrupted by increased opportunities. The calculative element in this behaviour however has several facets as revealed in the analysis of attitudes. There are loyalties to the employer and to mates, and to employer and mates together, acting to restrain absenteeism amongst the majority of the men. Solidarity as it is reflected in such findings is not as widespread as might otherwise be thought and the motivation for it is called to question by those replies which emphasize the individual instrumental value of calculative behaviour.

Notes and References

1. In the offer of a hypothetical job men are possibly less likely to demand the 'unlikely guarantees' that have been noted when 'another job' type questions have been used in the past. See for example, G.L. Palmer et al., The Reluctant Job Changer, p.65.

2. 'Outside working' emerges as an important factor in a recent empirical study by R.M. Blackburn & M. Mann, The Working Class in the Labour Market, pp.10, 186-191. The authors emphasize the connection between outside working and autonomy (from supervision), p.74.

3. See for example D. Wedderburn & R. Crompton, Workers' Attitudes and Technology, p.97; G. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation & Worker Behaviour, p.106, and H. Beynon & R.M. Blackburn, Perceptions of Work, p.62. In London the proportion choosing pay as one of the three most important items in a job was a bit higher. See S. Hill, The Dockers, p.213, (table 4.7).

4. A result also found in London; Hill, op. cit., p.64.

5. See Chapter Five, fn.35.

6. This terminology is from Ingham who developed the scheme, op. cit., pp.88-9.

7. For example in the work of Ingham mentioned above. The present results fall midway between that found in small (non-economic/expressive) and large scale plants (economic/instrumental). It is only the group giving primacy to intrinsic aspects that is anomolous. The proportion mentioning intrinsic aspects (34, 32%) is as might be expected. See e.g., Wedderburn & Crompton, op. cit., p.98.

8. Despite low cell frequencies it seems generally acceptable to apply X^2 when there are quite a few cells and only one or two, as here, have expected frequencies of five or less. See, H.M. Blalock, Social Statistics, p.231.

9. J.H. Goldthorpe, 'Daniel on Orientations to Work'.

10. It 'strikes too closely to one's self esteem'; L. Zimpel, Man Against Work, p.53.

11. T. Caplow, The Sociology of Work, p.133.

12. Hill, op. cit., notes 'variety, autonomy, skills, responsibility and required and permitted interaction.'

These are given by R. Blauner, Alienation & Freedom, pp.16-34, and A.N. Turner & P.R. Lawrence, Industrial Jobs & the Worker, p.22.

13. On interaction opportunities, see, J. Tiffin & E.J. McCormick, Industrial Psychology.

14. R. Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction & Industrial Trends in Modern Society', in R. Bendix & S.N. Lipset, Class Status & Power, p.481. See also the work of the Harvard School, e.g., A. Zaleznik et al., The Motivation, Productivity & Satisfaction of Workers.

15. Conveyor belt loading for example places the men in a similar position to the assembly line workers studied by C.R. Walker & R.H. Guest, Man on the Assembly Line.

16. On the use of skills as a source of satisfaction, see, e.g. V. Vroom, 'Ego Involvement, Job Satisfaction, & Job Performance', and, Work & Motivation.

17. A much greater proportion mentioned freedom in London and here too the term covered a wide field of meaning Hill, op. cit., p.64.

18. See, for example, J. Shister & L.G. Reynolds, Job Horizons, pp.13-14 'I wouldn't last three days working in a shop with a foreman breathing down my neck.'

19. Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction & Industrial Trends...', op. cit., p.481.

20. R. Bendix, Work & Authority in Industry, p.46.

21. Devlin had upheld the docker's complaints about the conditions on the docks. See the report by J. Bugler, 'Devlin: How the Dockers React'.

22. In addition of course the actual activities of work are different - physical effort giving way much more to constant attention and mental concentration - which are, as D. Pecaut notes, a source of nervous tension. In A. Touraine et al., Workers Attitudes to Technical Change, p.43.

23. This is the sort of point made by those who emphasise the importance of technology: 'In other words, the kind of social relationship which would develop in the work situation would be shaped and limited by things like the kind of machinery in use, its layout and the sequencing of production tasks.' Wedderburn & Crompton, op. cit., p.16.

24. This is an unsurprising finding of course: 'Older workers generally manifest poor technical or occupational mobility. Their expectations actually render them unfavourable towards it by making them inclined to maintain a situation rather than to seek to improve it.' Pecaut, op. cit., p.13.

25. Wedderburn & Crompton, op. cit., p.149. Emphasis in the original.

26. In the pre-70 group, 21 give strong approval against 19 in the post-70 group; ($p < .02$, $z=2.05$).

27. O. Banks found a similar approach amongst steel workers; 51% thought things were better after technical change, 29% saw little real difference and 20% thought things were worse. See, The Attitudes of Steel Workers to Technical Change, p.119.

28. This expression refers to the loading of fruit (usually from South Africa) packed in cardboard boxes - a universally loathed job.

29. Banks, op. cit., makes a similar point, pp.5, 129.

30. N.C. Morse & R.S. Weiss, 'The Function & Meaning of Work & the Job'. S.R. Parker summarising those who take a holistic view of the work-leisure dichotomy, says they assert that 'killing time at work can become killing time in leisure'. The Future of Work & Leisure, p.99.

31. This is G. Ingham's point; 'Organisation Size, Orientation to Work & Industrial Behaviour'.

32. Ingham has defined attachment as 'the degree to which employees are prepared to remain in an organisation and the degree to which they perform the minimum role requirement of attendance.' 'Organisation Size...', op. cit. Here the concern is with men remaining in the job.

33. Palmer et al. argue that an index of occupational satisfaction is the most useful measure of attachment, op. cit., p.17.

34. H.L. Wilensky, 'Work as a Social Problem', in H.S. Becker, (ed), Social Problems, p.165.

35. Palmer's phrase; op. cit.

36. Work 'stability' in precisely this sense is suggested by Palmer et al. as the measure required to replace 'satisfaction' in explaining attachment.

37. R. Dubin et al., use this phrase, which is similar in intent to the idea of stability. R. Dubin (ed), Handbook of Work, Organisations & Society, p.281.

38. Of the men making this response four were ex-shipyard workers, two ex-seamen and one from manufacturing industry.

39. For a comparison of the, much weaker, attachment of industrial employees in a large plant, see Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., p.92.

40. Sailor and ship-workers $\bar{x}$ age = 45.1; $\bar{x}$ 1. of S=13.3; All other employees $\bar{x}$ age = 40.4; $\bar{x}$ 1. of S=12.4.

41. NB there is again no significant variation between docker's sons and others in this respect.

42. Used in this way be W.H. Scott et al., for example; Coal & Conflict.

43. C.R. Walker & R.H. Guest, Man on the Assembly Line, p.62.

44. Discussed in Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., pp.113-125.

45. As in the work of B.P. Indik, 'Organisational Size & Member Participation'.

46. This was an early requirement of the Authority in Southampton; D.F. Wilson, Dockers, p.214.

47. ibid, pp.215-6.

48. ibid.

49. ibid, pp.20-21.

50. Workers learn to 'fit in' to an industry, see B.A. Turner, Exploring the Industrial Subculture, p.47,ff.

51. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., p.125.

52. ibid, p.119.

53. Ingham, Size of Industrial Organisation..., op. cit., p.120, and see, C. O'Muircheartaigh, Absenteeism in Irish Industry, p.108, and M.E. Dewey, et al., 'Organisational Unit Size and Individual Attitudes'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Definition of the Employment Situation

This chapter seeks to examine the workers' definition of the employment situation at the organisational level. Through his membership of a trade union and his willingness or otherwise to participate in various sorts of 'industrial action' the individual worker seeks to influence the control of work relations in the Docks.

The interaction of the worker with his employer takes several forms; individual or collective, formal or informal, and each man will have an attitude to or preference for specific kinds of interaction. An industry may be characterised by a particular spectrum of such attitudes and the traditional picture of the docks is as an industry typified by collective action based on strong solidarity. Dockers are seen as having an 'oppositional' view of industrial relations and supervision which is complemented by a relative weakness in individual aspirations for promotion.

Images of Employment Relations

According to the advocates of the 'action approach' the worker's attitude towards his employment is conditioned to some extent by his 'image' of work. This in turn is a product of his social situation, his 'out-plant roles and patterns of association.'[1] His image of the employment relationship is an important component of his overall view of society, its structure and his position within that structure. The dockworker on the traditional view is more likely to see himself as a member of the lower class in a society that is dichotomised by power relations. The principal expression of those relations is displayed in the employment situation and characterised on the workers' part by a 'them and us' approach.

One way in which workers' images of employment relations have been examined in the past has been to make use of a

question which invites a comparison between the firm and a football team; asking if men and management are on opposite sides or not.[2] In its use this question has proved somewhat ambiguous[3] and when this became clear during the pilot questioning it was decided to allow the question to take more than two possible responses and to categorise these ex post facto.

In the first instance, ignoring the variations, the basic division of views does not differ substantially from that of the workers at Luton, or of dockers at London.[4] In fact about two thirds (64, 60%) of the men opted for some variant of the 'teamwork' description and the rest (43, 40%) for the view that men and management are on opposite sides. However these approbations disguise the fact that wider information about industrial imagery was contained in over a third of the responses, and of a sort which demonstrates the often paticularistic basis of the men's understanding.

Difficulty arises because the question, deliberately general, seeks to uncover the abstract 'ideological' basis of the worker's view of employment relations. In so doing it makes several assumptions, amongst which must be counted the assumption that the worker will have such a basis.[5] In fact the question does not make entirely clear whether or not the required evaluation should be based on conditions at one particular time or in a specific industry, and does not allow for the possible perception of both types of relationship simultaneously.[6] Altogether 41 (38%) men made non-standard replies of these sorts.

Of those who selected the 'teamwork' alternative, those that is who appear to conceive of industry in terms which accentuate cooperation rather than conflict,[7] 8 (7%) said that this situation was the result of recent changes. In fact it was clear that these men were referring to their

own direct experiences in the docks; in doing this they specifically mentioned a period of about five to ten years since which time the basic nature of employment relations had altered. A further 13 (12%) of those selecting this analogy made it clear that the cooperation was a condition of the situation in Southampton Docks but not necessarily of the rest of industry; both sorts of approach were said to exist in present day society.

> 'You've got it now in the Docks; teamwork. Once upon a time not so long ago it was impossible.'
>
> 'Five years ago I would have said "no there's no teamwork" but now we've caught up with what others have had for years'.
>
> 'You get both. We've got a good set-up now. In other places there's no agreement.'

These essentially descriptive replies were not the only non-standard answers however. Nearly half (20, 19%) of those who chose the 'conflict' alternative also included a moral aspect in their judgement. All of these men, and most of the rest in this category, differed from the others in being more definite in their replies. What these twenty men asserted was that industry was dominated by conflict but that it should not be so; the conflict situation was not the essential or necessary nature of employment relations but the usual and present state of affairs. They seemed to be saying that teamwork was not the temporary 'making do' with a basically antagonistic situation it was rather that conflicts tended to disrupt what would be a basically harmonious situation and hence frequently dominated the pattern of events.

> 'There's no need for the disruption but it's there all the same most of the time.'
>
> 'I don't think it's impossible but I'll have to say that because that's the way things are usually.'

Only 23 (21%) unequivocally agreed with the 'conflict' alternative. In other words, if those who included a judgemental aspect are taken together with those choosing the 'teamwork' option then over three-quarters of the men see an underlying cooperative basis in employment relations. This situation is obviously relevant to the question of the nature and extent of solidarity raised at the end of the last chapter.

The Nature and Extent of Solidarity

The extensive solidarity of dockworkers is part of the legend of the industry. The extent of this solidarity and its consequences have been recognised by all who have examined the docks and its existence is a commonly known 'fact' amongst most sections of the working community as well as the popular press.[8] Those entering the industry, especially perhaps those with considerable prior contact through, for example, the medium of kinship, will encounter this solidarity as a normative system with a personal moral base.[9]

However, although considerable prior contact with the industry was demonstrated in Chapter Five, it was also shown that much of this contact seemed to be principally related to the entry of an individual into the industry rather than to subsequent attitudes and behaviour. Docker's sons are more likely to have entered the industry because of the family connection and tend to have a more positive attitude to the job but they are also just as, if not more likely, to give additional emphasis to economic factors. In the analysis of perceptions of the industry and its functioning further differences between docker's sons and others might be expected even if only differences of degree. In fact, in perceptions of employment relations as in other aspects of nature and functions at the organisational level and beyond, there are no significant variations between docker's

sons and others. Furthermore systematic variations associated with other possible sub-groups, based on length of service or prior industrial socialisation, are likewise not reflected in the distribution of replies to questions concerning industrial imagery, trades union's functions or supervision.

There are obvious minor exceptions to this finding, for example, those men who identified a harmonistic approach to employment relations with recent changes were men who had joined the industry before 1970. In general however perceptions of and reactions to the structure of the industry were similar within each of the possible sub-groups.

The potential for solidarity is demonstrated by the uniformity of such reactions despite an apparent trend towards economism and despite internal forces of division and competition. Dockwork in fact was characterised during the casual era by the divisive tendencies inherent in the piece-work system and yet was equally characterised by strong solidarity.[10] This paradox is matched by the contradiction of strong solidarity, which implies an oppositional image of employment relations, existing in a force where the majority apparently hold a harmonistic view.

In fact solidarity is multi-dimensional. In Chapter One it was noted that 'inconsistencies' of this sort were probably related to the structure of the immediate situation. Solidarity as a reaction to particular situations is not therefore necessarily contradicted by a belief in a teamwork effort with management. The attitudes generated in the context of a power struggle may even run counter to the interests of the individual as that individual may perceive those interests in another situation.

'The discussion of power highlights the necessity

of considering the participants perception of the situation in which they find themselves. Whether a relationship is characterised by coercion, normative legitimacy or exchange depends on how the participants view it. The same relationship may of course be viewed in different ways by the two parties. It can also be viewed in different ways at different times by the same people: the evidence from Daniel and Mann is that workers have a dualistic social consciousness of teamwork and conflict images, and that the two images reflect the workers' actual experience of both phenomena in the same relationship.' 11

Since 1970 divisions within the workforce have been considerably reduced. Rota governed work sharing and continued standardisation of cargoes and handling techniques have produced the conditions in which an increase in solidarity might be possible. If the above suggestions have validity however there is no reason to suppose that these changes will be associated with an increase in solidarity, they may even be associated with a decrease; they are certainly compatible with one.

A reflection of the constant tendency for divisive forces to take hold in the industry is visible in the analysis of differential payment preferences. At first operation of container handling equipment was associated with additional earnings potential. The voluntary shifts at the Container Port are open to non-trained personnel but, as was established in Chapter Six, trained men work at the Container Port more often and overtime opportunities are therefore greater. Thus, within limits, extra earnings could be made and differential interest in these has been reported in previous chapters. When therefore the workforce is categorised in terms of skills the skilled group might be expected to have a concentration of those with a more economistic approach. It is the question of the pay differentials based on such skills that is relevant to the examination of the nature and extent of solidarity.

Attitudes to differential pay for skills are given in table 7.1 categorised by principal skill divisions. The minor, one day training skills, lashing and winch operating, have been included in the unskilled category[12] and those whose only skill is fork truck driving are shown separately. This separation demonstrates that it would be reasonable to include fork truck drivers in a general category of 'skilled' since, as table 7.1 shows, they tend to react in much the same way as the other skilled men.

There is a strong relation between the possession of a skill and a belief that the skill should be differentially rewarded. Nearly three quarters (49, 70%) of all those with a skill believe that they should receive extra pay and exactly the same proportion (70%, 26) of the unskilled believe that they should not, (X^2=16.6, p< .001, 2df.). Whilst economic self-interest governs opinion in this respect however it only accounts for about two-thirds of the response. Nearly a third of the men (31, 29%) respond in a 'contradictory' manner; either by agreeing that skill should be rewarded whilst being unskilled or refuting the differential reward of skill whilst being skilled. Such a distribution demonstrates the complexity of reactions to such issues and underlines the need to include the men's perceptions in accounts of their actions. In fact there is a small majority in favour of additional pay for skill even though this is against union negotiated policy.

The history of industrial relations in the docks has in large measure been the history of the various attempts to regulate and restrict the differential rewards produced by the variable nature and availability of work under the casual system. The union has played an important part in this process and has had to regulate the behaviour of its members as much as the activities of the employers as a

Table 7.1

ATTITUDES TO ADDITIONAL PAYMENT FOR SKILLS- ATTAINMENT BY SKILL LEVEL.

Attitude to extra pay for skills	Skill Level: No skills*		At least one major		Forks only		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No extra pay for skills	26	70	17	29	3	25	46	43
Extra pay for skills	11	30	40	69	9	75	60	56
Don't know	–	–	1	2	–	–	1	1
Total	37	100	58	100	12	100	107	100

* Includes minor skills

result of the responses of the men to these rewards. The 'preference' men, the 'blue-eyed boys' and the specialisms which the casual era fostered can be set against the under-employment and hardship suffered by those in less fortunate positions. The overall trend however has been towards a more equitable distribution and at each stage, and in most industrial actions, the workforce has demonstrated its solidarity.

Just as solidarity as a reaction to management in particular situations is not incompatible with a belief in teamwork in others, so solidarity in the demand for the equalisation of rewards, in part if not in total, is not necessarily incompatible with the pursuit of preferential individual rewards. Even so these different aspects of solidarity require explanation. Hill[13] follows Mann[14] in ascribing collective solidarity in action to a reflection of occupational identity. This approach accentuates the importance of socialisation, and solidarity thus becomes part of what it means to be a docker.[15] When a person labels himself a docker therefore his self concept probably includes notions of loyalty as an appropriate part of the meaning of this identity in addition to the normal level of such feelings which follow, for example;

> 'When a person has similar social characteristics, similar status, similar goals, etc.; with other organisation members, he is likely to feel at home, to feel that he belongs - that is to have a sense of solidarity with the organisation.' 16

In their explanation of dock workers' solidarity in the face of individual competition the authors of the Manchester study proposed the idea of psychological compensation for the violence of the competition for work.[17] Wilson pointed to the 'elitist regard which dockers have for themselves' and attributed this to a defense against the 'stigma' which is attached to dock work by outsiders.[18]

Wilson also mentions the physical isolation of the docks (specifically in London) as contributing to the overall isolation and the feelings that this may produce. It is this aspect of dock work that contributed to its inclusion in the 'isolated mass' typology promulgated by Kerr and Siegel.[19] The related component in that typology - the dependent variable - being the relatively high strike record of the groups that they include.

There are problems with such an approach however. A recent critique of the Kerr-Siegel hypothesis concludes that:

> '"industrial" characteristics (economic environment) might thus be expected to explain inter-industry differences in strike rates more satisfactorily.' 20

The point being that although solidarity may be a necessary condition for strikes[21] it is unlikely to be sufficient to account for a high level of strike activity. Indeed there are several methodological problems involved in the assessment of 'strike-proneness' and this same critique suggests that the Kerr-Siegel work is also less than satisfactory in this respect.[22]

Solidarity and Industrial Relations

Devlin certainly saw the principal reasons for the poor industrial relations record of the docks as its lack of adequate disputes machinery and the uncertainties associated with the structure of the industry under casualism. Although the strike record of the industry on most counts demonstrates a high level of activity, together with an upward trend, it can be argued effectively that the only distortion in the pattern of disputes within the industry occured during the period of major reforms. At all other times the level of activity, with respect to other industries, has remained fairly stable.[23]

It is in the nature of an identity-based solidarity that it overides individual gains and gang-based work systems by providing for the support of formal and institutional methods of regulation. Thus wide agreement to work-sharing and pay equalisation arrangements can co-exist with individual skill-related payments and fiercely competitive awareness of overtime opportunities. 'There is never,' as one PLO remarked, 'much absence on Friday afternoon' (weekend work allocation period).

The role of gangs in terms of industrial relations is also equivocal. Since decasualisation changes in the organisational structure have resulted in a reduction in the role of the gangs. The bureaucratic regulation of work and the new technology both tend to limit their activities. However, apart from day-to-day piecework bargaining, the grievance settlement potential of the gangs has never been a major feature. Indeed in Southampton, aided perhaps by the existence of a single employer for most of the men, disputes could be dealt with by the shop-steward system introduced at the end of the War in 1945. The provision of this institutional 'layer' parallels the distinction between gang and workforce but the shop steward is not an intermediary between the gang as a unit and management or union. The gang appears in general to take no special place in industrial action. It may act as the context within which a grievance is initiated or as a discussion group concerned with an individual's complaint but not as a bargaining unit.

Hill[24] has taken Clegg[25] to task for analysing workplace industrial relations in terms of work groups. Clegg has postulated that gangs form coalitions, whilst dockworkers not in gangs can be legitimately included as group members because they interact off the job. Hill concludes that these suggestions stretch the concept of

work group industrial relations too far 'since they describe activities which make more sense in terms of a human collectivity.'[26] Probably because of the much longer experience of the shop-steward system in Southampton, the role of the gangs in this respect is even less than that which Hill suggests is the case in London. It is also the case, and this point will be expanded in the following chapter, that interaction off the job, in or out of the gang structure, is considerably less than that which is assumed in arguments of the type propounded by Clegg.

There are still further levels at which identity-based solidarity operates; first by extension to other dock workers and then to other industrial groups. The end of this continuum could be considered to represent the development of a 'class awareness'; a term refering to the recognition and acceptance of similar attitudes and situations amongst other industrial workers but not implying that these attitudes signify a particular class affiliation or the recognition of other classes. Such recognition might more properly be described as 'class consciousness'.[27]

In the debate concerning the nature and generation of attitudes in the traditional industries Westergaard has pointed out that such an extension is unlikely if the basis of solidarity is narrowly confined, as indeed the Kerr-Siegel hypothesis suggests:

> 'In sociological jargon, the "particularistic" ties of neighbourhood, kin, and regional culture provide no adequate basis for the maintenance of the "universalistic" loyalties involved in class political action.' 28

In his criticism of the theory that working class unity is based on such ties, Westergaard tacitly assumes the

validity of the Kerr-Siegel proposition. His concern is not to criticise Kerr and Siegel's work but the idea that the universalism of the working class depends upon such situations and may therefore decline with them. In fact the Kerr-Siegel hypothesis itself is probably untenable. Dock workers have demonstrated their solidarity with other groups in the past[29] but although their solidarity is not in fact parochial but universal in scope it is, in common with other industrial groups, erratic[30] in application. It is not the instructional base of solidarity, where the value of experience in one sphere is transfered into another, which produces this erratic action, but the situational factors that govern its application. What therefore are the factors considered to be of sufficient importance by the labour force to initiate support for extreme industrial action?

The men were asked at the pilot stage about their willingness to strike, but the ambiguity in the question led to confusion. The question asked if men would support a strike and did not make it clear that it was the reason for this support or lack of it that was required. The reformulated question therefore asked about the issues which might lead the men to vote in favour of a strike. The confusion points up yet again the strength of the solidarity in its normative aspect since although a considerable number of men approve in principle striking over a wide range of issues it was made clear by most that should they disapprove in a particular case they would nevertheless accept the action once the decision had been taken. The possibility of not striking in such circumstances seemed inconceivable.

Table 7.2 gives the distribution of responses to the question concerning strike issues. In fact less than a quarter of the men were prepared in advance to give their support to all types of issue and only a small number (3,

Table 7.2

STRIKE ISSUES GIVEN INITIAL SUPPORT.

Type of Issue Mentioned	N	%
All conditions and wages	25	23
Most general conditions excluding wages	9	8
Redundancy and manning levels	14	13
Unfair treatment of individuals	13	12
Dependent on circumstances	11	10
Personal benefit or wages only	12	11
Rejection of any reason	23	22
Total	107	100

3%) specifically mentioned issues associated with other industrial workers. A further 10% were unable or unwilling to give any specific example but suggested that they would probably give their support to any cause which seemed suitable when all things had been considered. This latter proportion is shown in table 7.2 between two broad groups. In the larger of these a little over half the sample (61, 57%) suggested support for the full range of possible issues or mentioned initially some issue involving employment or personnel questions. Taken together these topics might be said to reflect a broadly 'solidary' approach.

The analysis of strikes in the literature, since it is usually post factum, differs in its classification of such actions and is more detailed. Similar categories are employed however.[31] The wide grouping used here includes issues that are related to what Knowles has called 'frictional' and 'solidarity' causes, and mostly the former.[32] Whatever the cause however the solidarity of the workforce emerges in action; these categories may not reflect a propensity for certain types of action but they do at least show a readiness to take action over certain types of issue. The other group in table 7.2, a third of the sample, demonstrated more restricted support and includes those men who explicitly cast their support in terms of a calculation of personal benefit or insisted that they could see no need for strikes at all. They were not the only men to express opposition to industrial action of this sort however.

The first part of the question refered to attitudes to strikes in more general terms and it is clear that industrial action is not seen as lightly as certain reports might suggest.[33] It might have been relatively easy to get dock workers to strike but this cannot be taken to imply that the men necessarily approve of strikes. Replying to this question 29% (31) explicitly rejected

strikes and a further 31% (33) insisted that strikes were only appropriate as the very last resort. Of the remaining 42 men only 19 (18%) were prepared to give open positive support to strike action.

