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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 1980'S : A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF REDUNDANCY ON A GROUP OF SOUTH YORKSHIRE STEELWORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

by

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A thesis submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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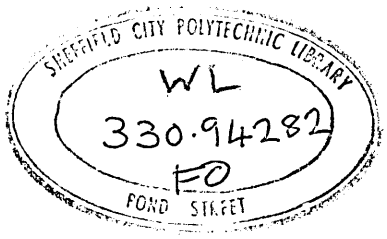
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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 1980's: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF REDUNDANCY ON A GROUP OF SOUTH YORKSHIRE STEELWORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

NICK FORSTER

ABSTRACT

The research described in this thesis is an attempt to understand the changing nature of redundancy, chequered working lives and unemployment in modern Britain. It focuses in particular on the ways in which a specific group of industrial workers and their families have perceived, mediated and reacted to the upheavals redundancy has caused in their lives.

Section I deals with the history of the research; the problems associated with qualitative work and argues the case for a critical neo-Weberian methodology, as opposed to a general reliance on neo-Marxist perspectives in sociology. Section II examines economic and social change in contemporary Britain, paying particular attention to the recent histories of B.S.C. and South Yorkshire.

Section III analyses the various effects of redundancy and unemployment on the nation, the local area, the family and the individual and those factors which can assist in pro-active responses to job loss. Some suggestions for the development of a social-psychology of redundancy *et alia* are made.

The main findings deal with the experiences of these families, which are discussed within a life course perspective and include an examination of the many variables which can influence people's behaviour in these situations such as: class; age; occupation; gender; and political and religious consciousness. Family level variables are critically important, in particular the differing degrees of equality within particular marriages and households

The final section makes a conscious effort to link together the 'public issues' and 'private troubles' of redundancy *et alia*. These are qualitatively different from those of earlier periods in the Twentieth Century and provide a challenge to sociologists and policy makers, who have not come to terms with their impact. This research indicates that neo-Marxism cannot adequately explain these phenomena. Some suggestions are made for a Critical Humanism, drawing on the best of sociology's diverse images of the social world, as a means of understanding the macro and micro-social realities of redundancy, chequered working lives and unemployment in the 1980's.

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PREFACE

The opportunity to study this group of redundant steel workers and their families came out of the collaboration of the Personnel Department at B.S.C. (Special Steels) Rotherham and the Department of Applied Social Studies at Sheffield City Polytechnic in 1983. This collaboration provided an opportunity to study how a program of redundancy which took place between 1982 and 1983 and the events which followed it, affected a group of South Yorkshire steelworkers, and their families.

Set against the background of economic, technological and social change in the 1980's, this study examines the personal accounts of the events which preceded redundancy, the different stages of the redundancy 'career', through relocation and/or retraining and/or employment and/or unemployment and/or early retirement. The study is not, therefore, primarily concerned with *unemployment*, although this was experienced by a number of my respondents. This research focuses in particular on how redundancy affected patterns of family life, household coping and management strategies and the domestic divisions of labour which had existed prior to redundancy. Other areas which are analysed include:

- the relationships between class, occupation(s), employment history and social mobility and responses to redundancy;
- the links between stage in the life course and responses to redundancy;
- the relationships between political, religious and social consciousness and responses to redundancy;

- the relationships between familial relations, gender, domestic divisions of labour and responses to redundancy;

- the uncritical use of the 'phase' model in much of the literature on redundancy and unemployment;

- the links between the 'public' and 'private' life spheres of individuals.

- redundancy itself as a transition from paid employment , including an appraisal of B.S.C.'s Social Policy Department initiatives in the 1980's;

- the impact of redundancy on this group of steelworkers and their families, focusing on redundancy as a *process*, rather then a unitary event.

Throughout, there is a conscious aim to integrate macro and micro-sociology, or to deal specifically with what Wright-Mills called 'public issues' and 'private troubles'. This involved, on the one hand, an understanding of the causes of current economic and social changes in Britain, in particular their impact on the national and local steel industry and on the other, an understanding of how a relatively privileged group of industrial workers and their families have perceived, mediated and coped [or not coped] with the changes to their lives, which followed from redundancy. This emphasis owes a great deal to Weber and it should be stressed that this study is best described as a critical neo-Weberian exercise, although I do draw on other sociological paradigms. This is not a reactionary nostalgia, but draws on an intellectual source on which much modern sociology is still based.

Whilst a much fuller account of the methodological and theoretical rationale underpinning this study is presented in Part I, I would argue that 'sociology', in the sense that I understand it needs to analyse both social structures, institutions and processes and the action contingencies of behaviour at a micro level. This attempt to link macro and micro-sociology was not easily achieved but by drawing on a number of sociological paradigms it became theoretically possible to bridge the 'divisions' which exist between the public and private aspects of social life.

In addition, a sociology which does not make regular reference to the life worlds of active human beings will always be of limited value because, as Ken Plummer recently observed, a humanistic sociology,

> ' must pay tribute to human subjectivity and creativity ... showing how individuals respond to social constraints and actively assemble social worlds; it must deal with concrete human experiences, through their social and especially economic organisation [] it must show a materialistic, intimate familiarity with such experiences.' [Plummer, 1984 : 5]

This study also shows how theoretical speculation and empirical investigation are inseparable and should, ideally, work hand in hand. Following Weber, theory must be allowed to bump up against reality and be tested accordingly. My own work shows how theoretical pre-conceptions can be altered, often quite radically, in the course of work in the field.

Building upon a substantial but fragmentary body of work in the areas of class, work, the family, life course perspectives, redundancy

and unemployment and quantitative and qualitative research methods, this study has hopefully provided a positive, if sometimes critical contribution, to our knowledge in all these fields. The understanding needed was both diverse and complex. It involved an appreciation of the direct social and personal effects of change in modern Britain; of the life experiences of these men and women; their political and social consciousness; their commitments and aspirations; the essential components of their symbolic meaning systems and, perhaps most importantly, the relative values they placed on different aspects of their life worlds. Most research, to date, has focused on either the redundancy process *per se* [counselling etc.] or on generalised case studies of the effects of unemployment [amongst mainly white working class men]. There is, as yet no published record of an attempt to link class, occupation, employment history, attitudes to work, gender, familial relations, political, religious and social consciousness within a life course perspective set against a macro-sociological back drop, in explanations of redundancy and its after effects.

The study is divided into six main sections, with fairly extensive Appendices. Part I deals with the history of the research; the central theoretical and methodological considerations; the research strategies employed and developed in the field and the interactions between theoretical perspectives and empirical research. Parts II and III deal with those aspects of economic and social change relevant to the local area, with an examination of redundancy and unemployment as both major public issues and the cause of many private troubles; the declining fortunes of B.S.C. nationally and locally and the responses of B.S.C to plant closures and redundancies in the local area.

Parts IV and V , which form the core of the study, describe the lives of the 40 families , with a particular emphasis on redundancy and its after effects. These are divided into five main sub-sections: a description of the background characteristics of those studied [from the questionnaire survey] and an in-depth ethnographic description of the four main groups in the interview sample. Part VI links together Parts I - V alongside a critical appraisal of current thinking on social change, class, work, family life, redundancy and unemployment. The Appendices include: a justification of the use of 'Paradigm' theory and other methodological issues which for reasons of space could not be included in the main text; the main findings of the questionnaire survey; family histories and outlines and information on the organisation of B.S.C., nationally and locally prior to April 1986.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have helped me in my work over the last four years; to Dan Stuart and Mavis Barlow for coming up with the original idea and to Dan in particular for his help and support at B.S.C.; to Jackie Burgoyne for giving me the opportunity to do the research, for her unflagging patience, enthusiasm, intellectual input and encouragement, over the last four years; to Diana Woodward for her advice and comments; to Brenda Chatterton for typing the manuscripts and introducing me to the 'Amstrad' and to other members of the department who have taken the time to discuss and criticise different aspects of the research. Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank those men and women without whose co-operation this piece of work would not have been possible, for their warmth and hospitality and for letting me share, briefly, in their lives.

PART I : STUDYING REDUNDANCY

Introduction

'Every man is his own methodologist : methodologists get to work!'

[Wright-Mills, 1970 : 137]

It is customary in sociological research these days to provide a 'semi-autobiographical' account of the relevant background to the project to be discussed. [eg. Burgoyne and Clark, 1984; Pahl, 1984]. Since such a diversity of theoretical approach and research strategy is available to sociologists, some justification of the methodologies underpinning this study is required. In research, a number of related issues are likely to be raised. These will include: ethical and politcal considerations; the relationship between value freedom, value relevance and objectivity; the problems associated with the theoretical and methodological pluralism of sociology and tying all these into a sophisticated and coherent whole. This section is an account of my efforts to develop such a 'sophisticated and coherent whole': an account of how the doctorate took shape, from the initial formulation of 'the problem', through the literature review, the development of appropriate research strategies; the development and implementation of a questionnaire to a group of ex- steelworkers; the development of the interview outlines, schedules and actual interviewing; the transcription and analysis of this material, through to the final write up.

CHAPTER 1

1 : 1 A Brief History of the Research

As a 'linked' student, a basic outline of the research existed at the outset. To recap, the outline arose out of the collaboration of Dan Stuart [Senior Personnel Manager at B.S.C. Special Steels Rotherham] and Jacqueline Burgoyne of the Department of Applied Social Studies at Sheffield City Polytechnic . The study proposed, was an examination of how redundancy had affected a group of Yorkshire steelworkers and their families and to analyse in particular, the theoretical links between the public sphere of economy, class, work and industry and the private sphere of home, family and personal relationships, in relation to redundancy and its after effects.

The first stage, as in any research of this kind was a detailed review of the literature relevant to this subject area. This would include: an examination of the causes of economic and social change in modern Britain and in the local area; the meaning of work; the role of the family, past and present, in Britain. More specifically, I would need to examine the relationships between work [in the sense of formal paid employment], redundancy and unemployment; class, redundancy and unemployment; the influence of stage in the life course; the transition from work through the redundancy process; an examination of the consequences of redundancy, including the now substantial but fragmentary literature on the effects of unemployment.

Having mapped out these key areas, I produced over the next two and a half years, at fairly regular intervals, a series of positional

papers.[1] The course taken in these papers mirrors aspects of my own development, moving from theoretical sociology into the narrow focus of the field research and 'backout' again to deal with the larger questions. These papers represent some 80,000 words of background material which have been revised and reformulated as the research developed.

Having established the parameters of the research, my next goal was twofold: to gain a much greater familiarity with the organisation of B.S.C. nationally and locally and to identify and contact a group of 1,000 ex-steelworkers. This involved spending some two months at the Roundwood accounts block at Parkgate which contained both the counselling service and records on all ex-B.S.C. [Rotherham] employees.[2]

At a preliminary meeting [11/4/84] with Jackie Burgoyne, Dan Stuart and Arthur Blackham, it became clear that a large group of pre-redundant workers was not available at that time and that I should concentrate on identifying a group of post-redundant B.S.C. workers [I had originally hoped to include such a group]. From a group of approximately 4,000 made redundant between December 1982 and December 1983, a group of 1,000 was selected. I hoped at this stage to send out 1,000 introductory letters and questionnaires, hoping for a return of 25% - 30%.[3]

The design of the questionnaires took shape over the next three months following the usual rules and procedures associated with questionnaire construction [See I : 3 : 1]. This included several redrafts after consultations with Arthur Blackham and sending questionnaires to a small pilot group provided by Lillian Gish. The aim of the questionnaire was threefold: to provide a numerical description

of the 1000 group; to provide data to compare at a later date with other work being conducted on redundant steelworkers and to provide the base from which an interview sample could be drawn.

Meanwhile, my work at B.S.C. continued. I familiarised myself with the national and local organisation of B.S.C., in particular the role of the Social Policy Department and the Counselling Service, developed to cope with redundancies and closures in the 1970's and 1980's. During this period an opportunity to study a small group of men being made redundant from B.S.C's Railway and Ring Rolled products slipped away in the face of management and union indifference and a lack of interest by the men concerned.(4). During this period I also visited other interested parties: local council employment officers; trade union officials; local colleges; industrial chaplains; major local employers not in the steel industry and others, in order to gain a fuller picture of the local scene and of those involved in a variety of ways with redundant steelworkers.(5) The time I spent at B.S.C. gradually declined as my familiarity with it grew and as the time to cope with the questionnaire survey and the selection of the interview sample grew closer.

From the questionnaire survey, which was completed in March 1985, 95 had agreed to continue in the study [See I : 3 : 1 and I : 3 : 2]. I visited all of these, in April and May to outline in more detail the aims of the research and a greater account of the role they would play in this. After these visits 22 [Staff] and 27 [Works] agreed to be interviewed and from these I selected 17 and 23 to be interviewed. At the outset I had 40 families, by the stage of the second interviews I

had 35 families and by the stage of the third interviews I had decided not to conduct joint interviews with two couples [See I : 3 : 2].

Thus, 33 couples were interviewed three times [individually/joint], 35 couples had two interviews and all 40 families had one interview representing in total 108. These varied in length from 27 minutes [the wife of an ex-staff worker aged 58] through to 3 hours and 13 minutes [a joint interview with an ex-works man and his wife], averaging out at about two hours per interview. Aside from other informal social visits I visited 23 families, largely in the more problematic under 55's groups, between January and June 1986 to check on their situations prior to the final writing up period.

The interviewing took place between 20/5/85 and 17/12/85. 78 interviews were transcribed by me and 30 by the typing pool at B.S.C. I transcribed all the joint interviews. Other observations were noted on a tape recorder immediately after interviews. In January 1986, having completed the last of the positional papers and the transcription of the interview tapes, I began the process of analysis, the results of which are to be found in Part VI. The first draft of the thesis was begun in March 1986 and was finished in August. The second draft was finished in March 1987, following The Rules laid out in Hart [1986]. The completed thesis was submitted in August 1987.

I : 1 : 2 Ethical and Political Considerations

Barnes suggests that researchers need to ask four main questions:

- to what purpose is the research directed?;
- who is likely to benefit or not benefit from the research?;
- who is sponsoring the research and why?;
- what methods might be legitimately employed whilst conducting the research? [1979 : Chapter 1]

As I saw it then [and now] the purpose of this study was to cast light on the process of redundancy and its effects on family life, focusing in particular on public issues and private troubles. My work did not require me to go 'underground' in the manner, for example, of Homans [1980] in his study of an evangelical sect. I ensured that my respondents consented fully and were well informed about the purposes of the study and their role in it. When I felt that their consent was not forthcoming, I allowed couples to drop out of the study.[6] My subjects' privacy was sacrosanct and I avoided what Barnes describes as 'unscrupulous espionage'. Erikson argues that covert methods are unethical because,

> ' they violate the terms of a contract which the sociologist should be ready to honour in his dealings with others.'
> [1967 : 368].

Sociologists, he argues, should not use covert methods, conceal the true nature of their research or misrepresent themselves. Covert observation he says,

> 'is disrespectful to the complexities of social life, is bad science, is unethical and may jeopardise future research.'[ibid: 369].

I remained true to this ethos throughout my work.

One of the ironies of my present position is that this research only became possible because of the rapid rundown of B.S.C. Special Steels Rotherham and large scale redundancies in the local area. Indeed the Department of Employment at the Town Hall voiced their opposition to it early in the study ,in spite of the fact that they were financing local colleges which were retraining ex-steelworkers. This irony, as Weber reminds us, illustrates very clearly how sociology is intimately bound up with shifting economic, political and social realities 'out there'. It also reminds us that social research often has a political dimension.

It is a growing trend in sociology that we should 'come clean' about our own moral and political concerns which, some say, inevitably impinge upon the design and execution of research projects in Sociology. If asked to describe my own political world view it would be as follows:

> Politically, a reformer, rather than a revolutionary, a liberal/radical [in the true Greek sense of the last word]/'Green', although still influenced by the less elitist and more sophisticated of neo-Marxist thought; politically and sociologically.

My work as a social scientist will inevitably be influenced by this

It would seem to me that there can be no hard or fast rules for completely eliminating personal world views from research, should we want to do so, but we must as far as possible ensure that their intrusion is made explicit at the outset and then limited as far as possible in the conduct of our research and analysis. It is, I hope, a measure of the objectivity of this research that those of Conservative, Liberal and Socialist persuasions will all find results that both confirm and negate aspects of their ideological world views. Whilst we await solutions to our current economic and social problems we need to conduct research even if it is generated by the negative consequences of this government's economic and social policies. I think that Becker is right when he suggests that what we need to be honest about is not whether we take sides but rather 'whose side are we on?' [1971 : 239].

I feel that the best way forward is to think in terms of 'maximising alternatives' [Foss, 1977]. By this Foss means the extent to which a piece of research opens up new avenues of understanding and is of assistance to both an academic community and to a wider public, set against the extent to which it might harm these two groups. Overall, the research benefits all concerned, although it is highly critical of aspects of B.S.C.'s redundancy/counselling schemes and the speed at which the redundancies took place in the local area. The main *sympathies* of the research lie with those men and women whose lives have been so effected by the colapse of B.S.C. in the local area. As far as possible the alternatives in the study have been maximised rather than minimised. These issues are further considered below.

1 : 1 : 3 Value Freedom and Objectivity.

'This is an account of a myth created about and by a magnificent minator named Max - Max Weber to be exact; his myth was that social science could and should be value free. The lair of the minator, although reached only by a labyrinthic logic and visited only by a few who never return, is still regarded by many sociologists as a holy place...as sociologists grow older they seem impelled to make a pilgrimage to it and pay their respects to the problem of the relations between values and social science [] the myth of a value free sociology has been a conquering one. Today, all the powers of sociology [] have entered into a tacit alliance, to bind us to the dogma that: 'Thou shalt not commit a value judgement, especially as sociologists.' Where is the introductory textbook, where the lecture course on principles that does not affirm or deny this rule? [] we cannot disprove the existence of minators, who after all are thought to be sacred precisely because they are so unlikely [] Weber's brief for a value free sociology is a tight one, and some say logically unassailable. Yet it is also absurd. For both arguments appeal to reason and ignore experience.'
[Gouldner, 1973 : 3-4].

Gouldner's comments illustrate the degree of controversy generated in debates about value freedom, throughout the history of sociology. No single person can claim to be responsible for its genesis and development but Weber wrote extensively on the subject and during his lifetime became the idea's leading exponent. Weber never actually defined value freedom *perse*, but it came to stand in his works for the

whole set of ideas defining the relationship between science and values. A summary of his final position on this matter would be as follows: that value judgements play a role in the definition of a problem for study but that values should not affect the process of social research itself. Questions of' right' and 'wrong' are not answerable scientifically and must be kept out of scientific enquiry. Thus, for example, I make no moral judgements about either the rundown of B.S.C or the informal economic activities of some of my interviewees.

Values are presupposed in the actual choice of a subject for investigation, for it is this decision which implies that we in our 'calling' as sociologists, attach personal value to it [1949 : 55]. Value orientations, argues Freund [1968, Chapter 2] determine the initial questions we put and act as a conditioning and sifting device by which we can 'detach' an area of social research from a multiplex reality. Examples of this in my work are the various 'positional' papers and the criteria employed in the selection of the interview sample [See 1 : 3 : 2 : 1 - 2]. It is, therefore, important to keep a daily record of one's thoughts and hunches throughout the early and middle stages of a thesis ,in the form of research notebooks as Wright Mills has suggested. These are usefull in a number of ways : for keeping a daily record of one's work; describing how the reseach developed over the three years and invaluable later, in the process of theoretical speculation.

To conclude, Weber's definition of value freedom was twofold, involving social science itself and the individual social scientist. A brief comparison with Durkheim [1964] makes this point clear. Durkheim, like Weber, believed that politics should be left out of the

lecture hall but unlike Weber, was cautious about political involvement outside this arena. Like Weber, he believed that sociologists should assist in practical social matters, but unlike him argued that ideals and values could and should be derived from sociology. Both, however, agreed that value judgements should play no part in the act of research.

Despite criticisms levelled at Weber [eg Becker 1971; Gouldner op.cit.; Philips 1973; Strauss 1976 and others] I am broadly in agreement with him: our initial choice of subject area does indeed involve 'a leap of faith' [cf. Koestler, 1973]. As such it is no 'better'or 'worse' than any other and the intellectual, moral and political 'baggage' we bring to the subject area is bound to colour our initial approaches: our 'foreunderstandings' as Heidigger described them. A strict neo-Marxist, for example, might consider this particular piece of research to be 'unsound'.[7] Both I and the fictional neo-Marxist are 'guilty' of committing value judgements and in the final analysis no one can say that one orientation is 'better' or 'worse' than the other. Only hindsight and further research can judge which approach was better. Whilst aware of the intimate relationship which exists between social science and the social and political environment in which it finds itself, I would argue that within the boundaries of our initial focal concerns sociologists can pursue objective research, since these concerns serve only to define relevant interests. The data I produce can be re-analysed and checked by others and is not,

> 'the product of abnormal perceptions, selective or unique cognitions or uncontrollable or unverifiable introspection.'
>
> [Restivo 1963 : 155]

Where values might have intruded into the research, for example in the pursuit of certain hunches, these are made explicit.

Foss [1977] has argued correctly, that values are indispensable to sociologists in what we choose to research and our initial theoretical stance, but that objective research is likely to challenge, sometimes fundamentally, these initial formulations, as indeed proved to be the case in this study.

I : 1 : 4 Value Relevance.

> 'There have been hardly any sociological experiments even faintly echoing the importance of crucial experiments in physics, biology or chemistry [] although we seem reluctant to admit it, we seem in fact to have been unable to provide generalisations that explain very much of the behaviour in which we are interested.'
> [Philips, 1973 : 7]

Sociology, as an academic discipline, certainly faces major problems of intellectual and practical credibility. It may even be 'in crisis', as suggested by Gouldner in the early 1970's.[6] There are two central problems facing sociology today: the first, lies in its 'critical negativism' [Brittan 1977] i.e., that either working for business or industry and contributing to 'the system' is always wrong and secondly, in its ability to transfer some powerful insights into the nature of social life into practical policies for people. A major concern for sociologists today is to convince people that the sociological imagination has the kind of relevance for the world we live in, which

Wright Mills claimed of it. This research has, hopefully, such relevance.

Within the framework of my focal concerns, objective research and a commitment to maximise alternatives, there is also a strong commitment to value relevance. This research focuses on and highlights many aspects of the links between family life and redundancy, with clear implications for counsellors and others involved with those experiencing 'chequered' working lives. It illustrates clearly the links between macro and micro-social changes, showing for example how certain types of family structure can assist in or impede ability to adapt to change. It shows up the inadequacies of the counselling, retraining and redundancy schemes of B.S.C., which were poorly planned and carried through far too quickly to allow many ex-steelworkers to stand a realistic chance of finding work elsewhere in local or national labour markets. This has an clear relevance, given the continuing shakeout of British industry in the 1980's. In more general terms this work makes a contribution to the 'post industrial' debate amongst academics, policy makers, politicians and others.

To conclude: I think that Philips overstates his case. There have been many perceptive insights into social behaviour by sociologists. Their problem has been an inability to transfer these insights into a form which makes sense not only to policy makers, but also to the general public. It is a central commitment that this research be not only of the required intellectual standard but also of relevance to the world outside academia.

CHAPTER 2

BRIDGING THE 'PUBLIC' AND THE 'PRIVATE' IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

> 'The old scientific idea of episteme - of absolutely certain demonstrable knowledge - has proved to be an idol. The demand for scientific objectivity makes it inevitable that every scientific statement must remain tentative for ever. It may indeed be corroborated, but every corroboration is relative to other statements which again are tentative. Only in our subjective experiences of conviction, in our subjective faith can we be 'absolutely' certain.'
>
> [Popper, 1957 : 280]

> 'The history of science is to a large part a history of controversies, because the interpretation of facts to confirm or refute a theory always contains a subjective factor, dependent on the scientific prejudices and fashions of the time.'
>
> [Koestler op.cit. : 330].

I : 2 : 1 : Sociology and Paradigms

If we are to 'philosophise' about sociology, as we were particularly prone to do in the 1970's, then Kuhn's work on 'Paradigms' is of particular relevance. Since the 1960s a heated debate has arisen about whether the concept is applicable to sociology or not. I think that the

general concensus today would be anti-Kuhn. Nevertheless, many *do* argue that the concept of paradigm is intrinsically sociological [eg. Ritzer, 1978]. Bottomore and Nisbet state that:

> 'the work of Kuhn obviously has a special relevance for the social sciences because of the distinctive character of their connection with the interests and values that arise in practical life.'
> [1973 : vii].

Ritzer argues, quite simply, that sociology *is* a multi-paradigm science. Mackay suggests that Kuhn's account of science is consistent with an analysis of the history of academic control in sociology in the 20th century [1973]. Even those who are less favourable, such as Friedrichs, maintain that it has definite implications for sociology [op.cit]. Others, however, such as Sklair [1977] and Watkins [1970] have described attempts to apply paradigm theory to sociology as laboured, unreal, and misapplied.

There is no doubt that the concept of paradigms is both complex and, in its initial formulation, probably not applicable to Sociology [see Appendix 1 for a detailed account of this]. However, Kuhn has extended and modified his original ideas. He came to recognise that less exclusivist notions of paradigm were possible [1970:174-210] and indeed later described paradigm as' a sociological construct' [ibid : 175] He originally argued that scientific paradigms were totally incommensurable [not co-extensive and analysing reality in radically different ways]. Later, he suggested that paradigms could be incommensurate [co-extensive, but analysing similar areas in only marginally different ways]. This enabled Kuhn to recognise that uni-paradigm, dual-paradigm

and multi- paradigm sciences were possible. Masterman [1971] and Ritzer [1978] place sociology in the latter category. In addition, he argued that, paradigms need never be totally accepted by a scientific community. These modifications are crucial.[9]

It is argued that three main paradigms, under different names, exist in sociology today. For example:

- Gouldsblom. [1970] : CONFLICT - ACTION - CONSENSUS
- Ritzer. [1978] : SOCIAL DEFINITION - SOCIAL BEHAVIOURIST - SOCIAL FACTIST

[To this we should add : Social-Psychology]

The Durkheimian paradigm continues to provide the major basis for social research, particularly in its emphasis on 'objectivity'.[10] The 'Social Action' paradigm, keen to understand the actions of individuals has been reformulated by phenomenonologists and, some would argue, taken to extreme by ethno-methodologists [Bauman, 1978 : Chapter 8]. Marxism and critical theory continue to exert a strong influence on the work of many sociologists, after its 're-emergence' in the 1960's. Social-psychologists continue to do battle in two often opposed camps, arguing that 'the individual' and 'the social', cannot be studied in isolation.

It is clear that none of these paradigms dominate sociology. This may be evidence of sociology's 'coming of age' [Gouldner, 1975 : 13], a period which Kuhn saw as a necessary prologue for the emergence of a new paradigm [ibid : 3]. But, if sociology is still in its 'adolescence', can we still conduct worthwhile research? Or, do we need to perhaps synthesise the best elements of these diverse approaches, in

order to arrive at a more developed method of analysing 'the social'? It could be argued, *if* sociology is multi-paradigmatic, that useful research can be conducted within the limits of any particular paradigm.

An ethno-methodologist, for example, analysing the world views of redundant steelworkers would pay little attention to macro-sociological thought as he/she allowed 'grounded theory' to emerge. A Marxist would probably take a radically different route, starting perhaps with an analysis of 'the crisis' of western monopoly capitalism and airing the experiences of redundant steelworkers solely in conflictual terms. So, at present, can we:

> 'only rely on personal taste, choose a framework that's most congenial to us and who's to argue?'
>
> [Becker op.cit.: 20].

The answer to this question is, I would suggest,'No'. It is clear from the substantive work of Durkheim and Weber, and others since, that many sociologists have 'bridged' paradigms. Many have found that no aspects of social reality can be adequately explained without drawing on insights from all these paradigms. Ritzer maintains that:

> 'the simple fact is that each of these paradigms is incomplete in itself of adequately explaining any social phenomena. We need simultaneously to analyse structures, institutions, definitions of the situation and action contingencies of reinforcement and behaviour.'
>
> [op.cit.: 54]

There is still at the back of my mind, even at this stage, a continuing uncertainty about the radically opposed images we have of sociology's subject matter. Perhaps both the sheer complexity of the social sciences and their inextricable involvement with human values will not allow us to achieve a level of near unanimity. Nevertheless, it is a goal we should be striving for and in this research I found that it was only by drawing on a variety of sociological paradigms that I could begin to make sense of the questions I was asking.

Section II draws on a variety of social and economic thought in explaining social and economic change. Section III draws on functionalist and critical accounts of the family and gender; on 'work' from functionalist, Marxist and social-psychological thought and from a variety of sources on redundancy and unemployment. Sections IV and V, the core of the study, draw on both quantitative methods [statistical analysis, questionnaires] and qualitative methods [empathic interviewing, phenomenonology and ethnography].

Although the core of the study is an exercise in empathic humanistic sociology, *it was only by drawing on a variety of insights that it became theoretically possible to conceptualise the interrelationships between public issues and private troubles over the life course and to achieve a balance between abstract theory and small scale empirical research, within a sociology which was both critical and constructive.*

I : 2 : 2 : Why Weber?

So, why Weber? Firstly, because Weber's overriding interest was in understanding the very nature of modernity, its genesis, development and possible futures [the macro-sociology]. Secondly, and equally important, his sociology was an attempt to grasp 'the spirit' or meaning of the world as constructed and interpreted by acting individuals through a reliving of that spirit [the micro-sociology]. This dual concern has a particular relevance for this research, although it is not without its difficulties.

Sociology, he tells us,

> 'is a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to thereby arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects. In 'action' is included all human behaviour, to the extent that, the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action in this sense may be either overt or purely inward and subjective; it may consist of positive intervention in a situation, or of deliberately refraining from such intervention or passively aquiescing in the situation. Action is social when and in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual [or individuals], it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course'.
>
> [1964 : 4]

There are of course, different types of action which,

> '[] may be classified in the following four types according to its mode of orientation: [1] in terms of rational orientation to a

system of discrete individual ends that is, through the expectations as to the behaviour of objects in the external situation and of other human individuals, making use of these expectations as 'conditions' or 'means' for the successful attainment of the actors own rationally chosen ends; [2] in terms of rational orientation to an absolute value ; involving a belief in the absolute value of some ethical, aesthetic, religious or other form of behaviour entirely for its own sake and independently of any prospects of external success; [3] in terms of affectual orientation, especially emotional, determined by the specific affects and states of feeling of the actor; [4] traditionally oriented, through the habituation of long practice.'

[ibid : 6]

Understanding different types of social action results from the interpretation of the subjective states of mind and the meanings which can be imputed as intended in our interviewees statements. However, this apparently simple approach is not without problems, as a number of philosophers, phenomenologists and psychologists have indicated. The first of these lies in Weber's conception of'understanding' and of 'inter-subjective understanding'. How, in short, can we understand what it is like to be another person, to truly emphathise with his/her beliefs and motivations? This is a problem which is not resolved in sociology, but through interpretative methods, we seek, literally, to locate ourselves in our respondent's world. This synchronisation can never be total, but it can and does generate a great deal of information about some key aspects of social life.

The key area of this understanding and interpretation is with what Husserl describes as, 'our everyday life world', as the world which people encounter at each stage of their lives as immediately and simply *given*. Schutz [1966] taking Weber's basic formulation a stage further argues that we need to be concerned with those aspects of the individual's life world which are of interpretative, thematic and motivational relevancy i.e. those areas which provide meaning, continuity, explanatory power and the basis for action in the social world

A second problem in Weber's formulation is one of scope. Schutz argues, correctly, that three linked areas of the individual's life world require analysis, those of:'theme' [the individual's immediate social world], the 'horizon' [work, activities outside the home] and 'the margin' [the individual's larger social world outside the family/community] [cited from Gurswitch, 1964 : 128].

A third problem, arises from his limited definition of 'action'. Action must contain an element of 'pastness' and 'futurity' at all times Hence, an important focus of the interviewing is its life course perspective which takes present action, in whatever guises, as being conditioned by the sedimentation of past behaviour, whilst oriented towards the future.

Weber's definitions serve only as a starting point in this study, because all 'action' is shaped by other social forces which may induce affectual behaviour [based on irrational emotions] and traditional behaviour [unconscious automatic reactions to habitual stimuli]. A purely phasic response to redundancy would obviously contain elements of these types of 'action'. Action will usually contain elements of

rationality and valve rationality but certain circumstances may generate affective and traditional behaviour.

In order to develop a wider understanding of inter-subjective behaviour we need to refer to the wider complexes of meaning within which social action takes place . For complexes of subjective meaning, which form the basis of our objective research, to be amenable to us, they must be causally adequate on the level of meaning, and must be expected to occur again to a satisfactory degree of probability. At this juncture Weber introduces the concept of the pure construct/ideal type. A pure construct is formed,

> 'by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and on the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomenon and are arranged according to those one sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.'
>
> [ibid : 151].

A pure construct is a blueprint of reality, a heuristic device which enables us to impose order on the apparent chaos of inter-subjective reality, make explicit the ways in which we order and catagorise our data, control the influence of our 'foreunderstandings' and create 'typical complexes of meaning' which possess a reasonable degree of predictive power [ibid : 151 - 153 ; 170 - 182].

A neo-Weberian sociology occupies a middle ground between humanistic individualism and holistic abstract grand theory [critical or positivistic]. Society, does not 'act', it only signifies at certain stages in its historical, socio-cultural and technological/economic

development the determinants of actual or possible modes of orientation for people [cf. Wrong, 1961].

Even if social groups do seem to have a life of their own, as Weber admits,

'these collectivities must be treated solely as the resultants and modes or organisation of the acts of particular individuals.'

[ibid : 13].

The result of our analysis of the life worlds of individuals will always be at best provisional, and not 'laws' in the natural scientific sense, 'valid approximations' to the effect that under certain specified conditions, certain expected courses of action would probably occur.

Hence, a neo-Weberian *social-psychology* is interested in the way people construct their own life worlds and the extent to which society conditions their behaviour. A neo-Weberian *phenomenology* concentrates on the individual's construction of reality. This involves a conscious suspension of ones own world views and becoming grounded in subjective reality, rather than interpreting it according to ones own general values or theories. The researcher has to avoid what Freud described as 'counter-transference' i.e. a situation where our response to our 'clients' are the product of our own emotions, values and conflicts, instead of a detached professionalism.[cf., Keen, 1975]

To conclude, this study is 'neo Weberian' because it attempts to takes full account of the two sides of one coin : the individual and society. Such an approach provides a balanced and objective approach whilst recognising the limited explanatory power of sociological concepts and their intimate relationship with the world we live in.

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH STRATEGIES

I : 3 : 1 The Questionnaire Survey.

The purpose of the questionnaire survey was twofold: to develop a numerical description of the 1,000 women and men [of 4,000] made redundant from B.S.C. between 1982 and 1983 and provide a basis from which an interview sample could be drawn. Questionnaires, of course, come in many varieties, from single page self answer to multipage documents administered by interviewers. Although there are no rigid rules in questionnaire construction, the same general guidelines, apply to all of them. A good questionnaire needs to be clear, unambiguous and workable. It must be tailored to fit the requirements of the study and to suit our respondents. Its overall design must minimise, as far as possible, potential errors from our respondents. Since such questionnaires are dependent upon voluntary co-operation, they need to encourage such involvement and elicit accurate answers. To achieve this, I followed the general guidelines laid down by Oppenheim [1968]; Hoinville and Jowell [1978] and Brook [1978].

The questionnaires were seven pages in length, less than the 8-10 maximum recommended by Brook. The questions were ordered in specific, easily-identifiable sections which followed on from each other. Responses were encouraged by placing less personal questions at the start [work history; present status etc.] and asking more personal questions [about family details] later on. The questionnaires utilised, for the most part, an ordered category style [as opposed to ratio/interval styles]. Only three questions were open-ended and not

included in the coding frame. These verbatim quotations were later ordered to provide information about the events leading up to redundancy. The response mode was made as simple as possible, to avoid the pitfalls of 'social desirability bias' [Bailey 1978] and to reduce the effects of differences in educational skills amongst the sample. Each questionnaire was accompanied by an introductory letter, outlining the purposes of the study and stress the anonymity and confidentiality of the study, countersigned by Jackie Burgoyne.[13] The layout of the introductory letter, questionnaire and mailed envelopes followed Brook's suggestions

I utilised two questionnaires, one for male and one for female ex - steelworkers, although the format of both was identical [See Appendix 2]. From a total of 1,000, 886 questionnaires were sent out.[14] This original group was divided into two main groups: 'Staff' and 'Works', in order to identify at a later stage any significant differences between blue and white collar workers. The staff group numbered 336 persons and the works group 550. The questionnaires were mailed in September and October 1984. These continued to return until mid January 1985 at which stage I had obtained a return of 108 staff and 55 works questionnaires. I decided therefore to send a second batch of 300 to the works group , in February. By early March the total had risen to 114, representing total responses of 32% and 21%. In the staff group, 45 agreed to continue in the study and in the works group 50.

Diagramatically, these groups look like this:

THE ORIGINAL GROUP [1,000]

THE QUESTIONNAIRE GROUP [886]

STAFF (336)	WORKS [550]
RESPONSE GROUP [108-32%]	RESPONSE GROUP [114-21%]
[18 Female-90 Male]	[All Male]
'YES' GROUP [45] 'NO' GROUP [63]	' YES' GROUP[50] 'NO' GROUP [64]
[22]*	[27]*
STAFF INTERVIEW GROUP [19]	WORKS INTERVIEW GROUP [24]

[* - agreed to continue after 1st visit]

The collation of the data from the returned questionnaires followed the procedure outlined below:

- 'clocking in': each questionnaire was checked, sorted and filed. Another file was created, colour coded for staff and works to keep a continuous and easily accessible record of the returns on the questionnaire. An example is given below:

NAME: MR. J. SMITH NO. 5 5 1

ADDRESS:
5,THE AVENUE
ROTHERHAM
TEL:22233

REPLY?: YES X NO

AGREEMENT TO TALK?: YES X NO

1ST VISIT : DECIDED NOT TO CONTINUE

SUBSEQUENT VISITS: 1 None 2
3 4

- Data from the open ended questions ordered manually according to a typology of responses [Appendix 4];

- Creation of coding frame: this can be done either prior to or after questionnaires returns. After consultations with computer services I recoded the questionnaire when I had received a substantial number of replies [Appendices 2 and 3];

- Information 'punched' onto computer file;

- Ordering of information required from survey
  [See Appendix 2]

In an ideal world, or at least one where more time and money was available, it might have been possible to extract a sample from a general survey based on a stratified random sample of all ex-B.S.C. workers made redundant between 1979 and 1985. This was not possible, because of financial and time restrictions.

In retrospect there are some changes I would have made to the questionnaire's construction in the light of my fieldwork. I would have liked to have known how many of the questionnaire group were home owners, for reasons which become clear in Section VI; their feelings about their 'present circumstances' [an open-ended question] and I would have shortened the 'pre-redundant' section. Nevertheless this survey, as noted above, has been of illustrative use and provided an interview sample of forty families. This is discussed below.

I : 3 : 2: Interviewing

> '[] the range of research strategies currently available in sociology not only insures that researchers are faced with a difficult problem of choice between alternatives but also guarantees that whatever they choose, they will lay themselves open to attack from all the other positions set aside [] a certain amount of toughness is required if one is to make a choice and follow through some empirical research and toughness is a quality difficult to sustain without subcultural support and is seldom referred to in the methods texts.
>
> [Atkinson, 1977 : 32]

I : 3 : 2 : 1 The Theory.

'Good' sociology must involve interaction with other people, usually through the medium of interviewing [' consultative interaction']. Interviewing is important because, to quote Benney and Hughes, it is,

> ' more than the tool and object of study. It is the art of sociological sociability, the game we play for the pleasure of flavouring its subtleties. It is our flirtation with life, our eternal affair, played hard and to win, but played with that detachment and amusement which gives us the spirit to rise up again and again.'
>
> [1956 : 143-44]

The process of interviewing requires a serious emotional involvement by both parties and is, in that sense, 'value laden'. It is only through such an involvement that an empathic understanding of the lives of these steelworkers and their families becomes possible, an understanding which lies at the core of sociological understanding. It's primary aim is to cast light, because, as Oppenheim has noted, small scale interviewing,

> 'does not aim for great precision and frequently does not have control groups, [its] function is more often to throw light on processes...of change or to illustrate the stages through which people go in adapting themselves to a new variable.'
> [1968 : 19].

The interviewing programme followed the general guidelines laid down by methods specialists [Oppenheim op.cit.; Bulmer [1977]; Wax [1972] and others working in related fields [e.g.: Laslett and Rapoport 1975 ; Morris (1)-(5), S.S.P.,1983 ; Fagin and Little, op.cit.]. I chose to conduct three interviews with each couple [Two single, one joint] and, informally, one with children where applicable. This decision was made simply because more than one interview with each family would enable me to increase the amount of information I could collect, help to check basic facts and dates and examine the inevitable and potentially significant discrepancies which would arise in individual interviews .

An important requirement was the creation of balance in the interview sutuation, and in the case of joint interviews, generating a sense of collaboration between spouses and myself, thus hopefully ensuring greater internal validity. Whilst not playing down the importance of individual interviews, joint interviews can feed upon the

interactions of husbands and wives thereby generating data which might not be forthcoming in individual interviews. Allan has observed that sociologists in general have not made as much use of this 'strangely under-utilised' technique, as they might have done [1980 : 208-09; 266]. This he argues, is probably because of the now dated assumption that married reality is a *shared* reality, which as we know is often not the case.

As well as confirming or disconfirming individuals' accounts, additional information can be generated by couples jogging each other's memories or by supplementing patchy accounts in the first interviews. This helps us to create a more complete picture of the dynamics of each family. Since my interviewing can only at best elicit a sample of their own experiences, joint interviews are a way of improving this sampling. Interviews of this type are best tape recorded. I employed this method in all my interviews. Its advantages are obvious. It allows for the collection of a large quantity of data in a short period of time which can be stored, transcribed and analysed at a later time. It also enables the interviewer to concentrate fully on the verbal and non - verbal dynamics of the interview. The information on tape can also be checked for 'leading questions' or if particular questions did not make sense to my interviewees. Throughout the course of the interviewing schedule I took care to take notes on less formal sources of information, from telephone conversations, 'chat' before and after interviews, as well as the layout and condition of houses and the degree of openness shown by couples. This was achieved by dictating these field notes in my car immediately after visits.

A problem area, which recently has become a focus for methodologists are the effects of gender differences between interviewer and interviewee. It might be assumed that any interviewer has a greater empathy with interviewees of the same sex [and vice-versa]. Given the existence of well defined attitudes about the nature of gender differences, it was important that I appeared as neutral as possible in this respect and be seen primarily as a detached but concerned professional outsider. The women in this study must have had doubts about my ability to empathise with them as women, which in an absolute sense is of course true, but along with the actual content of the interviews with them, I made a concerted effort to convey an understanding of their central life interests and their concerns *as women* for example emphasising housework as *work*.)

The penultimate area relating to the general theory of interviewing which has received much attention, is that of language and communication. Within any social system, particularly modern industrial societies characterised by class/status fragmentation, a variety of sub-cultures of meaning exist, in which different social groups attach heterogeneous meanings to common cultural symbols [to 'work', 'class' or 'unemployment' for example]. Deutscher [1969] has suggested that our interviewing methodologies lack the subtlety to capture these different ways of interpreting the world and argues that the phonetic differences which can exist may be so great as to make meaningful dialogue between different groups difficult, if not actually impossible. Since most interviewing is done by middle class researchers, there may be breakdowns in communication unless care is taken to reduce the disparity between 'elaborate' and 'restricted' codes [Bernstein, 1964 : 55-59]

Few such problems arose in my 'communications' with my interviewees. Coming from a large family of working class Yorkshire origin and yet attending a 'top' public school, has given me a natural empathy with both ends of British society, including so-called 'restricted' codes. In conjunction with a working life outside of academia and the development of theoretical and practical research skills over the last seven years, 'communication' in Deutschers and Bersteins sense was not problematic. Throughout the interviewing schedule I tried to appear relaxed, un self-conscious, 'visually neutral'[16], and not from either extreme of the social scale, in order to achieve the necessary rapport with people of different social backgrounds.

The final problem area, related to the general theory of interviewing has to do with the validity of the data we collect, in particular the problem of *memory*. How, in short, can we ever know that what our respondents tell us is 'the truth', rather than simply selective reconstructions and distortions of their life experiences? Indeed, any retrospective linguistic account is *a priori* different from events and experiences in the present. This is still a relatively unresearched area in sociology [although not in psychology]. In terms of actual recall, sensory and short term memory does not pose too many difficulties. According to Winn, even long term memory,

> 'is thought to be limitless. Most of it remains out of awareness ready to be summoned to the surface if needed.'
>
> [1980:164]

There is however an ever present danger that people will reconstruct memories as time goes by, in particular with a view to make the past seem better than it was [ibid. : 165].