The overwhelming impression to be gained from the replies to these questions therefore is that the major support for strikes is ultimately conditional.[34] Even those who explicitly reject the notion admit that such action may sometimes be necessary whilst those who give approval in principal hedge that approval with various qualifications. The normative sanction which makes striking the duty of any docker once such action has been agreed is only effective at the level of action. It therefore follows that as conditions in the industry change the record of industrial action increasingly reflects the predispositions of men who on this evidence, are not generally in favour of such action. Other forms of action may be less 'painful', in an economic sense, and solidarity continues to be expressed in actions such as the rule concerning the union membership of lorry drivers entering the docks.[35]

The reactions of the men to these questions demonstrate that their own involvement in action is essentially defensive, but they acknowledge its dynamic, that is to says its situationally defined aspects:

> 'They (strikes) can't be defended now. In the old days yes, you needed them, but we've got the proper machinery now and they're no longer necessary. You can't give them up all together but you shouldn't really need them.'
>
> 'It depends, if it's necessary I'll support it but you never gain from strikes.'

The ambiguity in attitudes to industrial action, at least of the extreme variety, stems from the fact that individuals

are directly involved in such action and are often unpredictable for just this reason. The essentially defensive view of industrial action revealed in such replies has also been seen as a characteristic of workers' views of their unions' principal function[36] and membership of these organisations does not necessarily involve active participation.

Attitudes to Trades Unions

The relationship between the worker and his union was given special attention in the 'Affluent Worker' study in which dock-workers were indicated as having a 'traditional' involvement with the aims of unionism. On this view unionism;

> 'has often represented more to workers than simply a means of economic betterment; it has been seen also as a form of collective action in which solidarity was an end as well as a means and as a socio-political movement aiming at radical changes in industrial institutions and in the structure of society generally.' 37

Part of the argument that the authors advance to claim a 'distinctive' form of unionism amongst the 'affluent workers' that they studied concerns the degree of involvement of union members. In a misleading reference to the 'Dock Worker' study[38] these authors suggest that traditional industries are characterised by 'relatively high attendance' at branch meetings. In fact the 'Dock Worker' study concluded:

> 'Thus, it appears that the proportion of inactive members in the Manchester Dock workers' branches is somewhat higher than in the trade union movement generally.' 39

Furthermore Goldthorpe et al. argue that the main difference between 'affluent' workers and those of 'a more traditional

kind' must be looked for;

> 'not so much in the actual degree of participation in union affairs, but rather in the form which this takes and still more perhaps in the meaning which union activity appears to have for the majority of the men in question.' 40

Whilst 'traditional' workers are supposed to subscribe to unionism of the kind characterised above, the unionism of the 'affluent' worker is described as 'instrumental collectivism'.[41] In fact the characteristics of the latter form, its instrumentality and self-interested emphasis, are precisely those characteristics identified by the Liverpool study amongst Manchester Dock-workers:

> 'That dock-workers neither exercise their votes, participate in union administration nor attend branch meetings does not necessarily imply that they do not wish to belong to a union, but rather that they regard union activities as a service they pay for, which they tend to take for granted.' 42

Some further examination thus seems indicated. Membership is unlikely to yield much useful information about members' attitudes and involvement. The complete membership of the 'closed shop'[43] conceals variation within the membership; a point well made by Kornhauser:

> 'When unions are completely institutionalised, there should be no association between union membership and attitudes formed prior to unionisation, for union membership is no longer confined to individuals whose favourable orientations lead them to unions; it now includes many who are indifferent and some who are hostile.' 44

Attendance may be a different matter but most studies seem to have found similarly low levels and the present work is no exception; only 4% (4) said that they attend branch meetings regularly.[45] The point has been made however

that the meaning of unionism, and its relative importance which is partly conditional on this, is not necessarily directly related to such criteria as formal attendance. Members may fully support the aims of the union without being interested in the minutia of its routine functioning. In fact a low level of attendance to routine meetings might mean that the union is regarded as irrelevant or that its aims and those of the non-attending members exactly coincide.

Asking about the effectiveness of the union may also produce confusing results for similar reasons. Impatience, the exigencies of economistic bargaining and personalities may all contribute to such an assessment. In Southampton for example in talk about these affairs respondents nearly always refered to the shop stewards and usually in personal terms. The shop stewards are in any event more 'visible' than any other representative of the union but the considerable history of the shop steward system in Southampton has almost certainly increased this visibility.

The concern here however is not with the effectiveness of the union or its operation but with the attitudes of the men towards it since whatever the men's attitudes the union exists as a separate, and to a certain extent, an independent organisation which will, as time passes, develop and pursue goals of its own.[46] These may or may not coincide with those of the men but to the extent that the union is founded upon and symbolises the solidarity of the men it can impose its requirements on them. Such imposition will be more effective on individuals however. In cases where the discrepancy between the union's requirements and those of the men becomes too great the men may sanction some alternative structure. Fox illustrates this with an example from the recent history of industrial relations in London:

> 'When the union, the Dock Labour Board, or the employer were behaving in ways which the dockers rejected, the dockers withdrew legitimacy and transfered it to (Jack) Dash. He served to focus, to symbolise, and to express a mood or a purpose. When the mood had passed or the purpose was served, he fell back into obscurity.' 47

It is rather at the more general level of the workers' view of the ideological content of the unions' approach that the interest lies, given that considerations of economic ends will usually be prominent. The set of needs of the union which derives, at least originally, from those of its members, requires that its ideology includes a 'universal appeal to the solidarity of all workers'[48] as well as the postulation of whatever rights may be necessary to promote the interests of the particular group it represents. This contradictory ideology[49] notwithstanding, it is the former appeal which has been put forward as having special significance for certain workers, including dock workers. How such groups may come to be selected is a central point in the debate that features in the works thus far discussed.

Fox has given a convenient terminology[50] which may clarify the situation, although in his work there is no suggestion of any special selection pressure. Briefly, using the language of orientation, Fox suggests that workers bring both 'substantive' and 'procedural' orientations to their work. The substantive orientations refer to such characteristics as money, security etc., whilst the procedural orientations refer to the nature of the decision-making procedures. An individual's choice of the form and extent of his possible participation in these procedures may be instrumental, a means to an end, or terminal, an end in itself. In Fox's treatment this yields four types of approach to the decision-making process:

i) An instrumental preference for non-participation; this may for example be due to a concern that demands for participation would harm the interests of the group;

ii) A terminal preference for non-participation; the classic example of paternalism;

iii) An instrumental preference for participation; which may be required to fulfil substantive aspirations for self, group or class;

iv) A terminal preference for participation; when there is an ideological challenge to management and internalised values linking participation with notions of self-respect and human dignity for self, group or class.

Just as a worker may wish to improve his money or security and may be said to have substantive aspirations, so may he wish to play some part in the decision-making process and may be said therefore to have procedural aspirations. In the typification of the 'traditional' worker it is clear that dockers should display considerable procedural aspirations with a terminal preference for participation (type iv).

What therefore are the men's attitudes to the institutionalised embodiment of these aspirations in union form? There are two main aspects to these aspirations; the possibility of participation at the organisational level and the involvement of the 'socio-political movement' at national level. At the organisation level the men were asked whether the union should be concerned solely with obtaining higher pay and better conditions or if it should also try to obtain for the workers a say in management.[51] This question divided the workforce roughly in half; 45% (48) thought that the union should restrict itself to pay and conditions and 50% (53) agreed that the union should seek to obtain some say in management. These proportions are very similar to those found at Luton[52] although in London more than half as many again agreed that the union

should 'get their members a say in management'.[53] Of course the men already <u>have</u> a considerable amount of say in the way their work has been arranged and many respondents made this clear.[54] It is the practicality of control however rather than the aspect of self-respect that is emphasized by most men. This may be in terms of the unsuitability of the men to the task of management due to lack of ability or knowledge, or in terms of the inefficiency of management which might be improved by the inclusion of men who have direct experience of the work:

> 'We've got enough now with the committees, we don't need more. Let 'em get on with it.'
>
> 'You've got to have proper representation, consultation, but you need men to run it, men with the education, not dockies.'
>
> 'The trouble with half these blokes is they've never been down digging out bananas. Yes you need a man there so they can stop some of the daft ideas.'
>
> 'Sometimes you wonder if they know what they're doing - running down on the conventional cargo. Look at that New Docks - it's empty. That can't be right.'

Replies of the final sort seem to have been more common in London[55] and this may well be related to the severe decline of London Docks. In Southampton which is, at least potentially, a successful Port, comments of this sort were comparatively rare and those supporting a greater say in management made it clear that it was to assist the traditional role of management in an advisory manner. Only three men made comments concerning the right of men to participate in the control of their own affairs. One said;

> 'It's not enough - joint consultation - it's a con. We've got a right to have a say - it's our livelihood.'

The extension of such ideas to the societal level was the concern of the second question in this section of the interview which asked about the power of the trades unions within the country. Opinion was again evenly divided by this question and something like a uniform national response rate seems indicated if comparison is made with other reported results.[56] Fifty men (47%) thought that the unions have too much power whilst 56 (52%) thought that they did not. In addition the men were asked if a union should consider the economic position when pressing for a wage increase or concentrate on the benefit of its members. Nearly two thirds (69, 65%) thought that the economic position should be taken into account and only a little over a quarter (27, 27%) thought that the union should concentrate solely on its members interests. Eight men (8%) attempted a further sort of answer to this question which involved the idea that unions should engage in an assessment of the economic position but could not always afford to take it into account. In fact the basic attitude of these respondents, their image of the union's function, recognises an element of power in the situation. This element is clearly the dominant feature of the image held by those who made a more definite response in favour of members interest;

> 'The members every time. You can't afford to do it any other way or you lose out in the end.'

The union and the national system of union organisation is not generally seen therefore as an alternative structure aiming at 'radical changes', but as the defensive agency of the worker. A defensive approach may have a potential for such change but does not necessarily indicate a desire forpositive movement towards an alternative system in the way that the comment about joint consultation seems to. Amongst those who indicate a preference for participation therefore most seem to desire an approach which does not

constitute 'an ideological challenge to management', although a few do. The point to be made however concerns not those one or two who profess the so-called 'traditional' view of unionism but the fact that as a whole the work force tends to divide on these various points in a manner consonant with that found amongst other industrial groups. At the national level the union, to the extent that it may impose controls on its members, may then come to be criticised precisely because it fails to adequately pursue the sectional interests of its members more or less forcefully. There is no evidence from the present study to suggest that dock workers are any less ready to criticise their union in this regard.

The unions' links with the Labour Party form the other part of the 'Socio-political movement' which is supposedly part of the view of unionism held by traditional workers. In the early 1950's the study by the University of Liverpool found that only 17% of its sample disagreed with the Labour Party-union alliance but in later studies other industrial groups have proved to be more or less evenly divided on this question. In 1970 London dockers gave replies which agreed with these later findings.[57] In Southampton replies conform to this pattern and 59% (63) opposed the alliance.[58]

The sort of discussion initiated by these questions demonstrates that the normal attitudes of the men in these respects do not differ greatly in their distribution or form from those in the rest of the industrial workforce. The nature of the replies, their structure and language, further point up the different status of these various approaches in analytical terms. Intrusion of talk about shop stewards, who appear in the role of advocates of policy as well as representatives of labour interests, into discussion of union affairs is one example. The full time officers of the union, and the union itself, appear in comparison as somewhat remote, and although this view

was not explicitly articulated it seems a valid inference from the responses. At the still higher, national level attitudes tend to be cut loose from backgrounds and become 'opinions' in the sense that they do not seem to imply predispositions to act in the way that attitudes may.[59] At the societal level discussion is frequently categorised in terms taken from the realm of normal public (media) debate and may even appear contradictory to attitudes or behaviour in situations of more immediate experience.[60] This is a well remarked tendency however and the Southampton dock-worker seems to be no exception to the rule. Similar patterns of response might be expected from the men to the parallel formal system within the organisation, that of the operations and management.

Attitudes to Management and Supervision

In fact talk of management did tend to stimulate discussion about management affairs and problems rather than any direct criticism. Business, the prospects of the industry, the development of technology and the relative success of the Port all featured in the responses to general questions about decasualisation, work organisation and the employer. There was for example nearly universal approval of decasualisation, although a number of men (9, 8%) did mention the continued existence of the temporary register and condemn it as a continuation of the casual system. The Devlin reforms were principally refered to however in terms of the package deal (Phase II) and this was clearly the important element in the arrangements for most men. Those few (11, 10%) who expressed some reservation about the reforms did so entirely in economic terms; suggesting that the package deal should have paid more, given the increases in productivity associated with the new technology.

The work allocation system that emerged from the

reforms was also viewed favourably, most (92, 86%) thought it very fair, the rest describing it as reasonable. The present working arrangements therefore were seen generally as reasonable and equitable. However as remarked in the previous chapter, for some men the changes had resulted in a less satisfying situation and nostalgic reminiscence formed the only qualification to the assessment made by such men.

Management however was talked about in slightly less favourable terms. Most men insisted that the basic employment relationship was satisfactory:

'We've got no problem with the employer here.'

Criticism, when it was made, centred on two main features; commercial considerations and remoteness. Only 3 (3%) men made unfavourable replies directed specifically against the employer (BTDB) and these were in terms of the problems associated with a nationalised industry. Despite joint regulation some men (19, 18%) expressed reservations about the management's ability to grasp the situation on the ground. However their reservations were not founded on any condemnation of the organisation but in terms of individual incompetence. A similar basis was evident in the comments of the other critical proportion (23, 21%) who questioned various commercial aspects of the Docks. Only 7% (7) based their criticism of operations or commercial problems on the companies in terms which were founded on an explicit recognition of the fundamental commercial nature of their enterprise.

Where the management system and the workforce come into closest contact the men might be expected to produce a more thoroughgoing or detailed criticism. Such contact of course usually arises at the point of supervision.

The nature of supervision within the docks has been undergoing change alongside the development of technology. The autonomy of the gang had been of considerable importance in the structure of the work in the casual era; organised by the ganger and with the incentive of piecework the gang could operate independently of close supervision. Furthermore the Devlin reforms removed any personnel functions from the supervisory level when they regularised employment so that the foreman's role tended to reduce to work scheduling activity. At the Container Port, after work allocation procedures are completed, detailed work supervision is usually a clerical function.

Contact between foremen and men therefore is generally limited so that attitudes towards foremen might be expected to be relatively relaxed in the present situation.[61] The men were asked how well they got on with the foremen and most agreed that they got on very well (87, 79%) or quite well (17, 16%). Only 3 (3%) thought that relations were normally bad or very bad, although 19 (18%) men qualified their reaction by saying that relations were sometimes spoiled by the odd aggressive individual. Generally however attitudes to the foremen were favourable.

The reasons for this apparent satisfaction were also sought and the principal reason that emerged clearly derives from the limited role and contact remarked above. The responses that can be grouped together in this respect (64, 60%) are all based on the fact that contact is minimal and maintained that way by the straightforward carrying out of assigned duties:

> 'We get on fine, there's never any trouble as long as you do your job'.
>
> 'We do our work and he does his. There's no problem'.

The other major group of responses (34, 32%) is similar

but emphasizes an understanding of the organisational role of the foremen, in such a way as to exonerate the individual from responsibility for actions directed against the men:

> 'Well they're alright, they're only doing their job'.

The majority response of course emphasises the possibility of problems arising from changes in work practices or organisational structure in a way which the secondary group does not. For the smaller group the foreman is clearly seen as a victim of the role structure to which both are tied. The strongest tendency to affect links with foremen came from a final group of 9 (8%) men who identified the foremen directly in personal terms:

> 'Well, I get on fine with them. I joined with most of these blokes, we're all the same age.'

Thus there is a fairly wide division of understanding of the relationship with foremen, which is not surprising given the ambiguous position that the latter occupy. A majority of the men make it clear however that the friendly atmosphere that is usually encountered is ultimately conditional upon the limited nature of the supervisory role.

Another way of examining the men's perception of this layer of organisational structure is to ask about attitudes to, and beliefs about, promotion and the promotion system. The men's actual desire for promotion is examined in the following chapters, here the concern is with their appraisal of the promotion system as an aspect of the organisation structure.

The men were asked to rate the chances of promotion in the Docks and most (93, 87%) thought them good (22%) or very good (65%). A further nine (8%) thought the

chances were about average, only 3 (3%) thought them poor (2%) or very poor (1%). What reasons did the men have for these beliefs? The explanations that they gave appear in table 7.3. Only one category in this table gives responses that expressed doubts about the quality of the selection process and which could be fairly described therefore as reflecting an antagonistic or suspicious attitude towards management. The typical response in this minority category is that promotion only comes 'if your face fits.' Given the long history of favouritism during the casual era it is interesting that this should be such a minority response, although the situation in Southampton may not have been as severe as elsewhere due to the presence of the single large employer.

Most of the men (95, 89%) simply saw the system as being basically fair, many (72, 67%) not wishing to further qualify this response. Others immediately made clear various limitations to advancement through the system. A small number (7, 7%) mentioned the need for candidates to possess the necessary ability. About twice as many (16, 15%) pointed to the limited nature of possible promotions; either the fact that few additional foremen were required (12%) or that the system itself only operated up to the supervisory level (3%). Although actual opportunities might be limited however only a small minority saw restrictions on promotion arising from any aspect of the organisational structure.

Summary

What emerges from the foregoing analysis is that these dockworkers do not possess obviously different, or, in general, more extreme views of the nature of employment relations than other sections of the manual working class. They very largely view the industrial situation as one

Table 7.3

ASSESSMENT OF THE PROMOTION SYSTEM.

Assessment	N	%
The system is basically fair	72	67
Fair for those with the necessary ability	7	7
Few additional foremen are required at this time	13	12
The system only operates up to the supervisory level	3	3
The system is abused	10	9
Don't know	2	2
Total	107	100

where harmony is desirable if not actually the case. Nevertheless solidarity within the work force is clearly strong in practice due to the operation of normative sanction. But this solidarity is qualified.

Stress in the solidarity is visible in reactions to work equalisation; a small majority favour differential payments. Support for actions reflecting solidarity demonstrates that its essential nature is, as in other industrial settings, defensive, and rarely if at all, generalised to include demands for an alternative form of organisation.

The institutional embodiment of the workers' demands, the union, reflects this defensive stance. However whilst the union may negotiate for work sharing for example on the basis of its principles, the men do not demonstrate any widespread concern with notions of power sharing or show any interest in more general ideological concerns. They are more likely to regard the union itself as a somewhat remote organ of control.

In parallel with these attitudes are those towards the employing authority and the commercial companies. There is little antagonism directed at these institutions. As with reactions to supervision however these attitudes appear conditional on the maintainance of the exisiting situation. In the case of first line supervision for example good relations depend upon the limited role occupied by foremen and supervisors. The operation of the employment 'systems' however is not seen as an alien imposition but almost without exception as reasonably fair and equitable.

Notes and References

1. J.H. Goldthorpe *et al.*, *The Affluent Worker*, vol.1., p.69, ff.

2. A similar question to that used in this research was first proposed by A. Willener, see, 'Payment Systems in the French Steel and Iron Industry', in G.K. Zollschan & W. Hirsh, *Explorations in Social Change*, p.609. The wording used in the present work is taken from Goldthorpe *et al.*, vol.1., *op. cit.*, p.73.

3. S. Hill notes this ambiguity, *The Dockers*, p.112.

4. Goldthorpe *et al.*, vol.1., *op. cit.*, p.73; Hill, *op. cit.*, p.112.

5. This is related to the point made by W.W. Daniel (reported in Chapter One above) concerning the assumption of an ordered and consistent set of priorities in work. See 'Understanding Employee Behaviour in its Context', in J. Child, *Man and Organisation*, p.49.

6. It is possible that part of the difficulty stems from the usual formulation of such questions in formal, generalised or 'non-context-bound' language (to use Bernstein's terminology), a usage with which, it has been argued, the working class person may be less familiar and typically less proficient. The present question often prompted requests for further information; viz, 'How do you mean like? In the Docks nowadays?' To which the standard reply was 'yes and generally.' See B. Bernstein, *Class, Codes & Control*, and 'Education Cannot Compensate for Society', in D. Rubinstein & C. Stoneman, (eds), *Education for Democracy*; also W. Brandis & D. Henderson, *Social Class, Language and Communication*.

7. See Goldthorpe *et al.*, vol.1., *op. cit.*, p.74.

8. The Leggett report said that it 'appears to be incredibly easy to bring dockworkers out on strike.' *Report into Unofficial Stoppages in London*, Cd.8236, para.23.

9. See the example given in Chapter One, taken from the autobiography of Jack Dash, *Good Morning Brothers* pp.19, 75.

10. Hill notes the competition and sectionalism in the

docks, op. cit., pp.18, 20, 72, 125, 130 & 200. In this respect dockwork is similar to the ship-building industry, according to J. Cousins & R. Brown, in 'Patterns of Paradox', in Bulmer, (ed), Working Class Images of Society.

11. S. Hill, 'Norms, Groups & Power: the Sociology of Workplace Industrial Relations', (Emphasis in the original). His references are W.W. Daniel, 'Understanding Employee Behaviour in its Context', in Child, op. cit., M. Mann, Consciousness & Action Among the Western Working Class. Mann says, 'Co-existing with a normally passive sense of alienation is an experience of (largely economic) inter-dependence with the employer at a factual, if not a normative, level.'

12. Respondents made it clear that the 'minor' skills were not really thought of as skills at all - rather they represented familiarisation with simple procedures.

13. Hill, op. cit., p.21.

14. Mann, op. cit., p.69.

15. In H.C. Kelman's words, 'Identification can be said to occur when an individual adopts behaviour derived from another person or group because this behaviour is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group'; 'Three Processes of Social Influence'; in M. Jahoda & N. Warren, (eds), Attitudes, p.151.

16. M. Patchen, Participation, Acheivement & Involvement on the Job, p.158.

17. Liverpool University, The Dock Worker, pp.66-7.

18. D.F. Wilson, Dockers, pp.52-3.

19. C. Kerr & A. Siegel, 'The Interindustry Propensity to Strike', in A. Kornhauser et al., Industrial Conflict.

20. P.K. Edwards, 'A Critique of the Kerr-Siegel Hypothesis of Strikes and the Isolated Mass'.

21. A point made by R. Hyman, Strikes, p.54. Edwards, op. cit., includes Hyman amongst those he accuses of accepting the Kerr-Siegel finding as 'fact'.

22. Edwards, op. cit., points out (following J.W. Skeels, 'Measures of US Strike Activity') that the 'days lost' measure used by Kerr & Siegel is 'a measure of the impact of strikes rather than of the decision to

strike and is thus an unreliable measure of the propensity to strike, which relates to the tendency of workers to strike and should thus include some measure of the number of workers involved.

23. Hill, op. cit., p.105, reaches this conclusion on the basis of figures for man/days per thousand employees (an extreme measure in the case of the Docks). He gives figures for the period 1959-1973 taken from M. Silver, 'Recent British Strike Trends' and the NDLB.

24. S. Hill, 'Norms, Groups & Power'.

25. H.A. Clegg, The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain, esp. pp.25-6.

26. Hill, 'Norms...', op. cit.

27. This distinction is made by A. Giddens, The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies, p.111.

28. J.H. Westergaard, 'Sociology: the Myth of Classlessness', in R. Blackburn, (ed), Ideology in the Social Sciences, p.148.

29. Hill, op. cit., cites evidence from P. Hollowell, The Lorry Driver, p.49, concerning the strict adherance to the rule governing the union membership of lorry drivers entering the docks.

30. This is Mann's adjective, op. cit., p.68.

31. H.A. Turner, et al., Labour Relations in the Motor Industry, p.65.

32. K.G.J.C. Knowles, Strikes, p.235. Some later analysis has followed the suggestion made by Knowles that frictional strikes have relatively increased. See W.E.J. McCarthy, The Reason Given for Striking, p.24 and H.A. Turner, The Trend of Strikes, p.18 who suggests that these non-wage issues may be seen as attempts to 'submit managerial discretion and authority to agreed... rules, (or)...reflect an implicit pressure for more democracy and individual rights in industry.'

33. For example the Leggett Report, op. cit.

34. Given the rapidity with which conditions can change the 'sponteneity of action' that Alvin Gouldner, for example, refers to is perfectly understandable in sudden unofficial disputes but in nearly all cases the search for variations in 'propensity' is probably best couched in terms of the prevailing structural

conditions. See, Wildcat Strike, esp. p.60.

35. A. Flanders, Management & Unions, p.112 points to a generally increased usage of such 'cut-price' industrial actions.

36. See, for example, R.T. McKenzie & A. Silver, Angels in Marble, p.133.

37. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.107. They also cite the rather impressionistic work of F. Zwieg, The British Worker, (emphasis in the original).

38. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.99, fn.1.

39. Liverpool University, op. cit., p.123, emphasis added.

40. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.107, emphasis in the original. This suggests that they themselves are less than completely sure of their earlier point.

41. ibid, p.99.

42. Liverpool University, op. cit., p.123.

43. The closed shop is examined by W.E.J. McCarthy, The Closed Shop in Britain. All the men interviewed in Southampton were members of the T&GWU.

44. R. Kornhauser, 'Some Social Determinants & Consequences of Union Membership'.

45. Hill, op. cit., found 15% T&GWU members attended regularly, p.130. He refers to B.C. Roberts, Trade Union Government & Administration in Great Britain, pp.95-7, who estimated that branch meeting attendance is between 4 - 7% in the larger unions. The Liverpool study found 18% attended at least one in four meetings.