The problem is not so much the decaying of memory but rather its possible distortion by our interviewees. In order to avoid such distortions I sought at a very early stage to emphasise that I would prefer no answer to dishonest answers and that my interviewees need not answer questions which they felt might have lead to evasions or distortions. As sociologists, we have to assume that people who voluntarily let us into their lives, often in a deeply intimate way, tell us the truth, as they see it, most of the time. The fact that in this study, this co-operation was voluntary and in many cases revealed details of a deeply personal nature, indicates that the interview material presented in Sections IV and V was based on honest, undistorted recollections of times past.

I : 3 : 2 : 2 : The Practice :

[i] Organisation:

I first contacted the 95 families who had agreed to 'continue in the study'.[17] This was completed in approximately nine weeks. From these visits, where the purposes of the study and their role was outlined, 22 [Staff] and 27 [Works] couples agreed to continue. From this total I chose 17 and 23 families for interview.[18] This choice was made with due consideration of a number of factors. Since we cannot know how representative the interview sample is of all ex-steelworkers, it was

not a primary concern that this group needed to be representative of the original group of 1,000. There is of course a long tradition in sociology of research into the characteristics of small groups, which have cast light on wider social processes as a results.[19]

Thus, when it came to selecting this group my primary concern was to locate families:

- from different stages in the life course [those with young children, couples with teenage children and those whose children had left home];
- from a variety of occupational groupings [from the unskilled & semi-skilled up to senior managers];
- whose 'present circumstances' varied [eg 'in work', 'retired', ' 'unemployed' etc.];
- whose totals approximately represented the original numbers of 'staff' and 'works'.
- which were first marriages with at least one child.

I revisited these families to outline in more detail the purposes of the research and the role they would play in it. This also gave us the opportunity to get to know each other better. It was also a good exercise in self reflection as I was regularly asked "What's the point of the research?" This meant presenting answers which emphasised an analysis of the problems facing many people in this area, whilst playing down the 'academic' considerations.[20]

At the outset four couples expressed some reservations about individual interviewing . I tried to emphasise the interest I had in the working lives of both spouses and how *as individuals* they were best

equipped to answer my questions. I also stressed the confidentiality and anonymity of any information they gave me, including if need be from each other [one couple - the Lloyds both asked for this]. I said they could, as couples, share or keep as much as they wanted from each other.

The early interviews were difficult, as I put the theory of interviewing into prctice. This was not helped when three couples dropped out in the space of eleven days. At first I thought I was doing something drastically wrong, but fortunately only two more were to drop out voluntarily. In gaining the co-operation of these couples I did not foresee that I might raise issues in the individual interview [with the men] which were felt to be extremely sensitive, and which the wives found uncomfortable.[in particular those related to personal family details] Although I contacted all five couples to find out the reasons for their decisions I remain somewhat perplexed to this day, given the information I had given them during my first two visits to them.

The two couples who I did not see for a third time were the two most 'unstable' marriages in the interview sample.[20] It became apparent to me in the course of the individual interviews that I had raised issues, which, in the context of the joint interview, might have generated unpleasant consequences for the couples involved, as there was clear evidence of considerable stress and tensions between them. I did however revisit them on two occasions to see how they were getting on . Thus, at the end of the interviewing schedule 40 single interviews had been conducted, 35 second interviews and 33 joint interviews representing 108 in total. The material presented in Parts IV and V and the Appendices, is taken only from the 33 couples who were interviewed

three times [including some data from informal interviews with some of the children].

The motivations for those who continued in the study until the end varied enormously. Some said, particularly the older ones, that they wanted" to help me in my work" or because they thought "it might help others". Others found it to be "an interesting experience" to talk about their problems and pre-occupations and even of benefit to in re-evaluating their situations.

[ii] Implementation and Transcription

The actual interviewing followed three 'flexible blueprints', one for husbands, one for wives [which were very similar] and one for the joint interview, whose precise format varied according to the content of the individual interviews [See Appendix 6]. These I had started to develop some six months prior to interviewing, in order to cover what I considered to be the relevant subject areas. These were:

> Gender, marital status , stage in the life course, employment history, education, incomes, housing and household size, trade union activities, political, religious and social consciousness, familial relations and divisions of labour: prior to and after redundancy.

I say 'flexible', because although I had specific channels through which to guide my respondents, I knew from both 'the literature' and my own previous experiences of interviewing in community work, that interviewees do not always go down the paths we would like them to. The blueprint did not represent a rigidly linear progression of questions as

both the precise wording and timing of such questions was dependent on previous answers, and the results of previous interviews

At the outset of each interview I again explained its purpose and provided for ample time prior to and after the interview to answer any questions or doubts my interviewees might have. I controlled each interview without being coercive or authoritarian. I probed and encouraged and sought to avoid leading questions. The overall goal, being to 'direct' the individual towards certain themes in his/her life world[s] without distorting that experience. Success in this exercise requires a subtle juggling exercise: on the one hand to allow people to answer a question in their own way [the way in which people answer questions can tell us a great deal] and on the other to guide them back 'onto the rails' if they veer off. This control is important for two reasons: it enables us to cover all the subject areas adequately and makes the comparison and triangulation of uniformly sequenced interview data easier to analyse at a later time.

This life history perspective was chosen to elicit as much detail as possible about my respondents' lives without the impediments and restrictions imposed by a rigid questionnaire/static interview outline. Although considered less reliable than information derived from structured sources, such an approach does provide great flexibility, particularly when looking at the dialectical relationship between the'public' and the 'private' as two moments in a single period of mutual influence and causation.

The transcribed interview generated some 280,000 words of interview material alongside other observations from talks with children and other informal visits [c.50,000 words] . This material forms the basis of

Parts IV and V. The way in which I selected and presented this material is outlined below.

[iii] Triangulation, Interpretation and Analysis

Having completed a series of 'positional' papers prior to interviewing, I had certain expectations about what I might find 'in the field'. For example, almost all the literature I had studied suggests a phasic response to redundancy and unemployment. Not only did I find very lttle evidence of this of this but, that some ex-steelworkers had coped with and benefitted from their redundancy in a variety of ways. This also, of course, raised some potentially sensitive ethical questions [cf: the 'maximisation of alternatives' discussed earlier]. There were also discrepancies between 'the literature' and my interview findings, particularly in the generally pessimistic image of traditional family life in neo-Marxist and Feminist thought [See III : 7 : 1]. Instead of finding oppression and alienation, I found evidence of marital arrangements which had worked very succesfully for the couples concerned.

Another, more complex area, was the political and social consciousness of these men and women, which could only be partially explained by reference to class position and attitudes to work. It appeared to be linked to family related variables such as stage in the life course and to specific external circumstances outside of work/union membership. In short, it became clear that there were discrepancies between what I had been reading and what was going on 'out there'. It was at this point that I had to suspend, as far as it was humanly

possible, my previously held 'foreunderstandings.' I found that I needed a marked degree of 'journalistic' detachment enabling me to lay to one side, the pictures and images previously held. So, for several months theorising took a back seat whilst I completed the interview schedule.

The analysis of the data, which began as soon as the second interviews approached, broadly followed Denzin's principle of 'triangulation' [1971]. The first interview, conducted mainly with male members of the households was read two or three times prior to the second interview and suitable adjustments or additions made to the flexible blueprint. These interviews were in turn re-read and compared several times prior to the joint interview, where again adjustments were made where inaccuracies occurred and more importantly where discrepancies in individual accounts occurred [for example, on divisions of labour in the home]. From the resulting transcribed material of three interviews and other observations, a short family profile/history was constructed, taking into account the variables mentioned elsewhere and an assessment was made as to their degree of pro-activity or re-activity in the post redundant phase [See Appendix 6 : 4].

The next stage was to rank the couples in the four groups into a hierarchy of 'copers' and 'non copers' and those in intermediate positions [see Appendices 12 : 4 and 13 : 4]. By re-reading and comparing related areas of the interview material and using cluster diagrams a number of clear patterns began to emerge, both within and between groups, in particular some significant generational differences between the four groups. From this interview material, other observations, the family outlines and typologies, an edited interview file was created [The basis of Parts IV and V, some 250,000 words in

length]. The file covered all the various areas of individual and joint life worlds within a life course perspective, prior to and after redundancy. This file took account of the complete variety of responses, including those 'awkward' cases so often relegated to footnotes and appendixes or sometimes, simply ignored. For reasons of space only single quotes typical of several responses are included in some areas. Where a great variety of contradictory responses occurred these are all included, to give the fullest possible picture of the 33 families.

It is sometimes suggested that the way in which such data is presented constitutes a serious source of bias, where the sociologists' own 'story' is supported by a filtered selection of examples drawn from the subjects who were interviewed. It has, for example, been suggested that much of the research on unemployment is based on such 'apt illustrations' [Freyer D. 1982 a) and b) and Part III : 8]. This is a temptation which exists in all scientific endeavours, to fit 'facts' to hypotheses, and sadly in some cases, it is a temptation which some have failed to resist [eg: Burt on I.Q]. This research has remained faithfull to the principles of hermeneutic interpretation, following the governing rule for any researcher at this stage of analysis, of *induction* before *deduction*.

Throughout the course of this research I am mindful of Becker's comments on sociological research:

'We take sides as our personal and political commitments dictate, use our theoretical and technical resources to avoid the distortions that might introduce into our work, limit our conclusions, recognise

the hierarchy of credibility for what it is and field as best we can the accusations and doubts that will surely be our fate.'

[op.cit.: 47]

In the last resort, sociologists should remember that they deal with people. That that requires not only seeing the world as they see it, rather than as we would *like* them to see it, but also,

'compassion, limited commitment and a sense of the comic in man's social carnival.'

[Berger, 1963 : 184]

PART II : ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN BRITAIN

INTRODUCTION

As a result of a worldwide economic recession, recent economic and social policies and the enormous impact of new technologies the economy of the U.K. has undergone a marked decline in recent years, although it is at the time of writing showing some signs of recovery. The collapse of our traditional manufacturing sector, rising company insolvencies and a rapid rise in unemployment in the 1980's are clear indications of this decline. It is argued, by many commentators, that our failure to transfer investment, people power and other resources into the new growth industries, is creating a deeply polarised society, split into those who enjoy regular and well paid employment and those who suffer from periods of unemployment or marginalised employment, often for low pay and under poor working conditions [cf. Keegan 1985].

In the absence of radical economic and social reform, it is argued that this situation will worsen and that the U.K. will become become characterised by an increasingly unequal distribution in those economic rewards which flow from paid employment. Commentators and intellectuals of all persuasions have argued long and hard about the causes and consequences of these changes. Within the limitations of this work, it is only possible to provide a brief account of the salient elements of these arguments, which are organised in a way which sets the decline of B.S.C. Rotherham in a broader context.

Although there is no single, analytically comprehensive definition of economic and social change, I take it to refer to:

'A succession of events which over time produce a modification or replacement of particular patterns or units by other newer ones.'

[Smith, 1976 : 13]

Economic and social change can be analysed in different ways; by examining:

- long term trends [100-1,000 years]
- medium term processes [10-100 years]
- calendar events [1-10 years].

and at different sectors of change:

- socio-economic
- socio-political
- socio-scientific;
- socio-cultural.(1)

Sociologically we can analyse social change at three levels:

- macro-sociology;
- midrange sociology;
- micro-sociology.

or, - all three in combination.

This section can be described as a medium term, intermediate analysis, looking at four sectors of change, post world war II, within a sociological framework combining macro, midrange and micro-analyses.(2)

CHAPTER 4

THE RETREAT FROM FULL EMPLOYMENT.

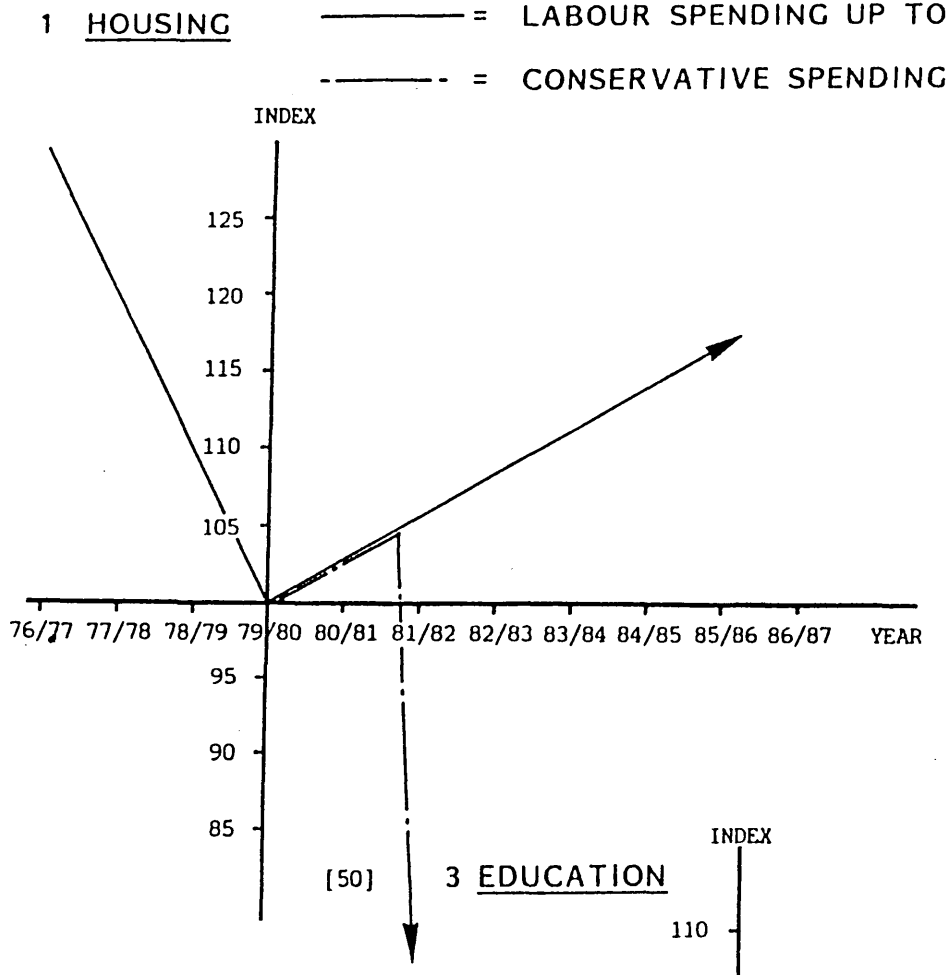
Even during the immediate post-war period, the 'boom years' of Keynsian economic management, evidence existed of problems in the British economy which were to become increasingly serious in the late 1960's and early 1970's.[3] Most analysts place the source of our current troubles in the mid 1960's, when with each successive 'high' and 'low' in the trade cycle, both inflation and the numbers out of work increased. This trend continued in the 1970's, saving during the Barber 'boom year' of 1973. [House of Lords 1982 : 35]. In 1974, overall world trade declined for the first time since 1945 and Britain's share of that market had been reduced to only half of what it was in 1945 [ibid. : 42] The rise in oil prices in the mid 1970's had a serious effect on the cost of manufactured goods. As inflation peaked at 25% in 1977/78, the Callaghan-led Labour Administration tried to control the situation with the 'Social Contract' a voluntary incomes policy agreed with the unions, which had some impact over the next two years. At the same time, as a condition of financial assistance, the I.M.F. imposed strict limitations on public expenditure.

By the time of the ' winter of discontent' [1978/1979] a situation existed which some economists called 'stagflation', in which high inflation, high levels of unemployment and poor economic growth co-existed.[4] The collapse of the 'Philips Curve', a situation inexplicable in Keynsian terms, created for a time a great sense of uncertainty amongst many economists [Garatty, 1982 : 248]. Garatty

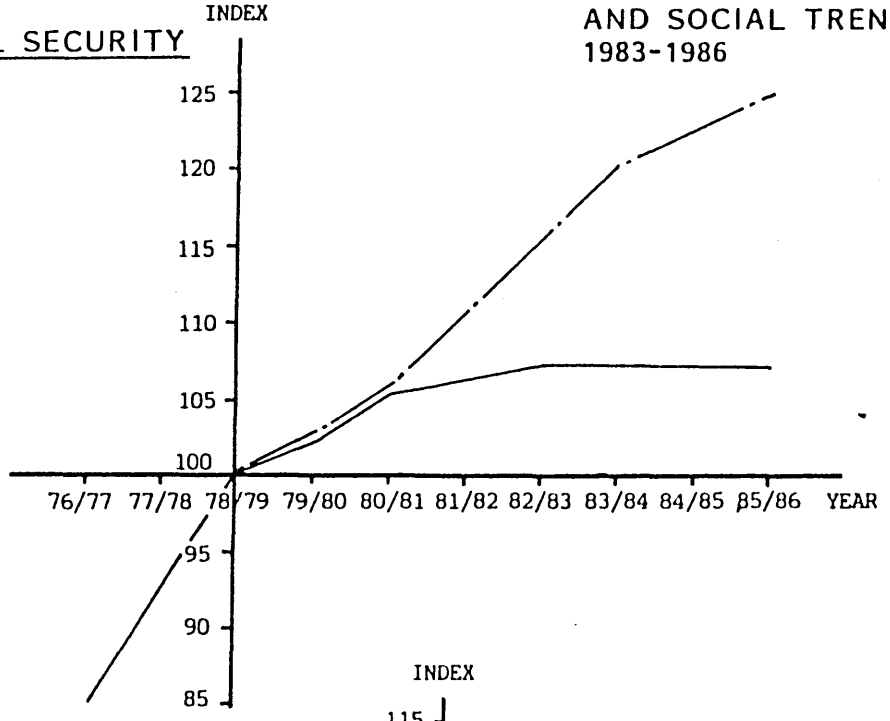
FIGURE 1: PUBLIC SECTOR EXPENDITURE UNDER THE CONSERVATIVES 1979-1986*

1 HOUSING ——— = LABOUR SPENDING UP TO 1979 AND PLANNED EXPENDITURE-POST 1979

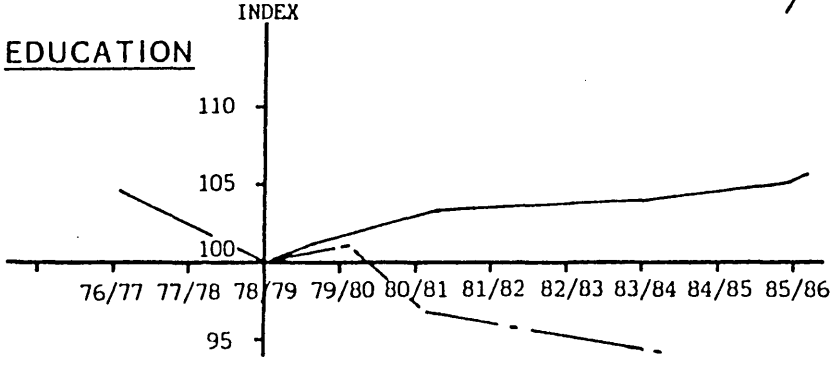
-·——·- = CONSERVATIVE SPENDING POST 1979



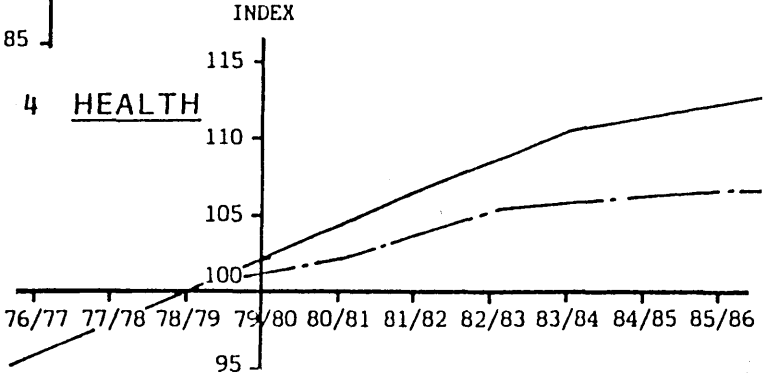
2 SOCIAL SECURITY



3 EDUCATION



4 HEALTH



*SOURCES

1979-1983 FIGURES: TI
GUARDIAN 10/3/82 P.
1983-1986 FIGURES: TI
GUARDIAN (FINANCIA
AND SOCIAL TRENDS
1983-1986

suggests that Keynsianism remained valid, but that the 'General Theory' was not so 'general' after all, but 'a special case applicable only to certain conditions at a certain time' [ibid : 250]. If so, mass unemployment was no longer just a bad memory of the 1930's but was returning to plague British society. [Sinfield, 1981; Hawkins, 1979; Peston, 1981; Taylor, 1982]

As in 1945 a political transformation took place, this time against Keynsian 'Consensus' politics and the Labour and Trade Union movement, culminating in the election in 1979 of the first Thatcher-led Conservative government. Where the Labour Party found its intellectual gurus in Beveridge and Keynes, the 'new conservatives'' intellectual mentors were men like Hayek, Friedman, Minford and Scruton [cf. Hodgson, 1984]. This administration, between 1979 and 1986, has been committed to a monetarist or, more accurately, a *neo-monetarist* approach to economic [and social] management. Its primary goal has been to reduce inflation by squeezing public expenditure [see Figure (1) over], by selling off state assets, running down 'unprofitable' sectors of nationalised industries, attempting to improve our balance of trade figures and by removing 'imperfections' in the market place. These policies represent an attack on what Keith Joseph described as the 'six poisons' of British society:

> 'excessive government spending; high direct taxation; egalitarianism; excessive nationalisation; an anti-enterprise culture and a politically motivated Trade Union movement.'
>
> [From Donaldson 1985 : 14]

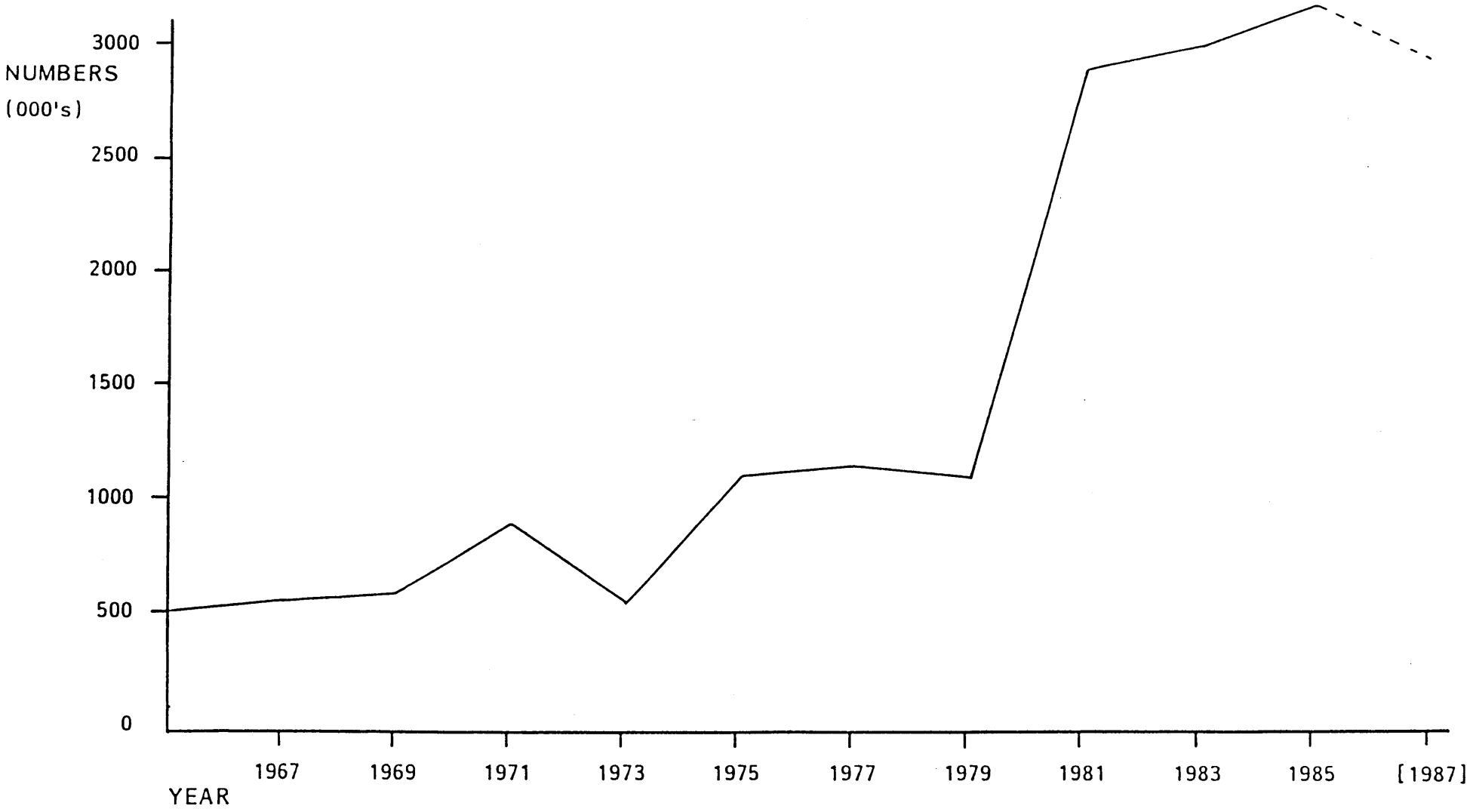
This squeeze has marked a collapse in our traditional manufacturing sector, with a knock on effect to the economy as a whole, and as a consequence, unemployment trebled between 1979 and 1986 to rise to an all time high of 3,280,106 men and women [see Figure (2)]. Despite some recent falls in the official out of work totals, most non - government supporters and independent observers, using the 1979 basis for calculation [changed sixteen times in eight years] put the true figure, at about 3,650,000.[5][cf., Smith, 1985]

These developments have led to a proliferation of ideas about the cause and consequences of this decline. Broadly speaking, there are four main schools of economic thought in the 1980's :

- the [neo] Monetarist/New Classical;
- the [neo] Keynsian/Cambridge;
- the [neo] Marxist/Socialist;
- the Green/Phoenix School.

The monetarist explanation of the causes of our economic decline is fairly straightforward. Whilst acknowledging the oil crisis of 1974, the impact of the world recession and the growth of cheap imports, it is argued that our national economic decline has been caused by 'imperfections' in the labour market, rather than in the consumer market i.e.that it has been caused by excessive increases in the money supply in the 1960's and 1970's as opposed to deficiencies in aggregate demand [as in Keynsianism]. It was 'excessive' increases in this supply which lead to inflation, followed by reduced aggregate demand, falls in manufacturing output, redundancies and increases in unemployment. To attempt to stimulate growth by demand management would not reduce

FIGURE 2: UNEMPOLYMENT IN THE UK 1967-1987



unemployment to its' natural' rate of 2% but would on the contrary, they argue, leading to galloping inflation and a repetition of the cycle. [Friedman and Friedman, 1980 ; Friedman , 1981]

Monetarists believe that excessive monetary expansion leads to excessive demands in both labour and consumer markets, excessive wage claims, followed by the cycle outlined above. At its most basic level monetarism dismisses all government intervention in the economy save as regards minimising government expenditure and removing 'imperfections' in the labour market. Such actions as privatisation, closing down 'unprofitable' sectors of nationalised industries, removing trade union rights, abolishing wage councils, lowering the real value of unemployment benefits are all examples of the removal of these 'imperfections'.

By refusing to expand the economy it is argued that inflation will come down, excess 'fat' will be removed from the labour market, capital will be released to invest in new leaner, more efficient and preferably non-unionised businesses which would create new high sustained levels of growth, more demand for labour and ultimately reduce the levels of unemployment. However, although inflation has come down our balance of payments continues to decline, the pound has reached lowest value ever in 1985, unemployment [unofficially] still stands at three and a half to four million and the record rate of company insolvencies and bankrupcies of 1985 shows no signs of lessening [mostly businesses established post 1979: Hudson, The Guardian 28/5/86]. Despite a growth in the living standards of some sections of the population, the creation of some new jobs, [largely part-time and poorly paid work for women], our economy

continues to stagnate and at the latest estimate over twelve million people in this country now live in poverty [Field, 1987].

In a sense, with Friedman, Minford and the Liverpool School and others, we have come full circle. The ideas of 'imperfections' in the labour market and of 'competitive equilibrium' are very old. Modern monetarism is in reality a very old form of macro-economics dating as far back as Adam Smith. Despite the many criticisms levelled at both the theory of monetarism [Bank of England 1983; Keegan 1985] and its practice, it continues to hold sway with The Government, The Treasury and with less conviction, the C.B.I., with those who have benefitted from monetarism in the last eight years and sadly, even amongst those who have suffered in recent years ['Diverse Reports' Channel 4 : 15/12/1984].

In anticipation of the general election this year the chancellor dispensed with his strict financial controls and relaxed his monetary targets in the autumn budget, allowing for increases in a variety of public spending areas including housing, social security, inner city aid and help for the Young and Long Term Unemployed [The Guardian : 10/10/86 and 7/11/86]. Despite this 'U' turn, a strong commitment to increased privatisation and the removal of 'imperfections' in the labour market is a continuing policy for the government. Some 40% of state sector industry will have been privatised after British Airways, British Airports, the Electricity Board and Rolls Royce this year [The Guardian 10/10/86].

Having recovered from the shock of the 1970's, the [neo] Keynsian/'Cambridge' school argue that monetarism has nothing new to say. For Keynsians, the principal causes of our economic decline were :

- the oil crisis
- slow economic growth combined with our declining competitiveness abroad;
- low levels of demand in the home market;
- inadequacies in the educational system;
- inadequate industrial training;
- inflexible government controls of the economy and industry;
- centralised decision making;
- conflictual politics generated by an inequitable electoral system;
- poor management and restrictive trade union practices;
- abandonment of incomes policies post-1979;
- V.A.T. changes post-1979;

[Coates and Hillard 1986, Parts 2 and 3].

Even accepting Friedman's 'link' between money supply and inflation, which they argue is contentious, Britain's 'bad' strike record [which has been on a par with the U.S.A.'s post World War II] and an underlying social philosophy which accepts the competitive exploitation of fellow citizens, they suggest that continuing monetarist policies are likely to perpetuate high unemployment and increase the rate of inflation . Inflation has indeed come down but is expected to rise to 8% next year [The Guardian : 16/5/87] and unemployment is expected to rise again, towards the end of this year. This will happen because monetarists ignore the alarming collapse of our traditional manufacturing industries, which has left a huge gap in our productive capacity which cannot be filled simply by allowing 'economic forces' to operate. If this is allowed, it is argued, the British economy will be overwhelmed

by cheap exports and foreign competitors, cashing in on the strength of their currencies, 'setting up shop' in this country [as is happening, for example, with Nissan]

Neo-Keynsians, argue for a new incomes policy, modest reflationary measures and selective import controls, whilst fledgling industries find markets for their products. In combination with investment in new industries and a rapid expansion in education and training opportunities and greater links between government, education and industry they would hope to begin the slow process of regenerating the economy and reducing unemployment. This would they argue would lead to a slightly higher rate of inflation but would have reduced the rate of redundancies in the 1980's significantly, by allowing both employers and employees the time to adjust to new economic circumstances.

The Socialist/[neo] Marxist school approaches the causes of current economic/social change from a radically different perspective. Whilst both the approaches just outlined differ in many respects, both see the causes of our current economic problems as being produced by imperfections which can be solved within capitalism. Neo-Marxists argue for the replacement of capitalism by a qualitatively different type of society based on *need* rather than *profit*.

This radically different perspective is further complicated when we come to examine what the Marxist position on economic and social change is, broadly subsumed under the heading of dialectical [historical] materialism. In addition, although Marxists have always been very strong on *critique*, very little has been said since Marx's time on the actual mechanics of the transformation to socialism [But, see Fromm, 1976 and Gorz, 1983, for two attempts at this]. Rather, it is assumed that

socialism, perceived to be the basis of a democratic, egalitarian, meriocratic and stable social order will emerge from the ashes of collapsed monopoly capitalism, now facing its greatest 'legitimation crisis' [Habermas, 1979]

For Marxists, there is nothing new or surprising about the latest slump in western capitalism. They see three principle reasons for our current economic and social problems:

- The damaging and accumulative effects of the international orientation of British capital, marking a linked retreat from investment in industry in the 19th century into trade and financial markets thus servicing our then future competitors, and a general internationalisation of capital leading to investment in the growing cheap labour markets of the east. As Hobshawm observed, the British economy post World War II, was

  'a parasitic, rather than competitive economy, living off the remains of the world monopoly, the underdeveloped worlds, its past accumulation of wealth and the advance of its rivals.'

  [1969 : 162]

- The continuing separation between the owners of capital/means of production and the servants of the means of production reflected in a continuing class conflict between the 'bourgeoise' and the 'proletariat', a consequent ossification of industrial relations and the continued absence of genuine industrial democracy.

  [Kilpatrick and Lawson 1980; Coates and Johnson 1983]

- combining to produce low growth, low levels of employment and real wages, creating a weak economy unable to compete with cheap imports [Coates and Johnson ibid.].[6]

Slumps, according to Marxists, have been a persistent feature of an economic system riddled with economic, political and socio-cultural 'contradictions' [cf: the most definitive account of this Mandel 1976]. Broadly speaking, Marxists argue that capitalism is anarchic, where production is geared for profit, rather than being planned for need. The 'demand' created in the market place is distorted because it is always the few ['the bourgeoise'] who invariably benefit the most , though their control and/or management of means of production, rather than the many ['the proletariat']. In times of slump, the result amongst other things of the tendency of the rate of profit to decline, capital becomes concentrated in smaller and smaller numbers of hands. Slumps create a reserve army of unemployed, who may be forced back into the market place at any time. Despite the emergence of a propertyless white collar group and the emergence of the welfare state, the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, it is argued, still persist. [cf, Littler & Salaman 1984]

The last school , the Green/Phoenix school, again differs from the first three, in that its central emphasis is less economistic and more 'ecological'.'Green' economists argue that slumps, in either capitalist or socialist societies are the inevitable product of the assumption of never ending economic growth and its negative impact on people, our natural resources and the eco-sphere. It is also critical of the notion of 'home economicus', and 'technologism', which it argues will inevitably lead to unsatisfactory work, inequality in complex organisations [cf. Weber] and a 'general revolt of the spirit' [McCrobie, 1981]. Unless we decentralise economically, politically and socially, abandon 'the myth' of never ending growth and abandon nuclear

power in favour of natural sources of energy [sun, wind, wave] we are liable to end up as inhabitants of an overcrowded, poisoned, industrial scrapheap.

It is clear from this brief overview that no single economic/social theory holds sway at the present time and indeed, in the final analysis, no one is entirely sure about all the causes of our current economic problems or about what the future holds for us.[7]

Another widely cited cause of economic and social change in modern Britain has been the impact of new technology on our basic manufacturing industries in the 1970's and 1980's New technology has always improved productive capabilities, in industry and agriculture, and has, as a consequence contributed to what is sometimes described as 'The Second Industrial Revolution'. The introduction of industrial robots has already had a radical impact on car production, engineering and allied trades. Welding robots, in a variety of engineering capacities, will increase in numbers by 500% over this decade [1980-1990]. The increased use of computer technology and robots in B.S.C. mean that a steel rolling mill can be run by 50 or 60 men as opposed to 500/600 twenty years ago. It has been argued that just by keeping up with the new technologies average firms have and will cut their workforces 'by 50% in the next ten years' [Jenkins and Sherman 1979 : 23]. It has been estimated that 40,000 jobs have been lost in the Civil Service between 1979 and 1985 as a result of the introduction of new technology [The Guardian : 10/10/85] Across industry and the service sector, the impact of new technologies has had as great an impact in reducing the numbers in work as has the current economic recession and government economic and social policies [Gill, 1986].[8]

II : 4 : 1 The Distribution of Unemployment

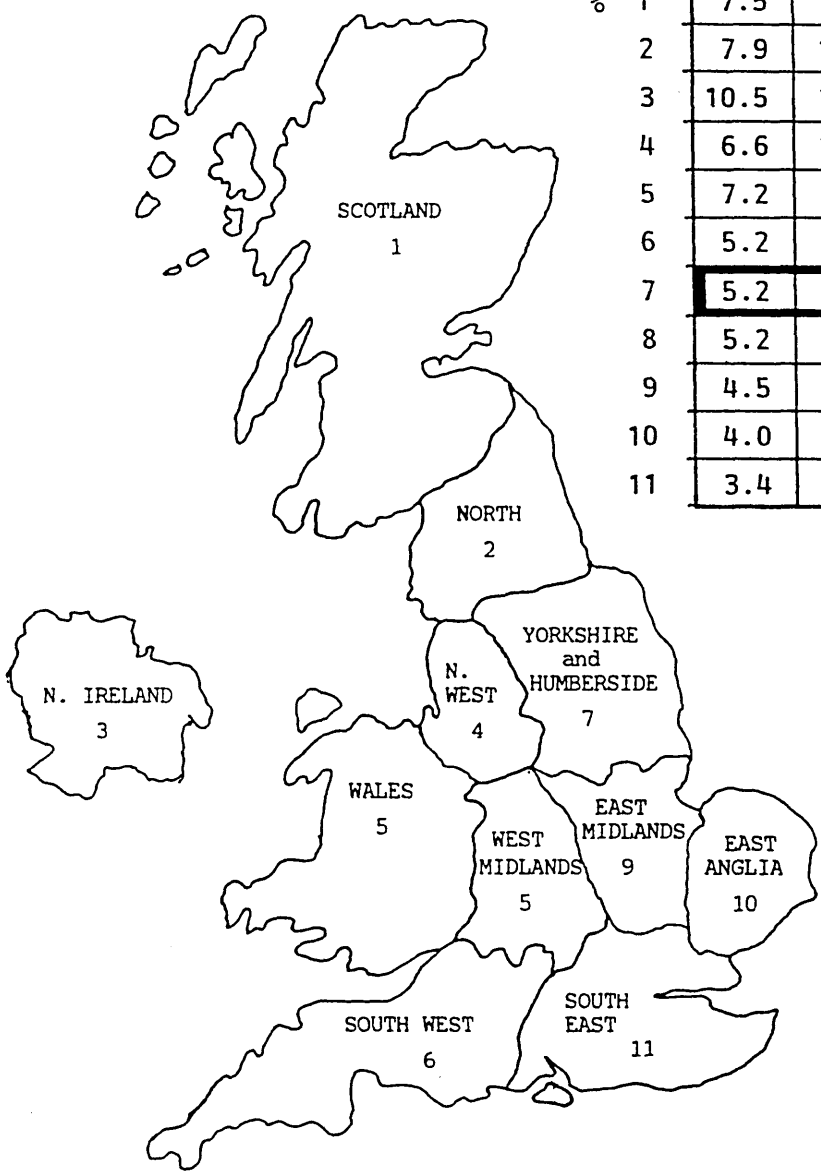
One of the most striking results of current change has been the rapid and indeed dramatic shift away from employment in manufacturing industry. Although leisure/service industries have increased in size and in the numbers of people they employ they have not, as yet, begun to replace the alarming numbers of people displaced by the shakeout of British industry over the last ten years. It has been predicted that this is a trend which will continue into the 1990's, with a possible accompanying total of four million people out of work [Institute For Manpower Studies 1986].

As can be seen clearly from Figure 3 [over], the distribution of redundancy and unemployment over the last decade has been very uneven. The areas which have traditionally been hardest hit in the past, in the 1930's for example, those where our traditional manufacturing industries have been based, are those which have been worse effected by the current economic recession. These areas include: Scotland, the North West, the North East, the West Midlands and South Yorkshire.

Significantly, although the traditionally affluent south is now beginning to feel the effects of unemployment , more new industries are moving into these areas rather than into the traditional manufacturing blackspots [Gill,op.cit]. According to the C.B.I., this is a trend which is likely to continue with an anticipated loss of 6-8,000 jobs in manufacturing industry per month throughout 1987 [The Guardian : 9/10/86]

Another striking feature about redundancy and unemployment, both historically and today, is its uneven distribution across the labour

FIGURE 3: UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION 1978-1986*



%	YEAR '78	'80	'84	'86
1	7.5	10.6	15.1	17.3
2	7.9	11.3	18.3	10.2
3	10.5	14.7	20.9	21.7
4	6.6	10.3	15.9	15.7
5	7.2	11.4	16.3	17.8
6	5.2	7.6	11.4	13.1
7	5.2	8.8	14.4	16.2
8	5.2	7.4	15.3	17.1
9	4.5	7.6	12.2	15.1
10	4.0	6.7	10.1	11.4
11	3.4	5.7	9.5	11.7

*SOURCE: SOCIAL TRENDS 1978-1987

NOTE: These are the official D.O.E. Figures.

force. Those most likely to lose their jobs in the past and in the 1980's are:

- the youngest and the oldest in the labour market;
- women;
- people of ethnic minority origin;
- people in seasonal work;
- those living in traditional areas of manufacturing industry;
- unskilled and semi-skilled workers .

Whilst it is true that many more skilled and white collar workers joined the dole queues between 1979 and 1985 and now represent some 25% of the flow of unemployment, it is still semi-skilled and unskilled blue collar workers who have been hardest hit by the recession, constituting just under 50% of the total flow of the unemployed [Social Trends 1986 : 73] and up to 75% of the long term unemployed, standing at 1,316,750 [The Guardian 29/11/86]. It is important, for reasons which become very clear later in the study, to differentiate between the 'flow' and 'stock' of unemployment. It has been shown, for example, that unskilled manual workers are six times as likely to become long term unemployed as non manual workers. Smith [1980] found that the chances of becoming Long Term Unemployed in any one year rose from 0.3%, amongst professionals and managers, to 2% amongst higher supervisory grades, to 6-7% amongst lower supervisory grades, skilled and non manual professions, up to 18% amongst the unskilled..

Daniel [1976 and 1979] points to the concentration of young and old amongst the unemployed. Indeed he argued that,

'age was the most important single indicator of whether an unemployed worker could find a job'

[1979 : 7].

This is also confirmed in Social Trends [1986 : 73]. The reasons for this are clear: the young are seen to be unemployable if they do not have qualifications and older workers are viewed as a less good 'investment', or seen to have redundant skills and a lack of motivation.

Thus, redundancy and unemployment have hit those areas hardest where our traditional manufacturing industries have been based ; new technologies have erased a large number of skilled and semi-skilled jobs from the labour process; government economic and social policies which have squeezed the economy have contributed to this decline. Those who have suffered most are the old and the young, the unskilled and semi-skilled, women and those of ethnic minority backgrounds. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is little surprise that B.S.C., nationally and locally has suffered particularly badly and that many of those displaced in this shakeout are having great difficulties in finding alternative work.

II : 4 : 2 The Declining Fortunes of B.S.C. : Nationally and Locally

'Sheffield or Sheafield stands in the southern part of the West Riding of South Yorkshire where the two rivers Don and Sheaf meet, to which last it owes its name. This town was anciently famous for making the iron heads of arrows and is celebrated by Chaucer 300 years ago for the blades of knives worked there; by degrees it hath much improved in all manner of Cutler's Ware. The situation is delightfull and somewhat uncommon, it being seated on a round hill in the midst of a valley which is surrounded by many higher hills. This supplies it with many Valuable Falls of water necessary for carrying on the manufacture of the place. This advantage of streams to turn their mills, together with great plenty of coal in its neighbourhood render it perhaps the fittest place in the Kingdom for the business which is here carried on.'

[Samuel and Nathan Buck's National Prospectus, April 15th 1745, Garden Court No. 1, Middle Temple, London. From a print of Sheffield in 1745]

Unemployment in Yorkshire and Humberside trebled between 1978 and 1986 and is still rising, as redundancies in both steel and more recently mining continue, with a knock-on effect to local economies in this region. South Yorkshire had until recently enjoyed a good employment record in national terms and locally [Walker, 1980 : 77]. Any understanding of the collapse of the labour market in South Yorkshire must recognise the reliance that Rotherham and Sheffield have long had on the steel industry.