46. A. Fox, A Sociology of Work in Industry, p.117.

47. ibid, p.115. The history of the events of this period in Southampton and the relationships between the various groups involved is covered by J.P. Fisher, The T&GWU and the Devlin Modernisation Programme in the Port Transport Industry.

48. Fox, op. cit., p.125.

49. ibid. Fox calls it a 'ragbag'.

50. ibid, p.9.

51. The question originates with Goldthorpe et al.,

vol.1., op. cit., p.109.

52. ibid. The figures are 52% for pay and conditions only, 40% for a say in management and 8% Don't Know.

53. Hill, op. cit., p.138. This greater proportion could be due to some extent to a slightly different question emphasis used by Hill. Respondents were asked to estimate their agreement to several statements on a preformed scale, and the statement concerning management was not therefore contrasted in the same question with the more limited economic demands. The difference however could be due to the less satisfactory employment situation resulting from the decline.

54. Wilson, op. cit., notes 'the power given to the unions in jointly regulating recruitment, dismissal and discipline is unique in having its sanction by statute and it approaches the initial stages of industrial democracy advocated by the extreme left', p.99.

55. ibid, p.139.

56. cf. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.113, too much power 41%; Hill, op. cit., p.139, 40%; MacKenzie & Silver, op. cit., p.127, 56%; K. Roberts et al., The Fragmentary Class Structure, p.51, 46%.

57. University of Liverpool, op. cit., p.132; Goldthorpe et al., found 55% opposed, op. cit., vol.2., p.26; Hill, op. cit., p.221, 61%.

58. 42, 39% agreed and 2 were 'Don't Know'.

59. This distinction, which derives from Social Psychological usage, is included merely in order to have convenient terms for this exposition. See H. McClosky, Political Inquiry.

60. F. Parkin has made the point that this situation reflects the existence of two value systems, Class Inequality & Political Order, pp.79-102.

61. Some hostility carried over from the earlier situation is also a possibility of course given the fact that stereotypes may develop. See A.J.M. Sykes, 'A Study in Changing the Attitudes and Stereotypes of Industrial Workers'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Associations and Community

This chapter focusses on the relationship between the work and non-work spheres. It is an important aspect of the characterisation of the traditional proletarian worker, discussed in Chapter One, that there is a significant overlap between these spheres in terms of affective relationships. Although a study of the actual number, nature and sources of such relationships is clearly indicated therefore it is also relevant to outline as far as possible the respondents' subjective boundaries to the potential sources of such relationships both at work and in the community setting. This in turn raises the question, and indeed is part of, the respondent's understanding of the social world and of his interaction with it. Whilst the wider 'imagery' of society is the subject of Chapter Nine those aspects of the respondent's perceptions which are relevant to the formation and maintenance of affective relationships will be treated here.

Attitudes to Promotion

One important aspect of the respondent's social world follows directly from considerations of the promotion system made at the end of Chapter Seven. Attitude to promotion is both an element of the general aspirations of the worker and a reflection of his overall view of employment relations. Within the rationale of this chapter the critical point concerns the extent to which the worker may perceive the changes associated with a promotion as salient for the formation and/or the maintenance of affective relationships.

There are of course objective changes associated with promotion. Just as various working techniques may alter the pattern of opportunities for informal interaction so may also the position of an individual in the bureaucratic structure of the organisation. However, such variations are of less relevance in the present context than the

effect that promotion may have on the perceived appropriateness of particular relationships. In other words given the notion of the proletarian worker possessed of a strong sense of 'them and us' in work relations one would expect to encounter firstly a low level of aspiration for promotion linked with general disapproval of the idea, and secondly, the anticipation that the promotion of an individual would involve some problems in extant relationships with that individual.

It is first of all necessary to establish the respondent's own personal work aspirations. Generally low levels of desire for promotion have been noted amongst industrial manual workers, especially in comparison with their white-collar counterparts,[1] and Southampton dockers differ little in this respect. Having said that however it can be noted that the proportion in favour of promotion is not especially low, and, if anything, is somewhat higher than the levels found amongst, for example, the 'instrumental' workers at Luton.[2] Altogether a quarter of the sample (27, 25%) favoured the idea of being promoted and of this number 7 (7%) were particularly attracted. Just over a third (38, 36%) were rather less interested whilst the remainder (42, 39%) were strongly opposed to the idea.[3]

Respondents were also asked to explain their attitudes to promotion. Their replies are given in table 8.1 in three main groups. In the first of these are two categories of men who generally approved of promotion, and it can be seen that a fair proportion of these men had actually applied for a foreman's post at some time in the past.[4] Apart from these two categories all the other respondents disliked the idea of promotion to a varying extent. In the second group are all those replies which emphasize some negative aspect of the foreman's job itself. In the third group there is a single category of replies

Table 8.1

REASONS GIVEN FOR PROMOTION ATTITUDE.

Reason Given	N	%
Has actually applied once	11	10
Has thought seriously about applying	16	15
Dislike of foremen's pay and conditions	9	8
Dislike of responsibility	21	20
Dislike of position ('man in middle')	27	25
Prefer to 'stay with lads'	19	18
Other	4	4
Total	107	100

which emphasized the possibility of changes in the nature of affective relationships with work mates.

In the second group, which comprises over half the sample (57, 53%), there are two main variations to the theme of criticism of an unpleasant job. Those who 'dislike responsibility' replied in terms which related to their appraisal of their own abilities; they - 'couldn't take the worry of it.' For other men this worry was merely an unpleasant aspect of the job not adequately compensated for by economic incentive:[5]

'The money's no good - it's not worth the hassle.'

The 'hassle' itself being the principal element disliked by the largest category in this group who were not prepared to place themselves in a position in which:

'You can't win - they come at you from all sides.'

Now it seems clear that these replies tend to shade into one another. However the criterion which separates the second and third groups sought to distinguish between an appraisal of the job itself, albeit usually in terms of its effects on the man doing the job, and the fact that the job might represent a change of allegiance. Group three therefore represents the 'solidarity' response and reflects a positive commitment to the workforce rather than a negative attitude to the job. It is noticeable that less men made this response than made a favourable response to the idea of promotion.

A further estimate of normative restraints can be made by inquiring after the expected reaction of the workforce, especially of immediate workmates, to the respondent's hypothetical promotion. When asked how they thought their work-mates would react to such a situation

two thirds (71, 66%) foresaw no real difficulties other than the inevitable 'leg-pulling'. Only 12 (11%) thought that there would be considerable change in their relationships whilst a further 20 (19%) thought that 'some trouble' would occur.[6]

So less than a third see possible relationship problems associated with promotion to foreman. Although this is a considerable number only 19 (18%) see the problems in terms of crossing a dividing line and becoming 'a bosses man'. When they are anticipated problems are about as likely to be seen as deriving from the structural position of foremen as to the breaking of a normative moral code. In other words most men do not reject the job because seeking it is 'wrong' - rather they perceive it as unpleasant and/or insufficiently remunerated.

Attachment to Work Gangs

The effects of work organisation on the pattern of associations which may develop at work was remarked above. Whilst differential opportunities for contact and the constraints of such factors as shift work will obviously circumscribe social behaviour to some extent,[7] certain forms of organisation may give rise to voluntarily imposed constraints on the structure of social life at work. Work-based or organisationally defined groups would then also show a tendency to exclusivity. Such a tendency has been identified amongst shipbuilding workers; their work organisation is differentiated both by craft specialisation and skill level.[8]

How important are work based groups for the social life of dockers? In the casual era specialisation was important but the Liverpool study, approaching the subject from a Human Relations point of view with a stress on the importance of positive relations in work groups, neverthe-

less noted that most men were not attached to particular gangs.[9] It has also been suggested,[10] that the degree of social interaction possible can influence attitudes towards certain jobs and specific cargoes. However it is an important part of Lockwood's original typology that traditional workers have 'strong attachment to primary work groups' who are also 'normally leisure-time companions' and that the ensuing 'communal sociability' contributes together with 'occupational solidarities' towards the shaping of the 'proletarian social consciousness.'[11] Cousins and Brown's study of shipbuilding workers[12] on the contrary has shown that their interactions are dominated by differentiation at the workplace and that their 'communal sociability' is relatively undeveloped. Lockwood has recently replied to this point and has argued that:

> 'the fact of differentiation is perfectly compatible with the hypothesis that communal sociability will be most highly developed when, among other things, the occupational community is completely homogeneous.' 13

In fact Cousins and Brown note that the sources of differentiation are being reduced by the modernisation of the shipbuilding industry and suggest this may lead to greater solidarity in the workforce. The regularisation and rotation of work in the docks following the introduction of new technology and the Devlin reforms has similarly reduced specialisation. However it is not clear that sociability is any greater, as it might be expected to be if Lockwood is right, or any less, as it might be if primary group allegiance were all - important.

Hill, researching at London Docks just after the Devlin reforms, reports that sociability between work group members, or even more widely based work association 'was not particularly important.'[14] Indeed as the con-

straints of the pre-Devlin era were being lifted the original gang structure appeared to be breaking up. In Southampton the gang structure was similarly flexible and at the Container Port basically an administrative convenience. Now the organisation of work in gangs, which continues in the Docks, certainly provides one context for interaction, and elementary notions of loyalty to the gang - whatever its particular composition - have been examined with reference to absence behaviour; but it is not clear to what extent these groups represent important sources of identity or sociability for the men.

The interviewees were asked whether they prefered to work habitually with the same men or move around into different groups. Just under a quarter (25, 23%) said that they prefered to move around, a proportion which is directly comparable to the similar finding at London.[15] This distribution of replies however, which might suggest that a large majority are strongly attached to their groups, in fact reflects only a rather weak attachment. In common with workers in other industries, and dockers in London, most of the men (89, 83%) claimed that they would not mind being moved out of the group they knew.[16]

The men were also asked a more general question concerning their preferences for working with other people. A minority (9, 8%) prefered to work alone but of the rest about a third (30, 28%) expressed no strong preference. The overall impression to be gained from these various replies therefore is that work group interactions are not necessarily sought out although they may be valued incidentally when they do exist.

It has been a concern throughout this research to examine any systematic relations associated with particular sub-groups. In general the less directly work-related topics have shown little or no structure in this respect.

With regard to work groups and group attachment the following observations can be made. Docker's sons, who might conceivably be more integrated into the structure of workplace sociability, show no such noticeable trend on any of the above indicators. When the replies are examined for any changes pre- and post- Devlin however there is some slight evidence for differential attitudes. Given the reduced importance of gangs, it might be expected that those who only have experience of gangs in their reduced capacity would express less interest in them. In fact nearly twice as many post-Devlin respondents expressed indifference to working with others whilst nearly three-quarters of the pre-Devlin respondents prefered working with others, (Diff. sig. $p < .04$, $z=1.75$).

This difference is almost certainly the result of experience. It was made clear on many occasions that the vitality of gang life was linked to the extremely demanding nature of the work in the casual era. However this vitality and sociability was not sought out for itself, rather it took place in a context which was part of a necessary instrumental response to the employment conditions in operation. This account, though perhaps more expressive, is fairly typical:

> 'You didn't mess about in those days, you couldn't! All you thought about down that hold was getting that hook away; getting that hook away. It got so you knew just when it was hanging over you without looking up; you had a natural rhythm going - working in with the gang. You knew everybody well then, you had to, you couldn't afford to mess about, not down the hold. You had to know you could count on every bloke in the gang.' 17

Elements of Occupational Community

An examination of the wider context of work-based sociability must now be made given its significant role

in the notion of an occupational community; an idea which in turn has an important position in the characterisation of the traditional proletarian worker. The 'work centred single firm community', as Rose[18] calls it, involves a high 'density of relationships'[19] and in his original exposition Lockwood linked the occupational community via communal sociability to dichotomous class imagery.[20] In his reply to criticism of this approach Lockwood clarified his position. He pointed out that the intention was to 'show how certain forms (of work and community relations) sustained communal sociability and dichotomous imagery.'[21]

Lockwood drew on Blauner[22] for the elements and definition of occupational community. There are, according to Cousins and Brown,[23] three main components in Lockwood's approach; work-based groups, the extension of these groups into non-work situations and the non-home-centred nature of social life. Blauner, as noted in Chapter One, had identified the elements of occupational communities as; leisure time socialising with work mates, with whom members 'talk shop', and the fact that the occupation forms the reference group for members. There are a considerable number of empirical studies which suggest the existence of such occupational communities[24] but, as Allcorn and Marsh[25] note, Blauner's original criteria are met to varying degrees. They conclude that whilst miners and fishermen fit these criteria exactly and some occupational groups, including dockers, appear to generally fit them, other groups display considerable differences. In this respect, and in the present context, the most significant variation concerns precisely the 'overlap between the activities and relationships of the workplace and those undertaken outside.'[26]

Whilst this remark was made with reference to

printing workers, studied by both Sykes and Cannon, Brown _et al._, in their study of shipbuilding workers, also note an absence of strong work-community links. Theyconclude that:

> 'The concept of an occupational culture _at work_ is a more satisfactory explanation of our evidence, and a more useful tool for analysing current industrial problems.' 27

They also suggest that Cannon in fact had used the term occupational community in a way similar to their own definition of the term occupational culture.[28] In any event in their usage the latter term does not appear to isolate effects to the work context, it also means:

> 'that the social relations at work come to have a link with workers' values, attitudes and actions.' 29

The confusion surrounding the various interpretations of these terms is compounded by the recognition that the concept of community itself is far from clear and includes an evaluative aspect. Indeed Stacey has suggested that; 'It is doubtful whether the concept community refers to a useful abstraction.'[30] Bearing in mind the discussion in Chapter Seven of the relationship between occupational identity and solidarity it is also worth noting that these factors are clearly related to the concept of community in general. Clark for example, in a re:examination of the concept, suggests that:

> 'The strength of community within any given group is determined by the degree to which its members experience both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance within it.' 31

In an attempt to clarify the theoretical significance of occupational communities Salaman[32] tries to take account of these various problems. He notes the comment by

Stacey and seeks to avoid the limitations imposed by geographical or traditional industrial locations. In short he suggests the possibility of a scale of 'communitiness'.[33] In doing this he seems to emphasize the importance of occupational identity. He speaks for;

> 'a concern for the extent to which people see themselves as members of what they regard as an occupation and a concern for the significance of this perception in terms of relationships, culture and identity.' 34

He identifies the key components of an occupational community:

> 'First, members of occupational communities see themselves in terms of their occupational role: their self-image is centred on their occupational role in such a way that they see themselves as printers, policemen, army officers or whatever, and as people with specific qualities, interests and abilities. Secondly, members of occupational communities share a reference group composed of members of the occupational community. Thirdly, members of occupational communities associate with, and make friends of, other members of their occupation in preference to having friends who are outsiders, and they carry work activities and interests into their non-work lives.' 35

However, despite the apparent emphasis on occupational role identity, reflected in the order in which he presents these elements, he clearly asserts that:

> 'Members of such communities manifest a strong convergence of work and non-work life generally, and the <u>most important</u> feature of this is that they prefer to be friends with people who do the same work.' 36

Preferential association however is the key component in the earlier definition given by Blauner:

> 'The essential feature of an occupational community

> is that workers in their off hours socialize more with persons in their own line of work than with a cross-section of occupational types.' 37

It is the 'cliques of friends' so formed which are, according to Lockwood, the 'hallmarks of the traditional working-class community.'[38] In the present study therefore attention is paid to the origin, density and context of social contacts.

One of the first things that can be established, and for which there are ample comparative figures in the literature, concerns the proportion of the workforce who count as personal friends one or more people employed in the same work. Information from several sources suggests that in general about half of an industrial work-force will count at least one of their work colleagues as a friend.[39]

The association patterns of particular industrial categories are less clear. The shipbuilding workers studied by Cousins and Brown had a higher level of preferential association,[40] as would be expected from the traditional industries' model, but dockers in London reported levels similar to those found in non-traditional industries.[41] In Southampton the incidence of work-based associations exceded this general level and more nearly reflects the finding of Cousins and Brown. Three-quarters of the respondents (80, 75%) reported having at least one friend in the dock labour force.

Part of the problem of interpretation of these figures relates to the variation in the subjective definition of 'friend'. Goldthorpe et al., note this difficulty[42] and augment their data on numbers of friends by an inquiry into the circumstances in which such 'friends' are met outside the work situation. This is also of course part

of the information required to examine the 'overlap' of work and community.

Allan has recently made an examination of this area.[43] In his view the available literature[44] suggests:

> '(a) that kin play a far more important part in working class patterns of sociability than in middle class ones, and
>
> (b) that the sources of working class (non-kin) friends tend to be restricted to particular structured categories of others, especially neighbours and workmates, while the sources of middle class friendships are more varied.' 45

He makes the point however, based on his own empirical study, that working class and middle class people view different social activities as relevant to their non-kin sociable relationships:

> 'the working class respondents appeared specifically to confine their non-kin sociable relationships to particular situations. When they got to know someone it did not result in their interacting, or recognizing the appropriateness of interacting, with that person in different settings. ...They tended to see each relationship as relevant only to a particular social structure and were more willing to accept the restrictions imposed on the relationship by this structure. The consequence was not that the working class respondents had no friends, in the sense of important sociable contacts, but that their friends tended to be <u>situation specific</u>.' 46

One of the results of this perspective is that an analysis of the frequency, and more especially the nature, of meetings with friends may not reflect the significance of these relationships in quite the way originally supposed. Goldthorpe <u>et al.</u>, for example report that most of the 'out-plant' sociable contacts made by their semi-skilled respondents were partially or purely casual in nature. Only one-fifth of these men had friends at work who were

also met by arrangement outside the plant.[47] Hill reports that most of the social contacts made by London dockers were casual or semi-casual, over 90 per cent occuring in pubs.[48] In Southampton of the 80 men with at least one friend at work, 81 per cent (65) reported that they met those friends in a pub or club in this semi-casual manner.

Allan's point is that working class friendship is like this anyway:

> 'the working class respondents tended to claim that their interaction with others, while often regular and frequent, was not arranged for its own sake. They saw it more as the unplanned consequence of being in the same place or taking part in the same activity as one another.' 49

However his remarks are intended to be applicable to the working class in general, and, to the extent that this description may be appropriate, it remains theoretically possible to form inter-group comparisons based on frequency. What such comparisons are likely to reveal however are the effects of the structural constraints or facilitating factors operating on the level of sociable contacts. Thus the number of 'mates', as Allan suggests they are best called,[50] and the frequency with which they are seen, would depend partly on the circumstances which facilitate meetings; the local neighbourhood and the organisation of work for example.

When inquiry is directed beyond the Docks the relative importance of other structural sources of affective relationships can be gauged. Table 8.2 reports frequencies of initial contact with the respondents' 'three best friends'. Examination of this table demonstrates that work <u>per se</u> is not the single most significant source of friends. About the same number of friendships as were initially made at work were also made in a pub or club and these proportions

Table 8.2

INITIAL CONTACTS WITH PRESENT FRIENDS.

Initial Contact	N	%
At the Docks	46	17
Other work	21	8
Pub or club	62	23
Introduced by kin	51	19
School	48	18
Neighbours	24	9
Other	16	6
Total	268	100

are not, in turn, greatly different from those refering to friendships made at school or as the result of introductions made by kin.

The distinctions are far from clear cut however. Most of the non-work categories in table 8.2 could be subsumed under the heading 'local community' and it is because of this that the geographical element in the type of traditional workers has been emphasised. When it is supposed that:

> 'The traditional, urban blue collar worker lives in flats or apartments near the centre of the city, in a neighbourhood, usually, of workers like himself. Often he lives within walking distance of parents, brothers and sisters, and other relations.' 51

It follows that he is likely to attend the same schools as his neighbours and probably to frequent the same pub or club. If, then, certain areas supply high proportions of a particular workforce it is likely that that workforce will contain a high number of shared affective ties. In fact, as noted in Chapter Five, the existence of such informal contact networks may promote the self-selection of the previously aquainted people into the workforce. This would lead to a dynamic interaction which would be cumulative in effect if the 'visibility' and employment chances of an industry in a particular area were to remain high.[52] At some level the community would thus become 'work-centred'.

One context in which work-centred social behaviour might be reflected is the works social club. Membership of the social club has been encouraged in the past on entry; the small subscription including a benevolent fund as well as right of entry to the club room itself. The club building is situated in the older part of the City centre near the main entrance to the Old, or

Eastern Docks.[53] Like most working mens' clubs it offers cut price drink and special evening entertainments. Nearly three-quarters of the sample were members (78, 73%).

It became clear however that membership was for most people little more than a formality.[54] Only fifteen per cent (12) of the members reported being regular attenders at the club whilst 60 per cent (47) claimed that they rarely or never went. Amongst the latter men a frequent reply was 'I went once!' Said in a manner which invited further comment or questioning. Such comments were not only critical of the physical conditions of the club, its small size and the resultant crowding, but also of its regular patrons:

> 'It's Dock talk all the time; you can't get away from it.'
>
> 'You can't take the wife there.'

To control to some extent for any specific effects the respondents were asked about recreational facilities in general. What was their attitude to the provision of recreational facilities? Did they for example wish to see any improvements in, or additions to the existing provision? In table 8.3 their replies are set out in three groups; firstly those men with a generally negative approach to the arranging of social events based in the work organisation, secondly those who are relatively disinterested in such events but are at least aware of the available provisions, and, thirdly those who would like to see increased work-based social activities.

It is clear that there is considerable antipathy towards the provision of social activities and recreational facilities that are based in the work organisation. Nearly half (49, 46%) of the interviewees fall in the first group, and it is interesting to note that many of these men are

Table 8.3

ASSESSMENT OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.

Assessment	N	%
Not interested in any facilities	41	38
Don't know enough about existing provision	8	7
Existing provision appears to be adequate	27	25
Make improvements to club room	18	17
Provide sports facilities	5	5
Miscellaneous improvements	8	7
Total	107	100

nominally members of the social club. Whilst a few express their disinterest in a relatively neutral way most men in this group expressed a positive disinterest in any provision of social or recreational facilities.

Those in the second group were also basically uninterested in the social activities but not to the extent of avowed disinterest. They know of the activities in some detail but were generally disinclined to take part. Their mates in the third group were more frequent attenders at the Club and it is the Club itself that attracted most comment. Even so on the basis of these responses it seems unlikely that many more of the 78 per cent (61) of members who now attend occasionally or less would become frequent attenders if the venue of the Club were changed.

In comparison with the workers studied in Luton a few years before, the present sample do manifest somewhat higher levels of involvement in work based social activities. This is nevertheless still a fairly low level. Is it uniform within the workforce? Given the logic of the 'traditional proletarian' argument docker's sons might be expected to demonstrate more involvement in such activities. However if anything they appear to be even less involved than their collegues. There is no significant difference in the proportions of docker's sons and others who are members of the Social Club nor is there a significant difference in relative frequencies of attendance at the Club. In fact more than twice as many docker's sons as others expressed positive disinterest in the provision of social and recreational facilities, (26, 53% docker's sons v. 15, 26% others; diff. sig. $p < .004$, $z=2.88$, 2t.).

However there is a related but opposing argument; that the changes in the industry may be reflected in the

behaviour of those socialised in or self-selected into it since the changes. This approach does receive some support. Whereas pre- and post Devlin members tend to frequent the Club at similar rates there are in fact nearly twice as many post-1970 non-members (15, 39%) as pre-1970 non-members (14, 20%; diff. sig. $p < .016$, $z=2.14$). The more recent employees are also more likely to express positive disinterest in the social and recreational facilities. Nearly half of the post-1970 group (18, 47%) variously said that they were definitely not interested in such provision compared with a third (23, 33%) of the pre-1970 group, (diff. sig. $p < .03$, $z=1.86$).

There are no such systematic differences in the general pattern of friendships. However the argument concerning the structural sources of friendships amongst the working class is given some support. Initially there appears to be considerable overlap between work and non-work. Many of those who claim at least one close friend at work also claim to know that friend's wife and family very well (45, 58%) or quite well (17, 22%), and claim to see that friend, though not necessarily with his family, regularly (49, 60%). When the respondents were not restricted to the work situation however but asked about friends in general a different picture emerged. Even though there may be considerable coincidence between the various non-work structural sources and the work itself, so that people originally met in school for example may eventually become work mates, nevertheless only 37 per cent (98) of the friends mentioned by the men were dock workers. A different category appears to have been used by the men to define friends in reply to the question based on the 'three best friends'; a category which excludes many of the 'friends' earlier identified in the work situation, even though these latter may be seen regularly outside the Docks.

The criterion of an occupational community which has most often been given the greatest importance, namely preferential association with people from the same work, is not therefore fulfilled to any great extent by the present findings. Nearly two-thirds (63%, 170) of the friends identified by the men are from other types of employment. In common with other industrial workers[55] the Southampton dockers also include only a minority of white collar employees amongst their friends. Only 29 per cent (31) report having at least one friend who is in white collar employment.

Patterns of Leisure Activity

There is a further point to be examined concerning the respondents' friends which is independent of their employment. This concerns the notion of the typical pattern of working class non-work life as being non-home and non-family centred and featuring extensive husband-wife segregation.[56] First the point can be made that 79 per cent (211) of the friends identified were friends of both husband and wife together so that there exists little initial basis for husband-wife leisure time segregation.[57]

The overall pattern of leisure time activities also requires examination. Respondents were asked to describe how they had spent their off hours in the seven days prior to the interview. In each case the same day of the previous week was first identified to assist recall, and often the events of the last week-end were used as a starting point from which other days' events could be more easily remembered. Each major leisure time 'event' was recorded. In essence this results in a subjective 'event-time' measure. Usually there are only single events on particular days but whereas a visit to a pub on a Tuesday evening counts as one event, a family outing on a Saturday

afternoon followed by a visit to a pub Saturday evening would count as two. The intervening periods spent at home on the same day were not counted as separate events unless some other home-based activity was noted.[58] On this basis a frequency table of leisure events was built up and the average numbers of particular types of event per week are shown in table 8.4.

There are several important features to this distribution but initially it can be noted that only 14% (15) reported their week as being in some way untypical and only 2% (2) said this was due to there being more activity in the reference week. Given that this appears to be a reasonable reflection of off-hours activity therefore the first feature to emerge is that nearly two-thirds (63%) of leisure events occur at home, most with just the resident family. Thus home-centredness, estimated in this crude way, seems quite high. Activities are also largely family centred: event-time spent with the family, alone, or visiting or receiving relatives and friends amounts to 72 per cent of the total.

When the respondents are engaged in leisure pursuits without their wives they are not usually taking part in male dominated group activities. Although visits alone to friends may involve such grouping, generally visits are more limited. A fishing trip with a neighbour or helping repair a friend's car seem more likely events. There are, apart from such visits and visits to relatives, two other categories which involve noticeable husband-wife segregation. Watching sport, especially football, is the major part of the category of 'other outside entertainment' engaged upon by husbands alone, but this activity rarely seems to involve a group of friends. The exception to this pattern is visits to pubs and clubs. Nearly two-thirds (64%) of the times that respondents reported going to a pub or club they also reported going

Table 8.4

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF HUSBAND AND HUSBAND-AND-WIFE TOGETHER.

Type of activity	Total mean events per week	Mean events husband only	Proportion of events husband only (%) *
Home and home based	4.54	0.43	9
Receiving relatives	0.96	0.01	1
Receiving friends	0.3	0.01	3
Visiting relatives	0.72	0.19	26
Visiting friends	0.39	0.14	36
Family excursion	0.52	0.01	2
Other outside entertainment	0.37	0.05	14
Pub or club	1.43	0.91	64

* 14 unmarried respondents are not included in the comparison so that the base for the proportion is N= 93

alone and meeting several of their mates. However this activity accounts for only fifteen per cent of the overall total. Taken all together husbands are only engaged in about 19 per cent of leisure pursuits without their wives, and only 14 per cent outside the home alone. Only ten per cent of the total leisure event-time is spent in a pub or club unaccompanied by wives. On this evidence it would seem difficult to suggest that Southampton dockers were not home- and family-centred in the way that the 'privatised' workers at Luton have been characterised as being.[59]

Geographical Aspects of Community

The point has been made that most of the non-work sources of friends are aspects of the local community to the extent that they are geographically defined; the pub, the school, the neighbourhood and so on. Now most recent attempts to use the notion of community have tended to remove any emphasis on the geographical component and to concentrate on the pattern or 'network' of actual relationships that may be found. The classic statement of this approach being that given by Bott;

> 'the immediate social environment of urban families is best considered not as the local area in which they live, but rather as the network of actual social relationships they maintain, regardless of whether these are confined to the local area or move beyond its boundaries.' 60

However the notion of 'traditional' relationships originally involved 'locality bound, close-knit networks'[61] and isolation at work or in the community is a feature of the Kerr-Siegel model and of other accounts of dock work.[62] The analysis presented in Chapter Four demonstrates that the typical pattern of residence of the workforce does not involve major concentrations. The relatively few small

scale concentrations occur almost entirely within local authority housing areas and are mostly associated with high rise developments. Thus the majority of the labour force live in the large suburban council estates and a minority inhabit areas that could be described as the 'urban village' of the traditional working class.[63]

The areas of enhanced density that might fit such a description tend to appear separately in the social area analysis given in Chapter Four since, as neighbourhoods, they display a considerable degree of homogeneity.[64] It ought to be possible therefore to trace systematic variations within the sample by an analysis across these area types. The best example and most likely candidates for traditional working class neighbourhoods being social area type 2, the inter-war council estates.

The first thing that can be established is that the residential distribution obtained from the sample is a good reflection of that provided by the entire force and reported in Chapter Four.[65] Table 8.5 gives the distribution of the sample across the social area types. Since nine such types appear in the sample some of the numbers within categories are small and the usefulness of detailed multiple analysis is therefore somewhat limited. This problem is attenuated however by the amalgamation of areas into two zones following the scheme given in Chapter Four. The resulting zones are shown in figure 8.1. They are;

a) an inner zone comprised of mostly older housing with a stable population and

b) an outer zone comprised mostly of newer council housing and flats. 66

Age and length of service variations within areas and zones are fully examined in Chapter Four but variations due to parentage are not reported there due to the evident

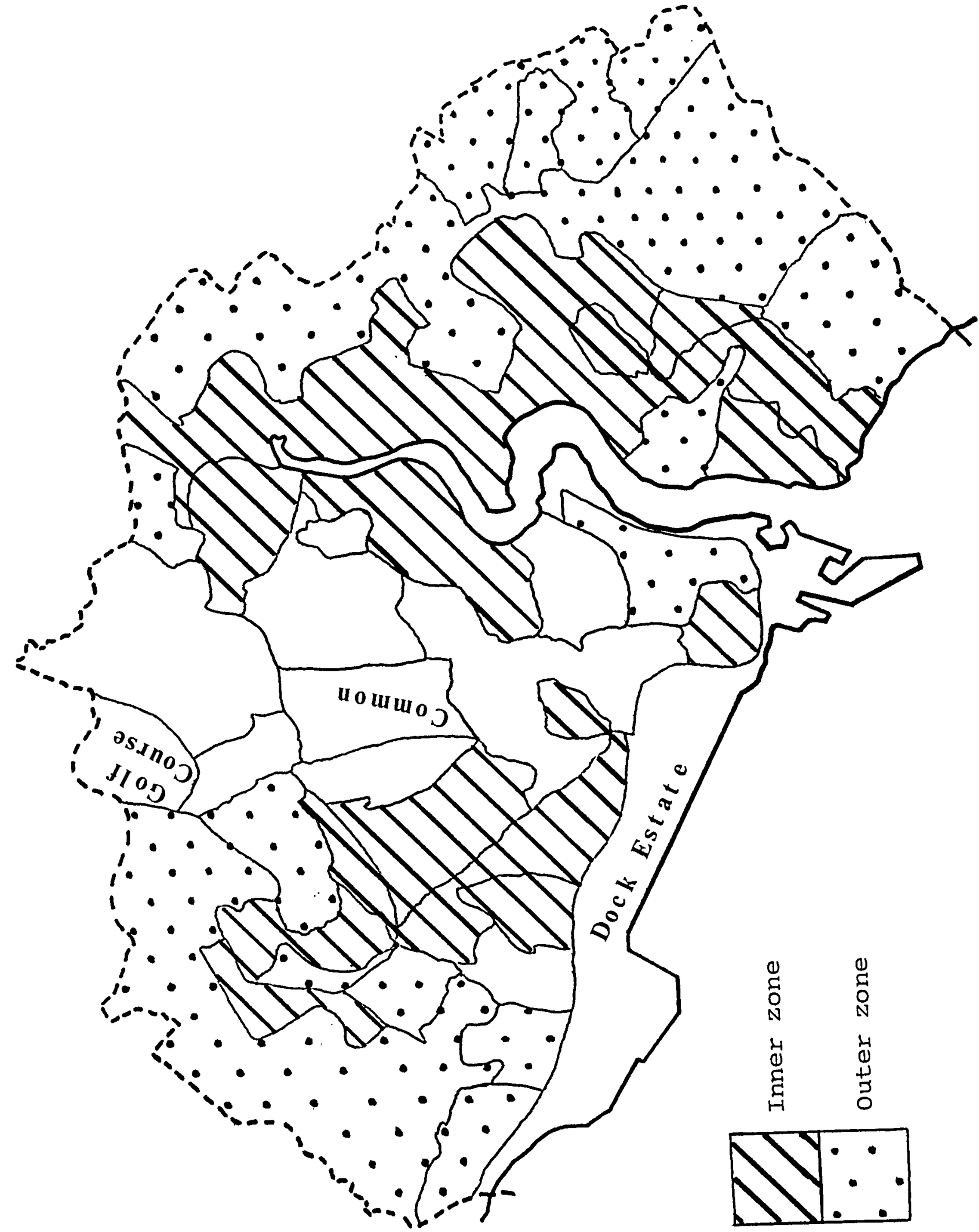
Table 8.5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE WITHIN SOCIAL AREA TYPES.

Code	Social area type	N	%
2	Inter-war council	16	15
3	Stable working class-poor quality	12	11
4	Stable lower middle-class	8	8
5	Mobile middle class	1	1
6	Post 1945 council-high housing class	27	25
7	Post 1960 council flats	11	10
8	Recent council housing	23	21
0	New owner/occupied estates	2	2
10	Unknown type	7	7

Fig. 8.1

PRINCIPAL RESIDENTIAL ZONES INHABITED BY SAMPLE.



inaccuracy of the parentage record. (See appendix E). Does the sample reveal any variation linked to docker's sons?

In table 8.6 length of service and zone location are given separately for docker's sons and others. As the totals for the whole sample demonstrate there is no variation in length of service across the zones; about a third of the force who joined the industry at any one time live in the inner zone, just over half in the outer zone. However examination of the vertical marginals in table 8.6 shows that these proportions are not stable for the parentage sub-groups. Only a quarter of the non-docker's sons live in the inner zone and this pattern is not significantly changed across length of service groups.[67] Docker's sons however are more likely overall to live in the inner zone ($z=1.85$, $p < .06$, 2t.). Examination within length of service categories shows that this difference is due to those docker's sons who joined the industry before 1970. Prior to that date over half of all docker's sons lived in this inner zone, ($z=2.98$, $p< .003$, 2t.). In fact more detailed examination shows that the change-over point for these proportions occurs in the mid-1960's coincident with large council housing development. In other words just prior to decasualisation the pattern of residence of docker's sons ceased to be significantly different from that of non-docker's sons.

These data therefore are indicative of, and consistent with the notion of greater geographical concentration amongst those with definite prior links with the industry. They also suggest at least the physical facilitation of an occupational community but equally they demonstrate that this condition ceased to be present to the same degree during the decade prior to this research. Although not sufficient to demonstrate it these findings clearly suggest a process of dilution of a pre-existing geographical con-

Table 8.6

PRINCIPAL RESIDENTIAL ZONES INHABITED BY PARENTAGE AND LENGTH OF SERVICE.

Location	Pre 1970		Post 1970		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Docker's sons						
Inner zone	15	56	6	27	21	43
Outer zone	9	33	13	59	22	45
Other	3	11	3	14	6	12
Total	27	100	22	100	49	100
Others						
Inner zone	9	21	6	38	15	26
Outer zone	30	71	9	56	39	67
Other	3	7	1	6	4	7
Total	42	99	16	100	58	100
Total sample						
Inner zone	24	35	12	32	36	34
Outer zone	39	57	22	58	61	57
Other	6	9	4	11	10	9
Total	69	101	38	101	107	100

centration of workers with at least one previous generation's connection with the Docks.

Two components can contribute to this further homogenisation of the labour force; the availability of local authority housing and the availability of cheap private housing for owner occupation. As Pahl[68] has argued constraints are very important in the choice of housing made by the working class. In the case of private housing at least, it is probably the availability of property that has resulted in the fairly even spread of the labour force visible outside local authority areas. However unlike the employment records the sample provides information about housing tenure. To the extent that choice may be operating therefore it would be possible to examine its effect across sub-groups by a comparison of the patterns of owner-occupation.

Table 8.7 gives the zone location of owner occupied housing by parentage sub-groups, further divided by tenure history since altogether 43 per cent of owner-occupied housing was originally local authority owned. Again the overall pattern for docker's sons and others is the same. There is very little variation at all between the groups but one possibly indicative difference is revealed: more than half of the docker's sons living in the inner zone own their house and this is somewhat greater than the relevant proportion of non-docker's sons, (the difference approaches significance, $z=1.0$, $p < .16$, 2t.). If this is the result of choices reflecting a general preference for the older inner areas amongst docker's sons one would expect the converse also to reveal a difference; that is that less docker's sons would own houses in the outer zone that were not originally council houses. This proposition does receive some support since the difference also approaches significance, ($z=1.22$, $p < .11$, 1t.).

Table 8.7

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY PARENTAGE.

Tenure history	Inner zone		Outer zone		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Docker's sons						
Owner occupied	9	43	2	9	11	26
Ex-council	3	14	5	23	8	19
Total owned	12	57	7	32	19	44
Number in group*	21	-	22	-	43	-
Others						
Owner occupied	5	33	8	21	13	24
Ex-council	1	7	9	23	10	19
Total owned	6	40	17	44	23	43
Number in group*	15	-	39	-	54	-
Total sample						
Owner occupied	14	39	10	16	24	25
Ex-council	4	11	14	23	18	19
Total owned	18	50	24	39	42	43
Number in group*	36	-	61	-	97	-

* Base for proportions

Even if there are such preferences however, and differences in the relative concentrations of particular sub-groups, are these differences reflected in types and numbers of work and non-work associations? The present analysis cannot trace the geographical distribution of individuals' associates, which might well reflect localised concentrations,[69] but it can compare numbers and types for sub-groups. However when such comparisons are made no significant variations in associations are revealed for any sub-groups within area types.

Finally account must be taken of the possible effects on associations of the improved communications available in post-War Britain, in particular the possession of a motor car. In this context two different consequences have been identified;

a) that car ownership facilitates the retention of extended family cohesion despite geographical mobility; [70] and,

b) that car owners may manifest less social contact within a neighbourhood than non-car owners. [71]

It is worth noting that the latter suggestion was made in the context of the argument for 'privatisation'. In other words car ownership is linked with home- and family-centredness. Evidence of other aspects of privatisation have been sought amongst those who dwell in the newer private estates and those who joined the re-organised industry after 1970. Thus it should be asked if any systematic relations exist across these sub-groups in terms of car ownership.

In fact there is no significant difference in car ownership between pre- and post 1970 groups. With respect to residential groups a further factor is of obvious importance, namely distance from the place of employment. On basic economic assumptions car ownership might be

expected to increase with increasing distance from the Docks. To examine this effect the inner-outer zone scheme can be combined with the 'unknown' and 'private estates' categories to form a crude measure of distance, noting that the latter are both outside the City boundary and furthest from the Docks. Overall, when measured in this way, car ownership does increase; 58 per cent (21) of those in the inner zone own cars, 70 per cent (43) of those in the outer zone and 100 per cent (10) of those outside the City boundary, (X^2=6.52, $p < .04$, 2df.). However it is clear that the overall effect is mostly due to the final category. Furthermore there are no significant differences within distance-ownership categories due to parentage. Car ownership is in fact fairly evenly spread within the City with about two-thirds of the men owning a car. Between these men and those without a car there are no significant differences in the pattern or mean number of associations in or out of work.

Summary

Attitudes towards promotion have been examined for the light that they shed on the respondents' views of employment relations and on the subjective boundaries of potential sources of affective relationships. Dockworkers ought, on the view which sees them as proletarian traditionals, to be suspicious of any promotion to 'them', to oppose individual striving and to rigidly exclude any of their number who seek promotion. However overall interest in promotion, whilst perhaps modest, is not especially low. It is similar in fact to the levels found amongst, for example, highly paid factory workers. Furthermore there is little evidence of normative sanction against promotion; less than a fifth of the sample gave responses that could be categorised in this way.

Parallel to these attitudes are dispositions towards

work gangs. Relationships within groups are valued incidentally but overall attachment to gangs is relatively weak. Amongst those who joined the industry since the time of decasualisation the evidence suggests even weaker attachment.

Associations with work mates have usually formed the main emphasis in the study of occupational communities. In the present case the level of such associations is perhaps a third more than in industry generally so there does appear to be greater work-based association in the docks. However work is not the most important source of friends. The importance of locality is reflected in the other sources of friends, the school, the pub and so on, but there is no evidence to suggest that any particular work-centred community exists. Geographical evidence shows that docker's sons have moved out from the inner, older areas of the City whilst differential house purchase may demonstrate that they would prefer to stay in, or return to, these areas. However the groups identified in terms of these variables do not display variation in the levels or pattern of associations.

Nor do docker's sons exhibit more than limited interest in work-based social events. In fact there is little interest in such events generally and even less in their possible extension. Furthermore amongst those who joined since decasualisation there is significantly less interest in work-based social activities. This could be taken as evidence of greater 'privatisation' amongst these latter men but the pattern of leisure-time activities displayed by the entire sample shows that the work force as a whole are generally as home- and family-centred as their counterparts in well paid factory work have been described as being.

Notes and References

1. See for example A.J.M. Sykes, 'Some Differences in the Attitudes of Clerical & Manual Workers'.

2. J.H. Goldthorpe, et al., The Affluent Worker, vol.3., p.73, report that only 15% semi-skilled men were attracted to the idea.

3. This pattern of response does not seem to differ greatly from the findings in London. See S. Hill, The Dockers, pp.180, 229.

4. The comparable figures from Goldthorpe, et al., are strikingly similar at 8%; vol.3., op. cit., p.73.

5. This was a general finding amongst Luton car workers. ibid.

6. 4 (4%) gave Don't know responses.

7. This is a well noted argument; see for example, S.R. Parker, 'Type of Work, Friendship Patterns and Leisure'.

8. J. Cousins & R. Brown, 'Patterns of Paradox', in Bulmer, (ed), Working-class Images of Society, p.62.

9. Liverpool University, The Dock Worker, p.61,ff.

10. See S.B. Philpott, 'The Union Hiring Hall as a Labor Market'.

11. D. Lockwood, 'Sources of Variation in Working-class Images of Society'.

12. Cousins & Brown, op. cit., p.62.

13. D. Lockwood, 'In Search of the Traditional Worker', in Bulmer, op. cit., p.242.

14. Hill, op. cit., p.164.

15. ibid, p.70.

16. See Vamplew, 'Automated Process Operatives'; two-thirds did not mind; Goldthorpe, et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.51, 68% 'Not Bothered'; Hill, op. cit., p.70, 78% 'Not Concerned'; also R. Dubin, ('Industrial Workers Worlds') found only 9% to prefer informal group life centred in the job.

17. A very similar situation; that is instrumental groups exercising self-interested controls, is

reported by Cousins & Brown and equated with the piece-work payment system in the shipbuilding industry, also, of course, a feature of pre-Devlin docks operation. Echoing several of the present respondents they report, 'Poor workers were often weeded out of squads by the workers themselves.' Cousins and Brown, op. cit., p.64.

18. G. Rose, The Working Class, p.29.

19. ibid, p.10.

20. Lockwood, 'Sources of Variation...; op. cit.

21. Lockwood, 'In Search of...', op. cit., p.241.

22. R. Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction & Industrial Trends in Modern Society', in R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset, Class, Status & Power, pp.343, 351.

23. Cousins & Brown, op. cit., p.55.

24. N. Dennis et al., Coal is Our Life; W.H. Scott et al., Technical Change & Industrial Relations; University of Liverpool, The Dock Workers; G. Horobin, 'Community & Occupation in the Hull Fishing Industry'; Sykes, 'The Cohesion of a Trade-Union Workshop'; I.C. Cannon, 'Ideology & Occupational Community'; W.H. Scott et al., Coal & Conflict; P. Hollowell, The Lorry Driver; G. Salaman, 'Two Occupational Communities'; R.H. Brown et al., 'Leisure in Work'.

25. D.H. Allcorn & C.M. Marsh, 'Occupational Communities - Communities of What?', in Bulmer, op. cit., p.208.

26. ibid, p.209.

27. Brown et al., op. cit., p.97, emphasis in the original.

28. ibid, p.109, fn.7.

29. ibid, p.103.

30. M. Stacey, 'The Myth of Community Studies'.

31. D.B. Clark, 'The Concept of Community'.

32. G. Salaman, Community & Occupation, and also 'Occupations, Community & Consciousness', in Bulmer, op. cit., pp.219-236.

33. Salaman, 'Occupations...', op. cit., p.235.

34. ibid, pp.220-221. This is a somewhat confusing statement which does not entirely avoid circularity. It does seem to argue for the primacy of occupational identity which in turn suggests that the term 'identity' here means total social identity, an important element of which would be occupational role perception.

35. Salaman, Community & Occupation, op. cit., p.21. The final clause of this statement appears to add a fourth component but more probably is meant as a consequence of the preceding component and is therefore not properly part of the definition.

36. ibid, p.25. Emphasis added.

37. Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction...', op. cit., p.351.

38. Lockwood, 'Sources of Variation...', op. cit.

39. For example: Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.56, with one or more friends 56%; C. Vamplew, 'Automated Process Operatives', 42%; K. Roberts et al., The Fragmentary Class Structure, p.52, 54%.

40. Cousins & Brown, 'Patterns of Paradox', op. cit., report 76% with at least one friend.

41. Hill, op. cit., pp.164-5, 56% with one or more friends in the Docks.

42. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.56 & ff.

43. G. Allan, 'Class Variation in Friendship Patterns'; and see also, 'Sibling Solidarity'.

44. The studies that Allan draws upon include several that are of particular relevance to the present research; Dennis et al., op. cit.; Goldthorpe et al., op. cit.; Tunstall, op. cit.; as well as J. Mogey, Family & Neighbourhood; M. Stacey, Tradition & Change; M. Stacey et al., Power, Persistence & Change.

45. Allan, 'Class Variation...', op. cit.; Support for proposition (a) is also provided by F. Dotson, 'Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working Class Families'.

46. Allan, 'Class Variation...', op. cit.; emphasis in the original.

47. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., pp.56-7; they define semi-casual as 'meetings at public houses,

clubs, sports grounds and other places which both men frequented' and purely casual as 'chance meetings in the street, shops, etc.

48. Hill, op. cit., p.164.

49. Allan, 'Class Variation...', op. cit.

50. ibid.

51. M.A. Westley & M.W. Westley, The Emerging Worker, p.79.

52. A situation (spatial concentration) which, it has been suggested, would also tend to produce a more 'democratic' trade union structure. E.E. Raphael, 'Power Structure & Membership Dispersal in Unions'.

53. In enumeration district Bargate 1. See Chapter Three, Figure 3.2.

54. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.72; approximately 90% took no advantage of any of the facilities provided and the authors explain this in terms of the workers' instrumental approach to, and subsequent dislike of, the place of work.

55. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.109, report 17% with white collar friends; Hill, op. cit., p.168, reports 16%, although this figure appears to be an error and probably should read 26%.

56. The mining community is the most often quoted source for this picture; see Dennis et al., op. cit., Chapter Four, Goldthorpe et al., refer to this work, vol.3., op. cit., p.106, fn.1., as do Brown et al., 'Leisure in Work', op. cit., p.97.

57. Hill, op. cit., p.172, notes 64%.

58. Time spent at home is therefore underestimated to some extent in this scheme. If friends or relatives were met at a pub or club this was counted as a visit to the pub unless the visit to the pub followed a previously arranged meeting elsewhere.

59. This pattern is reflected amongst dockers at London, see, Hill, op. cit., pp.172-174, 228.

60. E. Bott, Family & Social Network, p.99.

61. C. Bell & H. Newby, Community Studies, p.53.

62. C. Kerr & A. Siegel, 'The Inter-industry Propensity to Strike', in Kornhauser et al., Industrial Conflict.

See also D. Wilson, Dockers, pp.52-3.

63. This phrase is used by Rose, op. cit., p.54; in contrast Westley & Westley note that 'the modern blue-collar worker lives in a working class suburb.' op. cit., p.80.

64. The term 'neighbourhood' has in fact been defined in terms of common housing and social characteristics; see, P.H. Mann, 'The Neighbourhood', in R. Gutman & D. Popenoe, (eds), Neighbourhood, City & Metropolis, p.570. B.J. Heraud, has made the point that despite planning attempts neighbourhoods tend to evolve social homogeneity. See, Social Class & the New Towns, p.53; and see, G.D. Suttles, The Social Construction of Communities.

65. There are no significant variations between the two sets of reported proportions.

66. Only those areas with at least one respondent are included in the zone map. The possible anomaly of the inner area (type 7) is even less significant in the sample as only two respondents live in these areas.

67. The pre/post 1970 dichotomy has been retained in these tables for simplicity of presentation. The reported results in the text however are based on comparisons within all length of service groups.

68. R.E. Pahl, Patterns of Urban Life, p.53.

69. R.M. Blackburn & M. Mann, have recently described just such a situation amongst the workers in different industries in Peterborough, see, The Working Class in the Labour Market, pp.274-5; and see J.C. Mitchell, (ed), Social Networks in Urban Situations.

70. E. Litwak, 'Geographical Mobility & Extended Family Cohesion'.

71. Originally suggested by F. Zweig, The Worker in an Affluent Society, this proposal received some support from D.M. Toomey, 'Home-Centred Working Class Parents' Attitudes Towards Their Son's Education & Careers'.