As long ago as 1830, Sheffield was a flourishing industrial town with a population of some 92,000 people, the majority of whom worked in various forms of metal manufacture and allied trades.[9] Even at this time slumps in trade had a severe effect on iron and steel industries in the local area. In the recession of 1837, only 4,500 men out of a total workforce of 25,000 enjoyed full time employment. A journalist later commented in 'The Iris' of October 11th 1842 that,

> 'The oldest inhabitants of Sheffield cannot remember a crisis or calamity so general... the labouring classes have been thrown into abject destitution in spite of every effort they have made to support themselves.'
>
> [Quoted in Wickham, 1957 : 88]

Between 1843 and 1873, the Iron and Steel industry in South Yorkshire enjoyed a period of expansion and development. The discovery of new smelting processes [Bessemer 1856 and Siemer 1866] and advances in metallurgical processes, combined with a boom in demand from the railways and the armed forces, marked a time of 'breathtaking advance' [Wickham, 1957 : 94].

Even at this time Sheffield specialised in steel production. Of 0.62 million tons of steel produced in Britain in 1855, 0.55 were produced in South Yorkshire in 1,500 crucible furnaces [Vaizey, 1974 : Chapter 1]. A series of trade slumps, 1876-78, 1885-86 and 1892-93 led to redundancies and marginalised employment for many men and women in local industries. This was caused by a fall in demand from the railways and armed forces, unfavourable tariff barriers in foreign markets and increasingly competitively priced imports from the more professional and

technologically advanced Americans [ibid: Chapter 10]. It was only in the build up to World War I and for its duration that national and local steel industries picked up again.

The history of the local steel industry corresponds closely with that of the national steel industry in Britain. The period from 1815 to 1918 was marked by the emergence of small localised concerns, their rapid growth and amalgamation often along vertical lines [Coal and Iron Ore Producers → Iron and Steel Producers → Shipyards/Railways]. These were, for the most part, family concerns, technologically backward compared to the Germans and Americans and highly prone to fluctuations in the national economy. It has been observed by a number of commentators that at least since 1870 Britain has been systematically slow at widely adapting new processes and new products even when these were invented,and sometimes even manufactured, in Britain [N.E.D.O., 1986]. From their earliest days the iron and steel industries in Britain have been highly cyclical in nature.

Although there was an expansion in trade after World War I, there was little long term planning and minimal technical innovation . Even the biggest plants such as Templeborough, often worked at under 50% capacity in the 1920's and 1930's [Vaizey.op.cit : 26]. This led to increased unemployment in the local area, prompting several studies of the effects of worklessness [eg: Owen, 1932]. The world recession meant virtual stagnation for the local steel industry in the 1930's and it was only in the build up to war that its fortunes were revived. The election of the Labour party in 1945, committed to Keynsian demand - management economics, full employment, the welfare state and

nationalisation marked the start of the modern phase of the national and local steel industry.

The 1945 White Paper, produced by the Frankes Committee was the blueprint for the development of Britain's Steel industries up to nationalisation in 1967, despite a long period of conservative political control between 1951 and 1964. Although parts of the steel industry were nationalised in 1949, the conservatives reversed this in 1951 - only a small part remained nationalised in Sheffield. Despite massive investment and increased output to post war records, [£1,000m and 25.5m tonnes in 1964], there were still problems of obsolete technology and over capacity as well as increasing competition from imported steel. Profits for the steel industry as a whole fell from £141m in 1961 to £23m in 1967 [Bryner et.al, 1982]. The Wilson administration completed the nationalisation programme begun in 1945 and established the British Steel Corporation under Lord Melchett, replacing the British Iron and Steel Federation. On the 28th of July 1968 the 14 largest private steel companies, including the United Steel Company, Browns and Fox's, Steel Peach & Tozer, West Rotherham Works and Hadfields locally, were brought into public ownership. Sheffield/Rotherham, with its Special Steels division, became part of the Midland group.

1968 also marked a major rationalisation programme under the direction of the Social and Regional Policy Department. This projected ten year programme was called 'The New Deal for Steel',and aimed to improve productive capacities and reduce the workforce from 260,000 to 180,000. The impact of this programme, which was greatly accelerated in the 1980's under McGregor's chairmanship, has had a marked effect on the

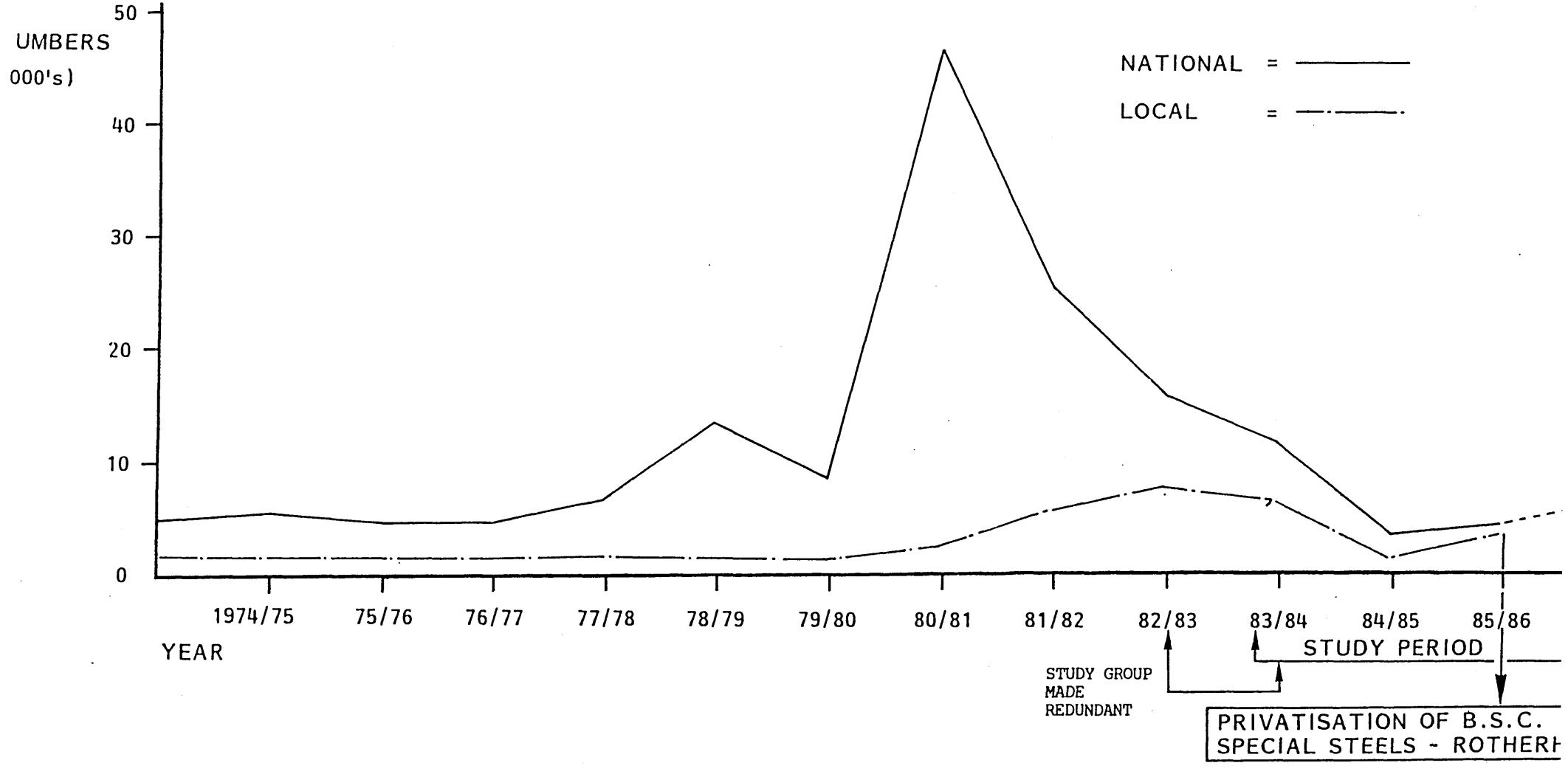
local steel industry, where in 1977, 33.5% of the local workforce worked in steel, metal and allied trades [City Trends, 1981 : 23].

The decision by the [then] Industry Secretary, Keith Joseph, to make B.S.C. profitable led to a rapid acceleration of the rationalisation and, latterly, privatisation programme, continued by his successors Tebbit and Jenkins. This rundown mirrors a rapid decline in the European community as a whole. In 1974 all the steelmaking nations in the E.E.C. employed 796,000 men and women in steel and allied trades; this fell to 480,000 in 1980 and is estimated to fall to about 100,000 in 1987 [The Guardian : 8/7/85]. Between 1975 and 1986, 110,000 jobs were lost in the British Steel industry and approximately 33,000 have been lost in South Yorkshire over the same period.[116][See Figure 4 over] The key events are as follows :

B.S.C. AND PRIVATE SECTOR

MAJOR CLOSURES SINCE 1979	OTHER MAJOR JOB LOSSES SINCE 1979
HADFIELDS [2,700]	FIRTH BROWN [2,800]
AURORA [1,500]	FORGEMASTERS [1,000]
O.H. STEEL FOUNDRIES [860]	A. LEE GROUP [1,000]
NEW STAINLESS [633]	DONCASTERS [837]
RIVER DON WORKS [275]	TINSLEY WIRE [500]
NEEPSEND [600]	SHARDLOWS [233]
HABERSHONS [200]	SANDERSON/KAYSER [286]
NAPIER STEELS [118]	SPENCER CLARK [162]
EFFINGHAM [82]	
FLATHER BROWNS [250]	
TINSLEY PARK [C.1000]	
STOCKSBRIDGE [709]	APRIL 1986 : B.S.C. PRIVATISATION [4,000]

FIGURE 4: REDUNDANCIES IN B.S.C. - NATIONALLY AND LOCALLY [ALL SECTORS] 1974-1986



[*SOURCES: STEEL NEWS; B.S.C. INTERNAL DOCUMENTS; FINANCIAL TIMES AND THE GUARDIAN (FINANCIAL)]

This rundown has continued inexorably over the last two years. Nationally and locally B.S.C. has continued to run down capacity, close plants, lay off both blue and white collar workers and sell off profitable parts of B.S.C. to the private sector. Although Ravenscraig has twice been reprieved, Gartcosh was not and 700 jobs have been lost there. The finalisation of the 'Phoenix II'[11] programme [Telegraph and Argus : 20/2/85] resulted in the privatisation of B.S.C. [Special Steels] Rotherham and the formation of the new company, United British Steels, in April 1986 with a further loss of 4,000 jobs.[12] [Dan Stuart - personal communication].

In 1982 B.S.C. nationally, had a net operating loss of £869m which had been reduced to £181m in 1984 [N.E.D.O.,1986]. It was estimated that the loss of £175m caused by the miners' strike cost B.S.C. a small operating profit of £3m in 1985 [Steel News : 17/7/85]. In fact, B.S.C. management later confessed that it was only the refusal of rank and file members to support the strike which stopped them from closing down several more key plants [The Guardian : 8/8/85]. It was estimated at the end of 1986 that B.S.C. would be, as a whole, in profit [The Sunday Times : 18/11/85]. This was indeed the case and Robert Haslam reported a profit of £178m in July 1987 [The Guardian : 8/7/87].

It has been suggested that these massive cutbacks will cost more, in terms of lost home produced steel and the costs of redundancy and unemployment benefits [The Guardian : 21/2/84]. The closure of Tinsley Park, for example, is estimated to have cost the taxpayer £100m in direct and indirect costs [Bishop of the I.S.T.C.S., Telegraph and Argus : 13/2/86]. McCrae of The Guardian has suggested that this cutback may be disastrous in the short and long term if the British economy lifts

out its recession [Financial Section : 10/7/85]. Others are optimistic about the future of our steel industry as a slimlined, competitive and productive company. Eglin [Sunday Times : 21/7/85] has argued for further cuts in capacity to make Bird's vision a reality. The most recent review of the U.K. Steel Industry [N.E.D.O.,op.cit] suggests that the British Steel Industry, as a whole, will continue to struggle in domestic and international markets well into the 1990's.

II ; 4 : 3 :

The Response of B.S.C. to Plant Closures and Redundancies: 1968 - 1986. Or, The Best Laid Plans of Mice and Men Often Come to Nought.

From the earliest days of B.S.C., senior management knew that the major restructuring of B.S.C. in the 1970's would lead to plant closures and redundancies. This awareness prompted the establishment of the Social and Regional Policy Department, a small organisation with never more than five members, to work within the guidelines of the 1973 White Paper 'Steel : B.S.C. : Ten Year Development Strategy'. Amongst the goals of this department were :

-'To ensure that full account is taken of the potential consequences of its rationalisation and development plans prior to any decisions being taken about these plans and to prepare the measures necessary in principle for a social plan to cope with any consequential effects';

-'If, after thorough consultation with trades unions and employees, it is decided to proceed with such rationalisation plans, to develop appropriate measures designed to maximise internal redeployment,

minimise redundancies and take the re-employment of those made redundant whilst maintaining adequate manning in the period up to closure';

-'To attempt to reduce the adverse effects on the communities concerned by assisting government departments and local authorities, and even by its own initiative, to stimulate the development of sufficient new industry, to replace as many as possible of the jobs lost.'

[Jones, 1974 : 18]

This would be achieved by:

-'An analysis of the existing labour force by skills, occupations, ages, lengths of service, patterns of residence';

-'An analysis of the direct and indirect employment effects of any prospective closure which would consider the effect upon contractors and suppliers and income levels in the area';

-'An analysis of the consequence of this job loss opportunity upon the general level of unemployment and economic activity in the area';

-'An appraisal of the general economic health of the town concerned, and the possibility of attracting new industry to that particular area.'

[ibid. : 22 and 36]

All this, it was hoped, would,

'make a practical contribution to correct the imbalance which would be created in local economies by the withdrawal of jobs from Steel'

[Robson , 1980 : 2]

Throughout the 1970's, the Social Policy Department accepted the necessity for closures and redundancies, but only so long as

'Sufficient time is provided to carry through the plans designed to protect the economic basis of the communities and to consider the personal problems of the individual employees.'

[ibid : 4]

It is clear, that in the 1970's, the Social Policy Department had some success in these aims, for example in Corby, but with the massive rundown of plant in the 1980's it has, unsurprisingly, failed to live up to these aims. Most ex-steelworkers would question how 'thorough' consultations between B.S.C. Management, post McGregor, and the workforce in the 1980's, have been. The period of notice given prior to a major plant closure or major redundancies was supposed to have been two years. This has clearly not always happened in practice. Little 'market research' has been carried out, either by local B.S.C. management or by the M.S.C. [Dan Stuart - Personal Communication]. The findings of Westergaard [1984] and the Swansea Steel Project [1982-1986] and this research [See IV : Introduction], suggest that B.S.C. has been singularly unsuccessful in redeploying and retraining ex-steelworkers or encouraging the development of new industries and businesses. The blame for this lies not with local counselling services but with a lack of planning of manpower and resources by senior management and the Department of Industry in conjunction with local business agencies, local government and others in the local area.

With the entry of Britain into the E.E.C. in 1975, a package of benefits for redundant steelworkers was designed and eventually successfully negotiated on the Corporation's behalf, by the Department of Industry. This scheme is known as The Iron and Steel Employees Readaptation Benefits Scheme [I.S.E.R.B.S.]. It was designed to maintain the earnings levels of steel workers made redundant for up to 148 weeks. This scheme provides benefits in addition to State redundancy pay [One weeks pay per two years after first two years of employment] which B.S.C. supplements to the value of 50%, including ex - gratia payments for lost earnings, pay in lieu of statutory notice entitlement and holiday pay. This scheme has come to form the backbone of the redundancy package available to redundant steelworkers over the last decade [held for 78 weeks after redundancy].(13)

Robson mentions that these relatively generous benefits were offered because,

> 'the value of maintenance of earnings can remove many of the anxieties and pressures experienced at a traumatic time. Most of all, it provides time to adopt to different circumstances or at a lower level of earnings, to plan one's future life, search for alternative employment, or improve one's potential by undertaking retraining.'
>
> [ibid : 27].

In order to cope with the consequences of plant closures in areas heavily reliant on steel, B.S.C. Industry Ltd. was formed in 1973, in order to assist in the redeployment of steelworkers, to develop new businesses and encourage new industries to move into these areas. By

1980, regional co-ordinators were actually involved in twelve steel closure areas [In the North-East and Scotland, Clyde [1979], Hartlepool [1979]), Cardiff and Blaenau [1980], Corby and Consett [1981], Scunthorpe [1982] and Port Talbot [1983]. The task of B.S.C. Industry Ltd., in conjunction with local government, banks, businesses and other interested bodies was:

- to attract new industries to steel closure areas;
- to sell old plant/land to raise capital for business ventures;
- utilise old B.S.C. buildingss/land to establish new businesses;

The role of B.S.C. Industries Ltd. in the local area has been very limited since most of this responsibility was handed over to local enterprise agencies, when its funding by B.S.C. was ended in 1983. It is estimated that 935 new jobs have been created by the Rotherham Enterprise Agency since 1983 [Personal Communication].

Although, B.S.C. Industry Ltd. has created some 16,000 jobs, this represents only a small proportion of jobs replaced to those lost through redundancies.[14] In Consett, for example, where 4,000 were made redundant, attempts at re-industrialisation and employment generation have failed, with over 50% of ex-steelworkers still unemployed. Some new businesses have been started in old B.S.C. plant or in new industrial estates, but these strategies have failed to recoup most of the jobs lost and perhaps more importantly is not offering new jobs to young people. [Robinson and Sadler, 1984].[15] A similarly gloomy scene is to be found in Swansea and of course in this area, where virtually no old plant is now used [Peter Brindley - Personal Communication].

To help redundant steelworkers, counselling services were established in areas threatened by impending redundancy. Counsellors were usually chosen from the local workforce.

Counselling teams were picked to be,

> []'representative of the age, service and occupational composition of the workforce ... knowledgable about the working environment, content and skills of the workforce they will eventually counsel...[and]...knowledgable about the community and social life which exists in the area.'
>
> [Burrows, 1983 : 7]

Counsellors received a seven day course in counselling covering such areas as:

- the background to redundancy;
- the psychology of redundancy; client management;
- entitlements to redundancy payments and other information;
- interviewing techniques;
- retraining assessment skills;
- counselling practice.[16]

[ibid : 9]

The cost of this retraining was £350-600 per counsellor [Robson, op.cit. 1980 : 23].

The two main roles of the local counselling service were:

- to offer financial advice [on a variety of issues];
- to offer advice on redeployment, retraining, self employment and early retirement.

It has been estimated that 93% of ex steelworkers in this area have made use of this service [Arthur Blackham - Personal Communication]

Steelworkers are faced with a number of options upon redundancy; they can:

- **Redploy to other parts of B.S.C.;** this option has of course become almost non-existent in the 1980's;
- **Find employment outside B.S.C.;** again as both national and local labour markets have shrunk and bearing in mind the areas of concentration of redundancies mentioned earlier [II : 4 : 2] this too is an option not open to many ex-steelworkers in the 1980's. This is particularly true of areas heavily dependent on the steel industry such as South Yorkshire; many did take the option of taking jobs whilst subsidised under I.S.E.R.B.S. and have since lost their jobs when this make-up pay period was up.
- **Find employment overseas;** a few have done this, but are penalised by losing all entitlements to benefits should they do so;
- **Find sheltered employment;** a very small number of disabled ex steelworkers have chosen this option;
- **Retrain;** courses available locally have included:

H.G.V. and P.S.V. Driving; Plant Operations; Craft Training; Crane Driving; Fish Farming; Canal Boat Maintenance; Catering; Hairdressing; Secretarial/Other Management; Management Studies; Photography; Nursing; Deep Sea Diving; Accounting; Agriculture; Horticulture; Forestry; Computer Studies; Plumbing; Bricklaying; Electrical and Mechanical Engineering and Social work. These courses were made available by a variety of local colleges, training schools and employers to enable ex steelworkers to re-enter the

local job market with new skills. The success of these schemes has been limited both locally and nationally .

- **Find self employment:** a number have taken this option.
- **Take early retirement;** almost every man and women over 55/50 have taken this option, to withdraw from the labour market and enjoy a financially secure early retirement.

B.S.C. has made greater efforts than any other public or private company in recent years to ease the redundancy process. Indeed, both the Swedish Steel Industry and more recently British Coal are copying B.S.C.'s schemes [The Guardian 26/2/86]. However, the evidence of other studies and the data I later present suggests that there has been a *serious mismatch* between the original goals of the Social and Regional Policy Department and what has happened to steelworkers after redundancy. In short, the ideal of retraining has not been realised in practice [cf., Hayes and Nutman, 1981 : Chapter 8].

Aside from earlier criticisms levelled at B.S.C. Industry and the lack of market research in this area there appears to have been a disregard for the rules laid down by the Department of Industry in some cases. The following quotation, taken from a letter from The Head of the Minerals and Metal Division to the Department of Industry, is quite revealing in this respect [11/5/83]:

> 'The Department does not approve or reject a particular course ... it is for the individual ex-steelworker to find a suitable course for retraining and then to submit an application. Under our agreement with the E.E.C., *the criteria adapted by the department*

when considering an individual application for retraining, is whether or not that particular course could be expected to significantly enhance the applicant's employment prospects'.

[My Emphasis]

Even the most casual glance at the types of retraining undergone by many ex-steelworkers, indicates that many of them in no sense 'significantly' enhanced their employment prospects [eg. Bricklaying and Plumbing to name but two]. The evidence of continuing high unemployment in steel closure areas, suggests that these guidelines were always not followed. In South Yorkshire, for example, there are 15 areas in which acute skill shortages exist including skilled electronics workers, maintenance staff and amazingly, machinists, turners and grinders. There are skill gaps in the local labour market at all levels [Engineering Employers Association : 1986 Report].

In private correspondence several ex-B.S.C. managers acknowledged that the Department of Industry was less interested in predictive market research and allowing 'employment enhancing courses' than in simply reducing workforces quickly. Despite local skill shortages, many ex-steelworkers remain out of work. There has been a singular failure to re-equip these men and women with relevant skills. Rather, retraining in already over subscribed and/or redundant skills has meant that many ex-steelworkers will face long periods of unemployment. With the money and resources available it should have been possible to develop comprehensive and relevant schemes geared to the new industrial future. In Russia for example 'displaced' steelworkers have the option of three years retraining in advanced technology skills. The success of many of

our international competitors in The West, in terms of re-education and retraining, will help to ensure their continuing economic dominance.

II : 4 : 5 :

The Economic and Social Consequences of Redundancy and Unemployment in South Yorkshire.

The collapse of the local steel industry has of course had a substantial direct and indirect impact on job levels in the local area. The loss of Sheffield's Regional Development Grant in August 1980, of which some 4/7ths went directly to B.S.C., is estimated to have cost some 4,000 jobs. 7,000 jobs are expected to be lost in local government over the next five years as a consequence of rate capping and the privatisation of public services and utilities. Some 13,000 jobs have been lost locally in mining since the end of the miners' strike.[12]. The job prospects for the young continue to be bleak. Given the reliance on the local steel industry, unemployment in the area is likely to remain above the national average into the 1990's.

Writing in 1981, Walker commented that, whilst it is easy to identify plant closures and to foresee the longer term consequences of unemployment, falling investment, depreciation of machinery and a decline in the skill of the workforce,

> 'the social consequences of this decline ... are difficult to predict in the absence of detailed research.'
>
> [op.cit:85]

Since high unemployment is a relatively new phenomenon in South Yorkshire it is only at the time of the write up of this work that we might be able to see some of the consequences, given the lag effect between rises in unemployment and rises in social disorder, crime, divorce, ill health, suicide etc. [See III : 5 : 2 ; III : 6 : 1-2]

There have been some increases in crime, social disorder and health problems in the local area.The crime rate for example has risen from 59,942 notifiable offences in 1979 to 85,467 in 1986. In the same period, drug related offences amongst teenagers were up by 11%. [South Yorkshire Police Statistics 1979-1986]. A recent health report indicated marked rises in ill health,strongly correlated with poverty and unemployement [Thunhurst, 1985]. He found that,

> 'variations in mortality rate correlate most strongly, at a ward level, with indicators of social class, indicators of unemployment, the proportion of single parent households and the proportion of households without a car.'
>
> [ibid. : 116]

The supportive nature of local government has certainly lessened many of the negative consequences associated with rapid rises in unemployment. The social support networks provided, include help for co-ops' and small businesses, community and unemployment centres, and concessions for the unemployed alongside the strength of local labour politics have clearly served to deflect some of the worst consequences of unemployment [cf. III : 8].

With the the abolition of the Metropolitan Councils and the restrictions imposed by rate capping, I predict that this situation is

likely to deteriorate, and that the social, communal and individual problems traditionally associated with unemployment are likely to increase over the next decade. A recent report [D.T.I./E.E.C., 1986] indicates some degree of economic recovery in the local area, but this has been patchy [for example an E.E.C cash injection of £500 million in the Don Valley, some development at the old Hadfields site and a proposed Science Park near the Polytechnic in the town centre]. The short term prospects for economic development are still not good. Greater diversification of the manufacturing base and service industries is needed. Given the dependence of the area on national economic growth it is likely, the study concludes, that employment prospects will remain static and the area in general will remain fairly depressed, with an associated rise in unemployment related problems. This is discussed in Part III.

PART III

REDUNDANCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT AS PUBLIC ISSUES AND PRIVATE TROUBLES

CHAPTER 5

THE PUBLIC ISSUES.

2.3

III : 5 : 2 Political Responses to Unemployment

It is clear that redundancy and unemployment are perceived by many people to be a major, if not *the* major public issue facing Britain in the 1980's [Taylor, The Observer : 25/8/85], in terms of Parliamentary time, media coverage and the findings of many opinion polls as well as government activities [see below]. When the electorate voted Margaret Thatcher into office in 1978, perceiving that 'Labour isn't Working', unemployment stood at 1.5 million which was seen by many at that time as an unacceptably high figure . Since that time unemployment rose to an *official* total of nearly 3.3 million and may, despite some recent small falls, rise as high as 4 million in the 1990's [The Cambridge School: The Guardian 9/11/86]. Our growth rate is expected to be 3.3% - 3.6% this year, below the minimum level of 5 - 6% needed to sustain present levels of employment [31/12/86]. In addition, parts of Britain, structurally, economically and socially are quite literally falling apart [The Guardian : 1/4/85].

In spite of many criticisms, successive Chancellors of the Exchequer have assured us that this [temporary] situation is inevitable in the transitional period from 'wasteful welfare Keynsianism' to the new conservative. high tech, meriocratic vision of the future. Throughout this period, government ministers and supporters have persistently told us that the economy is improving and that government economic and social policies are working [egs: Sunday Times : 20/2/84 'Fall in Jobless expected'; The C.B.I. 'The Economy is holding', The Guardian : 25/6/85; The Treasury 'Growth Rate set on course', The Sunday Times : 28/10/85].

Indeed, Baker suggested last year that most of us have 'never had it so good', pointing out that 87% of adults [male] were in work. However, he omitted to mention many Old Age Pensioners's, many of whom live in poverty; part-time and low paid workers; [estimated to be 2½ million now - mainly women] and many youngsters on 'training' schemes. At most, 50% of the population of this country are having 'a good time', many are not and at the latest estimate as noted earlier,some twelve million men, women and children are now living below thw official E.E.C. poverty line [Field, op.cit]. It would be fair to say that the government's attitude towards the unemployed is, at best, one of indifference. This, in spite of the the evidence which now exists which shows quite clearly that unemployment in general terms is a destructive experience for men, women and children and is responsible for many of the increases in social disequilibrium in this country.

The government's initial responses to the rising rates of unemployment was twofold: to emphasise that it was a temporary phenomenon and that anyone who really wanted to work was quite capable

of mounting a bike and going to find it [Reflecting perhaps, as Burgoyne observed, a desire to encourage a more mobile workforce]. The abolition of wage councils and easing of health and safety and insurance regulations for small businesses are likely to push more young people into low paid work. New restrictions have been introduced this year to ensure that those who have refused ' any reasonable opportunities to take work or retraining' will be disqualified from benefit, as defined by 800 new 'Claimants Advisers' [The Guardian : 19/9/86].

The response of the Labour Party, after 1979, was slow and has remained mixed [eg: £55,000 raised by T.U.C. for unemployment centres in 1982 versus £1.4m for the miners' strike, The Observer : 25/8/85]. Initially, the Labour Party promised to reduce unemployment to its level of 1979. Since that time, Kinnock's 'new realism' has become dominant and as a result Labour Party policies to deal with unemployment, have become much more moderate. The Labour Party conference of 1986 aimed at a reduction of one million over two years, as well as increased benefits for the unemployed and their families. Kinnock has suggested that:

> 'We are seriously seeking a modern system for full employment...not the full employment of the 1950's and 1960's or even the 1970's, we know it's not coming back in that form. We want a policy for full employment which takes account of the reality of present and future economic and social change...we know that we need not only to generate extra opportunities for work, we need to reduce the numbers who require work.'
>
> [Guardian : 23/11/85]

[illegible] which clearly broke new ground, is now shared by many leading Trade Unionists [eg: Norman Willis, at last year's T.U.C. Conference]. The Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance, exhibits a similar caution, arguing for a reduction in unemployment of only one million over a period of three years through selective investment and an expansion in training and educational oppurtunities [1987 Election Manifesto]. There is a widespread belief amongst many of the electorate, reflected in the Conservatives' recent win in the general election, that it is only through 'hard work' and 'prudent' economic and social management, that we can reduce unemployment over the next decade, in spite of a growing sense of disquiet about unemployment amongst even the government's supporters [cf., The Guardian : 3/10/86, 'Unemployment Divides Tory Voters']. Thus, redundancy and unemployment are, in a strongly Durkheimian [1964] sense, 'social facts' in the 'conscience collective' of a majority of people in modern Britain.

III : 5 : 2

The Social and Economic Costs of Redundancy and Unemployment.

There is now a vast literature available on the general effects of redundancy and unemployment from economists, political scientists, medical authorities, educationalists, psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists. This literature is fragmentary, sometimes contradictory and multi-theoretical.(1) Hence, establishing the exact cost, in financial and human terms, of redundancy and unemployment, is not easy. However, it is abundantly clear from the substantial body of knowledge we do now have, that redundancy and unemployment have had, and continue to have, a number of wide ranging and often negative social consequences.

Hakim [1982] has suggested that rising unemployment has contributed to the rising crime rate of the 1980's. Other studies such as Gladstone [1979] and McClintock [1976] suggest that shrinking labour markets opportunities and rising unemployment have been associated with rises in crime rates in Europe throughout the 20th century. Although there are problems in the use of official statistics, the bulk of the research suggests that unemployment is a factor contributing significantly to crime and delinquency [Hakim, op.cit]. It is clear that the inner city riots of 1981, 1985 and 1986 were caused in part by the high levels of unemployment which existed in many inner city areas. Lord Scarman suggested that the economic and social deprivation of both blacks and whites, created a set of social conditions which created a disposition towards violent protest.(2) Evidence also exists of unemployment

placing increasing burdens on the national health service, welfare and educational services.

We are in a position to roughly estimate the cost of redundancy and unemployment to the nation. In direct terms there are losses in terms of:

- lost industrial production;
- losses in direct and indirect tax revenue;
- increases in a whole range of state welfare benefits;
- increased costs to the unemployment 'industry': the DHSS and the MSC.

In indirect terms there will be,

- increased costs for the police, judicial system and prison system;
- increased costs to cope with inner city alienation and frustration, particularly when manifested in riots;
- the negative effects on the unemployed and their families .

It was estimated by the M.S.C. in 1982 that each increase of 100,000 of registered unemployed would cost an extra £438m per annum [House of Lords 1982 : 48]. The total cost to the exchequer in 1977-78 was £3,429, rising to £15 billion in 1986. The costs in economic terms, bearing in mind the fall in oil prices last year, have clearly been enormous in the 1980's. Alongside this there has been a human cost of current economic and change. This is discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

THE PRIVATE TROUBLES.

Introduction : Some Definitions.

Although these terms are now very much part of the vocabulary of the public, civil servants, politicians and academics, what *precisely* do they mean ?.

I define '**voluntary redundancy**' as:

-'a specific situation where an individual who has the option of re-allocation by the same employer in a comparable job in terms of wage and conditions, having rationally weighed up his or her options, chooses without coercion to leave his or her present employment.'

I define '**compulsory redundancy**' as:

-'a specific situation in which an individual is forced to give up his or her means of employment, through no individual fault and when the option for reallocation by the employer, in a job with comparable pay and conditions of service, does not exist.'

I define '**unemployment**' as:

-'a specific situation in which an individual finds him or herself without the means of obtaining [regular] legitimate paid employment, where the individual regards him or herself, as a potential member of the paid workforce.'

I define '**long term unemployment**' as:

- above, with the addition:' and has been out of work, whilst actively seeking paid employment, for a year or more.'

I define **'a chequered working life'** as:

-' a situation in which an individual experiences varigated periods of work/unemployment/retraining over a period of at least two years'.

We live in a society where work is seen as the primary way in which men and, increasingly women, fulfill their life roles, despite the enormous variety of types of work in a complex industrial society and subjective attitudes to work at different levels of occupational hierarchies. Our society is still in many respects founded on the protestant work ethic, where work is seen as a duty, particularly for men and where we value people who work hard and tend to look down on those who do not work. Although attitudes are changing, many still view unemployment as symptomatic of individual deficiencies ['the workshy'; 'scroungers' etc.]. It cannot be denied that in any social system one will find a few people who are unable or unwilling to maintain themselves and/or their families. However, as many studies have shown, these are in a tiny minority [cf.:Hakim,1982; Norris, 1978 and Nickell 1979]. There is little evidence, except for occasional 'shock horror' reports in the tabloid press, to substantiate the view that many people remain unemployed because it is more lucrative than working. Hence, this section is concerned with the private troubles generated by the *involuntary* loss of work created by the shakeout of British Industry in the 1980's.

III : 6 : 1 Unemployment and Health

The massive increase in the numbers of unemployed in the 1980's has been accompanied by a renewal of research into the medical effects of being workless, upon the community, the family and the individual. At the present time we do know quite a lot about the social-psychological effects of unemployment, but rather less about the physiological effects.[Warr, 1984:1]. Studies in this field have fallen into two main types:

- at an aggregate level - examining fluctuations in national economies and mortality rates, admissions to mental hospitals and so forth.
- at a micro-level - examining the health consequences of job loss on small groups of people.

The transition from being 'in work' to being 'out of work' varies from group to group and from individual to individual, but is usually accompanied by loss of income, reduced activity levels, loss of variety in life, the removal of an ordered temporal structure, the loss of social contacts and, to a greater or lesser extent, a loss of personal identity. The loss of work for many people is a profound blow, representing a severing of the strongest link they have with the outside world [cf. Jahoda, 1981]. It is to be expected that in some cases such a loss will have negative effects on health.

Research has shown a significant increase in physiological and psychological ill-health and as a consequence of marked changes in the life course, particularly when associated with loss or bereavement

[Marris, 1984]. It follows that the disruption caused to individuals by unemployment could well lead to physical and emotional problems. Although the precise nature of this relationship is difficult to establish, we do have enough evidence to support Hayes and Nutman's contention that 'some deterioration in health is a probable consequence of involuntary job loss.'[op.cit : 64]

The most definitive work in this field has been that of Brenner [1971, 1973, 1979]. In 'Mental Illness and the Economy' [1973] he set out to examine if 'social change' [measured in particular by fluctuations in the economy] affected rates of mental ill-health in America. The hypothesis underlying the study was, that

> 'the lack of integration of the material and human resources of the economy will have a major adverse effect on the extent of social integration of the small groups and organisations that form a person's immediate link to his society.'
>
> [ibid : 6-7].

In order to test this hypothesis Brenner examined intakes to mental hospitals over a fifty year period against increases/decreases in levels of unemployment over the same period.

After what is by any standards an exhaustive statistical analysis, Brenner concluded that a strong correlation existed between changing economic conditions and admissions to mental hospitals. If unemployment increased by 1 million over 5 years, 63,900 extra patients could be expected to be admitted to mental hospitals or seek psychiatric treatment of some kind. He notes, somewhat tongue in cheek, that the psychiatric profession has been at its busiest during times of economic recession [ibid : 226].

Brenner's findings are important. Not only are they critical of an 'individualistic' orientation toward problems of this type, but are indicative of a relationship between economic performance and the general health of the nation. He notes, however, that social class is also an important variable - since the impact of unemployment has always fallen largely on those in lower socio-economic groups where physical and emotional disorders are already most prevalent.

Criticisms have of course been levelled at this study. Marshall and Finch [1979], argue that Brenner did not control variations in the availability of hospital beds in his calculations, which would clearly influence the level of admissions. Despite this Marshall and Finch still concluded that their findings,

> 'provide considerable support for Brenner's contention that the economy influences the rate at which individuals are admitted to mental hospitals.'
>
> [ibid : 285].

In an earlier study Brenner examined the relationship between the economic status of individuals and heart disease mortality. The hypothesis underpinning this study was, that 'various types of stress inherent in an economic downturn might lead to an increase in heart disease mortality.'[1971 : 606]. On each occasion that the American economy slumped between 1900 and 1970 there was a marked increase in heart disease mortality, with the peaks occurring about two years after the slump in the economy. If unemployment increased by one million over five years, an increase of 50,000 deaths due to general illness could be expected of which 16,700 would be caused by heart disease [ibid : 607 - 609]. This study indicates a strong link between economic downturns

and increased mortality rates and conversely that economic upturns lead to decreases in mortality rates.

A more recent study by Brenner [1979] looked at the relationship between mortality rates and the performance of the economy of England and Wales between 1973 and 1976. Brenner found, despite the existence of a high quality National Health Service, that a positive relationship existed between 'immoderate and unstable lifestyles' and lack of economic security particularly amongst lower socio-economic groups. He also found that unemployment 'was positively related to mortality rate trends.....for all age groups'[ibid : 510]. In addition, as with his American studies, Brenner found that suicide increased markedly amongst the long term unemployed. It would be interesting to apply his research to the 1980's.

Other studies [Klausen and Iversen, 1981; Payne, Warr and Hartley, 1983; Warr and Jackson, 1983] have shown that between 25% - 35% of men are likely to report a deterioration in health since job loss - such problems becoming worse amongst those unemployed for more than a year. In respect of psychological health, changes were typically described in terms of increased anxiety, insomnia, irritability, lack of confidence, listlessness and depression.

Cobb and Kasl have conducted a number of small scale studies into the relationship between unemployment and ill health [1972 and 1974]. They found in a study of unemployed blue collar workers a significant physiological deterioration - in certain cases having 'potentially serious consequences' in terms of hypertension and coronary heart disease [1972 : 10]. In this small group of 36, there were also two para-suicides and two actual suicides - thirty times the average for

employed blue collar workers. There was also a marked increase in occurrences of peptic ulcers, both in the ex-workers and significantly in their wives. A later study by Cobb - also of blue collar workers - found meaningful changes in norepinephrine excretions and serum creatine, serum uric acid and serum cholestrol associated with the stress of job termination. These changes are all associated with heart disease.

A D.H.S.S study by Fagin [1981] of twenty-two unemployed families reported a definite decline in the health of children following a period of parental unemployment. The most common ailments were gastro-intestinal complaints, sleeping difficulties and behaviour disorders. A report by Ashton has indicated that a combination of poverty, poor housing, squalor and unemployment can on average reduce a Liverpudlian's life by seven years [The Guardian : 4/4/84]. Research by the Merseyside Drugs Council has revealed that *fifty* % of young people in some inner city areas, are regular users of heroin as a desperate reponse to the hopelessness of unemployment [The Guardian : 27/4/84].

Unemployment and Suicide.

Much research has focussed on the nature and causes of suicide, but until recently, few researchers have concerned themselves with the relationship between suicide and unemployment *per se*. Durkheim, the pioneer of sociological research into the social causes of suicide, argued that whilst suicide appeared to be an entirely individualistic act, it could be explained in sociological terms. After analysing and then eliminating other purported causes of suicide [race, heredity,

climate, criminality, imitation etc.] he showed that suicide is in fact related to the degree of integration of social groups in any given society and the degree to which individuals are integrated into their social groups. Suicide occurs, argued Durkheim, when society fails to regulate the 'natural egoism' of individuals, or when society is 'insufficiently present in the individual'. Clearly, someone who is unemployed is less 'regulated' by society and may indeed become detached from those social networks which 'regulated' him/her and have a greater potential for para-suicide or anomic/egoistic suicide.[Durkheim, 1951).

However, according to Warr, research into the link between unemployment and suicide, whilst being, 'provocative and suggestive is at present inconclusive'.[1984 : 13] The Report of the House of Lords' Select Committee on unemployment commented that:

> 'it would not be appropriate for a generally valid conclusion to be reached on the relationship between unemployment and suicide because of the dearth of empirical and theoretical research...even though there did appear to be a link between unemployment and suicide.' [op.cit : 56]

A study by Shepherd and Barraclough concluded :

> 'rather than work loss resulting from broad economic and social trends, it is more likely that their [the unemployed's] morbidity interfered with their capacity to work...so that mental illness at once stimulated them in suicidal thinking and at the same time took away from them an effective protection against suicidal behaviour. [1986 : 13]

This, I would argue, might be true of a small number of the unemployed, whose health previous to unemployment was impaired in some way, but does little to explain why such large numbers of the unemployed suffer from stress and anxiety. For instance, Fagin and Little [op.cit] concluded that psychosomatic disorders played no part in their sample becoming unemployed, but that the experience of unemployment was likely to lead to stress and anxiety which in turn aggravated old psychosomatic problems. Tautsky and Piedmont [1976] have argued that even if one takes into account such variables as class, occupation, job history and previous physical and psychological conditions, a strong correlation exists between unemployment and suicide as symptomatic of a final act of withdrawal from a world without work related goals and activities. A study at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital recorded the connection between unemployment and suicide between 1966 and 1981. It was found that amongst the long term unemployed the risk of suicide was increased 18 fold compared to those in employment [The Guardian : 17/11/83].

A study by Francis [1984] in London of 1,085 young people between 1980 and 1983 indicated that one quarter of this group had contemplated suicide. A study by the Nuffield Centre for Health Studies at Leeds, shows that death rates amongst men seeking work are at least 20% higher than expected. Death rates amongst the wives of these men are also 20% higher. The study also revealed that unemployed men were twice as likely to commit suicide, were 80% more likely to have a fatal accident and 75% more likely to die of lung cancer. This was a study which was concluded at the end of 1981, since which time unemployment has

increased fourfold and may, therefore, understate its case. The study concludes that

> 'the evidence of an association between unemployment and suicide is overwhelming. Health and social policies should be devised on the assumption that unemployment damages health. Present policies are based on the opposite assumption.'
>
> [1984 : 54]

It should be stressed that exposure to continuous economic instability has an impact on those in work [Townsend op.cit : 588-617]. Since unemployment affects social class V the most - where general rates of mortality, suicide, divorce and so on are higher than among social classes I - IV, it is to be expected that many unemployed people will exhibit a tendency to suffer as a consequence of unemployment. Other variables must be taken into account if we are to assess precisely what the impact of unemployment on health is. These will include the meaning of work to different groups and their degree of attachment to work as a central focus of personal identity.

Although Warr has described Brenner's work as 'impressive', he is not yet convinced that unemployment is a causal agent in psychotic disorders [1981 : 5 and 10]. He argues that we do not as yet have definite information on how behaviour changes after job loss and how unemployment is related to other indexes of social malaise [e.g. criminality]. His conclusions are cautious:

> 'The results are certainly intriguing and suggestive, but from them on their own, we do not know whether or not economic recession has a causal impact on [for example] mortality rates' [ibid : 11].

Warr errs too much on the side of caution. My own reading of the available literature leads me to conclude that unemployment has a generally , although not exclusively negative effect on the physical and emotional well-being of those out of work - particularly amongst the long term unemployed . We must, I think, conclude that the available evidence indicates a positive connection between unemployment and ill - health

III : 6 : 2 Other effects of Redundancy and Unemployment.

Many studies [eg,Clarke, 1982; Daniels op.cit and Kelvin and Jarret,1986] have shown that unemployment, particularly of long duration is invariably associated with a drop in income and usually associated with poverty. Most of the unemployed exist in a wage level 33% below the national average wage with the heaviest burden falling on those with young children aged 35-44. Most male unemployed claimants suffer an appreciable drop in income and standards of living. A study by the N.A.C.A.B. showed that many couples have fallen into debts with mortgage arrears and other household debts [The Guardian : 12/11/83]. One fifth of the couples in Clarke's study were in arrears with mortgage, rates and heating bills.

The pauperisation of those without work is unlikely to improve. On average, the unemployed today are worse off than they were eight years ago [C.P.A.G. Studies: The Guardian : 15/12/83 and 26/11/84]. Clarke concluded that supplementary benefit levels for those without work are barely adequate to meet their needs at a level which could allow them to participate fully in the society in which they live. Every study I

consulted, in general, came to a similar conclusion: that most unemployed people live either on or below the poverty line.