CHAPTER NINE

Aspirations and Imagery

This chapter extends the theme of perception examined in the previous chapter but the emphasis here is away from the work situation. Rather the concern is to explore the worker's more general perceptions of the social world and of his position in it. As set out in Chapter One several characteristics of a traditional working class perspective have been suggested and are therefore germane to the subject of this chapter. Such workers are said to be mainly concerned with the maintenance of existing standards rather than advancement; related to this is an outlook characterised by fatalism and orientation to the present.[1] Bounded aspirations result from normative restraint on individual advancement whilst the typical conception of the social order is of a power-based dichotomy. Aspects of these characteristics have appeared in previous chapters. Here the worker's general aspirations and strategies are examined together with his stated views on the structure of present-day British society.

Aspirations

In the previous two chapters aspects of the respondents' work aspirations were examined. It will be useful to review those findings in this slightly different context. Initially it can be noted that nearly all the men thought the promotion system fair; they saw no restriction due to the structure of the organisation or to such factors as prejudice. A quarter of the men were interested in promotion, although only ten per cent had ever applied for a post. What evidence about the traditional working class perspective can be obtained from the attitudes of the remaining men who were variously opposed to the idea of their own promotion?

At first sight the clearest evidence for normative restraint comes from that proportion who expressed a wish

to stay with their mates. Only a quarter (19) of those not interested in promotion gave this sort of response but it could well be that even this figure exagerates the[9] amount of restraint. Staying with the lads could merely reflect that other aspect of traditional working class perspective, namely the maintainance of the existing situation.

Just over a quarter (21, 28%) saw themselves as unfit for a job involving further responsibility. This is neither a result of normative restraint or of a concern to maintain standards, although it reflects the latter to the extent that it recognizes the necessity of defense. This arises however not as the result of lack of perceived opportunities but as the result of perceived personal lack of abilities. Recent empirical work suggests that people with such low appraisal of their 'personal suitability' will tend to concentrate in low status occupations.[2]

For the rest it is the undesirable nature of the foreman's job that explains their lack of interest. Whatever longer term prospects might exist the foreman's post is the necessary first stage, and one which involves, as far as these men are concerned, a rather poor deal. However this is a general feature of the non-skilled manual labour market; promotion is more or less restricted to quite small improvements[3] and the change in working conditions and relations associated with the job is clearly seen by these men to lack adequate compensation.

Given the realities of the job market dockwork in fact represents the fulfilment of aspirations for many men. Those who leave trades for example do not necessarily do so for any dramatic increase in wages but for other related benefits. Security and considerable time off from work make the 'effort bargain'[4] particularly favour-

able and it is precisely these aspects that promotion alters; the former because redundant foremen are not re-assigned to the general register, the latter because, as responsible agents, foremen must remain on the job. The men's attitudes in respect of their own promotion therefore are best viewed as accomodation either to lack of opportunities or to perceived lack of ability.

If this is the case however it becomes more difficult to establish to what extent, if any, the men view individual striving for advancement as unacceptable. One way in which such beliefs should become apparent is in respect of their childrens' education and employment. Whilst manual workers generally have shown some interest in their children remaining at school, for periods typically longer than they themselves attended, the distribution of their preferences for their childrens' occupations has tended to concentrate on the skilled trades. In other words occupations 'which stand high in the hierarchy of manual work, but which do not involve too marked a change of status.'[5]

A preference for this kind of occupation however does not necessarily demonstrate reluctance to encourage greater advancement or limit social mobility. It can, and more probably does, show the extent of actual knowledge about occupations possessed by the manual worker, tempered by his knowledge of his children's abilities as reflected in their school performance. On the other hand a preference for white-collar occupations, especially the professions, clearly does demonstrate a desire to encourage advancement. Whether or not this reflects a desire to encourage movement to higher social status however is dependent upon the worker's subjective assessment of the relationship between work and social structural position. This aspect of the worker's perception is treated in a later section, the present concern is with the actual aspirations the men have for their children.

All respondents were asked to imagine that they had a young teenage son at school; would they prefer him to leave when he could or stay on for as long as possible? Only a few (7, 7%) thought that he should be encouraged to leave. Their reasoning was the same in each case; leave school, get a job as soon as possible and start building up work experience. As such this approach reflects a straitforward manual labour-market strategy. It is soundly based on what the men themselves know, but it was not typical. A few more (12, 11%) were non-committal and would leave the choice entirely to their son but most (88, 82%) were quite definite that staying on at school was to be preferred.

Nearly all of the men in this latter group (83, 78%) saw a direct connection between educational level and quality of job.[6] However these responses can be further sub-divided in terms of the nature of the job strategy they represent. About a third (29) saw a higher level of education as essentially an extension of a defensive market strategy. This comment is typical:

> 'Well, I think you've got to go for it nowadays haven't you? With so many out of work you've got to have something.'

For the majority however a higher level of education involved the idea of a better job. As Hill found, the types of job commonly mentioned reflect the experience of the men, at least to the extent that they can be seen as 'the projection of more mundane manual jobs:'[7] various forms of engineering, technicians and so on. These qualifications may reflect the meanings and appropriateness such jobs may have for the men but nevertheless in general most of the jobs mentioned were at a fairly high level.

Table 9.1 summarises the responses to the second and third parts of the question on aspirations for children.

Table 9.1

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES FOR HYPOTHETICAL SON AND ELDEST CHILD.

Preferred type of occupation	Hypothetical son		Eldest child	
	N	%	N	%
Higher professional, managerial.	30	28	10	14
Other non-manual	33	31	26	37
Skilled manual	20	19	9	13
Other manual	8	7	7	10
Endorse child's preference	16	15	19	27
Totals	107	100	71	101

These concerned the actual jobs that were preferred for (a) a hypothetical son, and (b) the eldest child (where applicable). It is probably knowledge of their child's abilities, or more properly perhaps of their child's performance at school, that accounts for the major part of the difference between these two measures. In fact the most noticeable difference occurs in the highest socio-economic occupations which normally require the highest levels of educational attainment.

The main purpose of these measures however is to estimate the extent to which occupations of varying socio-economic status are viewed as appropriate by the men for their children. What emerges from both these questions is that the traditional emphasis on skilled manual work has been replaced by a much greater emphasis on non-manual occupations. Now whilst it may well be that a general increase in working class aspirations has taken place, dockers can hardly be described as exhibiting particularly limited aspirations. In fact on the present evidence their preferences do not seem to differ greatly from those of other manual workers.[8]

One particular occupation might be expected to have particular significance for the dockworker, namely dockwork itself. The notion of the work-oriented, isolated community suggests that quite a number of men might want to see their job passed on to their sons. This has clearly happened a great deal in the past. However only six (6%) men mentioned this as a possibility. Without exception when they did so it was to suggest that dockwork represents a practical choice given that (a) it is actually superior employment when compared with many other manual occupations, and (b) much better occupations (higher socio-economic level) would probably not be open to their children due to lack of ability.

Economy of the Family

A concern with the maintenance of existing standards and an orientation towards the present are not particularly evident in most of these responses. If these characteristics are to be considered significant in what other areas can they be expected to produce a noticeable effect? Clearly the economic activity of the men has to be examined; their patterns of consumption and in particular their major consumer decisions. Two items fit in this category; cars and houses. Both have implications for the analysis of outlook and style of life.

The possible connection between car ownership and 'privatisation' has already been noted. However no relationship between car ownership and either house ownership or patterns of association could be detected. Furthermore no significant differences in car ownership were found between docker's sons and others or between length of service sub-groups. The only variable that appears to be related to car ownership is age. That is to say older respondents were somewhat less likely to own a car, (X^2=14.98, p< .002, 3df.).[9] However the effect is most marked in the oldest age group and probably indicates a difference in approach between generations. This interpretation is supported to some extent by an analysis of reasons given for not owning a car. A few of those without a car were in fact potential owners; two were intending to buy a car soon and eight said that they could not afford it at present. However the reason advanced by most non-owners (25, 71%) was that they simply were not interested in owning a car. All but three of these men were aged over forty-five, ($\bar{x}$=51.5). In the sense that cars could be considered irrelevant, and hence an unnecessary expense, to those living the traditional working class life-style this evidence could suggest the remnant of a traditional community. However the men

identified in this way share no other related features.

Of much greater significance in the economy of the family is house purchase. House purchase involves just the opposite of those features of traditional working class life discussed above. It requires direct action that is at least partly future oriented and non-fatalistic. To the extent that it represents investment it also involves advancement of the individual. In addition some previous empirical work has been taken to suggest that:

> 'even if not synonymous with assimilation into the middle class, the movement of manual workers into owner-occupied suburbs is related to a marked shift in the direction of middle class attitudes and life-styles...' 10

As regards motivation, Ineichen asserts, in comparing working class owner-occupiers with working class council tenants, that the tenants demonstrate a more fatalistic outlook:

> 'Things happen to the tenants, rather than their going out and changing the world.' 11

Some evidence of differential behaviour on the part of owner-occupiers has already been presented. In Chapter Four it was shown that those who could be identified as owner-occupiers, the inhabitants of new private estates, were significantly more likely to be operators of the new machines, which at that time involved the possibility of additional earnings.

Altogether nearly half the respondents were buying their own house at the time of this research (50, 47%). These men were typically no longer paid directly in cash every week but by credit to bank accounts. The proportion of the work force paid in this way was increasing quite

rapidly, according to the evidence of the clerical officers, and this probably reflects the increase in the number buying their own house. The men were also asked when they first started to buy the house and a considerable majority mentioned some time around or following 1970. This fairly clearly suggests that it was not so much lack of desire for advancement as lack of funding and lack of credit-worthiness that kept house purchase at lower levels prior to decasualisation.[12]

Thus about half the sample were owner-occupiers and there is some evidence to suggest that this proportion was increasing. Now whilst house purchase says something about the outlook of the men with regard to future planning and self-direction it may also involve notions of status differentiation. Bearing the above remarks about middle class attitudes in mind what else can be deduced from the pattern of housing tenure revealed by the sample?

The 'traditional' interpretation does not provide for such a large proportion of owner-occupiers. However, what does fit to some extent with the notion of limited aspirations, with the 'striving for stability'[13] of the working class, is the proportion of these houses that were originally local authority owned. Purchase of a council house represents an investment and simultaneously maintains unchanged the social relations based in the immediate locality. Docker's sons for example seem less readily to have left the older, inner areas. In fact about a third (18, 36%) of the owner-occupied housing was originally local authority owned. For these men therefore the purchase probably represents a straitforward practical investment in security for the future and minimises possible change in status.

Other evidence concerning the perception of status variations connected with housing was collected from the

sample. Most respondents live within local authority housing areas or other working class estates, however 'even within local authority housing estates, ...certain areas acquire a reputation for being "respectable" and others are "rough"'.[14] Thorns elaborates this distinction:

> 'The status divisions within the housing estates have centred around the division into the "rough" and "respectable". This division occurs in many studies and lies between the small family, higher status respectables and the lower status, large family social problem "rough group"'. 15

In addition to, or instead of, this sort of distinction respondents may describe areas in class terms.

In fact when presented with five possible descriptions of their areas of residence about a half chose the description 'an ordinary working class area', although nine men wanted to combine this description with the 'quiet and respectable' category which itself accounts for a further third of the sample.[16] The full pattern of descriptions chosen is given in table 9.2. However the overall pattern is complicated by the variation in actual residential areas. In the body of table 9.2 therefore the sample responses are further categorised by area types, based on the class component of the area typology used throughout this work.[17] Dwellers in these different areas are of course presented with different 'objective' information about their area so that it might be expected that those living in a broadly defined middle class area for example would produce a different pattern of responses to those living in working class areas. In fact these areas are typically described in significantly different ways. The major difference is that the middle class areas are much more likely to be described as 'mixed', the working class areas as 'ordinary working class', (X^2=11.19, $p < .004$, 2df.).

Table 9.2

DESCRIPTIONS CHOSEN FOR AREAS OF RESIDENCE BY CLASS OF AREA TYPE.

Description of area	Working class areas N	%	Middle class areas N	%	Total N	%
A rather select area	2	2	1	6	3	3
A very mixed area	11	12	7	39	18	17
A quiet and respectable area	27	30	7	39	34	32
An ordinary working-class area	47	53	3	17	50	47
A pretty rough area	2	2	-	-	2	2
Totals	89	99	18	101	107	101

Most men however (89, 83%) live in working class areas and amongst these men 'ordinary working class' or 'quiet and respectable' are the descriptions chosen by the majority (74, 69%). Is this overall pattern maintained by different tenure groups or do the fairly large number of owner-occupiers perceive their residential areas differently?

The distribution of descriptions is presented again in table 9.3 categorised by tenure type. What emerges from these figures is that the attribution of a description involving a social mix is about as likely to be made by a council tenant as by an owner-occupier. However there is a clear contrast between owner-occupiers and private tenants on the one hand and council tenants and council house owners on the other. The former greatly prefer 'quiet and respectable' to the 'ordinary working class' label. Thus the status distinction between owner-occupiers and council tenants revolves around the notion of respectability, a distinction often noted before.[18]

In comparisons across area types, defined by class, 'select' and 'mixed' are somewhat more likely to be applied in middle class areas but tenure groups appear to differ only in terms of the 'respectable' and 'ordinary working class' distinction. However these tenure groups inhabit each area to a different extent. Whereas only a small number (6) of tenants and council house owners live in middle class areas over a third (12, 38%) of the owner-occupiers do. To a considerable extent therefore the two groups are describing different areas. Controlling for area type involves very small numbers in the middle class category but within these areas owner-occupiers seem no more likely to pick 'select' or 'mixed' descriptions than non-owners. In the working class areas the distinction between 'quiet and respectable' and 'ordinary working class' remains significant, (X^2=10.25, $p < .01$, 2df., N=87).[19] Thus most men (84, 79%) see the area where they live as

Table 9.3

DESCRIPTIONS CHOSEN FOR AREAS OF RESIDENCE BY TENURE TYPE.

Description of area	Owner-occupiers N	%	Council house owners N	%	Private tenants N	%	Council tenants N	%
A rather select area	2	6	-	-	1	8	-	-
A very mixed area	5	16	3	17	3	23	7	16
A quiet and respectable area	17	53	2	11	7	54	8	18
An ordinary working-class area*	8	25	12	67	2	15	28	64
A pretty rough area	-	-	1	6	-	-	1	2
Totals	32	100	18	101	13	100	44	100

* Includes 9 who wished to combine this category with 'quiet and respectable'

either 'ordinary working class' or as 'quiet and respectable', with owner-occupiers considerably more likely to apply the latter label within areas of working class composition. In middle class districts 'quiet and respectable' and 'mixed' appear equally likely to be used as descriptions by all groups. The results from this forced choice question cannot prove that the sample think in such terms but they do show that most men are prepared to select descriptions of their residential area based on some form of class distinction.

Are there systematic differences between other sub-groups in terms of house purchase or subjective area assessment? It could be argued for example that docker's sons would present a more extreme 'traditional' profile whilst post-1970 recruits might demonstrate just the reverse. However, although docker's sons are possibly more likely to live in the older, inner areas they are as likely as others to own the house, be it previously a council house or not. They are also likely to describe their area in the same terms as non-docker's sons. In addition there are no significant variations between men with different lengths of service.

Given the lack of any relationship between aspirations or status perception and sub-groups based on parentage or length of service might it not be best to consider owner-occupiers as a separate group? With their possibly higher aspirations they could constitute a major variation from their more 'traditional' mates. However although they prefer to describe their residential area as 'quiet and respectable' and are more likely to have taken up the new machines and hence improve their earnings potential, no other difference in behaviour has been identified. There are two further sources of variation which might reflect differences between owner-occupiers and others: family size and wife's working.

Both house purchase and young families impose considerable financial burdens. On the interpretation of earlier studies Goldthorpe *et al.*, suggest that the traditional worker might not react to the burdensome stage of the life-cycle by striving to continually improve his situation but may instead accept a plateau or even a drop in his living standards.[20] On this suggestion the level of house purchase found in the present study is itself higher than would be predicted. It is this level that prompts questions about additional differences. In other words, to what extent is house purchase an aspect of some greater diversity within the workforce?

Control of family size can be seen as both reflecting the striving of the owner-occupier and as compensation for an increased financial burden. In any event nationally owner-occupiers seem typically to have smaller families[21] and the quotation from Thorns given above makes it clear that family size is an aspect of the 'rough' versus 'respectable' status distinction. Variations in life-cycle are examined in detail in Chapter Five, here it is only necessary to note that mean family size (controlled to marriages surviving at the time of interview) does not differ significantly between owner-occupiers, who have an average of 1.57 children, and council tenants, who have an average of 1.54.

The other major component in variation between family budgets is that due to the wife's employment. As a further aspect of the striving evidenced by house purchase, or as a compensation for the financial burden imposed by it, wives in owner-occupied manual households have been found to be more keen on getting their own job.[22] Although traditional role structures might be expected to be more prevalent amongst docker's families some previous evidence has shown that the incidence of full time rather than part-time working can be higher amongst the wives of such

highly paid unskilled manual workers.[23] Furthermore the money so earned is more likely to be wanted to raise the family's standard of living rather than to 'keep the wolf from the door'.[24]

In Southampton the overall proportion of wives in employment was no different from the national average at the time of research. Altogether 56% (52) of the men said that their wives worked either full or part-time. However the distribution of full and part-time working does differ considerably from the national figures. Unlike the results referred to above it is part-time working that occurs most frequently in Southampton; at 43% (40) being about three times more common than full time (13%, 12).[25] Although this pattern appears to differ from that previously found, and does not reflect national averages, neither does it conceal any significant internal variation. The proportions of each kind of working within each sub-group of tenure type (again controlled on surviving marriages) reveal no statistically significant differences.

Despite the suggestion of a certain degree of uniformity throughout the workforce in these various respects therefore it is not entirely a 'traditional' uniformity that appears. The number of wives in employment, the generally small family size and the fact that about a half of the sample are presently buying their house make the similarities between dockworkers and other sections of the manual working class more noticeable than any differences.

Social Imagery

The final concern of the present study is with the widest aspects of the workers' perceptions which may be expected to differ from those of other sections of the manual working class, namely their views of the nature of

modern British society. The general theoretical notion that underpins the suggestion of differential social perception claims that relationships at work and in the community form the basis of social imagery. In particular the occupational community and communal sociability of the proletarian traditional worker sustain an image of social structure as comprising a power based dichotomy.[26]

Now despite the fact that in studies of social imagery, including the Affluent Worker study, a plurality of images has been found, it was suggested in Chapter One that the 'traditional' typification requires some reasonable connection to be found between image and industry. On the basis of their study of shipbuilding workers and their discovery of 'diverse' social imagery, Cousins and Brown describe the notion of the proletarian traditional worker as an 'historical misrepresentation'.[27] However these authors do not reject the general notion of a connection between the social situation of workers and their imagery, rather they suggest that this connection involves a greater element of indeterminancy.[28] Thus the explanation for a diversity of social imagery may be sought in the diversity of actual social relationships at work, also identified amongst shipbuilding workers.[29]

This is part of a more general argument. If the traditional working class tend to produce generalisations from the 'givens' of their social life,[30] to reply to questions about the nature of society in what Nichols[31] calls 'operational logic', to say how what <u>is</u> works, then their resulting 'confused' approach may reflect the actual confused (contradictory) nature of the society they perceive.[32] Mann notes that;

> 'The ordinary participant's social relations are usually confined to a fairly narrow segment of society, and his relations with society as a whole are mostly indirect, through a series of overlapping primary and secondary groups.' 33

Ideological conflict does not necessarily emerge, rather there is 'pragmatic acceptance'[34] of their role by sub-ordinate classes who 'accept the ideology and rewards dictated by the elite group.'[35]

Lockwood's reply to the criticisms made by Cousins and Brown was that the processes identified by them to be taking place in the shipbuilding industry, processes of modernisation and so on, by removing structural diversity would produce a more homogeneous occupational community and a more highly developed communal sociability. Thus the underpinnings of a dichotomous imagery would actually be strengthened.[36] This same trend might well allow for the emergence of a 'universalistic class consciousness', which Westergaard sees as lacking in the typology, since;

> 'These changes (modernisation)... point also to an increasing identification outside and beyond the parochial boundaries of shipyard and community...' [37]

Modernisation in the Docks parallels the processes identified in the shipbuilding industry. For this reason wherever appropriate throughout the present work comparisons have been made between men who entered the more traditional industry and those who entered after the major changes. However in terms of social perspectives there are two possible outcomes. The above argument suggests a re-inforcing of the traditional proletarian dichotomous imagery, possibly with universalistic elements. Alternatively, following the trends suggested in the Affluent Worker study, the newly strengthened economic position of the dockworker might result in a more 'privatised' workforce, based on the self-selection of instrumentally oriented employees following decasualisation. Such men might well import a 'pecuniary' image of society and class elements could then appear as concern over status.[38]

There has been some debate on the appropriate interpretation of the 'pecuniary' or 'money' model of the class structure introduced by Goldthorpe *et al.* One of the co-authors has subsequently noted that references to money may well be the way in which inequalities of power are expressed.[39] Furthermore in a recent review of the literature of class relationships Moorhouse[40] recalls that the classic study of miners, archetypal proletarian traditionals, revealed that they:

> 'seize on the most conspicuous outward characteristic of the class difference, and this is spending power, the possession of wealth.' 41

Moorhouse also points out that in terms of the dominant ideology mere acknowledgement of the existence of class is 'indicative of opposition'. Now whilst these are reservations about the interpretation of social images in general they point up the need for any particular study to pay attention to the respondents' understanding of the basis of the image, and not merely to the apparent structure that is revealed. Westergaard puts it this way:

> 'The real question is not the number of categories which people distinguish; but the nature of the relations which they recognise between them, and the basis of the differences which they see.' 42

Hill paid exclusive attention to the perceived nature of social inequality in his study of London dockers. He notes the problem of interpretation of the 'money' model but prefers to classify mixed money and power models with the simple power model on the basis that the elite group included in the former was seen as parasitic. In the Affluent Worker study, as Hill notes, such compound approaches were classified as money models.[43] On his scheme Hill found a quarter of his sample had a power

model; the pure 'money' model accounting for nearly half. The problem of interpretation therefore seems to turn on a distinction between the identification of some basic split in the class structure, relatively independent of subordinate stratification, and well structured stratification systems that do not appear to acknowledge a power based or hermetic elite.

These problems have consequences for research methods. To avoid the imposition of terms upon those who do not necessarily think in such terms open-ended questions are prefered.[44] Basic structural components of imagery on the other hand are probably best collected in a more structured fashion. This leads to a compromise semi-structured approach in interviews. It can be noted in addition that class self-placement, however recorded, is more likely to reflect status awareness and, where appropriate, further information may be required.[45]

Providing a framework for analysis from amongst the various components is mostly a matter of emphasis. The concerns of the Affluent Worker study for example led to a presentation of basic structural models within categories of perceived principal determinants of class. In their study of shipbuilding workers however Cousins and Brown start with the simple basic structural components; the number, arrangement and relative size of perceived classes together with self-rating. The resulting scheme is then used to further analyse types on the basis of the principal criteria used to differentiate classes, descriptions of typical class members and so on.[46] This latter approach has the advantage that it proceeds from the simplest and most clearly defined aspects towards the more ambiguous and least clearly understood information. Accordingly it is the initial procedure adopted in the present work.

The typology which results from a consideration of

these basic components is given in figure 9.1. The principal criterion of structure is just the number of perceived classes; from two to four. Self-rating is shown on the basis of position regardless of subjective labelling. Inclusion of arrangement and relative size of classes results in three groups of imagery:

i) Type I, basic two-class systems;

ii) Types II, III & IV, which are three class systems; and,

iii) Types V & VI, which are both four class systems.