It should be stressed, of course, that being out of work for a month is different to being out of work for a year. Another key finding of the research is that the worst consequences of redundancy and unemployment are generally to be found amongst the long term unemployed who, as noted, include a substantial number of male, blue collar semi and unskilled workers. Prolonged unemployment is, for most people, a profoundly corrosive experience, undermining health and personality, relationships with others and atrophying work capacity.

Although much of this research has concentrated on male, blue collar workers , similar conclusions are to be found in the recent growth area of white collar redundancy and unemployment, which has evolved as the numbers of unemployed professionals and executives have grown in the 1980's, from 70,000 in 1972 to 141,500 in 1978 to 312,000 in 1986 [Social Trends]. Powell and Driscoll [1973]; Swinbourne [1981]; Berthoud [1978] and Fineman [1983] all found a variety of [phasic] responses to redundancy and unemployment. In general, white collar workers fared marginally better than blue collar workers in coping with redundancy and unemployment. Nevertheless, long term unemployment amongst these groups also leads to the problems associated with unemployment: financial, physical and emotional.[4]

CHAPTER 7

THE EFFECTS OF REDUNDANCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT ON THE FAMILY

III : 7 : 1 Situating 'The Family'

'[] marriage still seems to be the most interesting enterprise which most of us come across. With all its tediums and horrors, it has both more variety and more continuity than any other commitment we can make. Its time scale is far grander; there are still marriages alive which are older than the Bolshevik Revolution. Its passions, both of love and hatred, are more intense. Its outcomes - children, grandchildren, heirlooms of flesh and blood - stretch away over the horizon; they are the only identifiable achievements which most of us are likely to leave behind us, even if, like many achievements, they are liable to be flawed and only partially within our control. Marriage and the family make other experiences, both pleasant and unpleasant, seem a little tame and bloodless. And it is difficult to resist the conclusion that a way of living which is both so intense and so enduring must somehow come naturally to us, that it is part of being human.'

[Mount, 1982 : 33]

'[The] one unambiguous fact which has emerged in the last twenty years is that there can be no simple history of the western family []. The west has always been characterised by diversity of family forms, by diversity of family functions and by diversity in family relationships, not only over time, but at any one point in time. There is, except at the most trivial level, no western family type.'

[Anderson, 1980 : 14]

Before discussing the impact of redundancy on the family we need to locate our present understandings of it within the boundaries of this study. This is not a study of 'the family' or all family types but is, rather, an analysis of a particular family type : that is, stable first marriages, with children, in the Sheffield/Rotherham area in the period 1950 to 1985. Although this represents a narrow focus, we need to interrelate general sociological theories about the family with the actual practices and experiences of this group of ex-steelworkers and their families.

A useful, although limited starting point, lies in the work of structural-functionalism, stemming from the work of Parsons, which still continues to influence sociological work on the family [cf.Morgan 1985] The family is seen to perform two basic sets of functions, internal and external to the family, described as a process of '2-way sychronicity'. Its 'internal' functions are [From, Bell and Vogel 1963; Parsons 1950]:

- the raising and socialisation of children;
- allocating tasks between men and women [in s-f thought based primarily on the 'biological' link between women and children];
- organising power and leadership [into 6 main types : autonomic; male dominance; female dominance; husband autocratic/female autocratic; syncratic co-operation; syncratic division]; [Herbst 1963 : 339-46];
- maintaining integration;
- maintaining the family value system;

Its 'external' functions are mediating relationships with:

- the economy [particularly though male breadwinners and as consumers];
- the polity [where in return for adhering to the rules of citizenship families receive a legitimate place in, and protection from, the state];
- the community;
- dominant social value systems.[5]

This is a clear and unambiguous account. However, stuctural-functuonalism, as a general theory, is beset by a number of fundemental limitations, in particular its inability to explain inequality and conflict in social systems . Such criticisms extend to its simplistic, positivistic accounts of family structures in western societies much of which were based on unquestioned assumptions about 'natural'differences between men and women. A more sopisticated approach, if still in many senses a *functionalist* account, has stemmed from a convergence of the work of neo-Marxists and Feminists over the last ten to fifteen years.

Feminism re-emerged in the 1960's as a social, political and intellectual challenge to patriarchy in general, and in academic circles to male intellectual sexism. A particular focus of critical feminist sociology has been a sustained critique of narrowly 'economistic' approaches to gender/sexual relations and family life in Marxist thought, which viewed these [as with ethnicity] as mere epiphenomena of class conflict. The result of such an approach, it was argued, was a distinct failure to distinguish the specific oppression of women from the general oppression of the working class [cf.: Zarestsky, 1976].

How then are we to relate domestic labour to the 'public' world of class, work and industry in the 1980's? For Secombe [1973], whilst domestic labour does indeed appear to be 'private' and not directly related to the public world of work, it does actually contribute directly to it. By utilising Marx's distinction between relative and equivalent wage forms, Secombe is able to locate domestic labour firmly within the overall process of capitalist production. The former refers to those processes which contribute towards the production of eqivalent wage forms [i.e. the conversion by the domestic labourer of income into wage purchased commodities]. Equivalent wage forms are those which are the direct product of labour power exchanged for income. The workers wage is 'split' - into that needed to sustain the workers and the money need to cover the costs of domestic management and housework. This, argues Secombe, means that domestic and industrial labour,

> 'operate in a symmetrical fashion to purchase the commodities necessary to reproduce their respective labour powers'.
>
> [ibid.: 15]

Thus, domestic labour is seen to be an *integral* part of the public world of formal paid work and not isolated from it, as is suggested in structural-functionalist thought, however much this may be obscured in popular thought. The fact that the husband gets 'paid' and his wife does not, may obscure, but should not hide the fact that this wage,

> ' pays for an entirely different labour [ ] the labour that produces the labour power of the entire family.'
>
> [ibid. : 12].

This reproduction of labour power is seen in terms of *functions* and differs little from positivistic accounts [cf. Secombe, op.cit : 14]. The difference between the two approaches lies in the explanation of these functions. Secombe, Zaretsky et. al., despite some minor theoretical differences, see housework, performed largely by women, as serving the needs of a society characterised by class conflict, inequality and the oppression of women based on 'natural' or 'biological' grounds. The family functions to service [male] workers and the role of the [female] domestic labourer within this social unit is to organise and maintain that service, even if, as Oakley [1976 and 1982] has shown such a service involves boring repititive work and often very long hours, without the reward of a formal wage reflecting the demands and scope of such work.

This account too, is unambiguous. There are, however, some important general criticisms which can be made of neo-Marxists/Feminist approaches to modern family life and their analyses of the emergence of the'modern' nuclear family. Amongst these are:

- a frequent imbalance between critiques of existing social/sexual relations and methodological accounts of possible alternative systems;
- a general concentration on working class family life, deviant and 'problem' families ;
- a lack of analysis of the role of extended family and kinship systems and different life coping strategies resulting from different family forms.[6] [cf. in particular Pahl, 1984]

- a lack of life course perspectives, examining differences between elementary and mature families and generational differences in family structures; [cf.Harris, 1983:35-38 and 91]

- their limited analyses of the psycho-social aspects of family life, particularly of *stable* family life;

- the lack of intergration of recent historical studies [Laslett,1972; Mount, 1982; Davidoff and Hall, 1986; Pollock, 1987] and anthropological work [Todd 1985] which must make us at least sceptical of the idea that all family life, at all times, has exploited and oppressed women and, that the purported division between public and private is an essentially 19th century creation

Neo-Marxism/Feminism does, it should be stressed, provide a good account of some aspects of gender relations and family life, but it does, as noted above, have theoretical deficiencies. Again, the work of Weber, can help to fill the gaps in critical sociological theory. Weber's interest in the family was of course considerable, reflecting the influence of his wife's interest in Marxism, feminism and family sociology [Collins, 1986 : Chapter 2]. The main aspects of Weber's analysis relevant to this study lie in his concept of 'household' and 'family'[op.cit : 359]. The household is a place within which a group with common residence co-exists within the household arrangements for the means of subsistence and consumption are organised, under a system of 'household communism'. The precise family forms and the degree of patriarchy/matriarchy or equality, is a function of the larger groups beyond the household: the community, the tribe [or any ethnic/cultural homogeneity] and the organised state. All of these can, and do,

interface with and shape the exact organisation of household and family life.

For Weber, the family is not simply an agency for socialising children, or for giving legitimacy to sexual relations and property transmission, but is a unit, organising procreation, wage labour and domestic labour as a unit, recognised by political and legal power. It is the entire complex of variations within which sexual and economic property are joined, in Weber's time under strict patriarchal control [op.cit : 358]. Weber recognised that families within a particular social system need not be characterised by the same types of family organisation or in patriarchal societies by a uniform and universal oppression of women by men. He also recognised that the nuclear family, enjoying a degree of autonomy and privacy, is a universal type in all historical periods[7]. [Collins, ibid : 291]

Although neither Harris nor Burgess and Locke acknowledge it, their definitions of the family owe a great deal to Weber's formulations:

> 'The family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption, constituting a single household, interacting and communicating with others in their respective roles of husband and wife, mother and father, brother and sister, creating a common collective.'
>
> [Burgess and Locke, Quoted by Mitchell 1979 : 80]

> 'The family is the institutional means of providing for the tasks concerned with procreation and rearing and transmission, where the means concerned involved a reordering of the relationships of kin

groups and/or of the persons thought to be, already or potentially the genetic parents of children.'

[Harris op.cit : 83]

In accordance with the methodological principles underpinning this study, my conceptualisation of the family life of steelworkers is largely neo-Weberian, but encompasses aspects of both critical and positivistic functionalism. The family life of steelworkers implies a permanent bond between partners; the occupation of a household [in almost all cases jointly owned]; the existence of intimate links and emotional commitments between men and women; the raising and procreation of children as a central life concern for most families; a variety of family forms [from patriarchal to quasi-egalitarian]; variations by generation, social class, occupation and stage in the life course; a bridge between the so called 'public' world of work and the 'private' realm of family life and an existence conditioned by a specific socio-cultural historical era.

III : 7 : 1 : 2

Redundancy and Unemployment.

It is clear from the previous discussion, that any research into redundancy/unemployment must include a specific analysis of their effect on women and the family. This is a subject area which again lacks any real coherence, comparibility and unity of theory and method but it is a key area of analysis

A number of studies (eg Martin and Wallace, 1984 and Coyle, 1984) show that many women see redundancy as a major upheaval in their lives and now suffer in a similar fashion to work orientated men, once made redundant. Growing numbers of women have a strong attachment to work, both for the extra money and comradeship. A return to their 'natural' sphere, as domestic manager and worker, can create many difficulties between spouses. The massive increase in the numbers of working women over the last thirty years, and the recent increase in part-time work for women means that redundancy, in the present economic climate, is likely to feature in more and more women's lives (Josh, 1984).

'Unemployment', is still defined in terms of aggregates of individuals (generally male) and is still generally perceived as a problem for men rather than women. This, however, obscures three very important facts: first that women increasingly place the same value on paid work outside the home as men ; second, the dependence of many families on joint income generation and thirdly, that male unemployment invariably has a knock on effect to spouses and children i.e. on the family as a social unit. A unit, it should be stressed which most characteristically links the public and the private in the individual's life world.

We need to recognise that redundancy and unemployment effects many more people than the officially registered recipient of unemployment benefit. Both financial and emotional well being are directly related to family level variables (stage in life course, number of children, familial relations, numbers of earners etc.) and not simply to a male individual's loss of work. For example, home ownership today often depends on a two wage economy and it is now estimated that at any one

time some two thirds of all families with a male breadwinner have a female breadwinner too [although usually part-time]. If this throws up some problems between couples in everyday life [Rapoport and Rapoport 1976 and 1979], exceptional difficulties may arise if the husband loses his job. It may force women to give up work, either because of social security regulations or because men resent their wives' role as breadwinner [Moen 1980; Mckee and Bell 1984; F.A.S. Report: The Guardian : 13/10/84].

The evidence we have suggests that benefit levels for those with families are inadequate. In real terms, support for children on S.B. has fallen 27% since 1979 [Moen op.cit]. One third of the families in her study had debt problems and that even those who took great care over domestic budgets often ran into difficulties. There has also been an incrase in the numbers of families made homeless because of mortgage default [Poppay, 1984 : 12 ; The Guardian : 12/11/85].

Prolonged unemployment leads not only to pauperisation, but to psychological and social psychological problems for families *as a whole*. McKee and Bell have shown that women can often be negatively effected by male unemployment, finding that 'mothers fare less well than other members of the family in relation to food, clothing space and money' [op.cit : 3 and 21-22]. Significantly, whilst overall 50-60% of married women are in work at any one time only 30-35% of the wives of unemployed men and 10-15% of the LongTerm Unemployed are in work. In McKee and Bell's study, working wives were in a minority due to what men and even they, perceived as their 'proper' place.[8] The notion that women should be economically dependent on men, it seems, persists into

unemployment. Far from creating new opportunities for women, unemployment is in fact,

> 'restrictive and perpetuates male/female inequality in the labour market...we would suggest that man's control of 'the right to provide' is far from disintegrating despite the recession.'
> [ibid. : 24]

Although unemployment is generally perceived as inhibiting male interaction outside the home, this often extends to women. The very fact of having husbands at home can interfere with previous social arrangements [as well as being resented by men] and may, in marriages characterised by traditional attitudes and rigid divisions of labour, generate open conflicts about child care and domestic work. In some situations, where a husband might try to help in the home, he may find his best intentions described as 'getting under my feet' by his spouse.

Fagin and Little found some significant generational differences in the reactions of families to redundancy and unemployment. They found that families with 'latency age' children, suffered particularly badly [op.cit : 90]. Conversely, families with young children or those whose children had left home, fared much better. Other studies [Swinbourne [op.cit]; McCabe, Thomas and Berry [1980] and Fineman [op.cit] come to broadly similar conclusions: in most families the loss of the male breadwinner's job leads to financial restrictions and, after time, to poverty and even pauperisation. Tensions between husbands and wives are increased, particularly in families characterised by traditional perceptions of male and female roles. Problems, particularly in families with teenage children, are likely to be worse than amongst

families it an early or late stage in the life course. It has recently been suggested that the teenage children of the unemployed are more likely to be out of work than those with a parent in work [Payne, 1987].[3]

We have little specific information on how parental unemployment effects young children. What we do know suggests that the prolonged unemployment of parent[s] can have negative effects. The poverty associated with unemployment, increased problems between husbands and wives and the possible stigma felt by the children of the unemployed may lead to nutritional , sleeping , behavioural and emotional problems and affect their relationships with organisations and peer groups outside the family, such as school [Madge, 1983 : 313-316; Marsden and Duff 1975; Fagin op.cit ; Morriss (1)-(3), S.S.P. 1983]. Although the evidence we have is patchy and derived largely from studies of other aspects of redundancy and unemployment, it indicates that the children of the unemployed are likely to suffer in a variety of respects.

CHAPTER 8

FACTORS MEDIATING THE EFFECTS OF JOB LOSS.

The account above has portrayed the outcomes of redundancy and unemployment as being almost entirely negative. However, the reality is rather more complex and the evidence we have suggests that as many as 25% of those who are unemployed have coped or are coping in a variety of ways. The reasons for this are complex theoretically and of course ethically sensitive. This section examines what influences can mediate in or even affect the negative consequences of redundancy and unemployment.

III : 8 : 2 : Enter the Phase Model...

It is argued by many commentators, that the unemployed, in general, pass through a series of phasic responses. A few examples are given below:

- Jahoda, [1930]: unbroken - anxious - distressed - apathetic;
- Eizenburg & Lazarsfield [1936]: shock - optimism - pessimism - fatalism;
- Bakke, [1940]: shock - optimism - pessimism - fatalism;
- Powell and Driscoll [1973]: relaxation and relief - concerted effort - vacillation and doubt - malaise and cynicism;
- Marsden and Duff, [1975] - holiday - anxiety - stress - depression;

- Hill et al, [1975] initial response - intermediate - unemployed;
- Hayes and Nutman, [1981]: immobilised - minimalised - adapted
- Fagin and Little, [1984]: shock - denial and optimism - anxiety/longing for the past - resignation and readjustment.

This model, it is argued, can be used to explain the 'careers' of redundant/unemployed people. Although there is very little agreement over the duration or nature of these phases, the overall process can be described as follows:

> the initial phase of shock / disbelief / optimism is often regarded as temporary, and the reality of the individual's situation will not effect the particular individual so long as the reality of this new 'assumptive world' is negated. The next phase is the intermediate / anxious / minimalised phase. The 'holiday' is over and the reality of life with a reduced income, lack of routine and social contacts sets in. Leisure time becomes less and less enjoyable and more meaningless. Inertia and a loss of self esteem set in. The final phase of apathy / fatalism / depression / [readjustment] represents a 'final' stage where a new non occupational identity is established, as the individual and/or his/her family settle down to a reduced and circumscribed way of life. It is during this phase, that the individual becomes most prone to interpersonal stress, marital difficulties, illness and even suicide.

It is, apparently, a useful model and many researchers from a variety of academic backgrounds have utilised it, either in an unqualified fashion or with varying degrees of doubt. However, it will become clear in this section that such a model is of little heuristic

value in explaining redundancy and unemployment in the 1980's. What this approach fails to take account of is the sociological construction of redundancy and unemployment in the 1980's and the way in which both the public issues and the private troubles of redundancy and unemployment are qualitatively different from any other period in the 20th century..

Fryer has been highly critical of the use of the phase model and I can find no better description of its faults than this eloquent account:

> '[] the claims made [for phasic responses], resemble a pearl...yet on closer inspection they are rather opaque. Moreover they have been built up gradually, layer by layer, acretion upon acretion and at the core is a mere grain of sand, valueless in itself and disappointing as a foundation on which to build such an elegant construction [] a close look at the evidence, suggests that the widespread assertions of psychological stages of responses to unemployment, are based on an agreement about the existence and demonstration of stages, which is itself based upon a tortuous, parasitic and at some times, almost incestuous web of selective quotation and misquotation of a section of a particularly seminal publication *. Issues of context, style qualification and disclaimer have been insufficiently heeded and the seminal source itself is based on a meagre empirical base, central parts of which are of dubious value. The grain at the core is a particularly dubious life history.'
>
> [1982, a) : 12] [* Eisenburg and Lazarsfield, op.cit]

It is clear from the literature that remarkably little agreement exists about the numbers of phases or their duration. Support for the model is usually restricted to *ad hoc* quotations and contrary instances, for example of positive responses to redundancy and unemployment, are rarely cited. It *may* be that people do go through some kind of phasic process as Fryer notes,

> 'the suspicion remains that persuasive evidence might be found if one were to look in the right place in the right manner.'
>
> [1982, b) : 2]

However, as Warr has observed:

> ' a sequence of phases certainly appears plausible. Yet my own belief is that there is almost no evidence for phase models in the area of unemployment...and the evidence for their claims is miserably weak.'
>
> [1983, : 6].

Recent studies on unemployment [eg Allen et al 1986; Ashton 1986; Kelvin and Jarret 1986] either avoid the use of the phase model or are critical of it. All have expressed doubts about the over generalisations implicit in this formulation and argue for a greater consideration of the many variables which can influence an individual's reactions to job loss.

MaCabe, Thomas and Berry [op.cit : 519] found in almost half their sample, no change in marital relationships and for 10% of their families improvements in relationships. Fagin and Little found an enormous variety of responses and concluded by arguing that redundancy and unemployment do not trigger off a preset course of reactions but rather

encourage tendencies which already existed in the family [op.cit : 115]. Swinbourne [op.cit], has suggested that positive reactions were related 'in some way' to the degree of closeness in families prior to redundancy. Fineman [op.cit] argued for a 'more elastic' framework, to explain both positive and negative responses. 20% of those in this study of white collar redundancy felt no stress or strains and 35% found unemployment acceptable. The loss of work was felt most acutely by those men who had a very close attachment to work prior to redundancy. Those with other sources of male identity prior to redundancy were more able to cope in world without work.

The type of work performed prior to redundancy and the way in which the job was lost will also influence how people react to redundancy. In addition, other variables such as the state of the national and local labour market, levels of skills and resources, age, familial relationships and differing access to social and economic resources will all play a part in post redundancy 'phases'. Individuals may have several months notice of redundancy or only a few days. Seglow [1970] has suggested that reactions to redundancy are even mediated by the structural characteristics of different types of work performed within single businesses and factories.

Another counteracting variable is the existence of social support systems in the individuals immediate life world. There is very little agreement about precisely what these are. [Gottlieb, 1981; Warr 1984 : 14] They have been described as 'emotional support' and 'belonging to a network of mutual obligation' [Cobb, 1979] and as 'any action or behaviour that functions to assist the focal person in meeting his

personal goals or in dealing with the demands of a particular situation' [Tolsdorf, 1976 : 410].

A more comprehensive model has been provided by Caplan [1984], who distinguishes between four analagous but complementary types of social support:

- The Objective Tangible)	formal sources of support
- The Objective Psychological)	'out there'
- The Subjective Tangible)	individual's personal life
- The Subjective Psychological)	biography

Caplan's distinction is important. Whilst support, both personal and practical, formal and informal may exist, this matters little if individuals are unable to utilise them. Social support systems, argues Caplan, are of four main types:

- mutual self help groups	[unemployment centres; working mens clubs]
- neighbourhood based informal groups	[family, kin, friends/ workmates]
- official groups	[B.S.C. Counselling/Retraining Orgs; C.A.B.S.; Unions; DHSS]
- Community 'gatekeeper' Groups	[Doctors; Clergy; Police; SocialWorkers; MPs and Councillors]

Caplan and Gottlieb argue that most mental health problems are caused by 'triggers' rather than long standing pre-dispositions and social support particularly from friends and family, can help to neutralise the negative consequences of such triggers [cf. Murray-Parkes, 1973 : 9 and 191. In much of the literature there are suggestions, which are not systematically explored, which indicate that it is the initial strength of the impact of redundancy which had the greatest impact on events afterwards. Similar contentions are to be found in Gore [1978]. This suggests that lengthy periods of job notice, discussions, counselling and other forms of support play a crucial role in lessening the negative impact of redundancy. Given the time prior to redundancy and support available to ex-steelworkers, it would be highly unlikely that they would go through the 'shock' phase so often described and, in general terms, should have coped better with redundancy than most other groups of industrial workers.

The final criticism to be levelled at the phase model is it's assumption of passivity and dependence amongst redundant people. It is assumed that they become almost as automatons, unable to step off a conveyor belt of phasic responses. Such a view is, of course, incompatible with a neo-Weberian perspective , which allows all individuals a degree of autonomy within the specific economic, social and historical circumstances in which they find themselves. It recognises that individuals, from similar social backgrounds and in similar situations, are capable of reacting in many different ways, not adequately explained by the phase model.

We must, by now, be sceptical of the view that redundancy is, neccesarily a psychologically destructive experience for many people. Short term unemployment may be. Long term unemployment almost certainly is. However, redundancy and unemployment are for most people in the 1980s, usually short lived experiences, unpleasant though they may be for the unprepared. People may be starting to cope in a whole variety of ways with chequered life courses, through collective provisioning, voluntary work, community activities, 'unpaid' labour, work in kind and so forth. Pahl's work in Sheppey would suggest that some people are already deconstructing the old divisions between formal work, informal work and domestic work [1984].

Fryer and Payne [1984], Fineman, Swinbourne, Warr and others have found that redundancy and unemployment do not set off some kind of preset 'Skinnerian' responses. Rather, reactions to redundancy and unemployment are mediated by a whole set of variables, which were discussed earlier. In short, the phase model, whilst apparently a sensible model should be removed from the sociological vocabulary.

III : 8 : 2 : ... Exit the Phase Model : Towards a Social Psychology of Redundancy and Unemployment.

So, where do we go from here? Firstly we have to see redundancy and unemployment in global, comparative and historical terms, since it is these public issues which determine the environment in which individual's private troubles are acted out. This analysis, at the start of this section, concerns itself with labour market economics, relevant demographic analysis and so forth. Similar considerations need

to be given to the particular characteristics of the local area [See Figure 5 over]. As we move 'down' our analysis we come to the interface between the locality, the community and individuals. We then come to the world as mediated, constructed and acted back on by our families : the micro sociology [See Figure 6 over].

At this juncture we encounter the beginning of the psycho-social transition marked by redundancy and unemployment [See Figure 7 over]. The concept of psycho-social transitions stems from the premise that crises in people's lives may disrupt the way that people look at the world [Murray-Parkes op.cit.]. If the individual is not to be submerged by this new situation, changes must be made to his or her 'assumptive world.' That is, those sedimentations of perception, identity and motivational relevances which make the world *work* for us. This idea allows us more flexibility that is possible with a phasic model. What is very important, is that individuals play an active part in this restructuring of their life worlds. It allows us to be sensitive to the great variety of possible outcomes to the 'unitary' event of redundancy and most importantly treats this transition as a process, rather than simply a state of being.

To understand this process we need to analyse specific areas [see above] and then make painstaking comparisons between the various stages of individual life courses prior to and after redundancy. We can then begin to link together this material, the subject of Parts IV, V and VI. Once this is completed, we can develop comparative studies of the effects of redundancy, unemployment and 'chequered' life courses, and move towards a more rigorous, comprehensive, and analytically precise account of redundancy and unemployment in the 1980's : in short, a

FIGURE 5: THE BACKGROUND TO REDUNDANCY

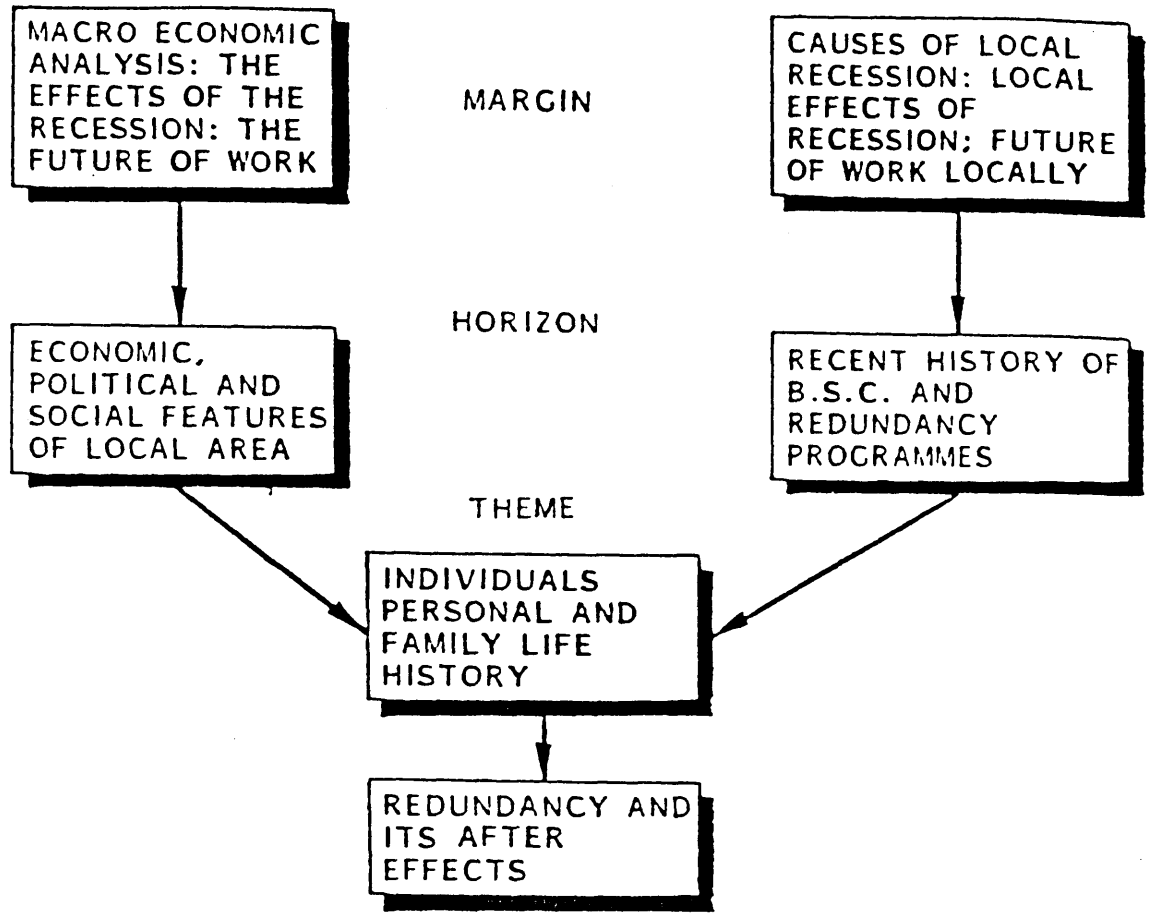


FIGURE 6: THE WORLD AS MEDIATED BY THE UNEMPLOYED

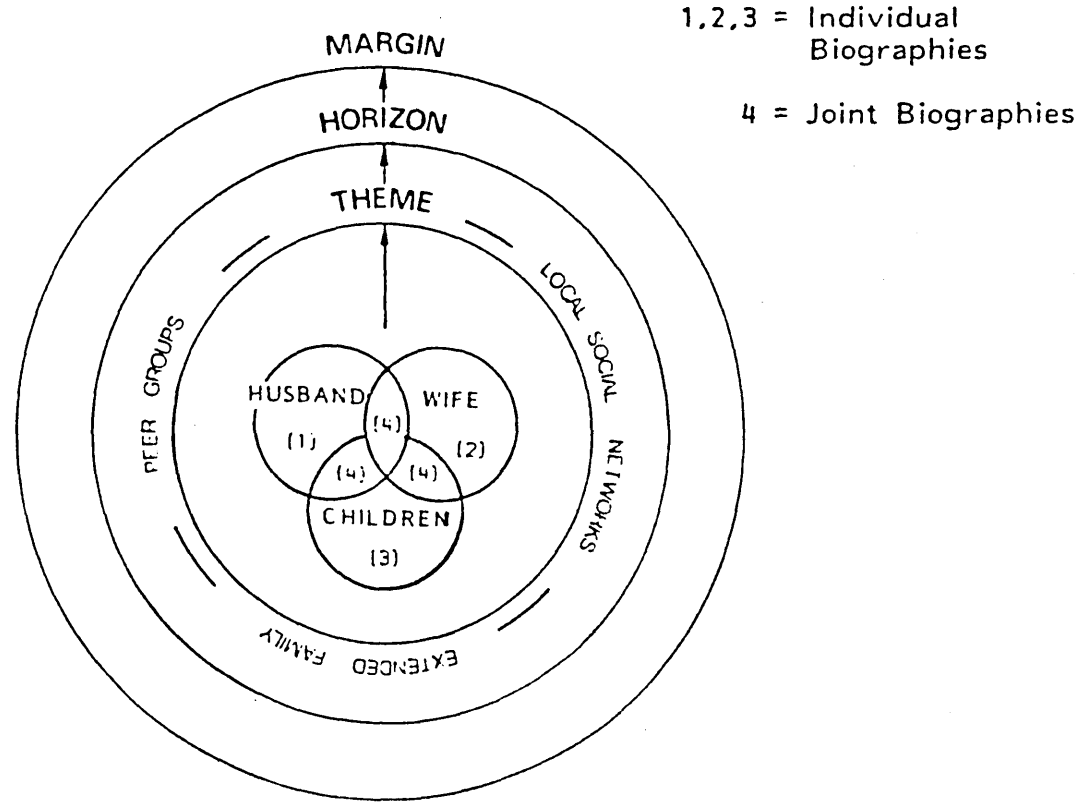
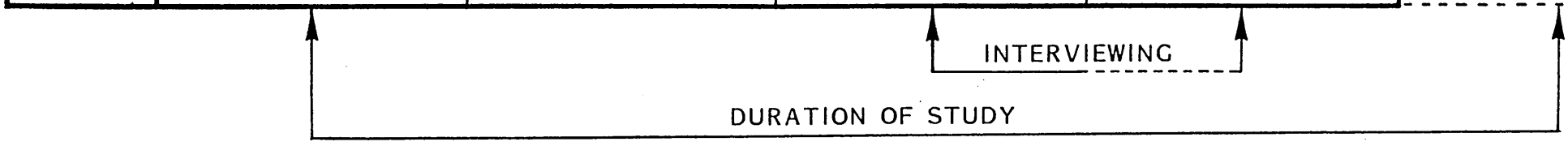


FIGURE 7: PSYCHO-SOCIAL ASPECTS OF REDUNDANCY

YEAR	1983	1984	1985	1986	[19
MONTHS	[-] 12	0	[+] 12	[+] 24	[+
STAGE	1	2	3	4	[5]
TIME-TABLE OF EVENTS	NOTICE/SOURCE OF REDUNDANCY NEWS; DECISIONS TAKEN; INFLUENCES OF WORK-MATES; FAMILY; ATTITUDES TOWARDS FUTURE.	USES OF RETIREMENT OPPORTUNITIES OR RE-ALLOCATION; EMPLOYMENT; SELF-EMPLOYMENT.	COMPLETION OF MAKE UP PAY PERIOD/RETRAINING FOLLOWED BY: EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT OR 'CHEQUERED' PATTERNS.	PRO-ACTIVE/ INTERMEDIATE/ RE-ACTIVE RESPONSES TO REDUNDANCY AND ITS AFTER EFFECTS.	



PART IV

Introduction : The Main Findings of the Questionnaire Survey.

The Interview Material

The Works Groups: Over And Under 55's

- Work and Family Details.

The 114 men in these groups enjoyed lengthy uninterrupted periods of work in the steel industry. The mean length of service for the over 55's [65 in total] was 26.7 years and for the under 55's [49 in total] 17.2 years. 46 [70.8%] of the over 55's and 42 [85.7%] of the under 55's were married. The mean number of children was 3.02 and 1.96 respectively. All the children of the over 55's were aged 11 years and over. 44 of these families had all their children aged 16 and over. In the under 55's there was an even age spread of children from 0.11, 11-16 and 16 and over. Of the wives in the over 55 group, 43.5% have worked full-time outside the home, 45.7% part-time [26.0% p/t and f/t) and 10.8% have not worked outside the home since marriage. In the under 55's the figures are 64.3%, 26.2% [9.5% p/t and f/t] and 9.5% respectively.

- Redundancy and After.

Of the 114 men, 65 or 57% of the total, were aged 55 or over [with the staff groups a total of 58.2%]. The 'present circumstances' of the over 55's were as follows [July 1985]:

Registered Unemployed/Not working	=	44	[67.6%]
Not working due to ill health or disability	=	4	[6.2%]
Retired	=	13	[20.0%]
Other	=	4	[6.2%]

The "present circumstances" of the under 55's [49] were as follows:

Working full-time	=	8	[16.3%]
Working part-time	=	4	[8.2%]
Self-employed	=	8	[16.3%]
Retraining	=	5	[10.2%]
Not working due to ill health/disability	=	3	[6.1%]
Other	=	0	[0.0%]
Unemployed	=	21	[42.8%]
[Retrained]	=	[30]	

of whom: 5 went into full-time employment; 3 into part-time employment; 1 into self employment; 1 has not worked since due to ill health/disability and the remainder 14 [or 66.7% of those who retrained in 1983-1984] were unemployed in July 1985. In the under 55's group, there was no significant correlation between previous occupations/length of service and "present circumstances" [although all the men who worked in transport were unemployed at this time - 6 in total].

Of the wives in these groups, in the over 55's [46], 9 [19.6%] were in part-time employment, 5 [10.3%] were in full-time employment, 9 [19.6%] were registered unemployed/not working, 5 [10.9%] were not working due to ill health or disability and 18 [39.1%] were retired. In the under 55's group, 13 [30.1%] were in part-time employment, 4 [9.5%] were in full-time employment and 19 [45.2%] were unemployed/not working but not registered as unemployed.

- **The Staff Groups: Over And Under 55's**

- **Work and Family Details.**

The men [90]: experienced on average, lengthy uninterrupted periods of work - for the over 55's a mean service life of 28.3 years and for the under 55's, 13.7 years. In the over 55's, 53 [82.8%] were married, in the under 55's 18 [69.2%] were married. The mean number of children in each family was 2.95 and 2.01 respectively. All except for one family in the over 55's have children all aged 16 and over. In the under 55's there was an even age spread across the 0-11, 11-16 and 16 and over age bands. Of the wives in this group: in the over 55's 19 [35.9%] have worked full-time, 31 [56.6%] part-time and 7.5% have not worked outside the home. In the under 55's, 5 [27.8%] have worked full-time, 11 [61.1%] part-time and 3 [11.1%] have not worked outside the home.

The women [18] : on average have enjoyed less lengthy periods of work than the men : 11 years for the 2 over 55's and seven years for the under 55's. Both the over 55's were married and had three and two children respectively, all over 16. Their husbands were in full-time

work prior to their redundancy. In the under 55's group 7 [50%] were married, the average number of children being 2.26, whose ages were skewed towards the under 16 age band. All their husbands were in full-time employment at the time of the questionnaire survey.

- **Redundancy and After.**

The men: Of the 90 men, 64 [59.3%] were aged 55 and over. Their "present circumstances" were as follows:

Registered unemployed/not working	=	58	[90.6%]
Not working due to ill health/disability	=	2	[3.1%]
Retired	=	4	[6.3%]
Other	=	0	[0.0%]

The "present circumstances" of the under 55's were:

working full-time	=	7	[26.9%]
working part-time	=	3	[11.5%]
Self-employed	=	5	[19.2%]
Retraining	=	1	[3.8%]
Not working due to ill health/ disability	=	0	[0.0%]
Other	=	0	[0.0%]
Unemployed	=	10	[49.9%]
[Retrained]	=	[13]	

Of whom: 1 went into full-time employment; 2 went into self employment10 [or 76.9% of those who retrained] were unemployed in July 1985.

There was no significant correlation between previous occupations/length of service and present status in the under 55's group. Of the wives in these groups; in the over 55's [53], 5 [9.4%] were in full-time work, 26 [49.1%] were registered unemployed/not working and 16 [30.2%] were retired. In the under 55's [18] 2 [11.1%] were in full-time employment, 3 [16.6%] were self-employed, 5 [27.8%] were in part-time employment and 7 [38.9%] were unemployed.

The women : Of the two women over 55, both were retired. Of the husbands at this time, one was retired and the other still in full-time work. Of the under 55's, 3 [18/7%] were in full-time wmployment, 13 [81.3%]] were registered unemployed/not working. 9 [56.3%] retrained, of whom 7 are now unemployed. Of the 8 married women, 6 had husbands in full-time employment and two in self-employment, after redundancy

The Interview Material.

Parts IV and V deal with the interview material collected between March and December 1985. It is essentially a descriptive commentary, but the summary provides an outline of the issues to be discussed in Part VI. It is dissapointing that I have been able to present less than 10% of this. The extracts are as representative as possible, including due consideration of the 'awkward' cases. As will be seen, a majority of the quotes come from the men. This is due in the main to the use of extracts from the 'work' and 'redundancy sections [See Appendix 8 for full details of this].

The interview material is divided into two main sections and further sub-divided to highlight differences between the families in the interview sample [for example in attitudes to work, divisions of labour in the home and reactions to redundancy]. The sequence of this section follows a life course perspective, covering such areas as : childhood, school, adolescence, working lives, married life and domestic divisions of labour; the influence of mens work on domestic life; political and religious consciousness; the redundancy experience; the events since redundancy; the place of the children of these couples and attitudes towards the future.

CHAPTER 9 : LIFE PRIOR TO REDUNDANCY

IV : 9 : 1

Childhood and Adolescent : Entering the Labour Market.

All the men and women in the works group, 14 in total, were born in South Yorkshire. Eleven of these were born in Sheffield/ Rotherham. The fathers of these men and women worked in blue collar occupations: 8 as miners [of whom 2 worked in the steel industry], 4 as steelworkers and two as general labourers. All of these men, except for two, experienced periods of short time working and/or unemployment in the 1920'sand 1930's. Of the others, five were in paid work after marriage, of which three worked in munitions factories in world war I and two worked as part time domestics in the 1920's and 1930's. The men and women in this group grew up amongst families which ranged in size from six children to only one. The median family size was just over three per household.

Of the 14 men and women in the staff group, ten were born in South Yorkshire. Eight of these were born in Sheffield or Rotherham. Of the remaining four, three were born elsewhere in the U.K. and one in Gibraltar. The fathers of these men and women worked primarily in blue collar occupations. Five worked in the steel industry [two also as miners], four worked only as miners, three in other semi or un-skilled work, only two of these came from middle class backgrounds, the sons of an army and navy officer respectively. Only four of the mothers worked part time outside the home. The average family size was just over two, slightly smaller than the works over 55's group.

With the exception of one man (Terry White) in the staff group, all came from working class homes. Many common themes emerged in the recollections of these men and women of their early lives. All born in South Yorkshire made reference to the dominance of mining and steel industries outside the home, the short time working and/or unemployment in the 1930's and to very traditional marriages and divisions of labour within the home.[2]

Tom Hodgson (works):

" I can remember () laying in bed as a lad and hearing the colliers going to work with their clogs on like, in the early morning and also, when I were a young lad, men coming from t'pit and their pit muck like.() they didn't used to have baths in them days, they'd no where else to get washed like. God knows how they used to manage, wives,...wives with t'muck like."

Henry Trevett (works):

" In Rawmarsh? well, it was a half steelworks and half mining community. Most of the kids then would either get a job in t'steelworks, that's Parkgate, others went into t'mines, and that were at fourteen year old."

Short time working and/or unemployment amongst the fathers of these men and women were common features of life in the 1920's and 1930's, leading at times to poverty, as Eric Watson (works)recalled :

" I can remember when me dad was unemployed from t'pit like in - oh, early 1930's I think it were, and we used to use the soup kitchen

that they used to have, which weren't far from t'house like..er.. [ ] it were hard at times, no doubt about that."

Whilst many recalled the poverty they experienced at times, most felt that the communities they grew up in were more close knit, co-operative and sharing than the ones they lived in today, as Dorothy Watson [works] recalled:

" Well it were a mining district you see, just two up and two down, cold water, no water taps, no bathroom, no flush toilets at first...they were in the yard in a closet..we were lucky because we had a yard of our own, most of the yards around were open [] we were what you'd call poor but we were happy ... I mean when things were hard other families would share round what they had spare, the relations and all around like, to make sure that everybody had a little bit of something."

Many expressed the view that greater interaction with extended kin networks in the area were more common than today. Ken Murphy [staff]:

" We'd moved to Rawmarsh, I think, when I was about nine and they were all miners and steelworkers [] they were lovely people, everybody used to sort of meet Sundays, mix with each other and join in everything, you know, there isn't the same atmosphere today like there used to be. Everybody used to help one another, you know, if anybody were ill and things like that or, everybody used to fall in and help each other, there doesn't seem to be time now like there used to be. I don't know why, everybody's got cars, but er you know I suppose they're mixed up in their own familes and don't, don't

find enough time to go and visit relatives and things like, like we did as children."

Divisions of labour within the homes of these men and women were based, without exception on traditional lines, with the fathers role primarily that of breadwinner and the mothers responsible for day to day domestic management,shopping, cleaning, washing/ironing and childcare, as and Edith Murphy [Works] recalled:

" My father didn't really do much, he was working long hours every day, and working virtually a six and a half day week, so he didn't really have much time left over, and he would only take at maximum a week's holiday per year, if that, and the bare Bank Holidays,[] my mother took charge, as I say in all the domestic affairs and probably most of the sort of child upbringing as well, going to school and seeing teachers at parent-teacher meetings and so on."

Ann Philips'[Staff] recollections are interesting, highlighting as they do, an early demarcation of jobs amongst children into 'men's' and 'women's' work:

" I think it was a case of handing down jobs, [] when you came home from school you had a certain amount of jobs to do, well baking for instance, I was taught to bake quite early.[]The boys of course were out working, they did the shift work you see, so they didn't have a lot of the menial jobs we had to do. But there again they did do the sticks and coal as they got to their turn, but after that if they were on shift work they didn't do it. [] I was only about 10 or 11 and I was kneading bread then, when you came home from school

you had a certain amount of jobs to do. [] it was was an all day job wash days, when they worked in the pit, you had to scrub the clothes then, no washing machines. It was down the tub, scrub on a white table. I suppose you'd think it was hard work, but you were brought up like that so you took it in your stride sort of thing."[35]

Everyone in the works group started school at five and all except for one man, Don Hamlyn, left at fourteen. All attended state primary and secondary schools in the local area. Two passed the eleven plus but did not go to grammar schools. Although no one said they disliked school, all expressed disappointment at the lack of opportunities available to working class children at that time, the lack of motivation from their parents and of course the impact that the Second World War, had on opportiunities in general. There was a widespread feeling that they were 'pushed' into the local labour market at fourteen and had little choice in the matter, as Harry O'Neill [works] recalled:

" There were a few lads who stayed on until sixteen but not many. You were expected to go and earn your living and pay your share towards upkeep of family like. Most families in those days had it dog rough you know Nick and t'thing were to get thy kids out to work [] so that you could make life a bit more bearable type of thing."