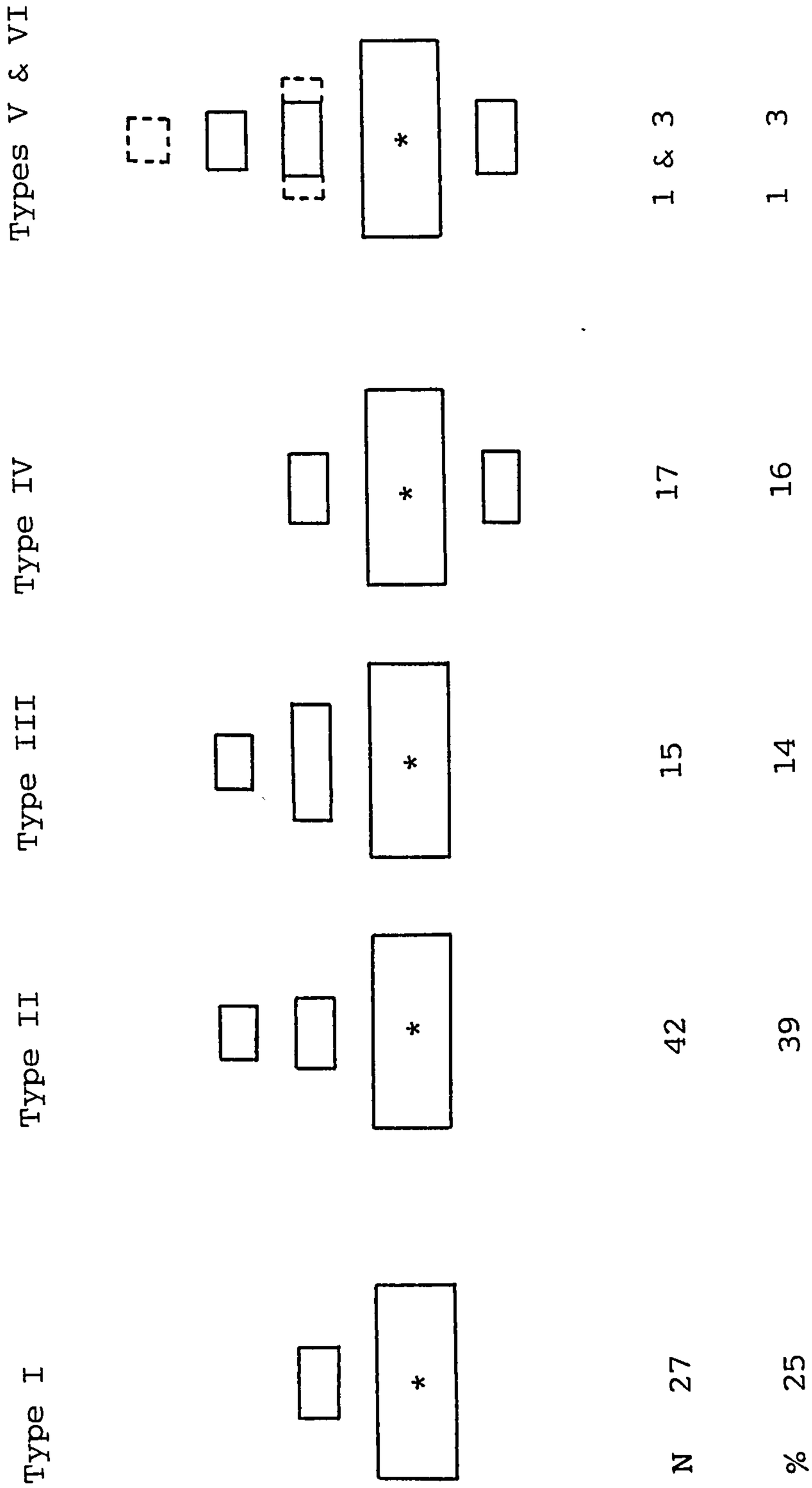
Because of the small number of four class models types V & VI are shown combined. In fact one respondent saw three classes above his own, large lowest class and his system includes those boxes shown in broken lines in figure 9.1. Three respondents saw two classes above their own and one residual class below.

For most comparisons and further analyses proportions are based on the number of respondents (105) who gave reasonably intelligible replies indicative of images at least as structured as the basic typology. Only two men gave very confused replies including 'don't know'. However, for overall comparisons in terms of descriptions and for analyses of sub-groups proportions are given to the base of the total sample.

The first substantive point that can be made follows on from these remarks, it is that nearly all the men (105, 98%) were able to provide intelligible information on the class structure of society. Furthermore all of these men placed themselves in the largest class and most (85, 81%) placed this class at the bottom of the social structure.[47] In addition the vast majority saw a relatively small super-ordinate class or classes.[48] One point that can be made

Fig. 9.1

TYPOLOGY OF IMAGES OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.



in summarizing these general findings at this stage, a point usually only made by critics of image analysis, is that the workforce display a certain unity of outlook that approximates to a general 'working class' view. But this general outlook is little different from that found in most studies of other sections of the working class.

Leaving these general aspects and turning to a more detailed consideration of the structural models, further similarities between the sample and other studies emerge. The relative numbers of different models show that the more complex imagery comprises the majority of responses. Nearly three-quarters (78, 74%) of the men see more than two classes. Before considering the possible nature of the relationships between such perceived classes it can be noted that this finding in itself reduces the applicability of the proletarian traditional classification. Taken in conjunction with direct comparisons with other similar findings it reduces it still further.[49]

Distinctions between the types shown in figure 9.1 are mostly fairly clear. The least clearly determined distinction is that between types II and III, it depends upon the size of the intermediate class. Cousins and Brown make this distinction in their study and, though arbitrary in detail, it seems a very reasonable distinction to make in the present case.[50] Further evidence examined below appears to confirm this impression. The four respondents who gave the most complex systems usually provided the most detailed descriptions but overall there is possibly less diversity covered by this typology than that reported in other work. Types V and VI are included merely for the sake of completeness, obviously with only four respondents between them there is little point in detailed further analysis. These four individuals are included in some categories however, where characteristics are amalgamated across types.

What do the men believe is the principal determinant of the class structures they see? In table 9.4 these determinants are given for each structure type. These are intended to be the major 'causes' of class, but it must be noted that even this restriction cannot exclude correlates of class or indeed mixtures ('confusions') of the two.[51] What does not appear clearly in the literature but arose quite readily from the respondents is that different determinants may come into operation at different levels, or, put in a more neutral way, that different criteria can be associated with different classes. Taken altogether 58% gave single factors throughout their system but the rest made a relatively clear distinction; especially when followed up by interrogation.[52] For this reason multiple determinations are shown in table 9.4.

However, initially, if categories are considered as main determinants then money appears in 36% of cases whereas all mentions of money total 52% of cases. In a very real sense these are money models of class but money is not linked preferentially to any particular type, or group of types, overall.[53] Within and across types however the pattern of principal determinants does differ systematically.

The notion that links hierarchical structural imagery to money suggests that multiple class systems would be linked to money being given more significance as a determinant of class. Contrary to these expectations however those who see two classes above their own, types II and III, do not give more emphasis to money as the single main determinant. Jobs are given more significance than money, (X^2=14.13, $p < .003$, 3df.). Overall men of types II and III mention money with similar frequency to those of types I and IV but it is at the top of the class system that money becomes important for the former. Overall mentions of occupations are not similar however. Types I

Table 9.4

PRINCIPAL DETERMINANT(S) OF CLASS BY SOCIAL STRUCTURE TYPES.

Principal determinant(s)	Type I N=27 %	Type II 42 %	Type III 15 %	Type IV 17 %	Types V & VI 4 %	Total 105 %
Money	41	17	-	47	50	27
Job	19	33	7	24	-	23
Inheritance	19	7	-	-	-	8
Money, but inheritance at the top	4	2	20	24	25	10
Job, but inheritance at the top	11	19	33	6	25	17
Job, but 'big money' etc. at the top	7	21	40	-	-	16

and IV have 37% and 29% mentions of occupation respectively, but types II and III have 74% and 80% respectively, (X^2=17.92, p <.0005, 3df.). What Goldthorpe et al., suggest is the clearest money model, accounting for 13% of responses in the Affluent Worker study, approximates in structure to type IV, which in the present work accounts for 11% of responses.[54] In fact type IV can be seen to differ least from type I and most from types II and III.

This pattern of responses almost certainly reflects the well remarked ambiguous position of occupation in such classification schemes; as Bott says:

> 'some thought of occupation as a source of power, others were thinking of its general prestige, others of the income attached to it.' 55

The status/prestige aspects of occupation probably account for the greater overall frequency with which it is identified by those of types II and III, and almost certainly account for the frequency with which it appears in the lower classes only. However, even some respondents with the simple two class model use occupation in the same way and make a top and bottom distinction. Type I, in other words, could be reclassified into two 2-class systems, one with and one without manifest status elements.[56] Such considerations however merely emphasize the similarity between types I and IV. On the one hand some type I respondents made it clear that differentiation occurs within the lowest class, on the other the inferior class identified by type IV respondents is usually quite clearly a residual class. Brown and Brannen suggest that the latter situation might well 'be a minor gloss on a basically two-valued power model.'[57]

Partial clarification of this rather confused picture is provided by some further evidence on the nature of

perceived differences between classes. Some men (15) produced, in addition to their basic categorisation, the idea that certain people believed themselves to be of 'a higher class' or 'think they're middle class'. Now although in the literature self-definition appears as a criterion used to distinguish classes, the men who made this particular response did so after they had enumerated the classes they perceive. They were quite clear that the people they had identified do not constitute a 'real' class, and indeed such people were disliked for thinking that they did. But this disliking of the 'putting on of middle-class airs', well remarked in the literature,[58] does not appear evenly throughout the typology given above. More than half the men who made remarks of this kind are classified in type I, significantly more than in any other type, (X^2=8.35, p< .004, 1df.).[59] Thus about a third (8, 30%) of those with a 'simple dichotomous' image see other 'classes' but deny their reality', which explains to some extent how it is that some men in type I distinguish different criteria at different 'levels'.

There are obvious similarities between such a position and that of men of the other types who make a parallel distinction. Overall such men appear to see a fundamental difference between determinants, and/or correlates, of class at the top and at all other levels. Hill notes a similar situation:

> 'It should be noted, however, that the large central class was in turn internally divided into a multiplicity of grades based on money and consumption patterns. But these internal divisions could be surmounted, whereas the other barrier was more absolute.' 60

This sort of consideration raisesthe question of the perceived relative openess of different social groups. However before turning to that aspect another major source

of information on the composition of classes will be examined; the descriptions of typical class members. There are two sources of information in the way people talk about classes and their composition. Substantive descriptions of typical class members provide the bulk of information but the nature of the terminology used to refer to groups and their members is also of some interest and references to it appear in the literature. References to members may be role labels, job titles or personal characteristics or attributes; references to groups can be similar but may involve scalar elements or merely reflect conventional or traditional language.

It is difficult to avoid the introduction of class terminology when eliciting the information required but it was only necessary in two cases to further explain the introductory statement which contains the phrase 'social classes' once. About two-thirds of the sample (67, 63%) referred directly to the social structure in the conventional class terminology; working class, middle class, etc. A number more (17, 16%) used similar terms but made the scalar property more explicit by replacing working class with lower class. Altogether more than three-quarters of the sample (84, 79%) refered to social groups as classes in these ways. Only about a fifth refered to the social structure without using explicit class terminology; ten per cent (11) talked in terms which imply a money scale (poor, well-off etc.) and about the same number (9, 8%) in terms of general job descriptions. The proportion using class terminology is unremarkable when compared to the findings of other studies; this is the typical pattern amongst the British working class.[61]

Having identified the various classes respondents proceeded to describe and/or label typical members. The distribution of these descriptions across social structure types is given in table 9.5. There are few notable

Table 9.5

DESCRIPTIONS OF CLASSES BY SOCIAL STRUCTURE TYPES.

Description of class	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Types V & VI	Total
	N=27	42	15	17	4	107
	%	%	%	%	%	%*
Top class(es)						
Rich	30	31	40	29	50	32
Top bosses	26	24	13	24	25	22
Society types, nobs etc.	22	19	27	24	25	21
Managers	7	14	7	12	-	11
Professionals	7	12	13	6	-	9
Snobs	4	-	-	6	-	2
First intermediate class above self-rated class						
Rich	-	29	-	-	-	11
Top bosses	-	2	-	-	-	1
Managers	-	19	13	-	25	10
Professionals	-	17	20	-	-	9
Clerical workers,'office types'	-	17	40	-	50	14
Well-off workers	-	7	20	-	-	6
Snobs	-	10	7	-	25	6

Cont;d

Table 9.5
Continued

TYPES CONT'D.

Description of class	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Types V & VI	Total
	N=27	42	15	17	4	107
	%	%	%	%	%	%*
Self-rated class						
Workers (working class)	67	81	80	29	-	64
Ordinary people etc.	7	10	7	12	25	9
Ordinary 'middle class'	-	-	-	41	-	7
Poor	15	5	13	-	25	8
Well-off workers	-	-	-	18	50	5
Low class('common types')	7	5	-	-	-	4
Class below self-rating						
Poor	-	-	-	29	25	6
Low class ('common types')	-	-	-	24	-	4
Down-and-outs; riff-raff etc.	-	-	-	47	50	9

* Percentages in this column are based on the total number of respondents in the sample

differences between the types within each class. Descriptions within top classes demonstrate no significant variations. Within the first intermediate class above the large self-rated class, identified by types II, III, IV and V,[62] occupations and general occupational labels are given prominence. Type III respondents place much more emphasis on the white-collar occupational element and this fact reinforces the notion that type III comprises a valid separate type compared with type II.

Within the self-rated class there is one noticeable departure from the general pattern. Overall use of the word 'class' as part of a description is fairly high, but within the self-rated group the type IV respondents show a preference for the label 'middle class'. In the other types the 'class' component of descriptions is 'working class'. In table 9.5 all responses involving use of the term 'working class' are included with more general references to 'workers', 'people who work' and so on. However, many of these terms are simply interchangeable and 'people who work - ordinary working class people', which was a not uncommon response, is placed in the first category mainly because of its emphasis on work. If the phrase 'working class' was replaced by 'middle class' in such a description however it was placed in the separate category.

In addition to this 'class' distinction the importance of money for discrimination between their own and the subordinate class is also clear in that only amongst type IV and VI respondents are there self descriptions as well-off workers. Put this way these results emphasize that the middle class aspect of the description looks down for its rationale, rather than up. That is to say it does not emphasize personal striving in contradistinction to other people in a similar situation, in this case most of the population, but merely recognises that there is a

group of people considerably worse off.[63] However, the more frequent descriptions applied to the subordinate class emphasize personal characteristics of a negative kind. The class label when applied then takes on its full pejorative sense. 'Low class' becomes synonymous with 'common' and 'coarse'.

Inclusion of the word 'class' as part of a description is a reflection of its ambiguity, of its popular use as a measure of individual character. If low class is synonymous with 'common' or 'coarse' and working class with 'ordinary', then upper class is synonymous with nobility. Middle class, as a description, only appears amongst those few type IV respondents who apply it to themselves, and for whom it seems to have the same meaning that working class does for others. Indeed, apart from this variation, the use of 'class', as with most of the features of interest in this distribution, is common to all types.

At the top of the systems seen by the men however the most frequent descriptions are not in terms of the more obvious status or prestige elements. These may be difficult to disentangle from the elements of money and power, themselves linked in uncertain ways, but such problems are common to all people thinking about the nature of society, including theoretical sociologists. What is clear is that the presence of money, especially in large amounts, is seen by about a third of the sample as the common feature amongst members of the top class. The 'wealthy', the 'idle rich' and 'millionaires' are all members of this class and 'don't have to work if they don't want to'.

If the category 'the rich' emphasises the presence of money then the category 'top bosses' points to the presence of industrial power. The 'bosses', the 'gaffers', even 'the CBI'; all refer to the operation of industrial

control. This reflection of a power based interpretation of class structure appears in a little over a fifth of replies. In a similar proportion of cases it is the prestige of the nobility that is given precedence. Only a small number of men include the professions or lower managers in the top class so that, despite the problems of category differentiation, the great social distance of the upper class is apparent in most responses, (82, 77%).

Amongst those who perceive a middle class however references and descriptions are most frequently in terms of occupations and occupational roles. Although a few mention relatively higher levels of money (income or consumption potential) many more point to managers and professionals and to the general non-manual sector. The 'office wallers', 'office types' and 'nine to fivers' are all workers, but it is a different kind of work, 'not a real day's labour'. They may be 'a cut above' or merely 'snobs' but either way for more than half of the sample (61, 57%) they are seen to constitute a separate group in society.

It is work, its nature, presence and necessity which appear in the perceived middle, working and residual classes as major aspects of description, and, by implication, definition. In comparison the top class is seen largely in terms of independence from work ('idle rich') or control of it ('top bosses'). This would seem to suggest, despite the structural complexities, that a traditional working class perspective is present. But what is striking about these descriptions is not so much their apparent rationale or distribution, illuminating as these may be, but their similarity to those of other sections of the working class over a considerable period of time.

The study of shipbuilding workers by Brown and his

collegues dates from a decade prior to the present research and was based on a sample taken at about the same time as that for the Affluent Worker study. Some sixteen years prior to that Martin had taken a general sample and reported on subjective aspects of stratification in a manner which Goldthorpe et al., refer to as 'foreshadowing' their own findings. The principal reason for their interest in Martin's results stems from the apparent emphasis he found to be placed on money by self-rated middle-class members of the working class. This overall emphasis on money however did not constitute 'a simple income scale' but became disproportionately significant in descriptions of the upper class.[64]

There are difficulties in making detailed comparisons between such different sets of results. However the proportions of 'deviant' middle class self-raters and the proportions of them assigning significance to money in their scheme appear to be alike. Possibly of greater significance in any study of traditional working class perspectives is the fact that the numbers giving disproportionate emphasis to money as a characteristic of the upper class appear to be very similar in these studies. Yet the latter are widely separated in time and cover different sections of the working class. Nor is 'money' an isolated similarity. The major characteristics of each subjectively defined class revealed by these studies vary within very narrow limits.[65]

There is one further major aspect of the social structure that must be examined before any attempt can be made to bring together the different elements of imagery thus far revealed; the possibility and/or the extent of social mobility. Both the possibility and the perceived mechanisms of mobility are given in table 9.6 across social structure types. Several of these categories require further amplification.

Table 9.6

POSSIBLE SOCIAL MOBILITY ROUTES BY SOCIAL STRUCTURE TYPES.

Social mobility routes		Type I N=27 %	Type II 42 %	Type III 15 %	Type IV 17 %	Types V & VI 4 %	Total 105 %
Not really or not at all possible		33	33	-	12	25	25
Only over a generation, or changing class but not nature		4	14	-	-	25	8
By changing job, status and life-style		4	21	13	12	-	13
By changing to job at higher level		7	14	-	18	-	10
Via education		7	5	7	-	-	5
Money		30	10	-	29	50	18
Job	In lower classes only	4	2	40	6	-	9
Education	In lower classes only	-	-	7	-	-	1
Money	In lower classes only	11	-	33	24	-	11

The first category includes both those who were unsure about the possibility of very limited mobility (8%) and those who were quite sure that no mobility takes place. The second category also involves very limited mobility but the rationale for its separate classification depends on the 'essentialist' elements in the statements made. A change in objective circumstances would not necessarily result in a change of class, unless, as two men said, the effect was spread into the next generation. There is a good example which illuminates the meaning of this category but also demonstrates the complexity inherent in image analysis: 'you could win the pools, get rich, but you'd still be working class.'

Similar elements are present in the next category but were seen by these respondents as potentially changeable. Nevertheless the changes envisaged are seen as thorough-going; particular kinds of job, general pattern of living and social standing, even accent are all required to change. In contrast the respondents in the next category refer only to changes in occupational prestige. Education is shown separately since it was specifically identified as a mobility route but it was clearly seen as such a route because it could result in a 'better job'. Money is simpler; respondents in this category typically did not elaborate. The final three categories repeat the themes of the three above them but mobility was specifically limited to the lower classes by these respondents.

Social mobility, even when it is possible, is clearly not seen as a simple or straitforward business by most men. Only the 'money' category contains men who responded in a 'that's all it takes' sort of fashion. Altogether nearly a half (48, 46%) see social mobility as unlikely or impossible or as involving a more or less complete change in nature. Overall money is mentioned in thirty per cent of

cases, jobs in nineteen per cent. But if education is linked, as suggested, to the possibility of obtaining a better job then the proportions change: jobs and education together account for thirty-seven per cent of responses. Again the inter-connectedness of these terms makes the meaning of such comparisons less than clear.

Variation across the types is noticeable and mostly consistent with the rationale of the 'principal determinants' given in table 9.4. The major difference centres on a comparison between types II and III considered together and the other types. Amongst the former, mobility possibilities are seen via the occupational structure, although complex life-style changes are required to be present by a majority of these respondents. In contrast in types I and IV the single largest emphasis is on money and, as remarked, this is generally treated as a less complicated condition. This fact, and the pattern of determinants given across the typology, suggests that types I and IV are not only basically alike but that they represent an outlook that is essentially 'harder', 'simpler' or more 'basic' than that of types II and III.

However within types II and III there is a major variation. It centres on the distinction, also noted in the distribution of determinants, between the upper and lower classes. This again suggests that there is a feature which cuts across the simple structural typology reflecting the perception of a basic division in society. Although this is not the actual pattern suggested by the typification of the traditional proletarian worker it is in a very real sense what the notion of a power based dichotomy is all about. This leads to the question; just how widespread is the perception of such a basic division? Is it the majority outlook or do the more nearly hierarchical models predominate?

However, before examining this question, which would require a reclassification of the typology, the typology should be analysed with respect to the sample sub-groups, treated throughout this work, which have appeared to be significant in some circumstances. Their distribution across the types is given in table 9.7. To simplify the presentation, in all but one case, only a single pole of each sub-group is shown. Apart from parentage and length of service three aspects of residential patterns are included; (a) the geographical, which combines distance and possible local concentrations and effects, (b) the social, which derives from the class component of the area types, and (c) the types of tenure, which are given in full.

The results given in table 9.7 are easy to summarize. In each case there are no significant variations from the general population mean. This entirely negative finding is in a sense the most important to be reported in this work. None of the characteristics which appear for various reasons to emphasize one or other of the aspects of the model of the traditional proletarian worker is preferentially associated with any of the social structure types. However, in view of the possibility of an underlying perception of a basic division in society, these and other characteristics should be examined in the light of a re-classified typology based on this apparent perception.

An appropriate schema for such a re-classification is somewhat problematic. However, as Moorhouse suggests,[66] mere acknowledgement of the existence of class may well be indicative of opposition, and opposition implies the recognition of power inequalities. If those who perceive several classes therefore make a special distinction between the top and other classes this may be taken as a reasonable indication that they perceive some basic divi-

Table 9.7

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION SUB-GROUPS BY SOCIAL STRUCTURE TYPES.

Population sub-groups	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Types V & VI	Total
	N=27	42	15	17	4	107
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Parentage:						
Docker's sons	48	50	53	29	25	46
Length of service:						
Post 1970	30	40	33	35	50	36
Geographical area:						
Inner zone	41	33	40	18	25	34
Residential area:						
Working class	89	83	73	82	75	81
Tenure:						
Owner-occupiers	30	31	40	18	50	30
Council-house owners	15	17	20	24	-	17
All tenants	56	52	40	59	50	53

sion. On the other hand if these same people do not perceive the possibility of relatively easy mobility between the lower classes then by so doing they emphasize the existence of a more complex social structure. The criteria for the identification of a basic division can be summarized as follows therefore; those that distinguish an upper class into which mobility is not possible, but, at the same time, allow for relatively easy mobility in lower classes.

This schema, when applied to all but type I, yields 18 (17%) respondents. There is an additional problem with type I respondents since some may perceive a 'fluid' dichotomy not obviously based on power, for example two classes defined by occupation and allowing for mobility by change of job. In fact money and occupation as class determinants, associated with social mobility by similar channels, accounts for 12 (44%) of the type I respondents and indicates that 'simple dichotomy' can imply rather different things. However, even when all type I respondents are included the total number who could be described as seeing a two-way division in society amounts to less than half the sample, (45, 42%). To the extent that this new type may be considered to emphasize a basic division of course the remaining respondents can be held to put greater emphasis on more complex views. Theirs is the majority category.

The workers generally therefore do not seem to perceive of society in terms of a simple 'them and us' split. However, some of them clearly do, and emphasize it to a greater or lesser extent. Do these latter men demonstrate significantly different attitudes? Do they possess other characteristics in common compared with those who seem to see more complex relations in society? In terms of the variables examined in this work the answers to these quest-

ions are clearly negative. Both the original typology and the revised dichotomy were examined over the whole range of the attitude and characteristic variables used in this research and no statistically significant differences became apparent. Although the social imagery of each respondent appears to have some degree of internal consistency therefore the images appear to have very low salience for other attitudes and do not appear to be related to particular sub-groups.

Within an analysis such as this various simple relations can be traced between components of the types and sub-groups. In contrast to the negative results concerned with the higher levels of data organisation represented by the typology there are some indicative minor relationships that are worthy of report. These concern age and parent-age, and are the only statistically significant results.

If age is considered in two bands, 21 to 44 and 45 years plus, then the younger men so defined appear more likely to see a residual class below them ($z=2.55$, $p< .01$, 2t.). On the other hand younger men were less likely to mention people 'putting on airs' or 'thinking they're middle class', ($z=3.39$, $p < .0007$, 2t.). Docker's sons seem just less likely to see a residual class ($z=2.06$, $p< .04$, 2t.) and much less likely to mention people 'thinking they're middle class'. These results may be simply the random products of a large scale analysis. Certainly a conservative statistician would be unwilling to attempt to summarize the significance of these four results. Their possible sociological significance is difficult to assess but they may indicate a difference of view, over a generation, in the perception of change in the relative position and composition of the working class; a perception less obviously present amongst docker's sons.

One final factor remains to be considered. In 1975

Lockwood explained that the purpose of the typology of images was not to 'explain the formation of a societal and political ideology... from the vantage point of work and community relations.' He recognised, following Popitz, that dichotomous imagery for example is compatible with a 'whole range of concrete beliefs'.[67] The obvious concrete political outcome of beliefs held by the men involves the pattern of their support for political parties. Other studies have noted the low salience of differing imagery for voting behaviour[68] and the present case repeats this finding.

There is certainly a fairly general support for the Labour Party amongst the respondents. Most had voted Labour in the last general election (1974) (83, 78%) but only about half (56, 52%) reported themselves to be habitual Labour voters.[69] Relating this pattern of behaviour to the various configurations of social perception does not produce any indication of possible connections.

Summary

Conventional assessments of personal aspirations based on desire for promotion are probably inadequate in the case of manual workers. Such desires, or rather lack of them, more likely reflect low personal evaluation and/or a realistic appraisal of market opportunities. In this study a concern with appropriate market strategies is also evident in the aspirations of the men for their children but the evidence shows that these aspirations are typically not limited to the traditional emphasis on trades. Very few men for example wished to see their sons becoming dockers.

It is also uncertain in what way consumer behaviour reflects desires for social advancement. Whilst there

is some suggestion of the remnant of a traditional life-style amongst a few of the older men, about half the sample are buying their own house. House purchase itself is not entirely compatible with the notion of the traditional proletarian but on the other hand, especially considering that about a third of the owner-occupiers are buying ex-council houses, such purchases do not necessarily imply individual social striving. In addition similar assessments of the social characteristics of different housing areas are given by owners and tenants alike.

There is only one indication of a difference between owner-occupiers and council tenants; the latter are more likely to see the area where they live as 'ordinary working class'. Owner-occupiers do not on the other hand see their areas as socially superior, rather as 'quiet and respectable'. Other relevant characteristics of owners and tenants are the same. Neither group differs with respect to family size or wife's working which are both similar to national levels. There is no evidence here of traditional workers accepting a drop or even a plateau in their living standards during the economically demanding phase of the life-cycle.

When considered overall the dockers do have a general awareness of class which is reflected in their readiness to discuss society in such terms. Typically, and in common with the majority of manual workers in Britain, they see themselves as members of the largest and lowest class. However images of society vary considerably within the workforce although there are considerable problems in interpreting such data. On one view for example about half the men could be seen as having a 'money' model of society. Nevertheless what does emerge clearly from the analysis is that most of the men do not obviously perceive society as comprising a power based dichotomy. The

majority see more complex structures and relations. Occupations feature in these images in ways which emphasizes their prestige or hierarchical elements. Even amongst those who see a structural dichotomy a number refer to further stratification, although they are usually concerned to deny that such divisions are based on any 'real' difference.

It is work, the central reality of everyday life, that mainly structures descriptions of the class system. Their own, and intermediate classes where these are seen, are composed of people who work. The lower, residual class is often seen to contain the unemployed. Those few who describe themselves as middle class look down to this residual class rather than up when they label themselves in this way. At the top of the class structure, and at much greater social distance, are those who do not need to work. These various ideas however are elements of a general working class perspective which comparison with other findings suggests has remained basically unchanged since the Second World War throughout all sections of the manual working class.

Thus there is no evidence for a particular type of imagery amongst dock workers. Even when common relational elements are abstracted from the typology of structural images to form a larger group who appear to see an essential dichotomy in society the group so formed remains the minority. Nor is there any evidence to link these groups, or the more detailed types, to any particular characteristic or set of characteristics defining sub-groups within the sample.

Notes and References

1. A concomitant quality might be the apparently greater valuation of conformity to external authority that has been found to be present amongst those of lower social class. In comparison those of higher social class are said to value self-direction. See, M.L. Kohn & C. Schooler, 'Class, Occupation & Orientation'. The authors argue for a direction of causality from occupational experience to value structure.

2. 'Personal suitability' is the label attached to a work orientation involving self-assessment given by R.M. Blackburn & M. Mann, in, The Working Class in the Labour Market, see pp.195 & 341-2.

3. ibid, pp.206-208.

4. As J.E.T. Eldridge has pointed out the 'effort-bargain' concept has close affinities with the cash-nexus proposition. It is hardly surprising that about a third of the men in this category stated their opposition in baldly economic terms. See, 'Industrial Relations and Industrial Capitalism', in G. Esland et al., (eds), People and Work, pp.307-316; and W. Baldamus, Efficiency and Effort.

5. This description is from F.M. Martin, 'Some Subjective Aspects of Social Stratification', in D.V. Glass, (ed), Social Mobility in Britain, p.69. Martin found that 36% of the manual workers wanted skilled trades for their children. However this is only slightly greater than the number (31%) favouring white-collar occupations.

6. S. Hill, The Dockers, p.183, reports a very similar finding. As Hill notes however this sort of level is higher than that found in earlier studies, for example, R. McKenzie & A. Silver, Angels in Marble, p.140. J.H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Workers, vol.3., p.130, were noting at the same time an increase as reported by J.W.B. Douglas, The Home & the School, p.75, over that reported by Martin, op. cit., pp.68-9, and interpreting it as a rise in working class aspirations.

7. Hill, op. cit., p.181.

8. Direct comparison of results can be made with Hill op. cit., p.230, who gives 44% wanting non-manual occupations; see also Martin, op. cit., 31% in 1954; W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation & Social Justice, p.275,

49% in 1966; Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.131 54% in 1969; R. Brown & P. Brannen, 'Social Relations & Social Perspectives amongst Shipbuilding Workers', 48% in 1970. The present work gives 51%.

9. This calculation is based on age-groups; the figures are 21-34, 85% owners; 35-44, 76%; 45-54, 67%; 55-64, 31%. Note that one cell yields $f_e < 5$.

10. K. Roberts et al., The Fragmentary Class Structure, p.56. The authors cite B. Ineichen, 'Home Ownership & Manual Workers Life-styles', to support their own evidence for this assertion. On the argument of H.F. Moorhouse & C.W. Chamberlain, working-class attitudes to property may also shed light on the normative bond holding the working class to society. See 'Lower Class Attitudes to Property'.

11. B. Ineichen, op. cit. Ineichen does not suggest a direction of causality.

12. About a third (15, 30%) of the house purchases were made prior to 1970.

13. S.M. Miller & F. Reissman, 'The Working Class Sub-culture'.

14. R. Pahl, Patterns of Urban Life, p.55.

15. D.C. Thorns, Suberbia, p.45 and see, The Quest for Community. Lockwood notes that 'respectability' is one factor that is 'inimical to the development of class solidarity' within the working class, 'In Search of the Traditional Worker', in M. Bulmer, (ed), Working-Class Images of Society, p.242.

16. The descriptions are taken from Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., pp.142-3. The overall frequency with which the working-class label was chosen in the present work is greater than that reported by Goldthorpe et al., which is consistent with the notion of traditional workers, but the majority of the respondents in Luton lived in areas defined as middle class.

17. Working class areas are defined as types 2, 6, 7 & 8; middle class areas as types 0, 4 & 5.

18. Goldthorpe et al., make this point and give a number of other references, vol.3., op. cit., p.144, fn.1.

19. This and the previous result are based on a comparison between 'ordinary working class', 'quiet and respectable' and a combined category of 'select' and 'mixed'. The two 'rough' cases are excluded.

20. Goldthorpe et al., vol.1., op. cit., p.149.

21. Ineichen, op. cit.

22. ibid.

23. A.P. Jephcott et al., Married Women Working, p.99. The authors give 22% part-time and 31% full time.

24. ibid, p.165.

25. The national figures for 1976 are 25% part-time and 33% full time. OPCS National Household Survey.

26. This is Lockwood's original formulation (1966), restated in the Affluent Worker study (1968). Lockwood later (1975) said, in addition to his use of the word 'sustain', that the dichotomous view of the social world is 'determined fundamentally by belongingness to the work community'. In Bulmer, (ed), op. cit., p.242.

27. J. Cousins & R. Brown, 'Patterns of Paradox', in Bulmer, op. cit., pp.55-6. Note that, although they do not study them directly, the authors extend their criticism to cover miners and dockers.

28. ibid, p.80.

29. See also R. Brown & P. Brannen, 'Social Relations and Social Perspectives Amongst Shipbuilding Workers', (part 2).

30. This is one of the more frequently noted aspects of the working class. It is noted for example in the most recent study of imagery; H. Davis, Beyond Class Images, p.184.

31. T. Nichols, 'Labourism and Class Consciousness'.

32. M. Mann makes this point; see Proc. of the conference on, 'Occupational Community of the Traditional Worker', but note the author's dislike of the term 'confused' when used in this way.

33. M. Mann, 'The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy'.

34. ibid.

35. E. Krause, The Sociology of Occupations, p.86.

36. Lockwood in Bulmer, op. cit., p.242.

37. ibid, p.253.

38. I.C. Cannon, 'Ideology and Occupational Community'. Cannon speaks about the 'erosion' of strong solidarity due to increased wealth.

39. J. Platt, 'Variations in Answers to Different Questions on Perceptions of Class'.

40. H.F. Moorhouse, 'Attitudes to Class and Class Relationships in Britain'.

41. ibid.; the reference is to N. Dennis et al., Coal is our Life, p.36.

42. J.H. Westergaard, 'Radical Class Consciousness' in Bulmer, op. cit., p.253.

43. Hill, op. cit., p.191.

44. W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, p.152.

45. D. Webb, makes this point, 'Some Reservations on the Use of Self-rated Class'.

46. It is possible that this method emphasises the diversity found in the replies to these sort of questions. Certainly Goldthorpe et al., also found 'a considerable amount of diversity', but their presentation does not bring it to the fore. See vol.3., op. cit., p.147.

47. Cousins and Brown, op. cit., p.68 found 87% self-placing in the largest class, 80% self-rating at the bottom. Moorhouse, op cit. found 83% self-placing in the largest class.

48. Estimated at less than 20% of the population.

49. Cousins and Brown, op. cit., found 62% of shipbuilding workers with structural models including more than two classes; Moorhouse op. cit., found 63%.

50. Respondents were classified in type II when the perceived intermediate class size exceeded 20%.

51. This is essentially the point made by Platt, op. cit.

52. Although the procedure was only adopted when inconsistencies, clues etc. were present it may well be that the most useful method of eliciting informations on subjective appreciations of society is to systematically oblige the respondent to follow through the consequences of his/her own statements, once the general nature of these has been elicited by a relatively structured open-ended approach.

53. Goldthorpe et al., give 54% with money models, vol.3., op. cit., p.150; Hill reports 64% mixed money and prestige models, op. cit., p.234.

54. Goldthorpe et al., vol.3., op. cit., p.148.

55. E. Bott, Family and Social Network, p.172.

56. Hill also notes that it is 'difficlut to disentangle' these elements; op. cit., p.191.

57. Brown and Brannen, op. cit., (part one).

58. E.A. Nordlinger, The Working Class Tories, p.165, notes this and provides many other references.

59. Because of the relatively small numbers across the full typology, 3 cells would appear in this test with $f_e < 5$. The X^2 test was therefore applied to a 2x2 matrix formed of type I versus all others which yields only one cell with $f_e < 5$.

60. Hill, op. cit., p.191.

61. For example, Webb, op. cit., using a totally free self-assignment, compares the terms used by manual and non-manual respondents; 63% of the manual sub-sample gave class terminology.

62. The type V respondent identified two intermediate classes, but is here included under the one heading to simplify the presentation. He labelled both classes in occupational terms.

63. F.M. Martin, op. cit., reached very similar conclusions in 1954. He says;... '(identifying middle class to mean workers)... strongly suggests that when a manual worker assesses himself as middle class he is not merely asserting his personal superiority; he carries with him a large proportion of his compeers, and in so doing, he shifts the boundaries of the classes,' p.62.

64. ibid, p.61.

65. ibid, pp.59-60; Cousins and Brown, op. cit., p.69. The figures are: (simplified and aggregated where possible), for the top class, money-44% (Martin), 33% (Cousins & Brown), 32% (Present work); heredity-18%, 27%, 21%; For the middle class, money-11%, N/A, 11%; professionals-18%, 25%,19%; For the working class, work (people who work)-76%, 79%, 64%; money-10%, 3%, 5%.

66. Moorhouse, op. cit.

67. In Bulmer, op. cit., pp.241-2.

68. Cousins and Brown for example report that the type they identify as being possibly the most 'traditional proletarian' has support for the Labour Party which was 'only average'. In Bulmer, op. cit., p.76.

69. Cousins and Brown, op. cit., p.75, report 49% regulars; Hill, op. cit., pp.186-187 & 232, reports 68%.

CHAPTER TEN

Summary and Conclusions

This study has explored one aspect of the general theoretical approach that sees social perceptions as being related to experience in work and the community. It has been suggested that certain configurations of work and community relations are associated with specific views of the nature of society. Because social life is a dynamic process however this formulation works both ways, that is attitudes and behaviour in these contexts may be partly conditional on previously formed social images. In the evolution of organisation theory such an approach has led to a concern with the participant's approach to the organisation; his motivations and perceptions. On this view subsequent attitudes and behaviour within an organisation will be partly the result of the interaction between such prior orientations and the structure and functions of the organisation.

In social stratification theory this approach has been applied both across the non-manual/manual division and within it. Within the manual working class three types of worker have been distinguished, each characterised by industrial and community milieux which are in turn associated with particular social imagery. Dockworkers appear as 'traditional proletarians' in this typology. The main features of this type, which have received attention in this research, were given in Chapter One. They are:

i) A basic conception of society as an unalterable dichotomy;

ii) wants and expectations that are fixed so economic concerns comprise the maintenance of existing standards;

iii) fatalism and orientation to the present;

iv) emphasis on collective action and group solidarity - with concomitant restraint on individual advance.

From the point of view of the docks as an organisation therefore the men it employs bring to it what has been called an instrumental/expressive-negative orientation. That is to say they present a view of work as an oppositional and collective means to an end.

Recent empirical work in this tradition has questioned the homogeneity and concentration of views and the nature of the attitudes supposedly to be found amongst proletarian workers. One possible explanation for the apparent multiplicity of perspectives to be found has been given in terms of the great diversity of employment experience which can be identified in the so-called traditional industries. Such an approach accepts the notion of a connection between the work and community milieux and social imagery but carries the implication that the removal of diversity, for example by the 'modernisation' of an industry, could result in an increase in the homogeneity of social perceptions within the workforce.

Alternatively, following the argument which appears in the 'Affluent Worker' volumes, it could be argued that the change to a more formally organised, highly secure and well paid job would result in the self-selection of men with a straightforward instrumental orientation. Such men should possess 'money' models of the social structure and demonstrate greater concern over status elements when compared with their more 'traditional' mates. Thus on the one hand the removal of diversity may have created the conditions for a more homogeneous outlook to have developed whilst on the other some systematic differences in views may be evident which reflect the 'emerging trend' of the privatised worker. For these reasons throughout this work comparisons have been made by differential length of service. However because of the emphasis on the connection between work and community and the increasing proportion of docker's sons joining the industry comparisons have also been made based

on parentage.

These various elements come together in the present study. At the time it was conducted this research could examine a traditional industry that had undergone considerable change. Like other traditional industries the docks has seen the introduction of major new technologies with concomitant changes in employment arrangements. In Southampton however these changes have not meant, as they have in other ports such as London, a major and rapid decline in the labour force. Although future opportunities may be severely limited, the expansion of the Port has meant that a considerable proportion of the labour force has been recruited to the modernised industry.

The Port of Southampton has a long and notable history. It has developed alongside that other traditional industry, shipbuilding, since the latter's arrival in the late Nineteenth Century, and continues to do so in the late 1970's. Following the recommendations of the Rochdale inquiry Southampton has changed from its earlier role as an important passenger port to become a major cargo port. The radically new technologies associated with modern cargo handling were first introduced in the mid 1960's. Changes in employment practices to parallel these trading and technical developments took place following the Devlin committee's recommendations in 1968 and 1970.

The workforce in Southampton has shared the history of dockers elsewhere with regard to the operation of the casual system that was ended by Devlin. Despite the advantage of having a single employer for the majority of the men the nature of the passenger trade produced great fluctuation in the demand for labour. It is worth noting that variation was still being covered by a temporary register at the time of this research.

The change to cargo, the new technology and the Devlin reforms have drastically altered the situation. The permanent employees now enjoy conditions of employment that are, if anything, better than those prevailing elsewhere. Dockers enjoy high job security. The pay and productivity deal of Phase II has resulted in work sharing and rotation that effectively reduce specialisation and equalise earnings. The men are protected by a sick scheme and a voluntary severance scheme has regularised the anomolous age structure. Apart from the agreement that gives precedence to docker's sons in recruitment and the formalised principle of joint control that dates from 1947 the industry's employment practices now resemble those to be found in industry generally.

The size of the labour force has been approximately maintained during the period since decasualisation. About a half of the present labour force joined the industry after the first introduction of container technology and about a third have joined since decasualisation. The starting age of 21 however, and the two or three years usually spent on the temporary register, mean that within this recently recruited group there is a considerable spread of ages.

The sources of labour for the Docks are similar to those recorded in other studies of dockworkers. Almost without exception the men come from manual working class families. Their education and previous work experience has left about a quarter of them with little or no recorded skill and the majority with only semi-skilled experience. Only about a tenth had served an apprenticeship.

The industries linked traditionally with the Docks, shipbuilding and seafaring, had supplied just less than half the men in the sample. Most of the rest came from various manufacturing industries or the building trade.

Shipbuilding and seafaring have also undergone considerable change and the proportion of the work force originating in them has significantly altered since the era of casualism. Men joining more recently are much more likely to have general manufacturing backgrounds and significantly more likely to have a recognised skill. They are also more likely to be docker's sons.

It is the shrinking of job opportunities that has acted to 'concentrate' the workforce in recent years. Preferential selection of docker's sons and the long waiting list mean that the few job opportunities can usually be filled by docker's sons. About half the sample were docker's sons. Three-quarters of them had at least one other relative in the Docks. Non-docker's sons had significantly fewer kin in the Docks.

The instrumental importance of prior contacts may be reflected in the fact that what the latter men lack by way of kin they make up for in terms of friends. As the proportion of docker's sons other kin has built up historically so too in recent years has the proportion of prior associations amongst non-docker's sons. Added together these trends have resulted in a considerable increase in the density of prior contacts.

The reasons men give for joining the industry often reflect this density of relationships. If they did not join directly because of the presence of family or friends they joined because of the convivial atmosphere or to stay near the sea and ships they had previously experienced at work. Since decasualisation this pattern has changed. The presence of family and friends remains important for many men but economic factors appear significantly more often in the list of reasons the men give for joining the Docks.

There is further evidence however concerning the salience of these various prior associations. The pattern of general requirements from work demonstrates that those who joined because of the presence of family and friends actually have a set of wants from work similar to that of men who give a straightforwardly economic reason for joining. In fact the latter sort of requirements were characteristic of the majority of the sample.

In the main Southampton dockers demonstrate orientations to work that are similar to those of their contemporaries employed in conventional factories. There is little evidence for a general expectation of, or a need for, rewards associated with expressive relationships in work. The only significant variation from the majority pattern, which emphasises economic rewards, is made by those few men who place a high value on some intrinsic feature of the job or its environment. Such valued non-economic rewards are rarely expressive.

In fact expectations of work seem generally fairly limited and narrow. However there is some evidence to suggest that those who joined the modernised industry, and who tend to place more emphasis on economic rewards, also more frequently include non-economic rewards in their requirements from work. Their somewhat broader wants may be a consequence of previous work experience at a higher level of skill but it seems more likely that these higher expectations are simply a reflection of the enhanced prior knowledge of the industry that they possess by virtue of their considerable and extensive prior contact with it.

The queues of men on the waiting lists for employment at the Docks attest to the fact that dockwork is seen by many as a desirable occupation. In view of this and the fact that the job is able to satisfy most of the expecta-

tions the men have of it, it is not surprising to discover there is a widespread and general satisfaction with the job and its conditions. Although the men's major needs are economic the organisation of the work itself means that the potentially boring individual tasks rarely lead to discontent. There is in fact a general feeling that the Docks is a very friendly place to work and it is this feature, together with the variety of tasks, that gets mentioned most often as a source of satisfaction.

Only a small minority dislike the changes that have occured in the industry despite the fact that these have disrupted the conditions under which the gang-based informality developed. The new technology has reduced the variety of tasks. It tends to require men to work as individuals and supports gangs only as an administrative convenience. But the importance of the gang can be overemphasised. Gangs have in the past fulfilled an instrumental and bargaining function although it is clear that affective relationships in the gangs are valued. However such relationships are essentially valued incidentally; overall attachment to work groups is relatively weak.

Amongst those who have joined the industry since decasualisation the evidence suggests even weaker work-group attachment. In fact the new technology, preferentially adopted by these men, is associated with a different emphasis on the sources of satisfaction. Those men who have trained for the machines, to improve their perceived job security or increase work interest, tend to value freedom from supervision and work task variety more highly than their untrained mates.

The untrained men tend to value most highly the friendly atmosphere that pervades the Docks. It is those few whose main interest is in the intrinsic or expressive features of the work that have tended to ignore the new technology in

so far as this remains possible. However because of its dramatic effect on the formerly hard physical work few even of these men are prepared to condemn the new technology.

It is to be expected that in an industry that provides for a high level of satisfaction, attachment to that industry will be strong. However, just as the sources of satisfaction vary so too does the strength of attachment. It is strongest amongst those with some attraction to a particular feature of the job or its setting. A good example of this is provided by ex-seamen who see dockwork as a way of staying near ships and the sea. Attachment appears weakest amongst those men who have joined since decasualisation. This weaker attachment is probably a reflection of the apparently more instrumental approach demonstrated by these men whose main source of satisfaction is likely to be economic.

Assessment of the nature of the men's involvement in the employment based on an analysis of absence attitudes and behaviour is not clear cut. The pattern of behaviour suggests that there is a basic accepted rate of short-term absence amongst the men which can nevertheless be disrupted by increased opportunities. For example those associated with the employment of extra men. However the apparently calculative element in such behaviour has several facets as revealed in the analysis of attitudes.

Some men express loyalty to the employer, although rather more mention loyalty to mates. However a significant minority replied in ways which show consideration of both employer and mates as acting to restrain absenteeism. Solidarity, as it is reflected in such findings, appears less widespread than might otherwise be thought. Its motivation is called to question by replies which emphasize the individual instrumental value of calculative behaviour and calls for restraint which reflect a view of

the work situation as involving a bargain.

Nevertheless solidarity within the workforce is clearly strong in practice, largely due to the operation of normative sanction. But this solidarity appears to be under stress. The picture that emerges is that dockworkers do not possess obviously different, or, in general, more extreme views of the nature of employment relations than other sections of the manual working class. They very largely view the industrial situation as one where harmony is desirable if not actually the case.

Stress in the solidarity is visible in reactions to work equalisation. A small majority are actually in favour of differential payments. Support for actions reflecting solidarity is basically conditional and shows that the essential nature of the solidarity is, as in other industrial settings, defensive, and rarely, if at all, generalised to include demands for an alternative form of organisation.

The men's attitudes towards their union reflect this defensive stance. Whilst the union may negotiate for work sharing, and despite the advantage embodied in the principle of joint control, the men do not demonstrate any widespread concern with the notion of power sharing or express interest in more general ideological concerns. They are more likely to regard the union itself as a some-what remote organ of control.

There are related attitudes towards the employer. The employment systems, which were jointly negotiated, are seen almost without exception as reasonably fair and equitable and there is little antagonism directed at the employing authority or the commercial companies. As with reactions to supervision however these attitudes are

fairly clearly conditional on the maintenance of the existing situation. In the case of foremen and supervisors the good relations seem to stem largely from the limited role that these officers occupy.

Satisfaction due to the limitation of the supervisory role emphasizes that this role may form an important subjective boundary to the potential sources of workers' affective relationships. Dockworkers ought, on the view which sees them as proletarian traditionals, to be suspicious of any promotion to 'them', to oppose individual striving and not seek promotion. However overall interest in promotion is no lower than that found amongst other industrial workers.

There is not much evidence of normative sanction against promotion; only a minority gave responses that could be interpreted in such a way. In fact conventional assessments of personal aspirations based on desires for promotion are probably inadequate in the case of manual workers. The relatively low levels of such desires probably reflect low personal evaluations or realistic appraisals of the actual opportunities open to unskilled workers.

The extent and nature of associations with work mates has formed the main emphasis in the notion of an occupational community. In one respect therefore dockworkers do conform to the image that has been formed of them in that there is certainly more work-based association than is apparent in industry generally. However dockwork is not the most important source of friends. The other sources that the men identify, the school, the pub and so on, emphasize the importance of the local community, but the workforce as a whole is fairly widespread and cannot be described as geographically isolated.

In the literature the physical setting of the traditional industries contributes to the emergence of the characteristically 'traditional' workforce although in the case of dockers the role of geographical factors is less clear. In fact information on these aspects of the dockland community does reflect recent change. Whilst there is no obvious major concentration of dockers in Southampton there are several areas of greater population density. These mostly occur in local authority housing areas, certain of which have regularly supplied men to the Docks since before World War II. Social area analysis shows these areas to be largely comprised of older property housing a stable working class population. A simplified categorisation of areas into two zones separates these and similar areas from newer property out from the centre of the City which houses a more mobile population including both working and middle class occupants. The evidence shows that docker's sons came more frequently in the past from the inner zone. In fact since the mid 1960's a greater proportion of all men come from the outer areas. Although docker's sons may demonstrate a preference for the inner areas, in that a greater proportion of them purchase houses there, they do not number any greater proportion of dockworkers amongst their friends compared with those who inhabit new housing estates outside the City boundary.

The non-geographical aspects of the 'work-centred' community also demonstrate some recent changes but more clearly suggest qualifications to that description. Docker's sons for example show no more than limited interest in work based social events. In fact there is little concern for such events generally and even less in their possible extension. Those men who joined since decasualisation are least likely of all to pursue work based social activities.

It could be argued that this sort of evidence suggests greater 'privatisation' amongst the more recent recruits. In fact analysis of leisure-time activities clearly shows that the workforce as a whole share similar patterns of behaviour. They are, in common with their counterparts in factory work, more properly described as home- and family-centred.

Neither do they display more obviously limited aspirations than other workers as these are reflected in, for example, desires for their children's future or their own major consumer decisions. Aspirations are typically not limited to the traditional emphasis on obtaining a trade and about half the men are buying their own house. The picture of the proletarian community with its normative restraint on advancement is not obviously reflected in such a level of house purchase. However it is unclear to what extent this behaviour does in fact reflect a desire for social advancement.