Of the two who passed the Eleven-Plus, only Donald Hamlyn [staff] stayed on at school until sixteen, and he did not have happy memories about this period:

" I never ought to have gone really, as I said me dad were out of work as much as he were in work and I had to get free dinners and a grant for clothes but the only uniform I got were a cap [L]...at school. There were no chance of going on after 16, it were a waste of time really. I had to leave at sixteen and get a job".

In the staff group, all except for the one man born in Gibralter attended state primary and secondary schools in the area they grew up in. Two men and two women passed the Eleven-Plus and only two [Terry White and Brenda Lawson] went into grammar schools. . The remainder left school at fourteen. Again, although no one said that they disliked school, frustration was expressed about the lack of opportunities available to them. This is significant in the light of their later upward occupational mobility. Ken Murphy recalled the difficulties faced by working class children at this time.

" You used to have to take examinations to go to the Grammar school or if you failed then you went to the next Elementary school. There were about half a dozen boys from the class [] who managed to pass for Grammar school but you had to self finance then, get yourself financed to go, and I remember two of the lads who passed for Grammar school came from very poor backgrounds; their fathers were probably out of work, I don't know, but they [] re-joined us at the school the term when we moved up to the Elementary school, which I suppose must have been a very degrading thing for them."

In the staff group only one man, Terry White was able to stay on at Grammar school and go into university during war time and obtain a degree in metallurgy and a doctorate, and at this stage was the only man with specific career goals. For the remainder, leaving school at fourteen was considered automatic, even though all the men at this time said that they wanted to continue their education, even if this meant attending night school.

For the women in both groups both the opportunities and encouragement to pursue careers were non existent. They were expected to work for a short while then marry, have children and become housewives. Alice Hodgson [works]

> " I were brainy... but I didn't pass me exam because I was told that if I did pass I woudn't be able to go [] in them days, me mothers version was well, the man's got to get married and keep his family, so when I got married that was it see, somebody was keeping me, so it weren't worth giving a girl a good education [] ....leave school and get a job as soon as I could and bring some money in. That were t'main object [] we just took it for granted."

At the end of the war and after those who saw active service were demobbed, all these men and women moved back into the local labour market. The divisions between the sexes, begun in childhood, marked a divergence in the life courses of these men and women after marriage. Although all these women worked locally for several years prior to and after marriage [see Appendices 10 and 11] it was to be the arrival of children which was to cement this divergence. To this we turn in the next section.

IV : 9 : 2 : Work and Divisions of Labour Prior to Redundancy.[44]

Marriage for the men and women in these groups marked a significant watershed in their lives, building upon the gender roles they had acquired in childhood and adolescence, and realised fully with the arrival of children. Although all the women in these groups continued to work,, for varying lengths of time after marriage, both they and the men felt this to be a temporary situation. All expressed the view that the primary responsibility of women was to manage the household and look after children and for men to be the provider/breadwinner. It was seen as natural that women be 'allowed' to work prior to the arrival of children. This was perceived as a marked change from the practices of their parents generation as Harry Atkins observed:

> " Before t'war really not many women worked except them that weren't married, but after t'war married women started going out to work more often and it were automatically assumed among people of our age group anyway. This happened with my brother and my sisters when they got married; they shared the work as well [] t'women were bringing in money so everything were shared like and I think attitudes had changed a little bit in that respect."

Although Harry and Dot Atkins shared much of the housework at this time, this was untypical of the fourteen couples. By the time these couples had moved into their own houses and had had their first child, divisions of labour within the home came to be negotiated along very traditional lines. The women became responsible for day to day domestic financial management, general household duties and childcare. Men's

work in and around the house was largely restricted to childcare, shift hours permitting, gardening/decorating and general maintanance.

This lengthy quote from Harry Atkins is particularly illuminating in this respect:

" When we first got married and t'wife were working it were shared [] but later there were certain things that t'wife would do that I wouldn't, like make a pie or a jam roll [] If I came into t'house first before t'wife I started getting the potatoes ready and doing cabbages and thing like that and every Friday night wife'd clear all down stairs and I'd do all upstairs, you know, and then we'd on Saturday mornings, we would go to put us money in t'bank and save it up. Everything was shared apart from the domestic chores that a woman does [] we've always shared like but there's always been certain spheres what t'wife's done. I mean I've never expected t'wife to do any o' my decorating or o'wt like that. I've done all that and she's done most of the housework which was rather different from my dad's time you know, because at that time of day they didn't do anything in t'house [] they just used to go to work, that were it [] there were now't hard and fast about it but there were certain spheres what wife had and certain spheres what I had."

In general, sharing in some 'women's work' prior to the arrival of children was seen as normal and in some respects an improvement on their parents' generation. However, beneath the facade of 'shared' work in the home, often exppressed by men in the first interviews, lay a reality of well defined spheres of work and only a limited number of genuinely shared activities [eg. the weekly shopping]. It should be noted that no-

one in this group saw this arrangement as unnatural or as a relationship of [male] dominance/[female] subordination. Rather, it was seen as a natural division, taken for granted by both men and women, as Edith Murphy recalled:

> "To be quite honest I thought it was my duty to do it. I was a housewife, Ken went out to work, he went off at eight o'clock in a morning didn't come home while half past five. so I was there all day so that was me, I just did it, washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning."

This domestic division of labour is reflected in the organisation of financial management. At this time, all the husbands were paid weekly in cash. A regular amount was handed over to wives each week with a certain amount saved for the payment of large bills and some for the husbands own expenditure. This corresponds to Pahl's 'allowance' system. Although based on a system over which the men had ultimate control, all the couples in this group took considerable pains to stress that they were quite open about financial matters, which as Klein[1965 observed was a growing trend at this time. Len Holroyd [staff]:

> "She budgeted everything. This is where I suppose you are lucky if you get a good manager. [] She was a very good manager []. She was methodical - I mean she used to get a wage. She knew how much she had to spend on groceries[] she used to have seven little pots in the cupboard so, so much was for paper money, so much was for milk money, so much was for groceries, so much was for rent, you know, and things like that [] we came to an agreement [] I told her right from the start we understood what wage I was getting. I mean at

that time a lot of colleagues never told their wife what wage they were getting. This again was a normal accepted thing, you know, but... well... I think the sort of arrangement we had was sort of a team effort, and we've kept nothing from each other. I used to tell her how much I were getting and we used to say ' Right O.K. there's so much you get for your wage, you know, for your house keeping' and that's it".

The references to the wives' 'wage', mentioned by several of the men are interesting, reflecting an awareness of housework as *work* in its own right. Despite this openness and awareness of the work their wives did, attitudes towards the' correct' roles of men and women were still traditional and slightly more marked amongst the staff group. These arrangements and the attitudes which support them, have remained largely unaltered and unquestioned throughout the life courses of these 14 couples prior to redundancy.

Some minor changes to domestic divisions of labour did occur when six of the works women and four of the staff women went back to work after their children had reached school age, becoming in Jean LaFontaine's phrase 'cake winners'[quoted by Pahl, 1986 : 7-8]. At the time, in the late 1950's and 1960's, their were increased demands for extra labour, often in the form of part-time work for women. Where women did go out to work, men only 'allowed' it so long as it did not interfere with what were perceived as their primary responsibilities of 'mother' and 'housewife'. The unwilling accommodation of the men is reflected by only two women [in the works group] working full-time in

the period prior to redundancy. These two extracts, from Tom and Alice Hodgson, illustrate these concerns:

Q."What did you feel about her going out to work?"

A."I didn't want her to do it. No, I thought it was wrong. I thought I should be able to keep her [] I thought it should be my job to look after her, to get the money like."

Q."What...did you think then that a woman's place was in the home?"

A."Yes I did."

Q."So how to you manage to accommodate her going out to work at that time?"

A."I just had to lump it I think [] if I'd really put me foot down she would have stopped but I didn't really because eventually I realised she were bringing money in and it were making life better see, our life better."

Q."Why didn't he like you going out to work?"

A."He's never liked me going out to work at all."

Q."Was he a bit conventional in that respect?"

A."Yes, he said 'Well what you got to go out to work for?' and I just said 'Well there's nobody in all day, children are out at school all day, I never see anybody.' So he said 'Well if you want to and if you are back here when they come back from school and when they go to school you can please yourself' and that's how it started."

For these women, work outside the home was a source of extra income, over which they had some control, an escape from the confines of the home and an opportunity to mix with other women , which all derived some satisfaction from. This extra burden was not followed by any significant changes to divisions of labour within the home. In only two cases did this lead to a greater sharing of domestic work, the Lawsons and Atkins. Even in these cases, certain tasks, such as washing and ironing remained the women's responsibility. Given the women's investment in maintaining stability in the home, great care was taken not to let this work interfere with domestic duties. Not surprisingly, these women found this dual burden at times a physical and emotional strain.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, there were some changes to financial management in the home. Four of the seven couples in the works group and three out of seven of the staff group moved to a quasi - pooling system (of whom all the wives were working part-time or fulltime). This shift may reflect a growing financial equality but was also the product of changes outside the home such as:

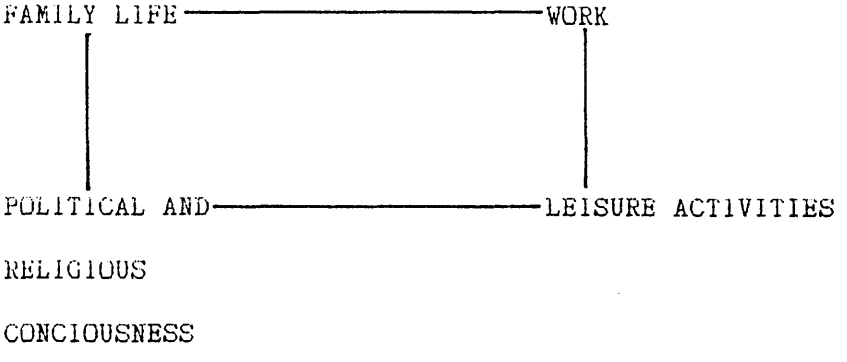
- B.S.C.'s drive to pay all employees by cheque on a monthly basis;
- the rapid expansion of banking facilities and outlets in the 1960's and 1970's;
- the commitments of six of the works group and seven of the staff group to regular joint mortgage and other bill payments through bank accounts.

In spite of some shifts away from the organisation of family life in their childhoods the married lives of these men and women accord quite closely with the conventional sociological images we have of family life

in the 1950's and 1960's [cf. Bott, 1957 ; Klein, op.cit.] The conventional views held by both men and women is reflected in this extract from the joint interview with Francis and Mary Adams.

> Francis : " As a general rule I think a woman's place is in the home[] that's not to say that a woman's work isn't important, Mary's always worked hard to look after the house and the children."
>
> Mary :" Mmm, I know there's a lot of people your age who'd disagree with that but I always felt that my home and family came first, even when I did work so I did fit it round my housework [] I enjoyed it, getting out of the house but Frank's career has always come first to us."

This concern with 'the children' is significant. Although conventional families, in many senses, there was a very strong sense of home and family centredness amongst the men. This close involvement in family life and with wives and children is reflected in the attitudes of the men to their work, to life outside the home and in the interplay between:



IV : 9 : 3 The Influence of Men's Work on Domestic Life and Leisure Activities.

The Works Group

One of the surprising findings of the interviews was the degree of importance the men and women in this group gave to their home and family life. Indeed, in motivational, thematic and interpretational terms family life provided the major focus of both women and men outside of work. The picture often presented of male working-class men as primarily extra familial in orientation, reliant on male networks for their social activities outside work and firmly attached to collectivist labour politics did not easily fit the lifestyles of the men in this group.

Although much attention has rightly focussed on the drudgery and difficulties of housework [eg Oakley 1976 and 1982; Barrett 1980] it should be noted that work of the men in this group was also very repetitive, involved long and anti social hours and often took place in an unpleasant working environment. Their general attitude towards their work is best described as instrumental[cf:Lockwood, 1966] or, as a means to other ends, outside of work.

Harry Atkins' and Bert Gregory's recollections summed up the attitudes of almost all the men in this group:

> "I have rarely met anyone who earns their living in a real manual working class situation who did not literally hate it and I include myself here, it is a feeling which can never be appreciated unless it has existed in your own mind, only those who have actually been 'a mere appendage to a machine' fully understand the boring,

repetitious, tedious, brain-numbing reality involved, consequently this attitude consists of something like the following, work is an evil necessity, the alternatives of which not doing it are even more evil."

[Extract from a letter received from Harry]

" Working to me were just a means to an end. It weren't a vocation it were just a thing to earn money you know, to make your life more tolerable when you weren't at work, so you put up wi' inconveniences at work to make your life more tolerable when you were at home [] the job itself weren't very pleasant, I had to start wearing ear plugs because of the noise, you know, and t'smell, you sweated to death in the summer and you were perished in t'winter[] your main objective when you got into work were watching clock and doing your job, earning your money watching clock and getting off home again" .

In Marxist terms, all these men, with the partial exception of Tom Hodgson, an electrician, were strongly alienated from their work [cf. Blauner, 1963] However, this alienation was not reflected in active involvement in trade union activities, the political process or in male centred social activities. Work, in short was seen as little more than a necessary evil which was left at the work gates at the end of a shift. It was viewed as something which conferred a sense of comradeship and income, but little else. Contact with male friends outside of work certainly did occur but was limited. Leisure time was spent for the most part in the company of wives and children. Dot and Harry Atkins:

Dot: "We've liked us home quite a lot, you spend a lot of money building up your home and I can't see why you should personally want to get away from it. I know there's those that do but we've always enjoyed us home."

Harry : "We used to go on holiday every year and we used to go as a family like round the countryside, we appreciate nature both of us, old buildings, history [] we were never ones to sit around a lot, we always used to go to places of interest in the vicinity and we used to like that [] other than that we've always been sort of homebirds really [] we've never been ones for drinking a lot. I Know that a lot of men, even those I worked with were always out boozing, but that were never my scene at all...er...I enjoyed being at home with Dot that's all."

This account, and many others like it, suggest something untypical about the central life concerns of these men and women. There was a strong sense of commitment and responsibility by the men towards their wives and children and a very weak attachment to work and involvement in the union or politics. This impression is further illustrated in section IV : 2 : 3

The Staff Group.

This group represents a distinct status group. All of these women and men have 'moved up' the occupational and social ladder and in terms of income, lifestyle and self definition, are very much part of the middle classes. Although, starting work as blue collar trainees in five

out of seven cases, all of these men have achieved senior positions in B.S.C. It cannot be stressed too strongly how unusual it was in the 1950's for working class teenagers to move into white collar professional career streams. It is difficult to answer precisely 'why' these men did 'get on' in life, coming from similar backgrounds. All were by self definition 'bright' at school and highly motivated. This group are an early example of the upward mobility made possible in Britain post World War II, which Klein [op.cit] had pointed to, and which was to be studied by many sociologists in the 1960's [eg: Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1966].

The diagram below illustrates the career paths of these men .

Figure 8 : Career Paths of the Staff Group [Over 55s]

Terry White: [Army Officer]	Metallurgist 3 ; Quality Control Metallurgist 7; **Customer Services Manager**14.
Ken Murphy: [Miner]	Apprentice Glass Maker [2]; Trainee Electrician [2]; Fitter [3]; Apprentice Draughtsman/Draughtsman 10; **Project Engineer** 12
Arthur Butcher: [Steelworker]	Scrap Lad 2; Shearer 4; National Service [4]; Catering [6]; Bar Examiner; 7 Despatch Foreman 6; Ass. Plant Manager 7; **Senior Quality Control Manager** 10

Edward Philips:	Clerk [2]; Cinema Manager [2];	
[Naval Officer]		Naval Service [4]
		Senior Clerk 1; Foreman 11;
		Senior Staff Manager 20
Frances Adams:	Trainee Chartered Accountant2];	
[Steelworker]		Technical Trainee 5;
		Technical Instructor 16;
		Craft Instructor 5;
		Senior Training Instructor15
		[1.Counsellor]
Len Holroyd:	Apprentice Fitter 2;	
[Miner]		National Service
		[4) Engineer -Australia] [7];
		Contract Electrician [2];
		Planning Engineer 15.
Henry Lawson:	Errand Boy [2];	
[Labourer		General Labourer and Welder [2]
		Army [4]; Undertaker [15];
		Fireman [7];
		Security Guard 20;
		Senior Security Officer 7.

Key:

[Father's Last Job] Bold Text = Final Job

(x) = Years Outside B.S.C. x = Years In B.S.C.]

The move from 'works' to 'staff' was, at this time, almost unheard of in the steel industry as Ken Murphy recalled:

"It was the first time it had ever been done. There was myself and another lad [] who were picked out from the Apprentices of the English Steel Corporation and approached with a view to going into the Design Office [] there was a certain amount of, I think, resentment with the staff in the Design Office, in the Drawing Officee because of this. You was associating with lads who had come from Public School [] and you were a scrubber who had come out of the works at twenty years old, you know, and these lads who were, I suppose, Apprentice Draughtsmen had never been in the Works [] they got the vacancy straight from school into the Drawing Office and there was no experience at all. I think it was a good thing actually; I think the experience that I gained in the Works stood me in damn good stead when it came to designing."

This pattern repeated itself for four of the men in this group, and for all the men bar Frances Adams, moving from one occupational stream to another involved both long hours at work and night school. Although this move required a great deal of hard work and goes some way to explaining the lack of involvement of these men in domestic work, the final reward was a much more expressive attitude towards the work they did, particularly later on in their careers.

An additional responsibility for the men in this group was of course the management of people. All felt that this was relatively unproblematic, particularly those who had worked their way up from the

shop floor, feeling that this experience made them better 'gaffers' and able to cope with both people and technical problems.

Their more expressive attitude towards their work not reflected in an extra familial leisure life amongst the men, with the partial exception of Edward Philips. This extract from Terry White was typical:

" I did enjoy my work, especially later on but that was about it. I was never one for forging great friendships at work, bringing people home and going to the pub together, it wasn't my scene at all [] really I liked to forget about it. I mean there's the other side isn't there with Freda and the children, especially when they were young...uhm...I enjoyed all that, you know, being with them without t'pressure and t'problems of work [] looking back all that hard work was as much for them as it was for me."

Ken Murphy:

" Apart from going to keep fit classes which Edith did on her own, we have always gone on our own holidays together and we have always tended to keep together.[] it's generally been dancing you know. We did quite a bit of dancing up to a few years ago. As I say, we have always gone on our holidays together and whatever we have done we have generally been together. We - even [] we do gardening together. Earlier days I think I used to go to a football match but that's about the only time we were separated."

Thus, although occupationally upwardly mobile and professing a generally more expressive attitude towards work, this was not reflected in a work centred or male shared social life outside of work. Work, in

general terms, was still seen as a means to other ends, particularly in the enjoyment of shared leisure with wives and children, despite still traditional attitudes about the respective roles of men and women in life. These impressions are further reinforced when we come to look at the role played by political and religious beliefs in the family lives of these men and women.

IV : 9 : 4 The Influence of Political and Religious Consciousness on Work and Family Life.

Only one man in the works group (Harry Atkins) has been a paid up member of a political party (Communist and Labour Parties). He and Bert Gregory served as shop stewards at B.S.C. None of the women in this group have been paid up members of a political party, involved in trade union activities or local politics. I asked each respondent four questions : a) who did you vote for in 1952? b) who did you vote for in 1979? c) who will you vote for at the next general election? d) who will you vote for in any future local election?

The results were as follows (1985):

Figure 9 : Voting Patterns of the Works Group (Over 55s).

		1952	1979	NEXT TIME	LOCAL	TOTALS
MEN:	CONSERVATIVE	0	0	0	0	0
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	1	2	4	7
	LABOUR	7	6	5	3	21
	OTHER	0	0	0	0	0
	NO VOTE	0	0	0	0	0

WOMEN:	CONSERVATIVE	0	0	0	0	0
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	2	2	3	7
	LABOUR	6	4	4	3	17
	OTHER	0	1	0	0	1
	NO VOTE	1	0	1	1	3

This small and unrepresentative group illustrates the kind of drift away from the Labour party, amongst some of it's traditional supporters, which has taken place in the last decade. Given the pre-eminence of Kinnock's 'new realism', however, a drift of support back to the Labour Party is a possibility. Only three of the men and two of the women in this group could be described unequivocally as Labour supporters. The remainder vacillate between 'business' labourism and support for the Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance.

There was a high degree of cynicism about politicians and the political process. Several also commented on the failure of nationalisation to improve efficiency and democratise working conditions in the steel industry; Harry Atkins:

> " People think they've got it easy when they're nationalised [] there's so much empire building goes off on nationalisation [] the workers are a lot to blame as well because they think 'Oh we're nationalised, we're O.K. now like ...' I used to think we were nationalised for the good of us but it seemed to peter into the sand like the forward drive [] it didn't change nought really, I mean we kept the same gaffers and everything [] it never worked out like it should do."

Amongst the group as a whole there has been a general drift to the centre of British politics, in spite of strong recollections of their working class origins and the hard working lives most had experienced. Don Hamlyn's comments were typical:

" I'd always been Labour 'cos me dad were Labour before me [] he were a union rep. like and it were always drilled into me from an early age to be a Labour supporter and that's what I were. I always voted Labour but nowadays I vote S.D.P., 'cos I think t'Labour Party is pulling too far to the left and the Tories are pulling too far to the right and we want someone in the middle I think."

The women, overall, were slightly more supportive of the Liberal /S.D.P. Alliance than the men. Over the life course as a whole their expressed political views were, on all issues, more conservative. As Alice Hodgson observed:

" There's nobody at all in the Labour Party I admire, I don't admire anybody in the Conservative Party and the only man I do really think is alright is Owen, David Owen [] there's none of the three parties that I really admire. I don't know why but they seem to have lost that bit of sting they used to have [] anyway when all's said and done most politicians don't care about ordinary folk like us,[]"

The reasons for this shift away from support to the Labour Party are of course complex and will be fully explored in the results section but one of the main reasons was expressed by June Trevett:

" At one time, I was very staunch Labour but not anymore I'm afraid...er...old time Labour not this loony left which is on the go at the moment. I think that Margaret Thatcher has done some good things but the other side always cries her down [] I suppose I'm middle of the road [] I think we've moved up the ladder a little bit, that probably sounds snobby...I mean we're still working class even though we've moved up the ladder...Uhm, I don't want extremes, if you know what I mean."

Amongst the staff group, there has been a much more marked shift away from support for Labour to the Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance. Again, the women, throughout the life course were more conservative in outlook than the men. No-one in this group was a paid up member of a political party, involved in trades union activities or active in local politics.

Their past and future voting intentions in 1985 were as follows:

Figure 10 : Voting Patterns of the Works Group [Over 55s]

		1952	1979	NEXT TIME	LOCAL	TOTALS
MEN:	CONSERVATIVE	0	1	0	0	1
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	2	4	4	10
	LABOUR	7	4	3	3	17
	OTHER	0	0	0	0	0
	NO VOTE	0	0	0	0	0

WOMEN: CONSERVATIVE	0	1	1	0	2
LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	3	4	5	12
LABOUR	7	3	2	2	14
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0
NO VOTE	0	0	0	0	0

Even those who still regarded themselves as Labour supporters voiced criticisms about Labour policies, in particular at 'extremism' in the party. Arthur Butcher:

" We we seem to be in a situation where the...the Labour Government wants to nationalise everything and then these people come along and they're de-nationalising everything [] the Labour people are saying, you know 'Whatever you do, we shall re-nationalise it when we get back into office', so I mean whether you believe in nationalisation or not this cannot be a good thing for the country as a whole can it? I don't think either parties are being fair to the British people who have elected them [] I don't think Neil Kinnock is [] getting the support, I think he possibly could steer the party down the right avenues to make a, to make a solid...er...opposition [] I mean after all's said and done he's been democratically elected as leader and he should be getting the support of the party and he's just not getting that. I mean while you've got people like Tony Benn that's sniping at various things there's no way...I mean while we've got these extremities there's no way you're going to have any serious opposition [] the Conservatives must be laughing at the situation."

Several felt that the Thatcher Administration had injected a sense of 'realism' into British public life, Francis Adams:

" I think she's got the message across that as nobody else's has, sort of thing, that we've got to stand on our own two feet and if we don't get sorted out we're going to go down the drain in relation to other countries, [] There's been a tremendous sort out of industry, surplus unnecessary labour and waste in industry that no-one else ever tackled and it's still going on, you know I think this wanted doing. I mean I've seen things in the Corporation that should have been settled years and years ago and it's only been people like McGregor who've got hold of it by the scruff of the neck and got on with it, others were just play acting."

The women were in general less politically articulate than were their contemporaries in the works group. A typical position, outlined by Vera Butcher contrasted the idealism of socialism set against the realities of 'the real world'.

" I suppose I've more or less always thought Labour, I suppose I always will, but I don't like it too far left, I don't like the initiative being taken out of people's homes, you know, and too much Welfare State [] I think it's lovely that there's no children as I saw them when I was younger without proper clothes, you know, and things like that, but I do think too much help can be a bit...stops people wanting to struggle a little bit, if you like."

Doreen Holroyd too, made some interesting observations:

> " I can remember the bad old days, and how hard my dad worked...um...we were given a chance and my girls got to university. I've always been a low paid worker, even though we've moved up. I think there's too many people who can't work hard like we had to...er...all this Welfare State...I don't know. I want Labour but I don't want this lot especially Benn, he's a loony and Scargill's gone overboard [ ] I mean the miners are like us, they've got videos, 'phones and colour T.V.'s, we expect that now, holidays abroad and that...so we're still working class but we've moved up, do you know what I mean?"

There is amongst this group a much stronger ideology of individualism. The 'move up', has brought in its wake a somewhat confused self definition of class position [status dissension] and political consciousness, reflected in the division perceived between socialist ideals and a perceived lack of hard work and individual initiative, which clearly was important to these men and women. Given an even more marginal attitude towards socialist collectivism, it is unsurprising that 'politics' was once again seen as something 'out there' and not of thematic, motivational or interpretational relevancy, in family life.

Even in the works group, political activities played a largely peripheral role in life, even for those with shop steward responsibilities. Even at times when one might have expected collectivist political responses, for example during the rundown of B.S.C., this did not occur. Only on rare occasions, such as the brief

1981 strike did concerted collective industrial action take place, and then only for a limited period.

These generally privatised world views are echoed in their religious beliefs, which accord closely with the findings of sociologists over the last thirty years: that is, a secularisation of religious beliefs and practices. Everyone in these groups attended church and had some religious education as children. However, as they moved through the life course and dropped out of orthodox frameworks of religious practice [eg regular church attendance] whilst all, bar Bert Gregory, professed a belief in 'something else' and all had their children baptised, none have seen it necessary to attend church on a regular basis. In all cases, orthodox religion, save for significant events in the life course such as marriages or bereavement, has become a peripheral concern, with little relevance to day to day life. Religious beliefs in this group accord closely with the 'grey area' of religiousity described by Luckmann, Berger, and others, in recent years.

Edward Philips' account was a typical example of religiosity amongst the men:

> " I do believe that there is something in religion - as a kid I used to go to Sunday School and Church - I dropped off during the war. []...if people lived by the teaching of religion it would be a better world. The other thing that sort of makes me feel that there's got to be something else I don't believe you just die for example - there's too much lost if you just die, there's got to be something after, now what that is I have no idea, I don't think you just die and that's the end of it all, I think there's got to be something else."

Interestingly, several of the women in both groups, professed to having mystical or spiritual experiences, Ann Philips :

" I've had one or two experiences actually. I mean when Ted's father died, it was quite a horrible experience really, I were sat down here and, although there were no wind or anything and[] I was sat at t'side of his box where he used to keep his things,[] I heard this rustling, really plain and that, something touched me on my face and course I were kicking Ted, he were in the chair opposite, I were really scared that night [] Ted couldn't hear anything, couldn't see anything and funnily enough his mum said to him next morning, she said 'don't tell Ann, but I saw your father last night' and I didn't get to know this while years after actually, he never told me."

A more typical account of the day to day significance of religion was given by Dorothy Watson:

" I don't go to church on Sundays but I don't discount it as a belief, I think that's a very personal thing, but I have been to church and I was confirmed in church and I was married in church. I believe there's something there, and I think it's up to individuals to find it for themselves, and I wouldn't...I wouldn't like to think that people don't have some sort of faith [] I think it's a very private thing."

As with political beliefs, religion has become, over the life course a peripheral and essentially private concern, playing only a minimal role in day to day life. Political activities have been restricted to

discussion and a vote every few years at national and local elections. Prior to 1981, none of the men or women in the staff group had been out of work on strike and only two of the men in the works group had been involved in industrial disputes.

CHAPTER 10

LIFE AFTER REDUNDANCY

IV : 10 : 1 The Redundancy Experience.

It is clear from the interview material, that the men in both groups took 'voluntary' redundancy with a degree of willingness, despite being several years from the official state retirement age. This applied to the men in the staff group, in spite of a more expressive attitude towards their work. Not only could they enjoy several more years of retirement but could do so with reasonable financial support. In three cases, Bert Gregory, Harry Atkins and Ted Philips, ill health was given as a further reason for taking voluntary redundancy. In the works group, four of the wives have continued to work since 1983. Given the options available to these men the decision 'to go' was the only rational decision open to them. It is only in the two over 55's groups that the term 'voluntary redundancy' has any real meaning. In no cases did any of the men exhibit 'phasic' responses to redundancy although there were occasional faint echoes of this.

Redundancy did not come 'out of the blue'. The men in both groups were well aware of the cyclical nature of the steel industry and the gradual rundown of sectors of B.S.C. in the 1970's. The election of the Conservatives in 1979 marked a turning point, although few anticipated the scale of the rationalisation programme initiated by Finniston and carried out by McGregor. This extra knowledge enabled them to be more calculative about their and their families' futures, relative to most

other groups or industrial workers in the 1980's, particularly of course amongst the staff group whose position in the B.S.C. hierarchy enabled them to know well in advance, when they were to be offered redundancy.

Recollections of the events leading up to redundancy were very similar. All mentioned:

- the cyclical nature of the steel industry;
- where the news of redundancy came from;
- the types of tactics employed by management at the time;
- how the news of redundancy was broken;
- how the redundancy package and fears over loss of pension rights were seen as major incentives to take redundancy.

Eric Watson :

"All t'time I worked in t'steel, trade even when there were full employment they had periods where there were recession, you know, where all t'overtime were knocked off and you were on four days and it used to go up and down and it used to fluctuate so you could expect every, every two or three years anyway, you'd be working overtime and there'd be bags of work to do and all of a sudden work'd fall off [] but what come up wi' t'redundancy was everybody knew that these recessions of work falling off in t'steel industry weren't just another one of these recessions, you know, a small recession [] because it was becoming widespread all over. Well you've read about this place closing, that place closing; you knew it were pretty general, so when it first come on t'scene you get a right lot of rumours floating around, rumour and hearsay [] quite a

lot of these rumours and hearsay eventually turned out to be true like.

It makes you wonder if it isn't t'management that spreads them around just to get t'thin end of t'wedge in like [] then they fetched us all in t'canteen then you see and had a talk to us and telled us how t'situation were, but they didn't make any redundancies then; they just said that t'situation were pretty bad and it were going to be reviewed [] then they fetched you all into t'garage which were a bigger place and told us that, I think there were about 250 men worked there, I think they said 60 or 70 would have to be made redundant, [] they asked for volunteers and they got, they always get volunteers because they pay good redundancy at B.C.S., you know, a bloke over 55 gets paid for 18 month anyway. He gets a pension now and so forth so they didn't have much difficulty wi' it, wi' volunteers and that's, that's how it first started like."

The uncertainty prevalent in people's minds at the time meant that united opposition to closures and manning reductions simply did not happen. This lack of solidarity extended to the men who were supposed to represent the work force, as Tom Hodgson recalled:

"[] the fellows on the platform, t'union leaders, when it were right for their age and when it were right for their money, they were the first to go because they were getting older like [] and when the time came and when the price was right they led us through the door like."

Both groups of men expressed worries about the future and uncertainties about the potential loss of redundancy and pension benefits. In some cases a desire to 'make way' for younger men provided an additional incentive to leave B.S.C.:

Ted Philips :

" We'd got to cut down the number of men and it was a case of either they were going to have to go or some of us were going to go. Well there was a young fellow who was, he knew the job, he was thirty six, and got a couple of kids like and if I hadn't gone he would have to go[]...I didn't want a medal for it or anything like that, it had to suit me to go like and I knew he could keep his job like, it was mutual between the two of us. We swopped, I became redundant and he took my job."

Arthur Butcher:

" What put t'final kibosh on it were what they call Phoenix Two []..and pension schemes would go and redundancy money was knocked down and so forth, [] you didn't get this and you didn't get that, so blokes were more or less arguing and fighting to get made redundant before it went private then [] I could either stop there and t'place go private in about two years time when my redundancy'd go down that much and no pension and so forth, I could've been thousands and thousands of pounds out of pocket you know. I would've liked to have stopped on about another 3 years actually and retired when I were about 59 or 60, but I were glad to get out of it under t'circumstances. That's how it come about."

George Steele :

" I thought well perhaps if I'm lucky I'll retire at sixty or sixty one. So when redundancy came, I worked it out. At fifty-five with the amount of redundancy and severance pay that was being offered that to retire at sixty I wasn't going to be a right lot out of pocket,(1) I didn't plan redundancy as such, this was something that came along and I didn't take it just like that because it was there, I took it because at that time it seemed to be the thing to do."

Attitudes towards the counselling service were generally favourable, given that they only required financial advice. The redundancy benefits available to the men in both groups were of course much more generous than those available to most other groups of industrial workers who have lost their jobs in the 1980's.

In the works group the lump sum payments paid to these men varied from £8,500 (Henry Trevett) to £17,000 (Tom Hodgson).(5) The median total was £13,700 for an average working life at B.S.C. of 27.7 years. On top of the 80's/90's average all the men had a basic B.S.C. pension of 20.25 a week, plus for two men £68 per week disability pension. For the five men who only have the B.S.C. pension, two having working wives and one has reached pensionable age, so only two couples the Steeles and the Atkins will experience a short period of financial stringency (six months and one year as of 30/05/87).

Of the six homeowners in this group, four own their houses outright and the other two are 'nearly there'. For tax reasons lump sum payments were not used to pay these mortgages off. The money has been used in all cases for items of major expenditure (one caravan, two cars,

two video recorders, three deep freezes) and for improvements to the home (decorating, double glazing, kitchen improvements and in one case central heating). The remaining money has been invested, without exception, in building societies.

The benefits available to the staff group were slightly higher than those available to the works group, varying from £7,000 (Len Holroyd) to £27,000 (Terry White) averaging out at £15,300 for a mean service length of 29.5 years. All the men in this group were homeowners and five of the seven had paid off their mortgages prior to redundancy. In only one case, the Lawsons, is the post redundant/pre retirement at 60/65, phase maked by a degree of financial stringency. As with the works group, some of this money was used for items of major expenditure (including two new cars) such as purchases for the home and home improvements. Again, without exception, the remainder is invested in building societies.

One direct consequence of redundancy was to increase the numbers of pooled systems, where the wives and husbands shared bank accounts and drew out money when required. In one case, the Lawsons money was still allocated to Brenda by Henry in the form of housekeeping money. The one mixed system was that of the Adams's where Francis took care of the major bills and Mary retained responsibility for day to day domestic financial management.

Redundancy and unemployment/early retirement has not led to the pauperisation of any of these men or women. This goes someway to explaining their largely pro-active responses to the job loss of the principal breadwinner. These responses are discussed next.

IV : 10 : 2 Filling Time and Domestic Divisions of Labour after Redundancy.

The decision to take redundancy was with all 14 couples a joint decision, reflecting the 'team' nature of most of these families prior to redundancy. Most of the women felt that early retirement would be a good thing as Alice Hodgson and Vera Butcher recalled:

" We talked and talked and talked and I thought,'Well I'd rather him be at home with me, than going to work, not being happy and anything happening'[] I mean the girls are married, we're on us own so we've just two to think about, so, you know we decided we'd be better off him taking his redundancy."

" We worked it all out and I think if we hadn't come to some sort of living figure Arthur would have started working but we knew, we knew we wouldn't want sort of expensive holidays and things like that, but we could live on it and as there was no children to provide for and it was better than him working under stress which he was doing all the time."

No-one has passed through a phasic sequence of responses to redundancy. All the men have in general been able to adapt themselves to their new circumstances although this has proved to be more difficult for those in the staff group, reflecting their more expressive attitude towards work discussed earlier. Terry White's comments typified the sentiments of the men in the staff group:

" I enjoyed the work and I sometimes miss the involvement, you sometimes feel life's passing you by a bit and you're not involved in things and I don't like that. I used to like, you know, the works, something happening, when you walked through the works and everything's go, go, go, I used to enjoy that, I miss that a bit. You feel you're on the side lines a little bit and I'm not quite ready for that yet [] sometimes you feel you'd like to be more involved, if someone said, you know, 'We need a Marketing Manager, three days a week, would you like to help out?' I'd jump at it. I wouldn't like to be tied up full-time though, I value the freedom to say 'Right we're going off to somewhere today'."

Redundancy has not been followed by increased tensions between spouses. In only one case, the Philips [the least family centred prior to redundancy] has this led to some difficulties as Ann recalled:

"I think we get on alright, as I say initially when he first stopped I had to be careful how I spoke and what I did, keep myself busy... he was winding down wasn't he? I didn't want to be what you call naggy, that sort of thing, you know. You need to have time to unwind, it takes a while to do it. You come to a sudden stop and your mind is still active, isn't it, it's all wound up, so you've got to unwind easily, you don't want somebody nagging you, do you?"

For the remainder, although professing to miss workmates at B.S.C., early retirement was perceived to be a good thing.

Henry Trevett :

"I've missed one or two o' t'lads,[] especially t'lad who worked on t'next machine, well I worked on a machine and he worked on there and we used to have a joke together and a laugh together [] but I've not missed a right lot about work to be honest wi' you [] because I never enjoyed my jobs very much. [] Jobs to me were like, pure and simply mercenary, going and earning some money, you know, and the more I earned the better because it made your life at home, better, so I've not missed owt about work at all."

Ken Murphy :

"[] for a while I missed the comradeship, of meeting chaps who've got a similar outlook to yourself and chatting and putting...generally putting the world to rights but it's only very, very minor, [] I think probably you could say comradeship's the only thing that I've missed, but of course, it goes without saying that my wife and family are more important to me than the chaps that I work with, so it doesn't really worry me at all."

On the original questionnaire sent to these men 6 had put 'registered unemployed' under 'Present Circumstances' although they all now describe themselves as early retirers. The shift in self definition has resulted from the realisation that they are unlikely to work again and it provides them with an acceptable social role and identity than might a self definition of 'unemployed'. This renegotiation was not without problems as Bert Gregory recalled:

" I hadn't put down as retired simply because well I think of myself as retired but you can't really say that you're retired. In fact jokingly there's many a time on certain things that you see and put down, I do put down retired which seems a little bit ridiculous because you always think of yourself as being a young man because you don't feel any different. Obviously you look at a grey-haired old chap, and that's exactly what he is. As far as my own carry on, I consider myself retired. That's what I said when I took redundancy, I said 'Well that's me finished', I couldn't possibly think about seeing me getting a job even if I wanted one because it's been what I've said all along that there's no work for anyone over thirty-five or forty with no real skills."

Having entered this latter stage in the life courses there has been a convergence of the individual life courses of the men and women in these groups. Although traditional families in many respects, with work in and outside the home quite segregated it is clear that in the aftermath of redundancy divisions of labour within the home have been renegotiated, although the extent of this change has varied.

Typical of the works group was George Steele, whose wife Jean still works:

" Well, Jean said that I took over [L] but I don't think I have, I'll do shopping and I'll dust and hoover like. I even do the washing now...all you have to do is stick it in the washing machine, switch it on and it's done and dusted. If it's a nice day I'll put them out to dry [] one thing I won't do is the ironing that's still her job."

In contrast to life prior to redundancy, the women supported this impression, that their men were doing more work in and around the house. Alice Hodgson :

"It's amazing really when I think how he used to be...er...he's very thorough really, we take it in turns to do particular jobs, like cleaning and dusting, he'd even hang the washing out with me now, he wouldn't have been seen dead doing that a few years ago [L]."

A similar situation, with the partial exception of the Philips, existed in the Staff group. Doreen Holroyd:

" He does a lot more, he'll vacuum through, he always makes the kitchen ever so tidy and he always ticks me off for leaving stuff about. I have a laugh about that when I think what I used to say to him, it's funny how the tables have turned, but he still won't do the washing though he says he would,[] basically he vacuums through, wash up, get his own meals ready, he would do the outside windows if we didn't have a window cleaner [] he's a lot more considerate now, he's come really good, he's a lot more thoughtful. I think a lot of men could have something like that happen, when they do realise...I mean, I said to him when he first became redundant, I said 'If you're in the house all week you can do your bit', but he's really come up trumps now, he'll even do the shopping which he would never have done ten years ago [] he's getting more thoughtful around the house, especially the way it looks, he must have gone round with his eyes shut before."

Henry and Brenda Lawson [3rd interview]

Brenda: "[] he does do more, a lot more. I supposed...er...you always used to help though...when he wasn't working, except for the ironing of course [L]."

Henry: " Mmm, it's never bothered me at all that...er...like some men I know couldn't boil an egg but I've always helped when I can and I enjoy cooking and gardening and what have you, so as I'm at home a lot more it doesn't seem right to let Brenda do it all [] I don't do a lot of washing, but she'll get on with that whilst I vacuum round and sweep up outside."

Several made interesting observations about the relative affluence they had now achieved when compared to the poverty of their childhoods and early married lives. With only two couples, the Watsons' and Gregorys' having working children living at home, a further financial and emotional burden had been lifted. One consequence of this was a high degree of interaction with their children and grandchildren and offering financial support to them.

Maintaining a sense of routine was something that assumed a greater significance in the post redundant phase, in a world without work related goals and activities. What had previously been seen as leisure activities [gardening, allotment work, painting and decorating, wine and beer making, D.I.Y. etc.] now assumed a greater importance as *work* in their own right. Many of the men described such activities as 'work'. All the men professed to watching more television, listening to the radio more and reading books more.

Only Ted Phillips had been unable to adjust to this new situation, as he recalled:

" I miss the routine. I miss the discipline of having to get up and going to work and coming home. I think, I don't think I've eaten as well, you know. I've lost my appetite. I'm very sort of lethargic. It's difficult to motivate yourself. You know things have got to be done, but I'm normally an active person. I'm normally energetic and normally I get stuck into things. I've done a lot of work at our Glynn's bungalow up at Ravenfield [] It's an occupation, something to do with my time, and I've looked forward to it in many other ways, you know. It's been hard work and it's been back-breaking, but I enjoy it."

The rest however like Terry White and Arthur Butcher preferred their new life style:

" I never have enough time now, this is one of the amazing things I find. I think you slow up of course, you take a lot of time. I just wonder how on earth I used to paint my house when I was working. I suppose I just used to do it in the evening you know about ten o'clock or something and now I sit back and watch telly or something. No I don't find it a problem."

" Well, I'd say a good effect, we...er, I feel happier in meself, I'm not committed to doing anything I don't want to...er... and this of course has rubbed off on Vera because I'm happier...er...we're in a situation where we can see our sons and daughters, who are spread throughout the country, more easily and more often."

By the time of the third interviews it was clear that all the men and women in this group, with the partial exception of the Philips, had come to terms with their new situations. Given their strong sense of care of and responsibility towards their families, the men have readapted and become more involved in household duties. The wives experienced little disruption and were all, except for Ann Philips, were adamant that their husbands did do more work around the house. Their general lack of attachment to work/politics/religion outside of family life is reflected in their continuing involvement in the lives of their children and grandchildren. Redundancy in short has proved to be relatively unproblematic for the men and women in the two over 55's groups, in spite of a greater degree of attachment to work amongst the staff group. Bert Gregory , who had some difficulties in readjusting to a life without work at first did, I think, capture the mood of these couples well:

" I'm taking it easier aye. I just take things at an easy pace now than what I used to. We're enjoying life and we're happy just as we are today, we know that t'children are alright, they've grown up now and they can get on with it and we're comfortable [] we do what we like now []."