Indeed there is little indication of any difference between owner/occupiers and tenants. It might be expected that individual striving would be reflected in family size or in wives' employment but both these factors are alike in each group, and similar to national patterns. On the other hand the sample as a whole are aware of social variation in different areas. Within relatively uniform social areas council tenants are more likely to select 'ordinary working class' as an appropriate description but conversely owner/occupiers do not see their area as socially superior; rather as 'quiet and respectable'. The rapid growth of home ownership following decasualisation in fact suggests that it was not traditional normative restraint but lack of credit that held down the level of house purchase in the casual era.

There are greater problems of interpretation relat-

ing to the men's perceptions of social structure. In the most general of terms the men do possess a broadly traditional working class perspective which shows a general awareness of class. They place themselves in the largest class and most of them see this as the lowest in society. However there is considerable variation in the ways in which other classes are positioned and in the nature of the perceived relations between them.

In basic structural terms most men do not see a simple dichotomy in society. The majority see three-class systems in which the prestige aspects of occupations are emphasized. Such elements however also appear in the two-class models and demonstrate that only the minority that hold this view are concerned to deny the effective contribution such elements make to social structure.

It is possible, if references to money are taken into account, to categorize about half the men as having a 'money model' of society. On the other hand it is probably fairer, based on the logic of the replies, to point to the central role played by work in these perceptions of society. The most common description applied to their own, and to higher intermediate classes, refers to the need to work. When a lower, residual class is seen, its members are often identified as the unemployed. The elite class at the top of the social structure is, typically, described as being independent from work.

Now of course it can be argued that either or both of these relational elements; money, work, are essentially components of a differential power structure and are really, or even latently, perceived as such. However when generalised in this way these elements can be seen to be part of an overall working class perspective, which comparison with other studies suggests is characteristic of all sections of the manual working class and has been

so since at least the end of the Second World War. It could be argued that such a general perspective recognizes the existence of a basic split in society but this is a different argument from that which associates specific forms of social imagery with particular industrially defined groups within the working class. To the extent that dockers do have such a view in common with one another therefore they also have it in common with all other sections of the manual working class.

Thus there is little or no evidence for a prefered or particular type of social structural imagery amongst dock workers. Even when common relational elements are abstracted from a basic typology of structural images and combined to form the largest group that could, on the evidence of the replies, be considered to see some sort of essential dichotomy, the group so formed remains the minority view. Furthermore the differences which can be identified, either in detail or after the above abstraction has been performed, cannot be linked to any readily defined sub-group within the sample.

A cross-sectional study cannot legitimately comment on detailed processes of change over time. Whilst some systematic differences appear between men employed before and after decasualisation therefore it is not possible to fully determine their cause. They may appear as the result of the self-selection of men with a somewhat different approach, as a reflection of a more general social change, or they may merely represent the reactions of men faced with a considerably different set of circumstances.

Whatever the role of prior knowledge and prior socialisation, whatever in short the role of tradition, it is clear that attitudes and behaviour amongst both docker's sons and men with little or no prior connection with the

industry are essentially the same. It is equally clear that both in terms of their attitudes to their employment and in their views of society these dockworkers demonstrate their similarities to other industrial workers more than their differences.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Three Illustrative Case Histories

Number One: Mr Green

Mr Green is just in his fifties and has three sons in their early twenties and two grandchildren. His own father was a dock worker and his eldest son is also now a docker. He grew up in the central area of the city close to the waterfront, an area at that time constituting something of a community of dock workers but now characterised mainly by large commercial developments and council flats. "In my day," he explains, "everybody you knew was a docker and anybody who did anything else was a foreigner."

Mr Green left school at fourteen and went to sea as a deck boy. After war service in the army he entered the docks. Although he was conscious of following a definite family tradition the job had the new advantages associated with the introduction of the NDLB scheme, the completely casual system was over and the work was now more or less steady. It had seemed therefore a natural occupation for him. He entered an industry that employed not only his father but a brother, three uncles and many of the friends that he had grown up with.

The work was hard, the gangs often following chosen types of job and paid on a piece-work system. Cooperation between the men was high and necessary - "you tried to keep a gang together, then you knew where you were with each man." The work at that time required the development of various skills and a close gang possessing such skills could provide needed security and reliable earnings for its members. Negotiation over jobs was possible and frequently engaged upon says Mr Green, a deal could be struck over time and would be stuck to, "men took a pride in their work."

Mr Green has witnessed most of the major changes in

the dock industry and sees the majority as a great improvement, but whereas the "older men regret that they weren't born years later the younger men have been made lazy" by the new conditions. The tradition of self-help that grew up under the older working conditions remains to some extent but lacks its real motivation. "If a man returned from being sick when a strike had been called then we would have a whip round for him; if a bloke had had a poor week we would buy his drinks for him because we knew he would do the same maybe in a couple of weeks' time for us, but you couldn't have a bloke standing round doing nothing in your gang, whereas now they've got nothing to work for." Mr Green is conscious of the fact that the actions taken by him and his contemporaries are responsible in no small way for the improvements he sees but in general he now thinks that strikes are no longer effective "it is possible to negotiate properly now" he says.

He and his wife lived with his family until they moved into one of the large outer post-war council estates. Several dockers live nearby but Mr Green and his wife retain close contact with many others through the social club and other events. Mr Green was one of the original members of the docks social club and takes a major part in its operation. He has been always interested in and helped to organize social events and is involved in many aspects of welfare work within the industry.

Mr Green encouraged his children to take advantage of their education since he felt such opportunity had been denied him. One of his sons has now taken up clerical work and another obtained professional qualifications. Things have continued to "get better" and "the ordinary man has more chance now."

Number Two: Mr Brown

Mr Brown is in his late twenties and has one baby son. He was brought up in the suburbs on the East of the City in a respectable working class area. His father was a docker for most of his life and when he retired both Mr Brown and his brother decided to become dockers. Their father was able to advise them on the benefits of the 'new deal' and suggested that the job was worth the change.

Mr Brown served a full five year apprenticeship as an electrician after leaving school at fifteen and worked for a fairly large electrical contracting firm. He was qualified enough to become a foreman or technician should a position arise but joined the docks instead. He was on the temporary register for four years and during the lay-off period worked as an electrician in a nearby ship yard. The docks represented an improvement in money and convenience: "at that time the basic rate was better and although there was not as much overtime available the travelling was fixed not varied like the other job." The docks also offered a variety which was an added inducement and Mr Brown could always "fall back on the trade" if necessary.

During the period on the temporary register Mr Brown became a fork truck driver and later, after enrolment on the permanent register, trained as a driver of the trailer towing vehicle. Although the main benefit of this training is an increase in the possible jobs open to him in the docks he feels that if everyone has the opportunity to train then some additional remuneration should be paid. Mr Brown is prepared to stike over something that affects "my own livelihood" primarily but gives serious consideration to the recommendations of the shop stewards. The docks had changed considerably by the time he had joined

(1971) and Mr Brown perceives this as an improvement, there are "more like me who are a bit better trained, reasonably intelligent, and know what's going on."

Mr Brown was a temporary docker when he married. His wife, a local girl whose father was a lorry driver, worked full time until her recent pregnancy. They bought a fairly old property at first but sold out after six months and moved to a new estate on the outskirts of the city. Although they knew someone who lived on this estate they "used to dislike the area, all our friends were on the other side of the town." By now they have settled into the area - it's a "good location really, both country and town" - and know many of the neighbours. The estate itself Mr Brown describes as mixed, there are "teachers, dockers, all sorts living here."

The pattern of the work in the docks still tends to throw up groups who work together and there are a number of people who work with Mr Brown fairly often. His close friends, however, are people from outside the docks; and he sees his work mates only rarely outside the work situation, perhaps on one of his occasional visits to the docks club. The Browns are members of a local social club and Mr Brown regularly plays in the football and darts teams. The Browns visit friends when possible, perhaps once a week, and visit their parents every Sunday.

Mr Brown sees himself as continuing to be a docker; it would take "a hell of a lot of extra money and job security" to make him consider leaving the job. The position of foreman does not really appeal to him, the foreman is a 'loner' and his awkward position is not worth the 'extra'. The Browns would like possibly to return to the area of their upbringing at sometime in the future, but for the present this remains economically difficult.

In all Mr Brown sees his position and his job as satisfactory.

Number Three: Mr Jones

Mr Jones is in his late twenties, has been married for four years and has a three year old daughter. He lived as a young child in the central area of the city - a dockland area - but the family, five children, moved away to a council estate East of the Itchen river whilst he was still of school age. This particular estate, built between the wars, houses many dockers, most of whom Mr Jones counts as personal friends.

Mr Jones left school at fifteen and worked at various unskilled jobs in several timber yards before entering the docks. He first joined in 1970 at the time of the 'package deal' about which he had heard from his father and elder brother who were both dockers. He had wanted to join for some time but, he says, might not have joined had the conditions been the same as in earlier years; "I can remember my old man coming home and literally falling through the front door, too tired to eat; those days were hard."

After the first 'season' Mr Jones was laid off, but only for three months, and after that he was regularly employed and 'made up' to permanent status eighteen months ago. Being a temporary he found difficult but he persisted, even though he was offered higher paid jobs outside the docks during this period. "We were asked to pick which machine we wanted to train on when we were made up," says Mr Jones, and he became a van carrier driver (container handling machine). This can sometimes prove awkward, for example on night shift with no personal transport Mr Jones must travel seven miles. "The machines are alright but you're on your own up there (in the machine) and it can be

quite a strain, I prefer to have a good laugh with the gang".

Although in general Mr Jones sees the docks as "a great job - friendly people who'll do things for you;" there has been some change he says, even in the relatively short time in which he has been employed, in the reaction of the men to the various unofficial arrangements for time off and in the distribution of overtime. "It's becoming more of a cut-throat business now; - Oh, so and so, 'he was off twice last week', - sort of thing." The continually changing round of jobs sometimes makes it difficult for the various practises of shift splitting and sharing, which require a 'partner', to be carried on. Mr Jones is attempting at this time to arrange for his work allocation number to be changed so that he will be working more or less permanently with his brother.

Mr Jones and his wife, who originally came from a nearby rural market town, lived after their marriage in a small flat of very poor quality. They applied for council housing but stipulated the area where Mr Jones had grown up, turning down a house on the new estate at Lordshill (West Southampton) for which they qualified. They moved recently to the area of their choice and are surrounded by people they know and with whom Mr Jones works. His parents and younger brother, who is now a temporary docker, live only one street away.

The Jones are members of a local social club and go together at least once a week. Mr Jones is a great football enthusiast and plays for a local area team; he trains at least once a week and occasionally plays golf. The local pub is another focus in their area that attracts many dockers, and the sense of community feeling is strong. Mr Jones says that he only rarely visits the docks social

club, perhaps on the occasional Friday lunch time, the area where the Jones live with its pub and many friends is his "real home".

Mr Jones is generally satisfied with the job conditions but would like to see "the end of the temporary register" at some time in the fairly near future. He is, he says, "prepared to strike for a good cause, including money" if necessary. He sees himself as continuing to work in the docks "I would never leave now" he says.

Appendix B

FORMAT OF SHEET FOR THE EXTRACTION OF EMPLOYEE RECORD CARD DATA.

Works Number:

Case Number:

Date of Birth:

Date of Entry: (Dates of lay - off)

Date of Continuous Service:

Present Address:

Last Previous Address:

SICKNESS

Cause: (i) _____ Period: _____

(ii) _____ (Days) _____

(iii) _____ & Date _____

(iv) _____ _____

(v) _____ _____

(vi) _____ _____

(vii) _____ _____

(viii) _____ _____

(ix) _____ _____

(x) _____ _____

ACCIDENT

Cause: (i) _____ Period: _____

(ii) _____ (Days) _____

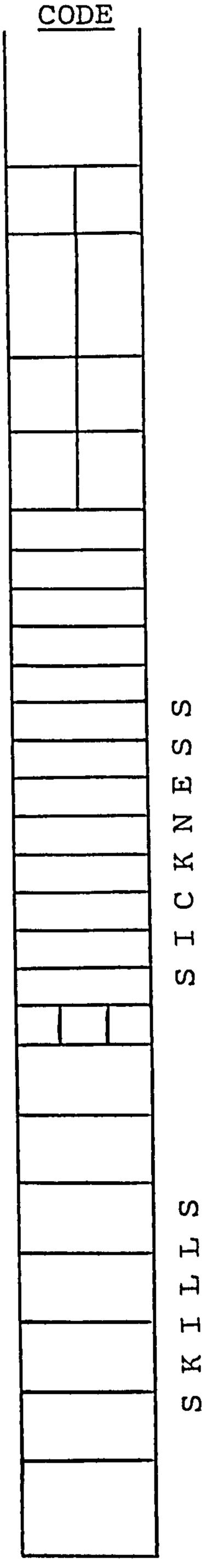
(iii) _____ & Date _____

(iv) _____ _____

(v) _____ _____

SKILLS:

Docker's Son:



Appendix C

FORMAT OF SHEETS FOR THE EXTRACTION OF ABSENCE STATISTICS.

SHEET NUMBER _____ YEAR: _____

WEEK NO.	P_r	P_a	P_u	P_s	P_t	$P_a + P_u$	P_t / P_r	P_a / P_r	P_u / P_r	P_s / P_r	P_{a+u} / P_r	$P_t + T_t / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_s + T_s / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_a + T_a / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_u + T_u / P_r + T_r$ %
1 2 3....															
YEARLY MEAN :															

WEEK NO.	T_r	T_a	T_u	T_s	T_t	$T_a + T_u$	T_t / T_r	T_a / T_r	T_u / T_r	T_s / T_r	T_{a+u} / T_r	$P_t + T_t / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_s + T_s / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_a + T_a / P_r + T_r$ %	$P_u + T_u / P_r + T_r$ %
1 2 3....															
YEARLY MEAN :															

KEY

P = Permanent Force
T = Temporary Force
With Subscripts:
r = Register size (men)
a = Authorised Absence (man/days)
u = Unauthorised Absence (man/days)
s = Certificated Sickness Absence (man/days)
t = Total Absence, equivalent to a+u+s (man/days)

Appendix D

The Interview Schedule

File Number_____Record File Number/Works Number_____/_____

SECTION A

1. Can you tell me when you were first continuously employed in the Docks? The date after which you were not laid-off.
(Check data on record) _____

2. What job did you have before coming to the Docks?

   (i) Skill level?
   (ii) Type of job (industry)?

3. What other main jobs have you had?

4. Did you like any of your other jobs more than this one? (and why).

5. Have you served an apprenticeship or had any other sort of training elsewhere?

6. Why did you decide to come into the Docks?

7. What sort of work does your father do? (Main job only and last job if retired or deceased).

8. Did you know anybody in the Docks before you came here? Is he (are they) friend(s) or relation(s)?

9. Docker's sons only
   (i) Was your father working in the docks when you joined?
   (ii) What did your father think about you coming to work here? (advise it, advise against it or not commit himself).

10. Have you trained for any of the machines used in the Docks? LIST_____(Check data on record)_____

    Why did you take (or not take) that training?

_____

SECTION B

11. Just suppose you were looking for a job, what would

be your most important consideration?
Would you look for anything else?

12. How often do you work in the Container Port? (Estimate in weeks).

New handling methods such as those used in the Container Port are gradually spreading through the Docks, what do you think about this process?

13. What is it you most like about working in the Docks? Are there any other things?

14. What is it you most dislike about working in the Docks? Anything else?

15. Are there any improvements in your working conditions that you would like to see?

16. Have you ever thought of leaving the Docks? Why?

17. Supposing the situation arose, would you leave the Docks for a similar job where working the same hours in the same conditions you could earn a guaranteed extra one to five pounds? What sort of amount of money would you require before you would make a move? (Estimate in £'s).

SECTION C

18. Now here are two views on absence from work - which one comes nearer to your own view?

(i) A man should not stay away from work, except when it is really necessary.

(ii) It's a free society and a man has the right to take a day off once in a while if he wants to.

(iii) Why do you say this?

SECTION D

19. How often would you say you attend Union branch meetings:
regularly
often
sometimes
rarely

20. Some people say that unions should be concerned just with getting higher pay and better conditions for their members, others say they should also try to get workers some sort of say in management.

    What do you think?

21. It's sometimes said that unions have too much power in the Country: what do you think?

22. Do you think Trade Unions should support the Labour Party or should they keep themselves separate?

23. Do you think a trade union should consider the economic position in the Country when pressing for a wage increase, or should it concentrate only on the benefit of its members?

24. Now what about your attitudes to strikes:
    What do you think generally?

    What sort of issues would you consider supporting strike action over?

SECTION E

25. Here are two opposing views about industry generally - I'd like you to tell me which you agree with more. (Give Card).

    (i) Some people say a firm is like a football side, because good teamwork means success and is to everyone's advantage.

    (ii) Others say that teamwork in industry is impossible - because employers and men are really on opposite sides.

    (iii) Other replies.

26. Do you think that the rate of pay should vary according to the skills of the man doing the job?

27. How would you describe the work allocation system:
    very fair
    reasonable
    poor

28. What about decasualisation. Are you satisfied with the arrangements now?

29. What about the operators (Labour Users) How would you assess them?

30. And the BTDB, what about it...?

31. How well do you get on with the foremen:
very well
pretty well
not so well
very badly

32. In general would you say that the chances of promotion in the Docks are:
very good
good
average
very poor

Why do you think that?

33. What about the idea of becoming a foreman, would you like this:
very much
pretty well
not so well
very badly

Why?

34. Supposing you did become a foreman what do you think your mates would feel about it?

SECTION F

35. Do you prefer to work by yourself, or with others?

36. Do you prefer to work with the same gang of men, or would you rather move around?

37. How would you feel if you were placed in a different gang from the one you are usually with?

38. How many people that work here would you call close friends?

39. Do you see him/them outside the Docks?

How often:
regularly
occasionally
rarely
never

Where do you see Him/them?

40. When you meet this/these friends (outside work) do you

meet: by chance,
go somewhere expecting to see him/them there,
or arrange a definite meeting?

41. How well do you know his wife and family? Would you say:

very well
quite well
just to say hello
not at all

Where have you normally met him/them with his/their wife/wives?

42. Do you belong to the social club?

(If yes) Do you go:
regularly
often
sometimes
rarely

43. Would you like to see any more or different facilities for out of work activities?
(List).

44. Now I'd like to ask you about your friends more generally. Thinking about your three best friends, but not including any relatives, can you tell me how you met?
What jobs do they do?
(List each three).

45. Are they just your friends or are they friends of both you and your wife?

46. Turning now to your leisure activities in general and thinking about the last week; what did you do say...
(Give cue of same day last week, or turn to weekend first).

And on the next day... etc.

47. Was your wife with you on... (Each occasion).

48. Was this last week fairly typical?
(If no) Why not?

SECTION G

49. What is your date of birth?_____(Check record data)

50. Are you married?
(Exact status).

51. Do you have any dependent children (under sixteen)?
How many? (Boys, girls).

52. Now suppose you had a young teenage son who was still at school; would you prefer him to stay on at school or leave at sixteen?

Why?

What sort of job would you like to see him in eventually?
(Ask of eldest if has children).

What job would you like to see him/her in eventually?

53. (If Married) Does your wife go out to work?
Full time:
Part time:

54. Where you live, do you rent privately
council
own house

(If Yes) Was it a council house first?
(If Owner/occupier)
Can you recall when you first started to buy the house?

55. What sort of area would you say it is where you live?
Is it (Give Card)

(i) Ordinary working class area.
(ii) A rather select area.
(iii) A quiet and respectable area.
(iv) A pretty rough area.
(v) A very mixed area.

Other answers.

56. Do you own a car?

(If no) Any reason why not?

Details of other transport, or expenditure preference.

SECTION H

57. How did you vote in the last general election?

Is this your regular vote or have you voted for another party?

It's often said that there are different social classes in this country - what do you think?

(If difficulty arises offer terminology: such as working class and so on...)

58. So which class would you say that you are a member of?

59. What sort of people do you mean when you say... ? (self-rated class).

60. How many social classes would you say there are?

61. What are the other ones? (Other than self-rate).

62. What sort of size would you say these classes are, relative to one another (percentage estimates)?

63. What sort of people do you mean when you talk about... ? (Classes as above).

64. What is it that determines which class somebody is in?

65. Do you think that it is possible for a person to change from one class to another?

How does this happen? (Or how could it?)

Other statements arising.....

In this section questions were not necessarily asked in the order in which they appear above. Respondents were encouraged to talk about the area by the opening statement and their replies were assigned to particular questions where appropriate. These are the questions that have appeared most often in previous studies. Where other replies or statements were made additional categories have been created; see text.

Appendix E

Quality and Validity of the Sample

Because certain of the data available in the various personnel records were re-collected for the sample it is possible to conduct a limited check on the quality of the sample as a reflection of the total force. In addition the validity of certain responses can be checked against the values given in the records which can, with the exception of the docker's son record, be considered accurate.

Quality

Comparison of the distributions given below demonstrates that in terms of these basic characteristics the sample is a very good reflection of the total force. The percentages given are calculated across the rows.

i) Age

	21 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	N
Sample(%)	25	35	25	15	107
Force (%)	24	37	26	14	1718

ii) Length of Service

	1 - 6	7 - 12	13 - 18	19+	N
Sample(%)	36	20	24	21	107
Force (%)	34	18	22	25	1718

iii) Skills (Percentages refer to proportion trained within each group)

	Forks	Vans	IMV's	Tugs	Winches	Lasher
Sample	51	34	10	12	8	20
Force	38	23	14	8	8	12

iv) Docker's sons

The evident difference in the overall propor-

tions of docker's sons that appears in the sample and as recorded in the personnel record is almost entirely due to the inadequacy of the records. Docker's sons are recorded only on the NDLB duplicate personnel cards where the fact is recorded as a red ink tick. This in itself is likely to be inaccurate but more importantly the need for the fact to be recorded at all only appeared after the mid 1960's when job opportunities began to recede. The long tradition of docker's sons getting preference for jobs subsequently acheived temporary formal status by agreement with the union following public debate. (See D. Wilson, 'Dockers', p.123). The following distributions show that under-recording occured almost entirely in the past; after about 1964 there is good agreement between sample and force. The validity check given below also demonstrates that under-recording has taken place. Thus there is very good reason to suppose that the proportions obtained in the sample are much nearer to the true proportions.

(Percentages refer to the proportion of Docker's sons within each length of service band).

	1 - 6	7 - 12	13 - 18	19+	Total
Sample	58	33	46	36	46
Force	54	39	2	9	26

v) Residential Distribution.

The distributions of the sample and the force throughout the social areas are given in the text and are not reproduced here for that reason. However the collection of tenure information from the sample enables a retrospective estimate of the efficiency of the social area analysis to be made. The following distribution gives the proportion of each type of tenure within each category of social area. It demonstrates that the social area analysis is a relatively efficient indicator of tenure and clearly shows that most of those men living outside the City boundary own or are buying their house.

	- Tenure Type -			
Social Area	Council Tenant	Owner/ Occupier	Private Renting	Total (N)
All Council	52	38	10	77
All Private Areas	13	65	22	23
Other	14	86	-	7

If the effect of those owner/occupied houses which were originally council properties is extracted the estimate is improved:

Social Area	Council Tenant	Owner/ Occupier	Private Renting	Total (N)
All Council	74	16	10	77
All Private Areas	17	61	22	23
Other	14	86	-	7

Validity

The duplicate collection of data also allows a check to be made on the accuracy of the responses of the sample; given that the reliability of these official records can be assumed to be high.

i) Age

The interview asked for date of birth given the fact that misreporting of ages is a well remarked phenomenon. (See for example, R.J. Myers, 'Accuracy of age reporting in the 1950 US Census.') One respondent gave a DOB one year less than shown in the record.

ii) Length of Service

Because of the period usually spent on the temporary register confusion could arise over the length of service that should be taken as appropriate. The period on this register has been subject to considerable fluctuation and many of the most recent recruits for example had not been laid-off for some time and had therefore built up quite a period of service. Officially continuous service is counted from the last period of temporary employment before the employee is placed on the permanent register. The distribution below shows the variation in estimations of this continuous service given by the sample respondents.

Number of years service given in the record	Variation in the number of years service reported compared with number of years recorded.							
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2					1				
3				3	1				
4			5	1	6	3	3	2	1
5			1						
6			2	2	4		1	1	
8					2		1		1
9									1
10			1		3		2	1	
11					1	2			
12		1		1	2			1	1
13			1		2		1		
14		1		1	1			1	
15				1	2	1			1
16 - 18				1	6	3	1		1
19 - 21					2	2			1
22 - 24					2		2		
25+					5		1		

iii) Skills

A similar check can be made on the reporting of the various skills attained by the sample.

	Records Show	Respondent Reports Skilled	Respondent Reports Unskilled
Forks	Skilled	55	0
	Unskilled	3	49
Vans	Skilled	36	0
	Unskilled	0	71
IMV's	Skilled	11	0
	Unskilled	1	95
Tugs	Skilled	13	0
	Unskilled	0	94
Minor	Skilled	23	6
	Unskilled	2	183

iv) Docker's sons

It is clear from this analysis that under-recording is major.

	Reporting as Docker's son	Not reporting as Docker's son
Recorded as Docker's son	33	1
Not recorded as Docker's son	16	57

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