IV : 10 : 3 The Children.

When compared with the position of the children of the under 55's, the situation faced by the over 55's is relatively unproblematic. As was noted earlier, all except one of Eric Watson's sons and one of Henry Trevett's children are in employment, or married to someone in full-time employment. Significantly, there is clear evidence of upward mobility amongst the sons and daughters of the works group. It reflects a desire expressed by all the parents in this group, with the exception of the Watsons to push their children at home and at school to 'do something better'. The memories of their own childhoods played a significant role in this. Also, in contrast to their parents' generation, gender seemed to make little difference. Figure 11 (overleaf) contrasts their children's occupation with the last occupation of the male breadwinners' in this group (December1985)

Figure 11 : Comparison Of Childrens Social Mobility With Father's Occupation (Works Over 55s).

FATHER'S NAME & LAST JOB AT B.S.C	CHILDREN'S STATUS MALE	FEMALE
TERRY WHITE: CUSTOMER SERVICES MANAGER	1. INVESTMENT CONSULTANT	_

LEN MURPHY: PROJECT ENGINEER2.	1. ASSISTANT BANK 2. MANAGER B.S.C. PLANT MANAGER	-
ARTHUR BUTCHER SENIOR QUALITY CONTROL MANAGER	1. COMPANY REPRESENTATIVE	1. COMPANY REPRESENTATIVE 2. SELF-EMPLOYED
EDWARD PHILIPS SHIFT MANAGER	-	1. HOUSEWIFE (TRAINED NURSE)
FRANCIS ADAMS TRAINING INSTRUCTOR (COUNSELLOR)	1. AREA MANAGER BR. TELECOM	1. TEACHER
LEN HOLROYD PLANNING ENGINEER	-	1. PRESS AGENT 2. LECTURER
HENRY LAWSON	1. UNEMPLOYED (GRADUATE)	1. HOUSEWIFE 2. HOUSEWIFE

When compared to the works group there has only been a marginal degree of upward mobility amongst the children of the staff group, with the exception of the Lawsons, whose two daughters have not pursued careers and have an unemployed graduate son. Of a total of 14 children eleven have C.S.E.'s/'O' levels, 8 have 'A' levels or equivalent, three have University or Polytechnic degrees and one has a Ph.d. Figure 12

illustrates the children's present status (December 1985) set against their father's last occupation at B.S.C.

Figure 12 : Comparison Of Childrens Social Mobility With Father's Occupation (Staff Over 55s).

THE FATHERS		THE CHILDREN	
NAME	OCCUPATION	MALES	FEMALES
BERT GREGORY	DESEAMER	1. TECHNICIAN (B.S.C.) 2. ENGINEER	1. DIETICIAN
GEORGE STEELE	CRANE DRIVER	1. LAB. TECHNICIAN	-
DON HAMLYN	DRIVER (HGV)	1. ELECTRICAL ENGINEER	2. -
TOM HODGSON	ELECTRICIAN	1. OFFICE MANAGER	1. TEACHER
ERIC WATSON	LORRY DRIVER	1. UNEMPLOYED 2. LABOURER	-
HARRY ATKINS	GRINDER	-	1. POST GRADUATE STUDENT
HENRY TREVETT	HANDGRINDER	1. DOCTOR 2. STUDENT	1. TEACHER 2. NURSING SISTER

These tables reflect the findings of many sociologists who have analysed social mobility in Britain since the war. It is easier to move from social classes V and IV to III, but much more difficult to move from III [and IV/V] to social classes I and II [cf., Halsey, 1981; Heath ,1981] Given their recollections of the limited opportunities available to them as children and their memories of the poverty they experienced this desire to push children to achieve is unsurprising. It also, of course, reflects a weakening of class barriers and greater opportunities for working class children in the 1960's and 1970's.

This desire to encourage children, regardless of gender, to 'get on' is reflected in these comments by Len Holroyd and Freda White :

" Well, neither Doreen or I...we were both bright at school, had the opportunity, well there weren't the opportunities when we were young to get on at school so I think given her background and mine we wanted our girls to get on. I mean, I was upset at first 'cos we'd got two girls but I realised they had the ability so I wanted them to have the chance to use it. [] they had the ability and we supported them and they did well in the end."

Freda:

" That's always been important to us and he's done very well actually, better than we thought he would [] I suppose because me and Terry can remember the 1930's and had a hard time getting going as a family so we wanted to make sure that he had a good education and we helped him and encouraged him and, like I say, he's doing very well in London now."

It was only whilst analysing the interview data that I began to notice some significant inter-generational differences in terms of children's social mobility and between the four different groups. With hindsight, it is an area which I would have explored in greater detail. Nevertheless, it does I think, provide further evidence of the way in which family life served as a primary life focus for the men and women in this group. One by product of this has been a marked degree of social mobility amongst the children. Despite this, all felt some pessimism about the future for their children and grandchildren, reflected in their continuing involvement in their lives. Their position in terms of redundancy however is unproblematic, as most have 'flown the nest' and are in employment or married to someone in employment. I close this section with an extract from Mary Adams:

> "What I've hoped for, since the day they were born, was that they would be happy and loved. I don't think the other things are too good but I think you need both those things [] you need love in your life and you need to enjoy life [] I'm not bothered about them being rich and famous, I just wish them health, happiness and love. I think those are more important than money [] I think they are very capable of running their lives, they are both capable of doing the things they want if the economic situation allows it."

IV : 9 : 4 Attitudes Towards the Future.

Despite a relatively smooth transition to early retirement amongst both the men and women in the over 55's group, there was a profound sense of pessimism about the future. Most felt that Britain was becoming a more unequal and divided society characterised by rising unemployment, crime and social unrest. Particular worries were voiced by the staff men about the impact of new technology on industry and by the women in both groups about youth unemployment. Most were sceptical about the ability of any political party to halt our economic and social decline in the 1980's.

I asked all 14 couples the following question: "Are you optimistic, pessimistic or unsure about the future for this country?" The results are tabled below:

Figure 13 : Attitudes Towards The Future [Works And Staff Over 55s].

WORKS GROUP

	OPTIMISTIC	UNSURE	PESSIMISTIC
MEN	0	2	5
WOMEN	1	2	4

STAFF GROUP

MEN	1	2	4
WOMEN	0	2	5

These quotes illustrate this general sense of pessimism:

June Steele:

> "[] the future to me looks very bleak, very bad because I'm disturbed by the amount of unemployment. I really feel particularly sorry for the kids just coming out of school, because I can't see anything at all that they can look forward to. It's different to what it was in my day. I think there were periods in my days when there were unemployment and inactivity industrially, but you knew that something was just round the corner and you knew it was going to pick up. Quoite honestly it looks to me as though we're now settling for an accepted three or four million people unemployed as being the norm for the type of monetary system that is going to be with us for some time, and the thing that goes with that is the fact that quite honestly I can't see how any other parties have got an answer to the problem."

Bert Gregory:

> "[] the thing is that, with computers and robots and things coming into industry we don't need as many people. Labour intensive industries are dying out and t'capital intensive industries are getting stronger and stronger so there are fewer jobs for semi-skilled people, so far as I can see unemployment won't ever go down [] the only way I can see out of this is to bring t'pension age down so that you can release more jobs for young people. Whether this'll happen with t'present government or anyone else, I don't know."

Doreen Holroyd:

" I'm pessimistic, I mean the times have changed, I don't see how a lot of this could have been avoided...er...these all these third world countries producing stuff and we can't compete anymore. I'd like to buy English but all this foreign stuff is cheaper and is better come to think of it. I'd like to be optimistic but unless a lot of people get off their arses and do something, well there's no hope is there? I mean if I vote Labour will they do any more, each successive government seems to do the same."

June Trevett:

" Well if I were young, your age, I'd never start a family, ever, even after we got upright, because I would not have any children into this kind of situation [] I think it looks very dismal.[]if anybody in their forties who've got mortgages and children and who've been made redundant, they have no future at all. Not round here. I think it's a very depressing life for them, because they are not going to get the type of job they like or the kind of money they've been earning [] No matter whether Labour gets in or not they've got a hell of a job to put this back on their feet. This part of England anyway. I don't know what they can do to do it because I mean if you look at Attercliffe and Sheffield and Rotherham they were all full of steelworks,[] they were depressing to look at but the money was there for the people to earn, but now they're gone. [] I could never imagine all these steelworks being closed down and all these people being out of work, I never thought things like that could happen."

PART V

THE UNDER 55'S GROUPS (1)

CHAPTER 11 : LIFE PRIOR TO REDUNDANCY

V : 11 : 1 Childhood and Adolescence : Entering The Labour Market.

All of the men and women in the works group [24] were born in the United Kingdom. Of these, one was born in South Wales, one in Grimsby and one in Scotland. The remainder [21] were born in South Yorkshire of whom sixteen were born in Rotherham or Sheffield. Of the fathers of this group six worked as miners, thirteen worked in steel [of whom one also worked on the buses]; one was a train driver; two were engineers, one a vicar and one was a painter and decorator. Thirteen of twenty four of the mothers of this group worked outside the home, either part-time or full-time, largely in domestic/catering work. There were three who were single children. Mike O'Neil came from the largest family of six. The average family size was just under three [2.66].

All of the men and women except for Pat Patterson in the staff group came from working class backgrounds. Except for one man all were born in South Yorkshire. Of these, four men and five women were born in Sheffield or Rotherham. Jim Patterson and Philip Higgins were only/single children and Sheila Foster came from the largest family, eight. The average family size was just under three. Most came from areas dominated by steel/mining industry, and this is reflected in

their fathers' occupations. None of the fourteen mothers of this group worked part-time or full-time outside the home.

As Jim Patterson [Staff] recalled, mining and steel industries dominated the South Yorkshire area:

" My father was a miner. He came from Parkgate and ...most of his brothers were miners too [] for, I think, a number of years but I couldn't say how long [] then, he moved into the steelworks, where he was a dismantler and he worked there for the rest of his life actually. [] We lived in a very, you know, what you would say was a working class area and most of the neighbours were probably miners and the like, steelworkers, that sort of thing."

Although many recalled the poverty of their childhoods, none recollected their fathers actually being unemployed, although a few suffered from short time working. There was however a general feeling as with the over 55's, that the areas they grew up in were more friendly and neighbourly than today, due in part to extended families in the area, as Brian Lloyd [Works] and Phil Higgins [Staff] recalled:

" We all lived very close to each other in the same arealike...er...they were quite close because there were large families on both me mam's and dad's side and we used to see a lot of them...it were a close neighbourhood then, not like it is now round here with all these Paki's and what have you".

"[] your neighbours they were very much more involved with each other, Neighbours were much closer, you know, you had a much more,

everybody knew what was going on with everybody else sort of thing, which you don't get in this type of...area [] they were much closer, they did know everything that went off with each other [] different, neighbours sitting on your doorstep and having a cup of tea together over t'wall, which as I say you don't get in this type of neighbourhood."

Predictably, divisions of labour in the home were still based on traditional lines in all families except for Phil Higgins who was raised by his mother alone. Sheila Baldwin [works]:

"[] she brought the children up. She fed us and clothed us and made sure t'house were tidy. She used to get up with us [] early in the morning to give us a breakfast [] she did the lot actually, 'cos at that time that were her job as such [] he [her father] did assist at times, but he never did a lot."

Ann Burgess [Staff]:

" My dad used to help occasionally like at weekends but really [] me mam did it all, washing, cleaning, shopping, the lot actually until I got older then I used to have to help [] men didn't in them days, it were a woman's job to look after t'house and t'kids."

The men and women in both groups attended local state primary and secondary schools. In the works group, none passed the 11 plus. Ten of the older men and women left school at 14, the remainder leaving at 15 and 16 . Only Peter and Judith White left school with a small number of 'O' levels/C.S.E.'s. In the staff group, Phil Higgins and

Jim Patterson passed the 11 plus. Both went to Mexborough Grammar School and Rotherham College. Despite the post-war expansion in educational opportunities, there appears to have been little encouragement from the parents of either group to push their children at school, as Peter White [Works] recalled:

> " I enjoyed parts of school but it could have been much better I think [] the majority of people left at 15 but I took my C.S.E.'s at 16, but I could have done a lot better [] it wasn't a question of wanting to do something, I wasn't qualified to go onto Poly or University and I think me parents wanted me to leave and get a job to be honest [] me dad wanted me to go and work in the steelworks, so I went in partly because of me dad and partly 'cos me mates went in...looking back it's one of the worst mistakes I made."

and by Gordon and June Smith [Works] [Third Interview]:

> June: " At that time you either did what your dad did or what your family influenced.."
>
> I/Gordon: "...expected..."
>
> I/June:..." you to do, I don't think many people branched out and did different things in them days you just expected that your dad would help you find a job, all t'male side of his family worked in t'pit..."
>
> I/Gordon: " I were t'only one didn't go down 'cos me dad wouldn't let me, me grandad had worked at Spears for 36 years, I were able to get a job there, well as an apprentice at first."

Only one woman, Pat Patterson [Staff], professed to have some sort of career in mind, nursing. This was in spite of opposition from her parents. For the remainder, work was seen as a temporary interlude, between leaving school and getting married. Sheila Baldwin:

" Well I did enjoy school but it were just assumed that you left at 15, where I came from women didn't have careers as such. I think most women thought like that. They'd get married and have children[]like work for a while, but then you'd get married and have children."

Susan Thompson [Staff]:

" It weren't really the done thing when I were a teenager, it's different now of course...er...I liked my work but I knew I wanted a family straightaway, so I always thought of my job as temporary, until the right man came along [L] but I do hope to have a job later on."

The women in both groups went to work in the local labour market, mainly into service industries [shop assistants, secretaries etc.]. even at this early stage most felt that marriage, and raising children to be the principal goals in their lives. This divide was highlighted by many accounts of how the men and women saw their respective roles in life as this extract from the interview with Len Baldwin illustrates:

"[] we didn't look on them as equals as such but then we didn't look at them as slaves, you know, not like my father did with my mother, in that generation,[] I mean, at that time, they were asserting their strength as well, they gave as much back as we gave

them.[] they knew they wouldn't have children for two or three years, wife were gonna work so that they could buy the house, that were t'difference, very few of us went into rented accommodation, nearly everybody bought the house, which is different again from my dad's generation. [] very few of us, in my group anyway, had unplanned families. They were all planned, in two or three years they'd start having kids, that kind of thing, that's the way it basically worked out."

Such assumptions were never questioned at this time by the men or the women. When I asked Janet Higgins : "And then what was your next job?" she replied, quite simply:

" That was it, then I got married you see."

V : 11 : 2 Work and Divisions of Labour Prior to Redundancy.

This section examines divisions of labour within the households of these families prior to redundancy. This should be seen as the first of three linked stages, the pre-redundant, redundant and post redundant stages of the life courses of these men and women. In general terms divisions of labour within the home were more egalitarian, than those of their parents generation and marginally more so amongst the staff group. There is a clear continuum, in both groups, between families with quasi-egalitarian domestic arrangements and those families with inegalitarian domestic arrangements. At one extreme were the Higgins and Baldwins.

Len Baldwin:

" Well we shared the jobs really, shared everything, shared just about everything, any jobs. I'd hoover up, I'd wash, do t'dinner, I still do it t'dinner, I enjoy cooking, I've [] nearly always done t'dinner anyway, and we both helped each other bringing kids up. it's been a partnership kind of thing, really there isn't a strict rota, one day you'd do t'walls, next day I'll clean t'carpets, that kind of thing, it's just whoever's got the time to do it, does it."

In these families, such an arrangement did not reflect non-patriarchal views about the roles of men and women in life, as this extract from Janet Higgins reveals:

" I did always hope that one day I would get married and have children, you know, I didn't see myself as wanting a career as such,[] I did really fancy t' idea of marriage, [] I were really quite happy to be at home,[] I really enjoy sort of being a housewife and a mum when Sara came along, it never bothered me, Phil was solely in charge of being the breadwinner. [] he's always, right from t'very beginning of us marriage, helped with meals and when Sara came along he took an active part in bringing her up,[] he took his turn at feeding and everything because he's never had any other contact really with children, so it were all quite new to him really. He seemed to enjoy it anyway at t'time, []...well, we shared everthing really, you know, if I was a bit tired he'd hoover up for me, he were never, he didn't just say to me 'Oh well that's your thing, you do that', you know, we shared it all.

In fact from what I learned from me friends, he's a bit unusual,today still, he's still the same, he still helps me out just as much, you know I've got some friends whose husbands believe it is just solely the woman's job. [] I wouldn't say it were sort of normal, I mean most of my friends would say to me 'You're lucky because he does what he does, but it's just something that we have, we share, you know I'll take my turn at washing t'car and take my turn at t'garden and it just seems natural to us, you know, it wouldn't seem normal any other way."

It should be stressed that this family was untypical. In a more intermediate position were the Whites, Hills and O'Neils [works] and the Fosters and Burgess's [staff] Andrew and Sheila Foster [3rd interview]:

Sheila: "Yes, I was [in charge of the house] but not fully...he did do a lot of work looking after the kids and even doing the cooking. I mean even now he'll do the pots automatic like when he comes in from work,I don't have to ask him [] he's never done the ironing or hung the washing out, but I wouldn't ask him because I do it better than him. I'd rather he watched the children whilst I did it my way [] it were natural. I'd always helped at home as a child so it weren't a struggle or anything."

Andrew: " As I said most of my uncles and my grandad thought that men went down the pit and women looked after the house and kids, it wasn't a super modern upbringing [L]...but I've always helped with the kids and such."

Ann Burgess [staff]:

" With him being on shifts...for instance, if he was on days he would come home and cook t'tea, if he was on afternoons I would come home and do everything, if he was working overtime I would do it, [] I used to do all t'washing and he used to knick-knack with t'house but I liked to go over the house at weekend although he used to dust and tidy, he were better at it than me really [L]."

The least egalitarian families, in the period prior to redundancy were the Greens, Bracewells, Nicholsons and Lloyds [works] and the Hamiltons and Pattersons [staff]. Brenda Nicholson:

" Well, I've always done it all really, when we first got married and after we'd had t'kids...er...he's done a bit of decorating but he wouldn't have been seen dead washing or cleaning or owt like that [] he were never in to do a lot, if he weren't working he were always out with his mates."

As with the other three groups in the interview sample, it was the arrival of children which marked the real divergence of the respective life courses of men and women, with the men becoming the main breadwinners and the women returning to the home as housewife and domestic manager. Even in the more close knit and egalitarian families this was taken for granted. Gordon and June Smith [Joint Interview]:

June:" I don't know about Gordon, but I would never have gone out to work with a young child even though we didn't have much money"

I/Gordon: "You must remember that it were expected at that time, that the man went out to work and the woman stayed at home then.."

As it was in the intermediate families, as Eunice O'Neil observed:

> " In our age bracket I think it was quite accepted that you automatically got married, you automatically had children, and you did it, you were there, you did the washing, the cooking, the childminding and everything else and the husband went to work, came home, sat down and that was it.[] you automatically do it, you've got the children to look after, and the children are there but when it comes to generally looking after them I don't think I did find it hard[] at odd times I've had my mother living with us, Michael would automatically presume that we'd do it. That 'em...'There's women there, let women get on with it' you know and t'women did it and got on with it, an automatic thing [] women get on with it and that's it."

but,as she noted later:

> " I've changed my view since, but that was quite the done thing, to automatically have children and you look after them, and that you put them to bed and everything had to revolve round father, that you had to be quiet because dad was sleeping or, we had to be in to get dad's dinner. Everything had to revolve round him coming in from work, whatever, shift, you know. Whereas now, today's views have altered a lot."

Amongst the older couples,the Mitchells , Atkins, Parkers, and Smiths, where the wives did go back out to work in the 1970's there were some renegotiations to divisions of labour in the home, although the extent of this varied, from a marked shift amongst the Smiths and

Parkers to a minimal shift with the O'Neils and Pattersons . Again, this was only 'allowed' by men if it did not interfere with their primary responsibilities. There was a widespread feeling that women should not let this work interfere with childcare. These views were shared by the women. Eunice O'Neil :

> " I suppose your answers have got to be coloured by real experience, I think if you had a happy childhood, you know, a normal childhood with mum and dad thinking a lot about you and about each other...I suppose that's more ideal thing for security and one thing and another. I'm wondering if all these divorces and women who are trying to manage or they can manage quite well on their own, I'm wondering you know how these children are going to turn out and I suppose that the best way of securing that is by letting the men have a job".

and Sue Mitchell:

> " I'll definitely go back to nursing some time, when the children are older, but whilst they're young I think I should be here all the time to take care of them, it wouldn't be right...like some mothers do...to leave them with a minder or something."

One significant shift from their parents' generation, was that some of the men felt that their wives *needed* to work, so long as it did not interfere with what were perceived to be their primary responsibilities, Mike Mitchell:

> " Well I'd like to be the one who gets the cash to support us. I've always been like that. I mean she's interested in

nursing...er...I don't want her to work just because we need a new washer or something [] I'd like her to go out to work when the kids are older mainly for her sake...so that she can develop some other interests."

Gordon Smith:

" I know a lot of men who wouldn't agree but I think women should be allowed to work...er...for their own bit of independence if you like [] I think it's alright if t'kids are old enough like and I never tried to stop June, so yeah, in general I think it's alright but not if it harms the children."

Such attitudes were shared by all the women in both groups. Ellen Hamilton who spent sixteen years working at B.S.C. part-time and full-time, observed [Third Interview]:

Ellen: "[] my job was always secondary wasn't it?"

Reg:" Mmm."

Ellen: "...I always enjoyed work but Reg was always the main earner and that's how it should be. I was glad to go out to work but only when the children were old enough [] I'm not one who thinks that women should stay in the home all the time, but young children should have their mother there whilst they are young."

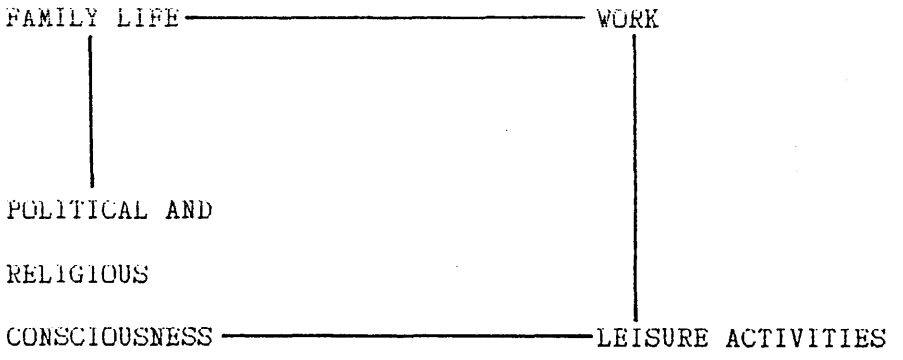
and by Janet Higgins [3rd interview]:

" When my children were small [] I did think at that time that a woman's place should be in the home...I mean I did think that a woman should be happy being a housewife and having a family [] we

realised then that it were better to be a family unit than to be two workers...especially when the two girls are both at school, but I still don't think that work should interfere with a woman's responsibility in the home...er...I think a lot of families suffer when both work [] I still believe that the man should be the breadwinner, even today I believe that...I think women should stay at home."

Although all these marriages were based on deeply rooted and largely unquestioned assumptions about the roles men and women should lead in life there were significant differences between these families in domestic divisions of labour. In the quasi-egalitarian families men, outside of work hours, were very involved in child care and most aspects of domestic work. In the inegalitarian families, domestic divisions of labour have changed very little from that of their parents' generation. Given the overall economic control of men over the bulk of the domestic income, none of these families could be described as truly egalitarian. Amongst certain families [eg the Higgins, Smiths and Baldwins] there was a much greater awareness of women's housework as *work* in its own right, and a greater involvement in and enjoyment of life and work in the home in leisure time.

There is a much greater spread in the types of family arrangements in the two under 55's groups when compared with the over 55's. This diversity is further highlighted when we analyse the relationships between:



and the 19 families. This forms the subject matter of Sections V : 11 : 3 and 4.

V : 11 : 3 The Influence of Men's Work on Domestic Life and Leisure Activities.

The Works Group.

All these men found work in the local steel industry. Four worked in private steel companies prior to nationalisation of whom two, Mike O'Neil and Ron Parker worked for more than ten years prior to nationalisation. All started with a period of training or an apprenticeship [See Appendices 12 : 1 and 13 : 1]. Jobs were of course much easier to find at this time [late 1950's - early 1970's] Overall, there was a highly instrumental attitude to work amongst these men. The reasons most often given for liking work were "the money" and "workmates". The reasons most often given for disliking work were "the job", "shift work"; "working conditions" and "the money." Only one man, Ron Parker, said he derived intrinsic satisfaction from his work, as a

crane driver. As with the other groups, there is no typical account of training and working in this group but Len Baldwin's account covers much of the ground: his training; the different jobs he did; the effects of nationalisation; his reasons for working; the impact of new technology in his work and the strains of working at B.S.C.:

" It were a production apprenticeship, working in t'mills or t'steel plants or finishing banks or whatever. You were a production apprentice for two years until you were seventeen, but at sixteen, you went on to shifts, you went into various departments and had various skills, various jobs [] you had to learn how to, proper way, correct, safe way to work, sling billets, hang billets on cranes, how to drive a crane correctly, safely, how to use an oxy-acetylene cutter. A lot of it was to do with safety. The first twelve months you used to go to college once a day and then once a day to what they called the Training Centre where we'd learn all about basics of metallurgy, how iron's formed and how they form from iron - steel, and all that kind of thing, how rolling affects molecular structure of steel, that kind of thing. After twelve months you'd got, they'd pick a certain amount of lads to go on craft apprenticeships and the rest would go on to production apprentice [] Nobody ever went for an interview, you just, after about ten months you'd get a form, you had to put whether you wanted to be a production apprentice or a craft apprentice, everybody put a craft apprentic, so after that there were no interviews, no examinations or anything. You just used to get, you're in Primary Mill, or you're going to be an electrician,

that kind of thing. You might not be interested in being an electrician but that's what you're gonna be.

[] my first permanent position, were in what they called the open hearth furnaces making steel. I enjoyed that, it were a smashing job that, [] I were there for eighteen months 'til I was eighteen, just short of eighteen months, something like that. They were t'happiest years of my working life. Everybody got on with each other, no back biting and that, everybody had to work as a team, otherwise there were no bonus at t'end of t'day, that kind of thing[] when I first went on shifts on t'open hearth, everybody had to work together because it was dangerous working with molten steel. Any larking about, anybody not pulling his weight, there could be a serious accident, so you got more responsible people there [] they were a great bunch of fellas and lads, mixed with all age groups from people just coming...entering retirement to lads like me who were just starting work. There were no nastiness, no back biting, just friendly rivalry.That changed when I went into newer steelworks, changed dramatically that [] in that mill they had a promotion scheme, where you started as a painter/stamper, then you'd move up and next move up then were on to what they used to call cooling beds, [] from there you could have a choice, you'd got [] four promotion lines: crane driving; billet mill and bloom mill; all under t'same roof but all different sections.

From painting/stamping, I went on to t'cooling beds, then from t'cooling beds I went on to billet transfer which were transferring billets from roller gear, bringing them down to t'cooling beds so that as they cool we'd take 'em off and put 'em in stacks [] from

there I went on to inline stamp, which stamped them, as they were coming out of rolls a shear used to come down, automatic shear, and cut 'em into various lengths, whatever t'computer asked for, and all I'd do is stamp 'em as they're coming down,[] there was some redundancies after that, that were it, so we all got dropped back down again and I went to painting and stamping [] we'd just got married so we went from decent money back down to less money again, and it started t'process all over again, [] I'd got a choice between going on to crane drivers like, or on to furnace bay like. I didn't like work on t'furnace bay, it was dirty, conditions were awful, got sulphur in my' air all t'time, and phosphorus and all that kind of rubbish. So, for eighteen month I were on t'furnaces then I finished up in 1975 on my last job at B.S.C. on bloom shears which were just, which were take any, take discard off either end of bloom when it came down to go into billet [] any rubbish, we'd take that out as well, and very occasionally they'd roll blooms which we'd have to chop up to various lengths. I was there eight years, eight most boring years of my life.

I then asked him:

Q." Can you tell me a little bit about your attitudes to work at that time? I mean, what was it about work that made you do it?"

A." Money."

Q." That was the only reason?"

A." Yea."

The generally negative views about the actual work Len did were echoed by all the men in this group with the exception of Ron Parker who said that he generally enjoyed his work as a Crane Driver. In only two cases [The Nicholsons and the Lloyds] and a possible third case, the Bracewells, did the women feel that their husbands did not let the strains of dirty, monotonous work and anti-social hours interfere with domestic life, as David and Glennis Sullivan recalled:

Glennis: "[] I don't think so...I know he was very tired when he was doing a lot of overtime...weren't you?"

David: " Yes I did...but once work were finished that were it for me...I mean these three have been the most important thing in my life so I weren't going to bring it home in that sense.."

Glennis: " Mm, I've been lucky I think..."

David : " You reckon! [L]"

Glennis : " Yes I have, he's pulling your leg Nick [L] I mean when you look at other marriages he's been great really."

The differences in attitudes towards homelife amongst the men are mirrored in the leisure activities of this group. In seven families, the Franklins, Sullivans, Baldwins, O'Neils, Smiths, Pipers and Whites leisure activities with young children were largely shared. In three families, the Parkers, Bracewells and Greens, Leisure was partially shared. The remaining families, the Nicholsons and Lloyds experienced almost entirely separate leisure activities from early in their marriages. The extracts below illustrate these differences: Eunice O'Neil:

"[] I haven't been one for going out I should say [] our social life was seeing friends, having a cup of coffee, a natter and home. I've never been one for going out drinking, for meals, dancing and that. I suppose that goes back to my upbringing, that we were never allowed to do it. On odd times we'd go to the pictures,[] we used to get on a train and go to Bridlington for an evening on Saturday night, they used to run evening excursions and that was a treat, a real highlight [] I think basically it was just with friends, either at their house or our house. When Tracey and Gail were small we had a motor bike and side-car and we used to go out a lot then as a family, but Michael would come in from work or off nights and say 'Come on we'll go to Cleethorpes, or we'll go out to the moors', or something like that. And to me I was quite happy with that."

Ron Parker (partially shared leisure):

"[] we always went to the live theatre on Saturday night []. We used to go to t'same Regent, as it was then at that time, six till eight. After that we'd meet some friends down in t'Trades Club,[] I used to enjoy that. We took up learning, or being taught, old time dancing, er, we've always socialised as such, specially in these latter years, in different areas of the community, we've enjoyed our social life, I mean I used to play football quite a lot, I had last game when I were 42. I had gone to watch but I were roped in to play, but I enjoyed it, I've always enjoyed games as such, talking about games, board games, with different people[] such as dominoes, darts, table tennis, but Dot never took any of

them up, she used to...[] do her own thing, I mean, that were it, it were her own choice, we never stood in each other's way, always been either I'd go and watch football, I think she's only ever been with me once to watch that, and she couldn't get a seat! [L]"

Brenda Nicholson [separate leisure]:

" Shared leisure?...er...no, not really, he were generally off with his workmates most of the time or he'd take the kids to watch the football, I were more into knitting or visiting me mam and dad or old time dancing, I'd go out with some girls I know but I suppose it's like everything else, we've always led us own lives like."

The interview data indicates clear divisions, in terms of intra- and extra-familial orientations, of the families in this group; a clear continuum from the Franklins and Baldwins through to the Nicholsons and Lloyds. The least egalitarian families accorded very closely with feminist accounts of patriarchal domination in modern family life. The most egalitarian families do not fit so easily into such an account. The consequences of this diversity of family become much clearer in the 'post redundant' section.

The Staff Group.

With the exception of Ann Burgess and Ellen Hamilton, whose work was considered to be 'secondary' to their husbands' careers, the remaining men [five] were all occupationally upwardly mobile . Overall there was an expressive attitude to work, by both the men and women,

although the influence of this on attitudes to family life and leisure activities varied as it did with the works group.

The degree of upward mobility within this group is illustrated below:

Figure 14 : Occupational Upward Mobility [Staff Under 55s].

(1) JOHN THOMPSON	13 **PROJECT ENGINEER**	
[Miner]		
(2) MIKE MITCHELL	[5] App. Engineer	16 **CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER**
[Steelworker]		
(3) ANN BURGESS	5 **CLERK**	
[Miner]		
(4) ANDREW FOSTER	[2] NCB Clerical Officer;	
[Army Corporal]	[4] Assistant Area Manager NCB;	
	[1] Securicor/Cinema Manager;	
	2 Shifts Clerk/Despatch Foreman	
	3.5 **DESPATCH FOREMAN**	
(5) ELLEN HAMILTON	[4] Supplies Clerk, Flather Bright [F/T]	
[Miner]	6 Supplies Assistant (P/T)	
	6 **SUPPLIES ASSISTANT**[F/T]	
[REG HAMILTON*	2 Pirometer Attendant; 4 Insert Mechanic;	
[Miner]	2 Foreman; 3 Assistant Section Manager;	
	12 **SECTION MANAGER** 1 Counsellor]	

[*Included because he worked at B.S.C.]

(6) JIM PATTERSON	3 Lab. Technician; 4 Shift Chemist;	
[steelworker]	10 **METALLURGICAL CHEMIST**	
(7) PHILIP HIGGINS	2 Lab. Trainee; 4 Quality Control Chemist;	
[STEELWORKER]	13 **PRODUCTION FOREMAN**	

[Key : As Figure 8]

Why these men succeeded in moving 'up' the B.S.C. occupational hierarchy is again, difficult to explain, with the exception of Jim Patterson, who obtained a degree in chemistry. All these men had to work their way up with a combination of work, in-house training and night school. They all described themselves as "bright" at school and all felt motivated to 'get on' in life, although none could explain why they felt so achievement motivated : John and Susan Thompson made these observations [Joint Interview]:

> John: " Well I suppose looking back, although I wouldn't have said so then, I just wanted to get on in life. I mean as a teenager I could see opportunities opening up which had never existed before, given hard work and application. It's probably hard for someone of your generation to understand but it was really hard graft for a lot of years."
>
> Susan: "...mmm...at one time we never used to see him what with shift work, overtime and nightschool but we put up with it because we wanted to better ourselves.."
>
> I/Mike: " yeah...er...I can't say 'why' exactly, my dad never encouraged me, he just wanted me to join him as an electrician, but I wasn't interested, I just wanted to get on that's all."

This desire to 'get on' was commonly expressed. In the 1950's and 1960's, with a buoyant steel industry, new opportunities existed at all levels, for the post-war generation of young men. There is, once again, no typical 'career' account amongst these men, but Philip Higgins' account covers most of the relevant ground: the move from school to work, the training he underwent, the impact of

nationalisation, the effects of new technology and the career choices he made whilst working at B.S.C.:

"I started working on the Monday after I left school on the Friday. [] at the Parkgate Iron and Steel Company, as a laboratory trainee, because [] chemistry had always been my best subject at school, and that's what I wanted to get into.[] The training involved day release, [] because I'd not got my G.C.E.'s in maths etc. I couldn't go straight on the ONC/HNC course so I had to go on the City and Guild's Course, which was not strictly what I was doing at B.S.C. but it was the closest thing to it. The lab. work involved chemical testing of steels from the furnaces, slag, ores, irons, it was shift work almost straight away [] there was an internal structure in the laboratory, you worked in a team of maybe about five of yer and you slowly worked your way up.

After about three years the laboratories started introducing the automatic spectrographs which did away with the wet chemical analysis that I used to enjoy doing. [] Wet chemical analysis is finding out the chemical analysis of steels, by reducing by acids and by a various method of chemical processes, yer know arriving at a result, but automatic spectrographs, they did away with all that, from being a chemist you went down to being more or less a sample preparer, which just involved grinding and polishing a steel sample straight from the furnace popping it onto a machine and watching the answer type out. Which was very boring, yer know it held very little interest at all. I stuck it out for I think it were a year or so and then I moved into the Quality Control Section, which was nearer to what I was doing at the tech.[]

The first department I went into was in the Primary Mill, it involved observation of rolling processes, making sure that quality control procedures were adhered to throughout the mill, taking samples, just general work like that, an as I say it was nearer to my, to what I was doing at the tech as well. I moved up pretty quickly actually, within two years I was the senior quality controller on the Aldwarke Finishing Banks, so at the age of twenty-one I got a senior position there. The job on the finishing banks had more responsibility, you was responsible for all the quality decisions on a shift basis, yer had inspectors working under yer and you had assistants, quality control assistants working under yer, and yer were responsible for everything that went out of the door[]

I moved sideways after four years on the Finishing Banks, to the same position but in the steelmaking sections [] I think that lasted between four and five years again and then in the middle 1970's, '76, they were building Thrybergh Bar Mill which was the pearl of the industry at the time, so it was logical for me to have a go at there, so I got the same job at Thrybergh Bar Mill when it opened, yer know the prestige, the opening ceremony and the meeting of Princess Anne. I was at Thrybergh for three, three and a half years, doing the same sort of thing but on the bar rolling, [] and in 1979 I went back over onto the Aldwarke Finishing Banks as a shift Foreman."

This was Philip's last job at B.S.C. before his redundancy in 1983. Although in white collar professions at B.S.C., they all felt a sense of 'us' and 'them' at work. The older men also commented that nationalisation had made no difference to working practices or to relationships between the management and work force, which remained as parochial as they had been before 1968. All felt that B.S.C. was, in the 1970's, an inefficient and overmanned organisation, from the top to the bottom.

Despite a more expressive attitude towards the work they did , only two men [Jim Patterson and Reg Hamilton] derived as much satisfaction from their work as they did from life at home. For the remainder, work was seen to provide resources and opportunities to pursue other desirable activities quite unrelated to formal paid employment. Most of the men, in short, did not bring their work home with them. Philip and Janet Higgins [Joint Interview]:

> Phil: " As I've already told you Nick, the most important thing in my life is my family so when it came to the end of a shift that were it for me, switch off and go home..."
>
> I/Janet: "...er...I think working shifts did impose some tensions, didn't it, you used to get a bit ratty on nights, didn't you?."
>
> Phil : " Yes I did a bit but it never got really bad like some couples we know...er...I think aside from nights I used to keep the two separate in the sense that I didn't bring my problems home."

In the pre-redundant phase two couples, The Pattersons and the Hamiltons had separate leisure pursuits. The remainder enjoyed largely shared leisure activities. The most egalitarian couple, the Higgins',

spent virtually all their spare time together with their children, as Janet recalled:

> "[] we've always really done things together,[] as I say, apart from him going out to play squash, we tend to spend summer evenings in t'garden, you know, it's just that sort of thing what we tend to stay together[]...we don't do anything else, you know, as I say any spare time we have we just...we always think that children are only young once and that instead of spending time apart, we'd rather spend it with 'em because they grow up awfully fast and grow away from you and we feel we've got enough time later on to do more things if we want to, as they get older, you know,[] apart from that...we go swimming occasionally, well they swim and I stand at t'side. [] if we get t'opportunity we like to go out walking, again though as a family, we don't sort of do anything individually."

In a more intermediate position were the Fosters, as Andrew recalled:

> " I suppose with having Diana from square one it's always been limited. We go walking a lot with the kids, Sheila's never done a lot. We're very much home birds really...er...I used to go to the pub but that's come to an end, any spare cash I used on the house. We don't drink a lot, Sheila used to go to keep fit once a week and if I could get a baby sitter I'd go down to the local for a couple of pints. That's it really."

Even the Mitchells and Thompsons, traditional families in every other sense, shared their leisure. Susan Thompson:

" We do tend to kind of stick together. Go out socially you know, dancing and well we used to go to the clubs and things like that like I suppose the youngsters do today, they go to the clubs and discos but we used to go to working men's clubs because there was always an artiste on. We went to, you know, out socially with people for dinners and dances, it's always been the two of us though [] occasionally I've gone out, but only because probably somebody's got married at work or something like that, you know hen parties or something like that, but that's the only time."

At the other extreme were the Hamiltons and Pattersons. Reg and Ellen Hamilton [Joint Interview]:

Reg: " I didn't spend a lot of time at home, I used to play football in the winter and cricket in the summer and Ellen had keep fit classes and such like[]I used to see the chaps from work quite regularly, well the ones interested in sport, we've never really shared our leisure but we were happy with that."

Ellen: " Yes, it's not that we didn't get on, we just had different interests, I can't stand sport like football and that [L] so I was never interested."

Again there are divisions, between those families who shared both their leisure time and, to varying degrees, work in the home outside of work hours and those who did not. The Hamiltons and the Pattersons' domestic division of labour accords very closely with the images we have of such traditional set ups, with the men having work/extra familial identities. The other five families fit only awkwardly into

such a schema, where the men and women shared both their leisure time and where the men were involved in, and derived some satisfaction from "women's" work. The implications of these variations in family life becomes clear in the section on life after redundancy [V : 12].

V : 11 : 4 The Influence of Political and Religious Consciousness on Family Life.

Amongst both the men and women in the works group there is a much greater sense of working class consciousness, when compared to the other three groups. All expressed some degree of identification with the Labour Party and, amongst the men, a greater sense of 'us and them' at work. This is reflected in an only marginal drift to the political centre over the last seven years. Despite this, only three men, Ron Parker, Mike O'Neil and Len Baldwin were actively involved in Trade Union work and only Ron has ever been a member of the Labour Party. Once again, 'politics' was seen as something 'out there' for the most part, and involvement in politics restricted to a vote every few years. Support, in general terms, has been for the right wing of the Labour Party.

The voting intentions of this group broke down as follows:

Figure 15 : Voting Patterns Of The Works Group [Under 55s].

		1979	1983	NEXT	LOCAL	TOTALS
MEN:	LABOUR	12	12	10	9	43
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	0	2	3	5
	CONSERVATIVE	0	0	0	0	0
	NO VOTE	0	0	0	0	0
WOMEN:	LABOUR	10	10	8	8	34
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	2	2	4	4	12
	CONSERVATIVE	0	0	0	0	0
	NO VOTE	0	0	0	0	0

All expressed a degree of cynicism about the political process and all felt that the Conservatives had done very little for them since 1979. Ron Parker, talking about Margaret Thatcher:

" I think she's sold this country down the river and she's started getting North Sea Oil revenue in at two thousand million which this country has never had before, [] we haven't got no full-time apprentice training schemes at all in this country for engineers, it'll come, we shall want engineers sometime or other, I mean bridges aren't going to stand for ever and ever amen. A sewage system collapsing, all them could've been done by virtue of expanding labour at that time,[] I'm not saying there weren't unemployment when they did take over, there were, about a million and a quarter, but look at it today [] I think the biggest thing

that she's ever done wrong to this country is split us, the north and the south. There's no doubt in my mind whatsoever [] it's getting worse and worse, there's no doubt about that, I mean when you can go on holiday and sit and listen and one man in Poole Dorset, this, that and t'other has got two jobs or even three jobs and up here there's blokes haven't even got one."

In spite of this, many felt that the Labour Party had its work cut out to change our economic and social decline, Mike O'Neil:

" I've been Labour all me life like, but the present policies and what they talk about, you can't spend your way out of anything, the money has got to come from somewhere. It's alright saying 'Well we'll do this, that and t'other', it dont work. I mean it were proved last time, I mean Ted Heath tried it didn't he, and it just flopped on him. You've got to work for what you get, you don't get owt for nowt, and I think it's time a few people realised this like"

The greater sense of empathy with the Labour Party was not reflected in political activity or greater militancy at the work place. There was, however, a strong sense of 'us and them', Brian Lloyd:

" Oh aye, there were a lot o' that sort of thing [] it might just be my personal view but they had their own car parks, toilets, canteens where we weren't allowed but they could come into ours. They'd got all the perks, but no-one ever rebelled against it, they were like sheep, British steelworkers...they just accepted it all right until the end."

All the men, even those of 'moderate' political persuasions, viewed their union, at best, as impotent and parochial. Len Baldwin, one of the more radical men in this group:

" They were rubbish, as a union. All that mattered, was getting their donations every week, that's all they're bothered about, they couldn't care a toss about us [] it was so right wing, it ought to be conservative. The national leadership, it were an undemocratic union, they'd never take the views of the people on the shop floor into perspective anytime, they just wouldn't listen to us. On shop floor level, branch secretary, when I first joined the union, he was...he mirrored the National Executive, very right wing, do anything that the management told him, anything [] if they'd have had an Arthur Scargill in charge they wouldn't have pushed us about and there wouldn't be 30,000 Sheffield steelworkers on t'dole."

The women in this group were marginally more conservative in their political outlook. None, due in the main to their domestic responsibilities, have been involved in Trade Unions or local political activities, Susan Bracewell:

" Me mam and dad have always voted labour so I think it's sort of bred into you what you vote. I've always voted Labour even though I'm not into politics that much, well I couldn't vote for anybody else with Chris in the house, he'd kill me [L]...er...but seriously, anyone can see the mess that woman's put us in."

Despite general support for democratic socialism/right wing Labour Party policies, the women too voiced concerns about Labour's policies and several voiced fears about 'extremists', Eunice O'Neil:

" Labour to me is too much Union and to me it's the Unions that have ruined the country. They've had too much power, there's been too many little men up there saying you strike and you've struck. Whether you wanted to or not. I mean we've had many an argument over it, because to me the Unions have had too much power and I think [] that is what has done a lot of damage with Labour. I think if the Labour Party can get these militants out I'd probably vote for them now 'cos I think Kinnock's done a good job there, but I wouldn't like to see things like they were in the 1970's with the Unions."

The political beliefs of the men and women in the staff group are more complex and contradictory than those of the other three groups. There has been a shift from a centre/left to centre amongst the men and from both a centre/left and centre/right position amongst the women. None have been involved in Trade Union activities, with S.I.M.A. [Steel Industry Management Association] or I.S.T.C.'s or have actively campaigned for or been a member of a political party. Their past and future voting intentions were as follows [over]:

Figure 16 : Voting Patterns Of The Staff Group (Under 552).

		1979	1983	NEXT	LOCAL	TOTALS
MEN:	CONSERVATIVE	0	0	1	2	3
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	1	3	4	4	12
	LABOUR	5	3	2	1	11
	NO VOTE	1	1	0	0	2
WOMEN:	CONSERVATIVE	3	2	0	2	7
	LIBERAL/ALLIANCE	0	3	5	5	13
	LABOUR	3	1	1	0	5
	NO VOTE	1	1	1	0	3

As with the other three groups, even those who described themselves as Labour supporters, took pains to distance themselves from 'extremism' in the party and all were critical of aspects of Labour's economic and social programmes. John Thompson:

" I suppose I've always been brought up to be a strong Labour and union man. I've always voted Labour. I mean what they've done locally has always been better than areas controlled by the Conservatives where my relatives lived [] union wise I'm not so happy...it's gone past protection and getting a living wage, it's too extreme. I hated the pose or the stand of, 'I'm a hard union man' and the ridiculous claims they used to make [] I don't like extremes...it comes back to Arthur Scargill, I mean like several years ago he was doing great things for the miners and the working class, he was the man to follow, but he's completely ruined that

now. You don't expect something for nothing these days. I mean why should a bloke who flogs his guts out running a business be nationalised?...so long as it's not pure exploitation."

and Reg Hamilton:

" I suppose initially I was influenced by my parents, you always are I suppose, you don't have any objectives of your own so you get your parents'. And my father was initially pro-labour then he went against them, decided they were too easy going and went a bit Conservative really. I suppose I was a little bit Conservative especially at the time say when the Heath Government came in the 1970's. I wasn't tremendously...never been really tremendously interested in it, I'm not really fond of the present idea of Conservatism so I suppose now I'm more like, the nearest thing to a Social Democrat without actually being an active member of the S.D.P as such, or any other party for that matter. So very middle of the road [] I think that both the other sides have gone to the opposite extremes really, although the signs are Labour are moderating a little bit now."

The women were marginally more conservative than the men, but again, there was a considerable degree of vacillation in their political beliefs. Eunice O'Neill :

" Well, living in Hull as I did before and living in the country, everybody round about tended to vote Conservative as my parents did, [] and you tend to think the way your parents do to a large extent and I was quite shaken how solid, how everybody was so

solidly Labour when I came to Rotherham,[] it used to be said of Rotherham that if a pig put up for Labour, he'd get in and I've always tended especially at Council elections to vote for the Conservatives because I reckon that [] Labour has it's own way too much in Rotherham and healthy opposition might be a good thing [] I was fed up to the back teeth with Labour when they were last in and all the trouble with the unions [] and I thought the Conservatives would put things right but [] they won too well and they've gone to the other extreme and I feel they're just as bad as the Labour are, and if there was an election tomorrow I wouldn't know who the devil to vote for."

As I noted earlier, none of these men and women have been actively involved in the political process either at work or outside of it. This lack of involvement again reflects a perception of 'politics' as something 'out there', in the hands of others and of immediate interest only at election time. As with the other groups, these men and women have almost always voted at elections.

Even amongst staunch Labour supporters there was a generally cynical view about politicians who were seen to be, for the most part, self seeking unethical pragmatists who with few exceptions, were believed to care little about 'ordinary folk' [Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner were seen as exceptions to this general rule]. 'Politics' were perceived to be something on the horizon of these individuals' life worlds, and in general terms, of limited thematic, motivational or interpretational relevancy in day to day life. Although there was a much stronger sense of traditional proletarian consciousness in the

works group this was rarely translated into political activism, either at work or outside of work, with the three exceptions mentioned previously. The failure of the 1981 steel strike reflects this lack of political activism and the lack of solidarity at that time, amongst the local workforce at B.S.C.

These essentially privatised lifestyles and a detachment from the public world of work or involvement in the political process are further highlighted by the religious beliefs of these men and women. Religion has again become the subject of private speculation rather than public ritual, emerging only at significant moments in the family life course, particularly during times of family crisis. Only one family,the Higgins , have 'rediscovered' christianity and now attend church on a regular basis.

Janet Higgins' account of her religious beliefs is, in many ways, a classically Durkheimian account.:

" I'm not a strong church person, [] I'm not a bible puncher, as the term is used, but I enjoy reading the bible and it's like going back to school and learning again. It is altering me life because of the sort of teachings that the bible tells you and I do feel that it can make you a better person, [] it involves us all again as a family, we seem to always come back to the fact that we do everything as a family, you know,, I mean Philip didn't want to go particularly when I first started going and he went for a Sunday School Anniversary, and then quite surprised me by going and carrying on going. We feel drawn together more, so what it is doing I don't know. We go to a Bible Study [] it's like belonging

to a new social group if you like, [] you become involved in t'community more, meeting more people, making new friends even, you know, through church, but they're still ordinary people, you know, they aren't sort of fanatics, [the] church does start and play a bigger part in your life when you do get involved, [] with a church like St. Johns because you're joined together as a big family, they do consider you one big family."

This account was untypical. The remainder, whilst retaining a sense of 'something else', were not practising Christians. Mike Franklin :

" I am an atheist, well I'm not religious but there have been times when I've prayed [], I've got an open mind, I don't believe in a lot of the bible but there is something. When I see people dying I think there must be a life after. I've got to believe that."

Peter White:

" If you'd asked me that two months ago, I would have said 'no' but when Gareth was in hospital I prayed for him, so whether that makes me religious or not I don't know, but I don't go to church. There's a lot of hypocrisy in the church, for example their policies on nuclear weapons. How can people of God support that?"

and Glennis Sullivan:

" I believe there's something...er...I used to go sometimes as a child but I only really go now for christenings and weddings. I think a lot of people who go to church are hypocrites, I know some

of them who wouldn't give a blind man a light. I mean if you believe, you can believe without all that...I think."

Religion has retained in its orthodox sense, a ritual purpose, at significant times in the life course, such as baptisms and weddings. In its private, secularised sense, it still retains one important function: as an explanatory framework of last resort in times of acute crisis. I close this section with an extract from Andy Foster :

" I used to go to church and Sunday School but with the death of my father and sister [] when I got older, I stopped believing in all that. If someone could prove it to me O.K. but I think it's like King Arthur...a lot of myth and there's a lot of harm done like in Northern Ireland. I am a Christian though, in the ten commandments sense the moral side you know, respect for others and that. I'd like to believe there is something, like my son died two years ago and I prayed, but looking back it were the only natural thing to do...if there's not a natural reason you turn to supernatural explanations. I haven't christened the kids, they don't need it, if they want to go to church they can...I'd take them but I'm not going to push them."

CHAPTER 12

LIFE AFTER REDUNDANCY

V : 12 : 1 The Redundancy Experience.

The term 'voluntary redundancy' has little meaning in the context of mass redundancies from B.S.C. in the 1980's, which can be described at best, as 'self imposed' redundancies. None of the men in these two groups would have contemplated leaving the steel industry unless they had been forced to. In the works group, the occupations of the men has, as we will see, imposed limitations on the type of retraining they were able to undertake and, in some cases, in the choices they were able to make about work in post- redundancy. There were only very occasional echoes of a 'phasic' response to redundancy.

Recollections of the events leading up to redundancy were very similar to those of the over 55's, David Sullivan :

" Well I'd seen it for years, it were always an up and down industry [] they were cutting back on this and that and it were obvious it were going to happen, the wastage was huge in B.S.C. and it couldn't go on for ever. It were bad management in t'first place but the workforce took the brunt of it. They were nibbling here and nibbling there and rumours were flying about like 'We've only got so long before we close' [] relationships with other people deteriorated [] the workforce put pressure on itself with rumour and the like, it were a terrible atmosphere to work under [] they played off one department against another, bay against bay and

man against man [] well, I walked into the cabin one day and me mate said 'Oh the union has just been wi' management to see what jobs are going' and mine was, that was how I found out, by word of mouth. I never even got a letter from t'management [] Everyone jumped at the chance 'I'll take mine, I'll take mine, I'll take mine', especially the youinger ones [] Trade Union solidarity, that's a load of bollocks, it were every man for 'isself by then."

For one of the women, Ann Burgess, redundancy provided a welcome opportunity to drop out of the labour market when she was 6 months pregnant with her first child. This, as we will see later, has had a beneficial effect on her family life. With the exception of the Pattersons, the decisions to take redundancy were joint ones.

Only the Higgins' reported a sense of 'shock' upon the actual event of redundancy. For the Mitchells and Thompsons the future was relatively unproblematic, with both husbands going on into full-time employment [See V : 12 : 1]. Ann Burgess had voluntarily left the labour market. This left the Higgins, the Hamiltons, the Fosters and the Pattersons with some worries about the immediate future. The redundancy package was clearly an important consideration for all these men and women, although none had any illusions about its purpose as Phil Higgins recalled:

" I think it was put in an attractive way, so that people with my way of thinking would be inclined to think in a way that it was attractive,[] that it is a declining industry, get out while you can, while you are still young enough to have a go at something else."

In the works group, there was less discussion between spouses about the decision to take redundancy, although this did happen. It was clear from the interview data and the informal chats I had with striking Tinsley workers how very *fatalistic* they were. The inexorable rundown of B.S.C., combined with financial worries and Trade Union leaders taking redundancy all combined to militate against effective opposition to closures and redundancies. It is in many ways, a text book example of how those who control the means of production can dispense with those who do not.

Having accepted the inevitability of redundancy, all these men made use of the counselling service at B.S.C. Without exception, their attitudes towards it were negative, as Robert Piper observed:

> " They did put pressure on you, 'If I were you I'd take redundancy', sort of thing, it were like they were trying to smooth things over, not so much to get you on a good course but just to get you out of B.S.C., 'voluntarily' as they called it."

as did Peter White :

> " The advice about what money you were entitled to was alright, but the rest wasn't. I went to see about getting on an environmental studies course but they didn't seem to be able to tell me what courses were available, you had to tell them what you wanted to do. They tried to channel you into short term courses like a six months course rather than fifty-two weeks. I eventually went on a building course but I was told about that by someone else."

and Andy Foster :

" I found it completely useless, the man doing that was a manager of mine and he was useless then, he couldn't tell me anything about courses and that. I was interested in two things, accountancy and computing but he had nothing to offer and couldn't show me anything, like what a mature student's grant might be. In the end I sorted out the computer course myself."

The one couple in the staff group who were planning to set up their own small business, the Higgins, were similarly critical about the lack of help they received as was John Thompson:

" I did have this job waiting for me [] but I had thought about setting up on my own with some colleagues...so I went to see [a counsellor] about that...I don't know about other people but he was bloody useless, I mean he didn't seem to have a clue apart from giving me some pamphlets on setting up small businesses and what have you. So I looked into it all myself after I was made redundant and I decided it was too risky like, to risk everything when I'd come out of B.S.C...so after a three month holiday I went to work for [Private Company] and I'm still there today."

V : 12 : 2 The Effects of Redundancy on the Nineteen Families.

The redundancy experience, for both the men and women in this group has of course been qualitatively different from that of the over 55's. The principal reason for this is that the men were still economically active and seeking employment outside of B.S.C. and still primarily responsible for maintaining their wives and children. As will become clear in this section, redundancy can lead to a bewildering variety of outcomes, of which only one is unemployment. The evidence presented here illustrates how redundancy should be viewed not as a unitary event, triggering off pre set 'phasic' responses, but is rather a significant sequence of events whose outcome is a function of other influences and processes in the life course which preceded redundancy [in particular family organisation and relationships].

Although each family's experiences have been different, it is possible to divide these families into three main groups, rather than discuss each family individually, which due to reasons of length would be difficult. A brief account of the experiences of each couple can be found along with the family outlines in Appendices 12 : 3 and 13 : 3.

The three groups are:

- The Employed Group;
- The 'Chequered' Pro-Active group;
- The 'Chequered' Re-Active group;

V : 12 : 2 : 1 The Employed Group.

(The Franklins, Sullivans, O'Neills, Smiths and Parkers-Works, the Thompsons and Mitchells-Staff.)

These seven families have come through redundancy relatively unaffected. They have succeeded in this by their of quick responses to new situations, pro-active coping strategies and, in some cases, as they admitted, luck. Three of the couples in the works group went straight into self-employment after redundancy. The reasons given by all three couples were very similar, Mike Franklin:

" We know it were coming like and we'd often talked about it like [] not seriously at first but when we knew it were coming we thought 'Why not', we were all in us mid-forties like [] I didn't rate me chances that good so we'd already sorted out a shop like and got some o' t'tackle we needed and, of course, we'd got ISERBS like to cover us for two years [] it were a question of what jobs there were for a man my age. I couldn't see a lot to be honest and...I've always been a grafter so I thought 'Why not', at least I'd be working for meself and seeing t'reward like."

These three businesses represent a serious financial and emotional commitment, which used up all their redundancy pay and now occupies most of their waking hours . For all three couples, self employment has been very hard work, particularly for the two joint ventures of the O'Neils and the Sullivans; (Joint Interview):

David: " Well it is hard work isn't it love...but I enjoy being self-employed, it's better than at B.S.C. where I did a dirty

boring job and I don't have gaffers telling me what to do, well apart from her of course [L] I've not regretted it and it's an investment for the future, we could always sell it..."

I/Glennis: " ...Mmm, I prefer it actually, I enjoy working and David's not on shifts which were a bit of a strain sometimes, it is a responsibility though. I mean you can't not open or have a day off, you have to be open prompt and all that."

In financial terms all three families are as well off as they were prior to redundancy. In the case of the Franklins, they are markedly better off as their business has expanded over the last two years. The O'Neils enjoy a joint income of £120 per week and the Sullivans £140-160 per week [after tax]. Work in the shop in these two families is shared, with a shop assistant helping out at busy times. Sheila Franklin only helped out with their business in its early days and has since returned to her 'traditional' duties as a housewife. Neither she nor Mike questioned this arrangement: [3rd Interview]

Sheila: " Generally speaking, I think a man's place is to work and bring the money in, especially when the children are young...er...I think women should go out to work if they want to but it shouldn't interfere with children."

Mike: " Aye, I think we agree on that, I mean its man's...er, you know, men need to work for their self respect more than women don't they?"

Divisions of labour within these households closely mirror those which had existed prior to redundancy. The most egalitarian of the three families, the Sullivans, shared work in the shop and in their flat above the shop, apart from the ironing. In the case of the Franklins and the O'Neils, the wives are still responsible for the bulk of the housework. Eunice O'Neil, who shares the shop work found this double burden a strain at times. She occasionally wished that she could go,

> " back again to my bit of freedom, when he did days, afternoons and nights, I knew what time he was going out and what time he ewas coming in, and I worked my life in between those shifts. Whereas now I never have any freedom, if I've got an hour I've to run up town, do the shopping and run back [] when I was working full-time I did have my two days off, whereas now we don't have anytime off. [ ] It does get you when you're working flat out and there's pots waiting to be washed or there's simple jobs waiting to be done. I mean, now I do nothing of the housework I used to do, as long as it's reasonable I'm alright , I like it resonably tidy, untidyness gets me, specially when you come up at tea-time and you're tired and you've got to start making a meal, and [] everything's all over, but a lot of it is children's, so that within a few minutes it's tidied up. I suppose if I put the hours of housework in that I used to do, it would really annoy me. Now I've learnt that I just can't do it and it's got to stop".

I asked all three couples whether or not their entrepreneurial activities contradicted their continuing support for the Labour party .

Their lengthy responses made for interesting reading. Two short extracts from David and Glennis Sullivan [Joint Interview] and Mike Franklin illustrate this:

David: " No, not at all. I mean we work really hard and we're not exploiting anyone are we? B.S.C. were more capitalistic than this set up is...to me, socialism is about being rewarded for hard work, on merit like, not because of privilege, so I didn't see any contradiction..."

I/Glennis : "... We'll always be working class Labour supporters, just because we run our own business doesn't mean we're becoming Tories, God forbid! [L]."

Mike Franklin: " That's a good one that!...er...well, I suppose there is a contradiction but there 1 was, being thrown on the scrap heap at forty-three with a wife and two young daughters to support, what were 1 supposed to do? What would *you* have done? I mean, there were no jobs, no new work coming int'o area so I didn't think 1 had a lot of choice [] my first responsibility has always been to my family and if the business keeps like it is it'll be something for t'girls in the future [] actually I don't think there is a contradiction between supporting Labour and running me own business."

For these families,redundancy has brought in its wake few problems, with minimal disruption to family life. It is significant that the coping strategies they initiated some time prior to the event of redundancy and continued afterwards, were individualistic and family

centred, strategies which Conservatives, no doubt, would approve of. The traditional domestic divisions of labour have continued because the basis upon which they were built have not been threatened in the post-redundant phase.

For the remaining four couples, the Parkers and Smiths and the Thompson's and Mitchells redundancy has also been unproblematic. All of the men have been able to find full-time work since redundancy and have not, as yet, suffered from periods out of work. The principal reason for their success lies in the amount of planning they did prior to redundancy. Gordon Smith:

> " I was almost looking forward to redundancy which I knew was wrong but I knew I had to start planning an escape route [] I'd had enough, I wasn't settled or enjoying my work, but as I said I'd started exploring other avenues [] and I knew I had that financial buffer which wasn't a real reason to go but I knew I could get on a course [] so I went straight down to Granville College and put me name down for a Diploma in Social Services 'cos I wanted to continue in social work and I knew that if I got on a course I'd have my pay made up for two years [] I've been lucky since not being out of work.[] I mean I've known blokes there who had nothing planned who are still out of work now and have got a lot of problems, whereas I provided for it and got onto the course. I've only been out of work one week, between finishing the course and starting at Family and Community Services on September 20th [1984] working as a social worker."

Both Gordon and June view the future with optimism. Although he misses some workmates Gordon enjoys his present work much more 'enjoyable and challenging' and June has seen a transformation in Gordon's working life, from repetitive blue collar work to a rewarding white collar job. Gordon and June were explicit about the reasons which they felt had enabled them to avoid the kinds of problems faced by many other redundant steelworkers: [Joint Interview]:

Gordon: " I were determined to find a job I enjoyed doing..."

I/June: " ...I know what it were, because everyone else went after, more or less, what they were doing at B.S.C. [] they were all younger than Gordon but they went after things like plumbing and welding whereas with a bit of thought he went for something different [] they were retraining for jobs which didn't exist whereas there'll always be social problems won't there?"

Gordon: " A lot of them knew they had this buffer so they weren't bothered what they took, to me they were being made redundant from B.S.C. because that type of job was contracting so they just went on courses with the intention of getting two years money, whereas I were looking for a job after two years and planning ahead whereas they are now back on Social Security ."

With both Gordon and June in full-time secure work the future looks good for them as a couple, although they do have some worries about their two eldest sons. Despite this, redundancy has enabled Gordon, with foresight and planning, to move into work which he enjoys more than his work at B.S.C. Work in the home is still largely shared,

reflecting again the egalitarian division of labour in the pre-redundant phase when both were working.

The situation with the Parkers is slightly different. As a works convenor Ron was well aware of the possibility of redundancy. Aged fifty-one, he saw little point in continuing in the local labour market and instead has thrown his energies into local politics as a councillor. Dorothy's work as a local magistrate combined with his allowance means that they are financially comfortable. Despite missing his work at B.S.C. [the only example of this in this group] he has enjoyed his increased involvement in local politics. With their eldest daughter married [to a doctor] and their youngest daughter a teacher [living at home] the post redundant phase has had little impact on this family.

The quasi-egalitarian division of labour in the home prior to redundancy has been maintained as Dorothy recalled:

> " Well, Ron might not think so [L]. He's always washing pots. He would go round with the vacuum sometimes, he does hoover up a bit. He would clean the windows for me, because since now I've had, you know, a bad neck it can irritate it, but other than that we virtually share housework."

This relatively smooth transition was, as they observed, untypical : [3rd Interview]

> Ron: " I don't think it's been very disruptive, I mean I told you about that bloke in the first interview well we've had it good, compared to a lot o' folk round here..."

1/Dorothy:"... Yes definitely, I mean we've got a reasonable income and no real financial worries and Lorraine and Jenny are both secure so it's alright for us, but like Ron says, it's been nothing but bad news for a lot of people round here."

The Thompsons and Mitchells have also been untouched by redundancy. Both principal breadwinners, John and Mike, obtained work immediately after redundancy as a project engineer and construction engineer respectively. Prior to job loss, both had been looking for work for over a year and both had definite job offers before they left B.S.C. Both John and Mike approached this move in quite a calculating manner. John Thompson:

" It had been obvious to me for some time that we were on a sinking ship and I didn't intend to go down with it, I would have left the first time if I'd had a job, but when this came up I thought 'That's it, I'm off with a nice redundancy payment to a modern efficient firm', which B.S.C. wasn't [] in fact looking back it couldn't have turned out better."

This move has not affected any of the children who experienced minimal disruption to their lives. Divisions of labour within the home have remained based on traditional lines. Sue Mitchell, for example, who works part-time, still does most of the housework:

" I do most of it, but if I want any help he will help. He will vac' through, he'll vac' round. If I want the windows doing, I just get on with it, you see, [] He does help me to wash, while I'm pegging out, he'll see to them in the spinner, to get it done

quicker. I don't think he's ever done ironing, I haven't got him to that stage, or cooking for that matter, he doesn't do a lot of cooking, he would do I suppose if he had to [] when I go out on a Thursday it would be most likely that I prepare everything and I give him an idea what to do, put it on a little bit late, 'You set it off, do so and so' sometimes he doesn't always remember, but on the whole he's not bad, he'll set it off."

These men and women have all, in a variety of ways coped well with redundancy and its after effects. Their most shared characteristic was the *individualistic* stance they took when they knew of impending redundancy, not as one might have expected, an increased involvement in trade union actions against closures and redundancies. The loyalty of the men to their wives and children, won over whatever 'class' loyalties these men may have felt.

Similarly with the Mitchells and Thompsons, redundancy has caused little disruption to traditional but family centred couples. Divisions of labour within the home have stayed the same as they were prior to redundancy and neither couple has questionned this arrangement. Although this may not appear to be significant, it does emphasise that redundancy does not always cause disruption to those who have transferable work skills and/or who plan ahead of the event of redundancy.

V : 12 : 2 : 2 The 'Chequered': Pro-Active Group.

There are six families in this group. The Burgess's, Fosters and Higgins [Staff] and the Baldwins, Pipers and Whites [Works]. For all these families, redundancy has brought in its wake both benefits and difficulties. For Anne Burgess, as noted earlier, it provided her with a welcome opportunity to opt out of the local labour market. The other families have all experienced chequered post redundancy careers [retraining, employment/self-employment and unemployment]. This has led to both financial difficulties, emotional problems and in all cases, in varying degrees, increased marital stress. Fortunately, with the exception of Peter White, all the male breadwinners had found full-time work as of January 1987.

All the men in the works group were, at the time of redundancy, glad to get out of B.S.C.. Len Baldwin:

> " I was depressed and angry about being kept in the dark and the attitude of the men who just sat down to be kicked [] I always hated the job anyway, it were soul destroying [] and I were glad to get out in the end [] I had great plans at the time to set up in my own business and employ Jamie [because] at that time I had no prospect [] of obtaining work, so we talked about it and I decided to give it a go."

With this goal in mind Len went on a twelve month plumbing course at Rotherham Technical College, believing that there would be work for a self-employed plumber afterwards. Without any advice or help from B.S.C. he set up with two and a half thousand pounds of his redundancy

pay. However, the business never really got off the ground. The demand in a depressed local labour market for plumbers was almost non-existent and it was only his continuing make up pay from B.S.C. which enabled him to continue. After another three months he was then forced to sign on.

Len was out of work between May and December 1985 and had in fact been signing on for two weeks prior to the first interview. During this period Len and Sheila did pull together in the face of financial stringency and worries about the future; Len:

> " First of all we made sure t'kids didn't go without. Obviously, we didn't splash out on owt like...we made sure we didn't go out, had a quiet Christmas. I think last time I had some new clothes were in April 1983. Sheila's...she gets most of her clothes from t'club, so that she can pay weekly on it. We don't go out as often as we used to."

The quasi-egalitarian division of labour in the home which had existed prior to redundancy continued during this period with Len becoming more involved in housework and childcare, which, as Sheila recalled, was 'right unusual', when compared with the experiences of friends of hers who had unemployed husbands. This short period of unemployment did lead to cutbacks in some expensive household items such as meat although both were keen to emphasise that their children did not go without during this period. Len and Sheila [third interview]:

> Len: " We just try not to let it bother us...er...we've got a good strong friendship so we won't ever let *them* grind us down, we just have to get on and make the most of it."

Sheila: " We're coping alright, we've had to cut down on luxuries and on things like drink and meat and we won't be able to get everything we want for the children at Christmas, but we manage alright, we'll be alright in the end, I'm sure."

Sheila was right. Three weeks after this interview Len phoned me to tell that he had got a job at a private steel company. Thus, for this family, a short period of uncertainty was over. Len did tell me that he hoped to be self-employed in the future, as he said,

" I'd love to get it properly off the ground, I'll be working harder, working longer hours when I get it, but I'd like to get it off the ground just for Jamie's sake, and perhaps get somebody else off t'dole."

The post-redundancy experiences of the Pipers, Robert and June, have been rather different, with unemployment imposing greater stress on a close-knit but traditional family. June was, at the time, glad that Bob took his redundancy:

" A few months before he were made redundant the car broke down and I used to watch him walking up the hill for the bus, I used to be nearly in tears for him watching him go. He hated every minute of it so I weren't that bothered when he went 'cos I knew that's what he wanted deep down [] I thought he would have found something else before this'cos he's not stupid you know, he can nearly turn his mind to anything. It was good in a lot of ways [] we bought all this furniture and some other things wanted renewing and there would

have been no way we were able to do it whilst he were working there, so I thought that was a way out to get the house nice and that."

Immediately after his redundancy Bob too went on a plumbing course, a decision he was later to regret:

" I wouldn't do it again, because [] there's virtually no chance of a job because they want people who are apprentice trained [] what they were trying to do was pacify people, because some people wouldn't have gone redundant without the choice to get 12 months pay. That's all they were, retraining courses, something that had a cushioning effect."

In the immediate aftermath of redundancy relations between Bob and June were very good, with a good income and without the strains of shift work. However, Bob became unemployed when his retraining finished and remained out of work until June 1986. Bob, has managed to keep occupied and has maintained a regular routine which included taking his daughter to school and collecting her, swimming and training, refereeing and slightly greater involvement in housework, although Sheila has remained responsible for most of this.

The household budget has of course shrunk although this has been helped by periods of cash in hand work for Len on local farms. They pay all bills weekly, the interest on their mortgage was covered by the DHSS, neither smoked and they drank very little. Christmas 1985 was a worry to Bob and June, although they did manage to get most of the things they wanted for their two young children. Bob's lack of

involvement in housework does not seem to have had a negative effect, both he and June felt that it was 'her' work.

Although Bob and June put a brave face on things, there were, by the time of the third interview 6 months later, some signs of tension and stress, [3rd Interview]:

Bob: " The problem really is the money on t'dole, you can't live like a millionaire on the dole no matter what people say. I get depressed sometimes like with Christmas coming up [] 99% of the time it doesn't bother me, I just go through a phase now and again when it does...

I/June: "...we have the occasional disagreements over money but we live to our means and we've got Family Allowance, without that there's no way we could manage, we couldn't pay the mortgage without that."

Bob:" Mmm, the last three weeks have been the worse, in fact I've thought about things more in that time than ever before. [] if I could get a job elsewhere we'd have to move...I'd take that chance..."

I/June: "...well I wouldn't, I've got a lot of family in the area...er...but whatever happens we'd be alright, we've always been close, like we argue like everyone, but we've always made it up with each other, it's worked pretty well really."

What might have been the beginning of a period of real conflict between Bob and June has been averted. In June 1986 Bob obtained a job as a Factory Caretaker in Doncaster and the family have since moved there. The post redundant phase is hence at an end but were a similar

situation to arise in the future, without prior notice, and without the buffer provided by B.S.C., real problems *could* arise for this couple.

Redundancy has also created problems for The Whites. Although Peter was glad to leave B.S.C. he was highly critical of his retraining course:

> " They were just interested in getting rid of people. I mean...er...a building maintenance course when there are half a million unemployed builders, what good is that? To be honest with you, I only went on that course because I got 52 weeks pay [] we complained a lot because we felt the course was not suitable for us...we complained constantly about it [but] the powers that be were arrogant and did not care. The same mistakes were made with the Hadfields people who followed us."

Finding himself without work after retraining Pete applied for and was accepted for a place on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme. The business, organising walking and camping holidays never really got off the ground, Peter explained why: [3rd Interview]

> " I thought it had got a chance. I did some market research and tourism is a growth industry, especially in the Yorkshire Dales and I thought it would have aready made market in the south east [] but three months later, I began to realise my mistakes [] I went to this small firms' advice service but they didn't have a clue about it, they were used to manufacturing industries, my business was a service and their advice was useless."

The inegalitarian division of labour in the home prior to redundancy changed little during the period of unemployment which followed, as Peter admitted:

" I'll do the shopping and run round the supermarket but I don't think Judith likes me to go shopping. As I say, she's conventional in that respect. I think so and...er...happy in that role, perhaps jealous of her role. I think she is conventional and likes to say what goes in the house. I do cook in the house but I don't clean that much. Mainly I look after Gareth and Emma, change them, dress them, give them their breakfast, really I'll just look after the kids, there's not a lot else to do. I don't go drinking or anything...er...I do the garden a bit...[]"

This short extract from a lengthy discussion they had in the third interview illustrates the way both were feeling the strain :

Judith:" I get very frustrated sometimes..."

Peter: [L]

Judith: "... I nearly died last week when I asked him to hoover and he did..."

I/Peter: "... but I do help out with this lot don't I? I'll bath them and change them."

Judith: " Oh yes, I were talking to a friend of mine whose husband is unemployed and he won't even do that so I'm lucky I think.".

Peter: " I'll cook us us dinner and things."

Judith: " Oh yes he does but it's the washing and ironing that I could really do with a hand with..."

I/Peter: "... but it's not washing like it used to be is it...?"

I/Judith: " ... but you still have to put 'em in, take 'em out, hang 'em up, bring 'em in and iron 'em."

Peter: " I do tidy up a bit don't I?"

Judith: " Yes, well he'll pick the toys up but he won't do any cleaning.

Peter:" Well so long as it's clean and tidy I'm not that bothered, I'm not interested in building a shrine..."

I/Judith: "... that's because you're more interested in walking and hiking and that aren't you?"

Peter: " Yes, but you've got to get your priorities right haven't you! [L]"

These difficulties were partially offset when Pete obtained a cash in hand job as a Taxi Driver in August 1985 [6 pm - 3 am at £8 per night, four nights a week]. On top of supplementary benefit [£71 and Family Allowance [£12 per week] and Pete's cash in hand job, a short period of financial stringency and cutbacks on items such as drink and meat reported in the first interview was passed. During this period, as with the Pipers and Baldwins, Peter and Judith took great care to ensure that their two young children did not go without. In fact, as the extract below illustrates, it is probably the presence of the two children and their genuine affection for them, which has enabled this traditional marriage to survive a potentially difficult period. I asked them if they felt that redundancy had affected them in any way, as a couple; Judith replied:

" Yes it has in some things...we've had such a big change with being redundant from when we were both working without kids to now...there

have been strains this year with being in the house all day but really it's these two who have kept us going through the bad patches..."

I/Peter: "...Oh yes, definitely, they're the best thing that's ever happened to us and we'll always protect them from all of this...er...the worst thing though is that I think I missed a good opportunity to start again...er...and the way the redundancy money just disappeared..."

I/Judith: "..Yes I would have liked us use it on the house and suchlike, we do laugh about it, but I've been near to tears sometimes.

Peter: " Mm, but I think we're fairly resilient and we've got a good relationship so we'll keep battling on. You've got to haven't you?"

Indeed. Although Peter has successfully completed a Driver Training Course, he is still without work (January 1987). As a family the Whites are coping, but only just, and it is to be hoped that Peter does find work soon or come to derive more satisfaction from housework should Judith (a trained nurse) choose to go back to work, which she has thought about recently. I leave the last words with Peter:

" Even so, I've never missed B.S.C., except for my friends. I've not missed the job one little bit (.) I would go back though now, well I'd have to because there's nothing else, but I would prefer a nice Park Ranger's job (L) but I would be much better prepared if all this happened again, as far as I know only two people (of thirteen) on my training course have now got jobs, but I expect a lot of ex-steelworkers are in the same boat aren't they?"

Ann and Glen Burgess are very much the 'odd ones out' in this Group. Ann's redundancy has had unintended beneficial consequences for her family life after she willingly took redundancy when pregnant with her first child. There were, however, other reasons for taking redundancy which can be traced back to the time when they both worked; Ann:

" When we were both working, when we first got married we had more than arguments, full scale rows which the whole neighbourhood knew about. We were rowing continuously, actually fighting...we had no glassware in t'house because Glen used to get it all at him [L]."

This bad patch in their marriage she put down,in part, to them both working, with both the pressures of Glen's work in the mines and her additional burden of housework.The decision, not to go back to work after Nicola's birth , did improve things; Glen:

" We did have us rows like but you can say we only had a row every two to three months rather than every two to three weeks. It were a lot better."

By this time Ann's redundancy pay had all but been used up on double glazing, a washing machine, video recorder, new double bed and other home improvements. This expenditure was to be a source of regret when Glen was out of work during the miners' strike. However, even when Glen was out of work both felt that they were closer when compared to the period when they were both working: [Joint Interview]

Glen: " Oh aye, things could never have been as bad as that, I mean when I were on strike it were awful and we did have us rows but we

did pull together and things have been a lot better since haven't they?"

Ann: " Yes, definitely...I mean don't get me wrong, I did get upset when we couldn't pay the big bills, it upset us because it's the little girl you think about [] I always used to try and buy Nicola something, even if it were only a pair of socks or underclothes [] she never really went without, it was us - we missed out on a lot of things."

With Glen back in full-time work and Ann content in her traditional role as a housewife, the post-redundant stage appears to be over. Little has changed in their domestic division of labour, although Glen did get more involved during the miners strike. The tensions which existed in their marriage when both were working have largely abated, although I doubt if this marriage will ever be fully free of conflict.

The Fosters, Andrew and Sheila, had begun to prepare for redundancy several months prior to the event. Andrew had decided to retrain at either accountancy or computing. As has been noted he did not find the counselling service very useful and found a position to train as a computer programmer, in Sheffield ["because that's the future isn't it?"] As he was still covered by I.S.E.R.B.S. he enjoyed a full income for six months. The lump sum redundancy pay he received [£4,350] was used to pay for the funeral costs for his son Gareth [d. 1983], a loan for a car, a new cooker, a computer, a large quantity of computer books and decorations for the house.['it paid for things we could not afford before' - Sheila]

After finishing this six months retraining he was immediately offered employment at the Computer Firm which had retrained him, in March 1984. In July of that year the firm went bust. Although he was still covered by I.S.E.R.B.S., he found this second redundancy a depressing experience. He then had to sign on for six months. In December 1984 Andy obtained work at another computer firm as a temporary clerical officer, on a monthly contract basis. Four months later he was offered a job as a production manager. He has worked for this firm since this time.

They did find the periods when Andy was out of work difficult, but not unduly so. This was due to the preparations they made prior to redundancy, accepting that unemployment was always a possibility and to Andy's greater involvement in domestic work and childcare during these periods. which he gained intrinsic satisfaction from these experiences, reflecting a quasi egalitarian division of labour prior to job loss. as Sheila recalled:

" We didn't really worry about it 'cos we've never had a lot of money, we've survived on the dole and we could do it again. [] He did a lot when he was not at t'job centre. He helped a lot with t'kids which he still does now. I mean I thought at t'time I should do more while he was busy looking for work but he did help me more."

I asked them if they were worried about Andy being unemployed in the future (third interview):

Sheila: "I don't know, w're quite practical and we don't shout and bawl at each other, if we've got a problem we'll talk about it.

Like when he was out of work we both got involved together. I don't think it would make much difference to us as a family like..."

I/Andy: "... Aye, I mean you've got to stick together that's what husband and wife...er...marriage is all about, I mean I don't expect to work full-time until I'm 65, I might if I'm lucky, but that's the way it is and you have to live with that uncertainty."

Despite two setbacks the Fosters represent one of the success stories of this group. A degree of preparedness linked to a close family centred lifestyle has enabled this couple to overcome a potentially destabilising situation. Both are well prepared and equipped to cope with chequered life course experiences in the future.

The last couple in this group are the Higgins, Philip and Janet. Philip too, was critical of B.S.C.'s retraining provisions:

" At the outset we were all fired up, but after a month or two you got the feeling that the training people were just using you as a way to make money. The course was alright if you was prepared to work at it, which I was, but some of the chaps it was a way of just getting money while they could and that reflected in the attitude of the tutors,[] I think I got more out of it than anybody else really, but by the time it was nearly finished I was getting the attitude that it was a bit of a sham."

After completing his retraining Philip obtained work as a contract alarms installer, a job which he enjoyed more than his work at B.S.C. Concurrently, he and Janet invested all his lump sum redundancy pay in a

small wool shop. This was regarded as a holding investment, rather than a business which would generate enough money to support them all. It also provided Philip with employment/ISTCS entitlement after the firm he worked went under. Then began a period of unemployment which was to last 15 months. It was, as they recalled, a period which altered their long held views about the unemployed, [3rd Interview]:

Philip: " The worst thing about unemployment is that you see people in employment who are always moaning about their position..."

I/Janet: " : ...I think that our views have changed, I mean we always thought that the unemployed were skivers and layabouts..."

I/Philip: "...yes, a good example of that was when we were really depressed and we met a woman at church whose husband is in a top job at B.S.C. and she said 'I know how you feel' and I said,'You can't even begin, even with all t'will in t'world, to begin to know how I feel'[] in some ways it's been a real eye opener...we never thought about the unemployed before but I think we are more considerate now."

Although Philip certainly became more involved in childcare and housework, particularly with Janet assuming primary responsibility for the woolshop, this created some problems for Janet, particularly in her self perception of being 'a woman':

" I did go through a period of resenting him when he were, it's only about 6 months ago, that while I were working and Phil were just on t'dole I did go through a time of actually resenting him doing my work because I felt as though I were becoming redundant as a housewife, and then I sat and laughed about it and thought how silly

I were being because Phil's here and it's what he wants to do, but it were a really odd feeling that because I did sort of resent not being a housewife and mother full-time."

Although Philip certainly has suffered from short periods of depression he was adamant that his decision to leave B.S.C. was the right one:

" No, I can honestly say that and the times I've asked meself that question must be hundreds but I can honestly say that I've no regret about leaving B.S.C. I had to get out of that industry, I was becoming a cabbage."

As Janet recalled, Philip's self doubts and sense of worthlessness, compounded by a persistent sequence of job rejections, were not easily managed:

" I'd try the gentle touch and then I'd try and be sort of reassuring and tell him everything would be alright and it'd work for so long and then down he'd...I could tell that down he was going again so then...we don't shout and fall out at each other, we always tend to talk rather than fall out and then I used to get, I'd start getting annoyed with him, start telling him that, you know, he'd got to pull himself out of it, so it's a matter of using different...different tactics from keeping him from going down, but, you know, I had to stop myself from just getting annoyed with him really and try to understand how he felt."

By the time of the third interview Philip had been out of work for seven months, despite applying for "30 or 40" jobs during that period. It certainly tested their loyalties towards each other and to their children as Janet recalled: [3rd Interview]:

"I think it affects all of us as a family although we do try to protect the girls but even there, they've got so many friends whose daddies are on the dole that they're not affected in that sense.[] I can see how families which aren't as close as ours....how unemployment can split them up."

Unemployment not only threatens male self esteem, as 'the breadwinner', but can also threaten female self esteem, as 'mother/housewife'. Many couples, faced with unemployment, are unable to overcome such conflicts. The Higgins did overcome these difficulties by changing their attitudes helped by the the very real care they had for each other and their children.

Luckily, with an inheritance from Philip's father, the house was almost paid off, so potential house loss was not a threat at this time. This period did entail some reductions in household expenditure, although as with the other couples in this group with young children, they ensured that their daughters did not go without [Joint Interview]:

Janet: " The housekeeping's gone down but we had a nice boost of tax when we were flagging but we have had to pull our belt in, we're a lot more careful over what we buy."

Phil: " Yes...er...we've cut down on meat..."

l/Janet: "... we do look carefully yes. I mean we'll have shoulder of lamb rather than steak, make it last longer using cheaper joints and that..."

l/Phil:"... Yeah but we're not starving [L]."

Janet: "I mean we even have the children at home for dinner, even though they could have school dinners, because we can give them better food at home and we don't want the indignity of them asking for free school meals...we always make sure they have enough."

Philip is now back in full-time employment at a Private Steel Company on an annual contract basis. The key to their success in negotiating a very difficult patch in their lives is captured well in the quote below, with which I conclude this section:

Janet:" We're strictly married-married. I've always promised to work twice as hard as my parents did."

Phil: " You have got to continually work at it, and I suppose redundancy has put some pressure on us but when we see other people splitting up it makes us even more determined to succeed..."

l/Janet: ..." we just enjoy being married..."

l/Phil:"...er...yeah, I mean the redundancy thing has been just another challenge not like a blast that's overpowered us, just something that has to be overcome."

Janet: " Yeah, no matter what happens, we'll stick together."

V : 12 : 2 : 3 The 'Chequered': Re-Active Group.

The remaining four works families: the Bracewells, Greens, Nicholsons and Lloyds have all visibly suffered after redundancy. These families have all exhibited the very negative symptoms traditionally associated with unemployment, such as, pauperisation, depressive periods, increased strains between couples and in the case of the Bracewells and Lloyds, increased tensions between parents and latency age children. The Hamiltons and the Pattersons [staff] have also suffered, although financially relatively secure and without affecting teenage and adult children. For all six families these problems have been generated by long term employment amongst the male breadwinners and by a re-active inflexibility amongst families based on rigid and traditional domestic organisations.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the men in this group was their lack of planning prior to the event of redundancy. Chris Bracewell:

> " Looking back I should have thought a lot more about it [] who wants someone like me when there are apprentice trained men out of work, I didn't stand a chance of getting a job. I think t'counselling service bloke should have told me that, warned me against that but then that weren't his job I suppose.¼

Chris became unemployed immediately after retraining and has remained out of work since. Having spent most of the lump sum redundancy payment[video, new T.V., washing machine, 2 holidays, misc. H.P. purchases] Chris and Susan started having to survive on

supplementary benefit which they have not found easy. Susan [3rd Interview]:

" We have had to economise like, the rent's paid by t'social so that's alright but with Mandy still at home it's a bit of a struggle and I'm the one who has to count the pennies [] we very rarely have a Sunday joint...er...unless me dad gets us something, we never buy instant food or tinned food...well odds and ends...er...like we'd have packet soups as opposed to Heinz for example...we just get the cheaper foods...er..I also make a lot more clothes now 'cos we can't afford t'prices like."

Although Chris claimed to "do more" round the house, Susan disagreed with this:

" He doesn't really, we'll do the shopping together but I do pretty much everything else but then he wouldn't do it properly even if I wanted him to do it, well men can't iron and that can they...er...he's still busy looking for work though, he cycles into town every day and gets the paper and in t'summer he's busy with his allotment, he says 'Oh I'm off to work now love' when he goes up there...er...I suppose it is now, whereas before it were more of a hobby."

It is also, as has been noted elsewhere, a useful source of extra food.

Chris felt that he could keep reasonably well occupied and even after two years of unemployment did not miss his job at B.S.C. He did of course miss his workmates, the money and the routine. He also held

very traditional views about the life roles men and women and as a result, felt that he had lost his sense of 'manhood':

" I do think the man's job in life is still to provide for his family like and I think things'll only get better when I do get a job. I really feel like I've lost something, part of meself if you know what I'm saying? [] I do get down about it sometimes and I wonder if I'm ever going to get another job."

By the time of the third interview [December 1985] the situation seemed to be static. It had certainly not got any worse, largely due to the fact that Chris had got involved in a Youth Club locally, which of course was frequented by unemployed teenagers. Why had he got involved? [Joint Interview]:

" Like I told you before Nick, I were just vegetating so I thought I'd have to do something even if it were voluntary like and I enjoy it, it fills me time and it's put a lot of things in perspective...er..seeing the problems of the kids round here, it's heart breaking to think that some of them might never work..."

I/Susan: "...it gets him out from under my feet as well..."

I/Chris: "...[L] Aye that is a good thing actually 'cos I'm not happy sat about t'house...er...but I'm still looking for a proper job somewhere but not at £70 or £80 a week."

Given the length of Chris's unemployment and the traditional set up in the home, this family has coped better than might be expected. I think the reason why lies in the fact that Chris and Susan have been able to maintain a traditional division of labour after redundancy, with

Chris leading a quasi-work role [allotment/youth club] and Susan retaining her position as housewife/domestic manager. It is not clear how well this balance can be maintained if Chris does not find full time employment in the near future.

The situation with the Greens was very similar. Immediately after being made redundant from B.S.C., Geoff went on a plumbing course and obtained work for a Central Heating Company. He was made redundant with eight others three weeks before the first interview and having originally been one of the 'in work' group, so became one of the 'unemployed' group. His comments about his second redundancy in two years make for interesting reading and represent the one example of a phasic response to redundancy, although not to his redundancy from B.S.C.:

> " When I were told me job were going at [Private Company] I were shocked, we'd been really busy and I just wasn't expecting it...er...it weren't like at B.S.C. when I knew it were coming and I would have some money, it were depressing actually."

Having spent almost all their redundancy money [a new car, holiday, home improvements and paying off H.P. items], Geoff and Marjorie have had to cut back on luxury items and socialising outside the home. Between the first and third interviews there was a noticeable decline in Geoff's sense of well being, from being reasonably optimistic in the first interview to being pessimistic and even fatalistic by the time of the third interview, as he said:

" I have got more down recently, for instance I must have sent off for forty or more jobs in that time and only about five bothered to reply, that gets me down, it's like you don't matter anymore."

Geoff's lack of involvement in housework, reflects on the traditional arrangement which had existed prior to redundancy. I asked them in the third interview if Geoff had got more involved in housework:

Marjorie:" You're joking [L]!"

Geoff: " No, not really, but you've always done all that side of things haven't you ...I mean you don't really like me doing it do you?"

Marjorie: " No, I suppose not but that's my job...er...I suppose you'd call us old-fashioned in that way but I'd rather he spent his time looking for work and not getting under my feet."

Q: " Have you found that the last six months has imposed any strains on you, as a couple, or...?"

Geoff: " Well it has to be, I mean I'm not used to being sat at home and well we do have more silly rows than we used to..."

I/Marjorie : "... Yes, we do but it's difficult, like before we had us own lives like, well, you know, a bit of space but now we're together twenty four hours a day,...I mean that'd get on anybody's nerves wouldn't it?"

So far as I could tell their two children, aged twenty four and seventeen had not been affected by Geoff's unemployment.I would suggest, that at the time of the third interview, this couple may have been on

the verge of difficulties. It has not been easy to stay in touch and letters I have since written have remained unanswered.

For the Nicholsons, redundancy has proved to be a particularly unpleasant experience. Barry Nicholson saw redundancy coming, but as he admitted in the first interview, did not make adequate plans for the future. Having completed a one year building course, Barry has been unemployed, in spite of applying for "over 100 jobs". At the time of writing he has been out of work for over two years. As with the other families in this group the lump sum redundancy payment has been used up on such items as a T.V., video recorder, several items for the house, and gardening equipment.

Although Barry and Brenda clearly care about their three young children ,and have tried to protect them from the effects of Barry's unemployment, considerable strains have been imposed upon a traditional family set up. Prior to redundancy Barry did little about the house and save for childcare, generally pursued his own leisure activities [mainly sport]. This was an arrangement which neither really questioned prior to redundancy, but something which Brenda has questioned since. [Joint Interview]:

> Brenda: " I still do most of that [the shopping] about eh t'only thing we used to do together was t'shopping until we had to sell t'car so now I do it on me own, on t'bus. Barry'll help with the kids but not a lot else..."
>
> I/Barry: " ...Yeah but that's still your job really isn't it? I mean can you see me with an apron on hanging washing out like [L]..."

l/Brenda: "... but it's a bit unfair, er...you're round t'house as much as l am so you should do your share."

Both felt that Barry's unemployment had imposed strains on their relationship, but sought as far as possible, to protect their children: [3rd Interview]

Brenda: " It's got to have had an effect hasn't it...er...before he were made redundant we were planning on buying this house...er...that's been lost, we've had to sell t'car and us standard of living's gone down, we had a plan like...er...a family and our own house like, so we've lost all that..."

l/Barry: "...it's affected *us* though hasn't it, things'll never improve so long as l'm out of work...er...we try not to but because we're together all t'time we have more arguments and barnies than we used to ..."

l/Brenda: "...it's them that's keeping us going...er...we always make sure they have enough, like food and clothes and l try to get them a little treat once a week, Christmas is gonna be a problem though."

Barry: "Mmm, yeah, l mean we've got problems there's no doubt about that but we love Caroline and Ally and little Damien and we'll do us best for them even if it means us going without."

They said that they managed "O.K." on Suplementary Benefit/Family Allowance, despite having to cut back on household expenditure. The difficulties faced by this family are unlikely to be resolved unless Barry finds full-time employment. Their care for their children will, l

think, help them to stick together during this period. However, the account Barry gave of his feelings in the third interview suggests a man only just coping with a life without work:

> " I do get bored, especially in winter...er...one day runs into t'next, I get tired right easily and get up later than I used to [] yeah, I do get depressed and angry 'cos I want to work but not for £70 a week, I can get that on t'social [] I watch more television, it's on 24 hours a day that thing, I hope it doesn't conk out, I'll have nothing to do [L] I'd almost given up applying for jobs but I suppose I'll carry on with that."

With the Lloyds we come to the last works family. Of all the couples in this study these have been most affected by redundancy. The very traditional division of labour in the home and almost Victorian attitudes towards men and women combined with Brian's inability to change and, I feel, the lack of a close relationship prior to redundancy has resulted in a very re-active set of responses post redundancy. Brian's decisions prior to redundancy were taken largely without consulting Helen and both said they had "squandered" his redundancy pay [car, T.V., various items for house, new suite, clothes etc.] and are only just surviving on suplementary benefit [both are heavy smokers].

Since retraining on a catering course, "to get me redundancy entitlement", Brian has been unemployed. During this period this couple have separated twice and also have problems with two teenage children . Brian, at the time of the first interview was clearly feeling the effects of unemployment:

" I get right down and I mean really down. I'd never imagined what it were like to be unemployed, *they** don't give a shit about people like me...er...I sleep a lot nowadays...er...I might take t'dog for a walk and buy a paper to see if there's any jobs like, but at my age [45] what chance have I got. I reckon I'm on t'scrap heap now [] things with t'wife aren't too good but she'll tell you about that...er...how confidential is all this [1/Tape] we've always had us own lives like...like I were generally out wi me mates and she were wi' t'kids or her friends but it seemed to work...er...before all this happened. [] I watch a lot of television but I feel right lethargic a lot o' t'time...er...I do a bit of gardening in the summer and oh...er...I get £4 to go out wi' me mates on a Thursday which is about enough to buy a round that's all."

[*1985 Conservative Party Conference on T.V.]

Helen too felt that Brian's redundancy and unemployment had had a bad effect on him and their marriage:

" I've left home twice and stayed with me mam, so you can say that things have got bad he gets right bad tempered even with Tracey which isn't right. I think if he could get a job it'd get better but he seems to have given up, I've seen a side of him I'd never seen before since he were made redundant, like a big kid [] he doesn't do a lot around the house but then that's always been my job and he wouldn't do it properly anyway. I do regret it more now because of my job*, like I'll say 'Here I am working and you still expect your dinner on t'table' so I do resent it more now."

[* cash in hand cleaning job £15-18 a week]

The destructive impact of redundancy on this family is clear. It can be traced back to a very traditional division of labour, orthodox views about men's and women's roles in life and to a relationship which I felt has not been particularly close in the past. This is a clear reminder that unemployment can have a profoundly destructive effect on some families.

These negative effects were less marked for the Hamiltons although for a time, they too faced difficulties. Their redundancy payments were used to make a variety of home improvements and several major items of expenditure [video and new car]. When Reg became unemployed after retraining, they spent more of this to get below the [then] £2,000 mark. At the time of the first interview [April 1985], Reg was still unemployed and Eileen resented having him round the house all day:

> " When I first finished work it wasn't so bad really because we were going around, [] looking for the kitchen fitments and things like that but I suddenly found out that I was cooking and Reg'd be over my shoulder, turning the hob down or things like this, and it was terrible, we had more arguments than we've had all our married life really, not that we haven't had arguments we have, but we found we were snagging a lot more [] I feel that it's being with each other twenty four hours a day and not ten, ten hours which it used to be."

During this period, Reg did not become more involved in work in the home and remembers this period as being probably the worst time in their marriage [3rd Interview]:

Reg: [ ]" It was awful wasn't it?"

Eileen: " Yes [L]."

Reg: " I mean I was used to being the main breadwinner uhm.... Eileen's always worked but it's always been a secondary thing and I thought I could easily get a job with my experience and qualifications and when I couldn't it was a shock, a real shock [] when I wasn't looking for work, which is quite time consuming Nick, I'd be off with my old workmates fishing or playing golf. I didn't like being in the house 24 hours a day..."

I/Eileen: "... I quite liked you to get out occasionally because we did get under each other's feet at that time."

Reg: "I wasn't used to that, housework and what have you, Eileen had always done that type of thing."

This period of tension was only resolved when Reg obtained work as a manager at a Security Firm, for a lower salary than the one he enjoyed at B.S.C. Only at this time did their relationship return to what they considered to be normal, with Reg as the principal breadwinner. The last visit I paid to them to say "goodbye" [3rd May 1986] confirmed this assessment, they both looked healthier and more relaxed with each other, despite the unresolved conflicts which emerged when Reg was unemployed.

The last family , the Pattersons, are the only example of a role reversal couple. Jim has been without work since retraining and Pat has worked full-time as a nurse since his redundancy. This has not led to a reversal of roles in the home and is an arrangement which neither are happy with. This again reflects Jim's and Pat's separate leisure lives and very traditional views about men and women prior to redundancy.

They have used their redundancy pay to buy a new car, for house improvements, a cooker, a hi-fi system, a new dog and helped finance their son's career as a rally driver. Jim was rather secretive about what exactly his retraining was apart from saying it was for "a friend's business". I suspect, although there was no way of confirming this, that this was merely to obtain 80's/90's entitlement, with little regard for future employment prospects. Whatever did happen in this period, the 'retraining' he obtained has not enabled him to find work since. As a result, his wife Pat has gone out to work full time as an S.R.N. This, as noted above, has made little difference to a division of labour which neither are happy with, as this extract reveals:

> " Yorkshire men tend to think of themselves as lord and masters, well I know my father and grandfather did and Jim was sort of brought up that way when he was young, women didn't work, the men went to work and the women stopped at home [] I object to being spoken to as a bit of, as a skivvy, [] I've a very responsible job, I'm responsible for 28 patients and staff and everything and I object to being spoken to like a dumb wit when I get home [] you have to be a bit careful actually because that could cause a row, you know, I think it's better to sort of go and make the bed, go away and make the bed vigorously than say anything at him, because I think a man's pride is very important to him and after you take away a man's pride you've taken away an awful lot from him."

In spite of working full-time, Pat was still expected to do most of the housework, because she felt that Jim did not do it properly, so rather than "checking up" on him she decided to continue doing it

herself. She had, during this period, noticed a decline in Jim's general sense of well being:

" Since he's taken his redundancy time passes him by [] he's missed the male companionship, because he is very much a man's man, he mixes alright with women but he likes the company of men, you know, to talk about sport and things like that and he misses the company and I feel that he should do something about it. [] he must seek companionship and do something positive, because at the moment he, to me, he's just frittering his life away. He said this morning after he'd just brought the dog back, that he feels as if he's in a dream and he's off work for a few days and suddenly he'll be back at work. [] I feel actually, that taking his redundancy has turned him into an old man."

Jim too felt that his health had suffered during his time out of work:

" A lot of doubts are entering my mind now [] I have problems with my eyes, I can't read, I can't concentrate. I used to be able to read book after book, several books a week but my eyes tend to itch and burn and my nerves get on edge. Now, I tend not to be able to read, I can't read more than two or three pages at a go [] I've had to cut my own sport out. I actually...I've been away from the golf course through me leg as much as anything, so much that I've lost touch you see I've now got a handicap that I can't play to, I'm not...I can't move around as quick as I used to. I find myself taking almost endless walks. I have tended to worry a lot more since I stopped working, I mean I'm supposed to see t'doctor now, I think

I've had...my blood pressure's been up a little bit since and I think that's mainly through worry which I never bothered about particularly when I was at work."

Jim's recollections about his lack of involvement in housework serve to remind us of the often considerable investment women have in the role of 'housewife':

" I tried to help, I mean I run the vacuum cleaner round and do the polishing of the sideboard and things like that, I empty the ashtrays and all that sort of thing and make the bed and that, but Pat's the one who will go around after I've done and dust and say 'You haven't done this' or 'You haven't done that.' I don't think it would be possible to take any work off my wife. I think that she'll come home from work and still work...she says she gets pleasure out of working in the house [] on occasions if she has been busy doing something I have got the vacuum cleaner out and I know she resents it because I am doing the work that she...I think she wants to do the traditional jobs [] it is very difficult this striking balance of who does what."

This account does highlight some important themes. Although financially relatively secure, emotionally, Jim's redundancy has been a disaster [although their son, Mike, has not been affected]. They have not come to terms with the consequences of their role reversal, with Jim now economically dependent on Pat and she unable to give up her 'traditional' duties. Again, the important variables appear to be the rigidity of the divisions of labour prior to redundancy and the extra

familial/separate leisure activities of Jim. It should come as no surprise that once thrust into the domestic sphere he has been unable to adapt and is now fatalistic about life. Similarly Pat, a very 'domesticated' woman finds his involvement in 'her' work problematic, and at times has even resented it. This inability to change in altered circumstances reflects on very traditional arrangements prior to redundancy, and has led to a re-active response to redundancy. As of 3/12/86 Jim was still out of work and Pat is still working full-time as an S.R.N.

V : 12 : 3 The Children.

There was little evidence that the children of those families who experienced unemployment were adversely/negatively affected by this experience, with the exception of the Lloyds . There were however some significant differences in terms of children's present status and parental aspirations for their children. Amongst those couples with older children in the works group [The O'Neils, the Smiths, the Parkers, the Bracewells, the Nicholsons and the Lloyds] there is no evidence of upward mobility, with the exception of the Parkers' two daughters. Of the children aged sixteen and over [eleven in total] seven are, at the time of writing, unemployed.

Conversely, amongst those staff families with older children [The Pattersons, the Hamiltons and the Mitchells] there was evidence of upward mobility and none were out of work. This suggests some differences in terms of the motivation and encouragement of the children of these two groups. However, amongst those works families with young children [The Baldwins, the Pipers, the Whites, the Franklins and the Sullivans] and the staff families with young children [The Fosters, the Higgins, the Mitchells and the Thompsons] there a commonly expressed desire to encourage them at home and at school and equip them with the skills and aptitudes to survive in an uncertain world.

Pete White and Len Baldwin were both keen to push their children at school, although both had worries about their future as Len Baldwin observed:

" I don't see Jamie having many problems really as such. He'll have no other problems than...than I had when I were his age, he'll

probably have more problems getting a job, I should hate to see him going out on to one of these silly schemes, these training schemes. The reason I wanted to set up me own business was so that when Jamie left school I could offer him an apprenticeship, teach him the trade. I've seen these kids on these schemes and I've seen t'way they treat 'em, I've worked with 'em and I've seen 'em at college, they just don't want to know, they know in 12 months time they'll just be on t'dole, I don't want to see Jamie drift aimlessly around or be fenced in to something like they are doing[] just so that somebody in Whitehall can do unemployment figures look better than what they are."

The Pipers too sought, to protect their children, Emma and Michael from any possible effects of Bob's unemployment. Whilst not more involved with the housework, Bob did become more involved in childcare, a role he found very rewarding. They also wanted Emma and Michael to succeed at school and university and imbue them with "the right attitudes".

Bob: " Oh yes we'll definitely push them won't we love, our mam and dad weren't that interested in us at school, well there was always plenty of jobs then, but it's different these days, you've got to have a good education...er...and I don't want to see them on t'dole or one of them schemes at sixteen."

Paradoxically, one works couple who themselves had not suffered from unemployment, the O'Neils, had mixed views about the effect of their change of lifestyle on their children:

Eunice:" In some ways it's good because you're always here, there's always mum or dad here, during school holidays it isn't the problem it would be,[]if I was working full-time, [] but when it comes to the freedom of going out, you haven't got it, you're very restricted when you can go out and when you can take them out.[] I found the two older ones a lot easier to look after than these two because they want to go to places that we're not interested in now, you've got to take them because they want to go, you know, it's part of childhood, part of looking after the children [] it is a different life for them, but with the little ones I think they aren't old enough to have realised, that it is. Definitely they've missed out on a lot of going places, but having somebody here all the time can I suppose help them."

Mike: "It's got to have, because yes, we haven't got the time to spend on 'em like, when Tracey and Gail were little, I mean especially this time of year I were very seldom at home, I mean quite often I'd even come home from work at two o'clock, jump in t'car...I had a motor bike and side car, and go to the coast for t'rest of the day and when I was on nights I used to say 'Come on we'll go out on Derbyshire Moors' and I'd sleep on t'grass and let t'kids play but now t'only chance we've got is Sunday like to do it, so yes it's got to have affected them."

At the opposite end of the scale were the Nicholsons and the Lloyds. Barry and Brenda Nicholson, whilst facing difficulties as a couple have sought to protect their teenage daughters and son and have pushed them at school.[Joint Interview] :

> Brenda: " We've always been keen on that 'cos they have got opportunities which we didn't, take...er...they've seen what happened to their dad and of course they've all got friends on t'dole, you know what I find depressing is how grown up they seem now, er...I know they're only kids but they're old in a funny way...."
>
> I/Barry: "... Mmm, I think what Nick's getting at is...er...I know we've got problems but we've tried to protect them...er...they get all the food they need, they don't go without. Uhm, I hope they both do well in their 'O' levels, they're both bright and they'll need to be with t'state of t'country at present time."

The situation with the Lloyds is rather different. It is clear from the material presented earlier that this is a family with major problems. Redundancy has unleashed latent tensions which existed in this family prior to redundancy and it comes as little surprise to find alienation and, at times, outright hostility between parents and children, in particular between Brian and Damian. Damian has been in trouble with the police and has since moved out to live with "some punks" in Pitsmoor. The usual tensions which exist between parents and teenage children have been considerably worsened by Brian's emotional and physical decline and the lack of a close knit family life prior to

redundancy. Neither Brian nor Brenda had much to say about their children, describing them both as "unruly".

In the staff group there were no signs of any adverse effects of parental unemployment on the children. Andy and Sheila Foster protected their children from their own difficulties and were very keen to push their children at school. Andy:

" Well Richard and Steven are too young to notice really, but when I were out of work I used to spend a lot more time with Diana so I don't know, she never went without, er...we always made sure they had enough, they never went without."

Neither, however, were particularly optimistic about their futures. [Joint Interview]:

Sheila: " I suppose if they got Thatcher out it might get better [] we'll definitely push them at school though, I hope they'll learn and not just get any old job. I hope they have more than me, like qualifications and such."

Andy: " Oh yes, definitely, I mean with the state of things at present they haven't got a chance without a good education have they?"

All the men in the more egalitarian families were involved in childcare whilst in work and more so during periods without work. A sense of 'correct values' was seen to be an important component of their children's upbringing, as The Higgins observed [Joint Interview]:

Phil: " I'd like them to grow up with a correct idea of values like honesty and such..."

I/Janet: "... they've both always done well at school and they've always had excellent reports so we're quite happy with that."

Phil: " But I think the right values are important...er.."

I/Janet: "... yes, respect for other people is very important and you don't find that in a lot of children you know [] I'd like them to do well at school and do something with their lives, I mean just to marry and have children is not the same thing as it was, unless their husbands had very good jobs but...er...I wouldn't pressure them."

For the Pattersons and Hamiltons , their uncertainties had little effect on their children. The Pattersons [Joint Interview]:

Jim:" It hasn't affected him really, he lives at home but he's hardly ever here and when he is, he's up to his elbows in grease and spanners...he's always been mad on bikes ever since he was little and all he's ever wanted to do is ride them which is what he does now, he's very good actually and he might even be a world champion one day [L]"

Pat : " Yes, it's something I was **never** keen on, I mean he dropped out of college during his 'A' levels and I was very angry at the time but he's doing well now so we're pleased for him."

A similar account was given by the Hamiltons [Joint Interview]:

Ellen:" Well we were always keen on them to do well at school and they both have, Philip's at Manchester and Sarah's at 6th form college so they haven't been affected really."

Reg: "Er...that's interesting, I think that, well it's hard to tell with Sarah, I mean she's at that age when you can't tell her anything and perhaps we were a bit strict with her. I mean we know what unemployment means and I don't want to see her on the scrapheap at 18."

Ellen: " We both hope that they're happy in life and do what they want, I do worry at times but I think they'll both do well [1Reg] Yes, I can't see why not, I just hope that the general economic situation picks up, I'd hate for them to go through what we've been through."

To conclude. It is clear from these brief extracts that the position of the children in each of these families varied considerably. There seems to be a clear divide between those who want to push their children hard at school now and those raising their children in times of low unemployment who failed to push their kids at school. However, all the parents in this group who have experienced unemployment have been, so far as I could tell, been able to protect younger children from any negative consequences, with of course, the exception of the Lloyds.

V : 11 : 4 Attitudes Towards the Future.

Amongst the works group attitudes towards the future were overwhelmingly pessimistic even amongst those who had come through the post redundant phase relatively unscathed. In the staff group, attitudes were more mixed:

Figure 17 : **Attitudes Towards The Future [Works and Staff Under 55s].**

WORKS:

	OPTIMISTIC	UNSURE	PESSIMISTIC
MEN	0	1	11
WOMEN	0	3	9

STAFF:

	OPTIMISTIC	UNSURE	PESSIMISTIC
MEN	3	1	3
WOMEN	2	1	4

Amongst the pessimists were:

Brian Lloyd:

" The way things are going at the present time it's just awful...they talk about Victorian values, never mind Victorian times...it's like going back into the bloody dark ages with them...it's dividing the country and I can't understand why people put up with it...she's slaughtering working class people."

Peter White:

" If you're going to be realistic I don't think that the prospects for this world are very good. I mean the whole world's going steadily mad, we are becoming so clever that ultimately we'll disappear up us own arseholes...the world has become crazy, nuclear weapons, power, money, a dog eat dog type of society like we've got now...no, I'm not optimistic."

and Marjorie Green:

" It's awful to be honest, I mean we've got unemployment going up, crime...er...there's kids round here who might never work in their lives and then there's nuclear weapons and all that [] I'm pessimistic in general but you've got to have hope, there's no point otherwise [] I still can't believe how much Rotherham's gone down in the last ten years, it used to be such a good place to live in you know."

Predictably, the Mitchells and the Thompsons were the most optimistic about the future. Susan and John Thompson [3rd Interview]:

Susan: " Well for us things look very good, we've no worries and I really do think that if we can stick at it the country will pull through...er...people are always putting Mrs. Thatcher down but she's done a good job in some ways...

I/John: "... Yes, she's sorted out some deep problems in British Industry which will stand us in good stead in the future. She's made people realise that they have toearn their own way in the world and not live of the backs of others."

SUMMARY

It is clear that there are a great variety of possible outcomes to the event of redundancy. It does not necessarily lead to unemployment and/or pauperisation. It would appear that class location, occupational history and length of service explain only part of what can happen after job loss. The other variables are:

- transferable work skills;
- degree of planning prior to redundancy;
- the utilisation of realistic coping strategies;
- age
- attitudes towards family life, prior to redundancy.

The over 55's were best able to cope with redundancy and its after effects, supported by a relatively generous redundancy package and able to move from a 'work' role to a semi-retired role, although the staff group missed work slightly more. Within the home, a diminution of perceived gender divisions, built up over the life course of these men and women, has led to a greater involvement of men in domestic work, although the extent of this varied. This has built upon a primarily although not exclusively family centred lifestyle of the men in this group, prior to redundancy.

The situation with the under 55's is much more complex, given their continuing need to continue to be active in the local labour market. The accounts given by these men of their redundancy and retraining raises important questions about the schemes put forward by B.S.C. to cope with redundancies in the local area. Expressions of dissatisfaction

with both the counselling service and retraining courses were very common. As I noted earlier, [11 : 4 : 4] we have the extraordinary situation in South Yorkshire of serious skill shortages in engineering and other trades whilst thousands of retrained ex steelworkers languish on the dole.

Some of the under 55's have gone straight into employment, either as employees or, in four cases, as self employed entrepreneurs. The majority however have experienced 'chequered' careers after redundancy, combining varied periods of retraining, employment, unemployment and informal economic activities. Amongst this group there is a division , between those who have been able to cope with this situation [The Pro - active Group] and those who have not [The Re-active Group]. The crucial coping variable was the degree to which men had been involved in family life and work in the home prior to redundancy rather than occupation or length of service.

Those with extra-familial male centred social lives outside of work have been quite unable to cope in a world without paid work. In some cases, the wives, used to being 'housewives' and identifying strongly with this role, have resented their husbands presence in the home and 'interference' in housework. This has led, in some cases, to increased tensions between husbands and wives and between parents and teenage children. One encouraging sign though was the extent to which parents seemed keen to protect young children from the effects of unemployment.

The political, social and religious consciousness of this group of men and women has raised some important issues. For the most part, particularly amongst the upwardly mobile, politics has been regarded as something 'out there' and not of immediate thematic, motivational and

interpretatiional relevancy. A general support for the Labour Party between 1945 and 1979 has been transformed into support for more a centralist position, reflecting an often expressed fear of 'extremists'.

This support for Kinnock Labourism and The Alliance has rarely been transformed into political or industrial activism. The 1981 strike was the only time that a majority of the men were ever out of work prior to redundancy. The lack of solidarity of the steel unions in the 1980's combined with a lack of collective loyalties amongst the work force raises significant questions about the nature of the working class in the local area, the primary loyalties of these men and women and their attitudes towards work, their families and the wider society of which they are a part. The most successful after redundancy were the 'individualists'. Far from generating increased militancy, the rundowm of B.S.C. led a fragmenting of whatever collectivist loyalties had existed.

The data presented in this section raises important general questions about the changing relations of men and women in the post war period.This study of stable first marriages, illustrates the way in which many men and women perceive marriage as something which can work successfully and is not necessarily a scource of alienation and oppression for women. Generational differences in attitudes towards politics, the role of women in life and to redundancy, reflect how changing macro-social realities have interacted with private perceptions at a micro level. It shows that change is possible in the relations between men and women, indeed, it is in those families characterised by the least degree of traditional male control which are lilely to be the most stable in normal times and best able to cope with upheavals and

chequered life courses. The experiences of the under 55's are becoming increasingly common and are likely to feature in the lives of many families, at all stages in the life course, for at least the next decade.

There are also several issues related to the position of the children in this group. Clear generational differences emerged in the attitudes of parents towards the educational system and in the encouragement given to children at school. In the over 55's there is evidence of marked upward mobility amongst the children. Amongst the older under 55's there is evidence of relatively high levels of unemployment, reflecting a lack of motivation by parents in times of high employment. For those with younger children having experienced uncertainty and unemployment, there is evidence of parents wanting to push their children at school, regardless of gender.

Finally, we will need to link this material into some of our conventional wisdoms on work, family life, redundancy and unemployment, social and economic change and the relationship between public issues and private troubles. This forms the subject matter of Part [VI].

PART VI

CONCLUSIONS.

Introduction.

The interest of sociologists in the changes occurring in social systems, past and present, has a long history. Sociology emerged in the 19th century as an intellectual and political challenge to what Berger and Luckmann (1981) describe as, 'the onset of modernity' and, in particular, as a response to economic and social change (eg: Durkheim, Weber, Simmel and Parsons). Early sociology was concerned with four central issues - three explicit and one implicit: explicitly, what caused economic and social change; what were the effects of such change and what types of social structures could be expected to emerge in the future. Implicitly, but with much less emphasis than modern sociology, on how groups of individuals responded to and acted back on such change. One of the central concerns of the sociological enterprise over the last one hundred years has been to make sense of this and how individuals, in specific, structural locations, have mediated, made sense of and acted back on economic and social change. This work, concerned with the public and private faces of redundancy in modern Britain, is firmly rooted in that classical tradition.

CHAPTER 13 : COPING WITH REDUNDANCY

V : 13 : 1 : DISPOSABLE OLDER STEELWORKERS AND EARLY RETIREMENT

As will be seen from the data derived from the questionnaire survey, the distribution of those made redundant from B.S.C. Rotherham was heavily skewed towards those aged over 55/50, reflecting B.S.C.'s programme of partial closures and 'cooling out' of older workers . This corresponds closely with the findings of other research in steel closure areas [eg. The Swansea Steel Project 1983-1986].

This also reflects a growing trend of older workers, throughout the British labour market, taking early retirement [Berthoud op.cit.: Chapter 9; Field D. 1981; Social Trends 1980-1986]. Given the financial and counselling support available to men over 55 and women over 50 it is unsurprising that many took the opportunity, if unwillingly, to opt out of the labour market and enjoy a longer period of retirement than might have been the case.[1] Early retirement also represents a socially legitimate role for many ex-steelworkers, free of the stigma often associated with 'unemployment'.

In general terms, all the men and women in the over 55's/50's groups felt that the early retirement of the principal breadwinner had been a good thing. None, for example, went through the 'disenchanted phase' described by Berthoud [1977 : 64]. This was due to the amount of time these men and women had to prepare for redundancy; the counselling advice available to them and the financial buffer provided by the redundancy package. This was on average slightly better for white collar workers most of whom had private pension schemes. Most of the men did

not miss their work *per se*, although several missed the routine and workmates, particularly in the staff group. For those two men who had suffered from ill health prior to redundancy, both reported an improvement [cf Parsons, 1951 and 1952].

Although Yorkshire has a higher than average mortality rate, it is likely, given the findings of other research on retirement, that the life expectancies of these couples will be double the average for men [13 years] and women 15-16 years, although as many as 15% are likely to suffer from ill health prior to death [Berthoud op.cit. : 128]. Those who were in manual/semi skilled occupations are likely to have a shorter retirement than those in professional/white collar occupations. The women, in general, can be expected to outlive the men in both groups [Townsend and Davidson, op.cit. : Chapters 2 and 3].

None of the men and women in this group reported the most common negative disorders generally associated with [impending] old age such as depression, psychosomatic disorders, physical disability and alcohol or drug abuse. These generally negative attributes serve to obscure the positive aspects of early retirement. Financially secure and in the main being able to establish replacement routines and activities, these men and women have coped well with life after industrial disengagement. In only two cases did children still live at home, both of whom were in work. This removed a considerable financial and emotional burden. One of the most commonly reported benefits was the possibility of greater involvement with children and grandchildren [cf : Bengston and Robertson [Eds], 1983 : Chapter 5]. Since redundancy these men and women, with the possible exception of the Philips, have continued to participate

with interest in life and enjoyed a well earned rest from both the rigours of work and the possible anxieties of unemployment.[23]

Redundancy has resulted in a divergence of the life courses of these couples [See Appendix 10]. From a marked divergence after marriage and the arrival of children and its continuance throughout a long period of 'benevolent patriarchy', their life courses have converged, in most cases, to a situation which I have described as a quasi-symmetrical partnership. The greater involvement of men in domestic work was due to the declining significance of the perceived gender roles held by both men and women whilst husbands had been economically active.

Traditional ideas, about male and female 'spheres' have diminished in British society as a whole over the last thirty years, as well as during the lifetimes of these men and women. This has accelerated in the post-redundant period. In short, the 'team', based on men's paid/formal work and women's work [housework with some paid/formal work] has become in all cases, a household 'team' with a fair degree of equality. All these households were, of course, still characterised by remnants of the traditional divisions of labour which had existed prior to redundancy. In particular the ironing and 'pegging out', remained largely the wives' responsibility. In other tasks such as washing, cleaning and shopping, a genuine equality did exist, unrelated to previous male occupation, reflecting a generally unproblematic transition from working to non working roles.

V : 13 : 2 The Under 55's.

Whilst accounting for the experiences of the over 55's is a relatively easy task, explaining the responses of the under 55's to redundancy and its after effects is more difficult. As noted earlier [Chapter 12], the nineteen families in the Works and Staff groups fell into three main groups, although there was overlap with some families. For the purposes of discussion, I have split the Employed Group into two. The four groups are:

	NO'S
- The Self-Employed Group.	[3]
- The Employed Group.	[4]
- The 'Chequered' Group : Positive Responses.	[6]
- The 'Chequered' Group : Negative Responses.	[6]

The Self Employed Group

A growing trend in the U.K., since the 1970's, has been a rapid increase in the numbers of people in self employment, from 1,827,000 in 1979 to 2,700,000 in 1986. One of the reasons most often given for self employment is enforced redundancy, suggesting that many of Thatcher's 'new entrepreneurs' opted for self employment through necessity, rather than choice [Spilsbury M. et. al., 1986][3]. The authors suggest, that such endeavours are creating a few new jobs, but are not making substantial inroads into the large numbers of jobs lost in manufacturing industry in recent years.

Faced with redundancy in times of high unemployment, it is not surprising that some ex-steelworkers faced with a shrinking local economy, restricted job opportunities, an uncertain future and the encouragement of private enterprise by Conservative politicians, government agencies [eg. The M.S.C.] and the media [eg Y.T.V.'s Enterprise Programme], should opt for self employment. This response to redundancy amongst those without formal academic qualifications was very natural. The lack of self-employment amongst the white collar group, reflects a greater confidence in their work experience and qualifications. For the blue collar group, with modest educational standards and often non-transferable work skills, self-employment was seen as being as good an option as any other available at the time. The main reasons given for self-employment were 'my age', 'unemployment locally', 'the independence' and 'something for the children'.

My findings are broadly in line with the findings of other studies on entrepreneurs and self employment, except for the fact that none had any experience of self employment prior to redundancy(4). Only one couple [The Franklins - works] felt that they were financially better off. The remainder, described themselves as 'about the same', despite often working very long hours. All found these long hours occasionally irksome, imposing restrictions on leisure activities and holidays. This was offset against the 'independence' and 'autonomy' of being self employed. In all cases, except the Franklins, these men and women ran their businesses essentially as family concerns with only occasional part-time employees. All felt that a small business was a good investment for the future, for themselves and their children.(5)

There were no significant links between previous occupation, length of service and the decision to 'go it it alone' amongst the works group. There was however a link between political and social consciousness and self employment amongst the successful entrepreneurs in this group. These men and their wives have moved markedly, from unequivocal support for the Labour Party in the 1960's and 1970's to support for the Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance or 'business' Labourism. This shift has been accelerated by the experience of self employment. These successful entrepreneurs were the most hostile to 'extremism', 'trade union power' and 'the welfare state'. All the men in this group, expressed considerable alienation from their work at B.S.C.. They could not be described as 'radical individualists' [Goldthorpe et.al, op.cit.] but there were certainly elements of this in their social and political attitudes. Several mentioned the need for people to 'get off their backsides and work for a living'. Although unlikely to vote Conservative in the future, the Labour Party cannot be expected to auomatically receive the votes of these entrepreneurs in future elections.

Locating this group in Britain's class structure is problematic. All were from working class backgrounds and had achieved a degree of upward mobility prior to redundancy [all were home owners]. They sought to emphasise that they were still 'working class' but expressed varying degrees of alienation from the radical left in British Politics. At the same time they also represent a concrete example of ordinary people responding to conservative appeals to 'rescue' our ailing economy by generating new businesses. They are both working class and bourgeois, a cross class grouping who in Weber's words are 'outsiders'.(6)

In all but one case these businesses were jointly owned which reflects a marked change in the economic power of the wives in this group, who jointly controlled the creation of household income with their husbands. This is reflected in the greater equality of work in the home amongst these couples, except for the O'Neils, whose domestic arrangements prior to redundancy changed little. Despite being hard work, it is clear that part of the appeal of self-employment was due to the convivial nature of such work. The choice of self employment meant, consciously or unconsciously, access to a more convivial working life as an escape from industrial monotony and alienation based on autonomous wealth creation and voluntary co-operation between husbands and wives [cf. Illich, 1973].

This desire of ordinary people to gain more control over their working lives is often over simplified in sociological thought on entrepreneurship. In some cases a critically patronising attitude is discernable [eg., Johnson 1986]. One would hope that small enterprises in, for example, the shape of corner shops, would continue to exist in 'socialist' societies. For the men and women in this group the decision to go self-employed was a highly [value] rational act. Even those who failed, Len Baldwin and Peter White, have not given up hope of trying again . They are still Labour supporters. To subsume self employment amongst working class people under the heading of 'false consciousness' does little justice to these men and women , who , having been placed in a difficult situation where other alternatives did not exist or, were in short supply, have worked hard to support themselves and their families.

The Employed Group.

For both the two works families and the two staff families whose principal breadwinner went either straight into employment, or into employment following retraining, redundancy has not been problematic. The key to understanding their success in moving from one sector of the labour market to another lies very much in the degree of planning employed by each of these men prior to redundancy, including realistic assessments of their own abilities and job prospects. Their success was not linked to age or family size or to occupation [all were different], but all were 'close' families , even those based on traditional divisions of labour.[cf., V : 11 : 3 and 4]

From the most egalitarian family [The Smiths-works] to the least egalitarian [Thompsons-staff], prior to redundancy, there was clear evidence of close knit lifestyles, despite the inevitable tensions and crises inherent in married life. Political activities, outside of necessary Trade Union work or voting at elections, played a minimal role in the day to day lives of this group, as indeed did religion. Whilst conversant with political issues none saw it as immediately relevant, more as a necessary external evil to be coped with in the best way possible. Although attitudes to work varied, with a greater sense of alienation by the works men, it was generally seen as a means to obtaining benefits outside of work, primarily with other family members. [See V : 11: 3.

Uppermost in the minds of these couples at the time of redundancy was 'What's best for us and our families ?'. For Gordon Smith, the only man who retrained in this group, it provided an opportunity to move

from semi-skilled work at B.S.C. into social work. This was only achieved with a good deal of pre planning with his wife June. It is somewhat ironic that their principal worry is about their eldest son's unemployment. It is clear that the McDermotts' and Thompsons' attitude was also quite instrumental, although given their traditional domestic arrangements, problems could have arisen if the men had not found work immediately.

It is clear, at the time of redundancy, that instrumentalism/ deferentialism won over whatever traditional loyalties these men may have felt and the comments of several of these men about the lack of Trade Union solidarity at the time is particularly revealing in this respect [V : 12 : 1]. This evidence reinforces an earlier argument, that in particular circumstances family loyalties may exercise a greater importance in people's minds than collectivist loyalties. The coping strategies of this group also illustrates the space within which individuals can act back on society, in ways which were not determined *a priori* by class background and previous occupation.

The 'Chequered' Group : Positive Responses.

Many of the under 55's have experienced chequered after-work 'careers'. Rather than lengthy spells of employment or unemployment, all of these men and women have experienced spells of retraining, and/or self-employment, and/or employment, and/or unemployment. For many of these men and women redundancy has been followed by three years of uncertainty and, at certain times, family stress. None of this group passed through a phasic response to unemployment although there were occasional echoes of this. Two men [Phil Higgins and Andy Foster] reported 'shock' at the actual news of redundancy, although the second of these experienced this when made redundant, with very little notice, from his first job after retraining.

For the six families in this group, redundancy has had some negative effects although, at the time of writing, there has been a successful conclusion to this account, with the one exception of the Whites. As with the self-employed and employed groups there was a deep awareness of the need to plan for the future after redundancy. Once again, the decisions taken at this time were strongly influenced by family ties and loyalties, rather than to extra-familial collectivist loyalties. There was certainly evidence of a more traditional proletarian outlook amongst the works men but this was not reflected in their instrumental attitude towards redundancy. It should be noted that attitudes to both the counselling service and towards retraining provisions were generally negative amongst this group.

The responses of this group to the uncertain period which followed redundancy varied in nature and duration. For the most egalitarian families prior to redundancy [The Higgins, Fosters and Baldwins] unemployment, after retraining, was followed by the negotiation of more equal divisions of labour in the home. The men became more involved in child care and domestic work, not just on an occasional basis, but as a regular responsibility. Philip Higgins testified to the way redundancy provided him with insights about child care and domestic work which he will take on board for the rest of his life. The close knit family life of these couples, which may well be untypical of many marriages, has provided the basis on which flexibility and readaptation has been possible and engendered positive responses to the uncertainties of unemployment.

Explaining the responses of the Pipers and Whites has proved to be more difficult. Although both men became much more involved in childcare, the traditional divisions of labour which existed prior to redundancy have not been renegotiated, even during periods of unemployment. This has been, at times, a source of resentment to both June [Piper] and Judith [White]. Despite this, there was little to suggest that either of their marriages were unstable. How are we to explain this? Both couples were 'close'. I had a very real sense of men and women who cared a great deal about each other. Although based on traditional divisions of labour, the men enjoyed generally home/family centred leisure activities. Both Rob [Piper] and Peter [White] were actively involved in the childcare of their young children. Both of the wives expressed a protective attitude towards 'their' housework, whilst their husbands sought work. Both men have been able

to find cash in hand jobs whilst unemployed, which has generated extra income, routine and partially restored their role of 'breadwinner'. Both had leisure interests which assumed greater importance during this period. Both couples were very attached to their children and keen to protect them from any possible negative effects of their unemployment. Lastly, many of their friends and relatives have been, or are, in a similar situation, so there is a degree of subcultural support. All these factors have helped to mediate those factors which have certainly contributed to marital breakdown elsewhere.

The only comparable research in this area lends support to these suggestions [Morris (1)-(5), S.S.P : 1983]. Morris found little additional involvement of the men in her study in domestic work and little change to traditional financial controls. She found a link between those with a home centred life prior to redundancy, who did become more involved and an overwhelming majority, with an extra-familial orientation who did not. This, she argued, was due to the existence of highly developed male social networks in the Port Talbot area which have acted as a block against renegotiations of gender roles. Such networks are less universal and homogeneous in the Sheffield/Rotherham area [although in local mining areas such close knit male social networks do exist : Steyne and Gibbon, 1986]

The importance of this group of 'positive copers' in sociological terms is clear. They are the prototype of a new type of 'worker' which has been created by current economic and social change. They are in a real sense a new sub-class, who are not part of the hard core of long term unemployed but do make up some of the high numbers of temporarily unemployed people [hence, the importance of differentiating between the

'stock' and 'flow' of unemployment). They are also representative of growing numbers of men and women who are experiencing and who will in the future, experience 'chequered' work and family life courses, whose responses to *worklessness* are very much a function of attitudes towards gender roles and family life.

The 'Chequered' Group : Negative Responses.

For the remaining families, redundancy has been followed by the negative consequences, traditionally associated with unemployment. For one family, the Lloyds, it has certainly contributed to the break up of a marriage which was not close prior to redundancy. These families, for a variety of reasons, have not coped well with the effects of redundancy. Again these responses were not only linked to age, occupation or length of service but also related to:

- a greater degree of traditional proletarianism amongst the four works men;
- less pragmatic and realistic planning both prior to and after redundancy;
- fairly inflexible conceptions of male and female roles reflected in very traditional divisions of labour in the home;
- a greater degree of extra familial social activities enjoyed by the men in this group, when compared to the other groups.

When compared to the other groups, there was a greater tendency to blame the counselling service for its advice and/or to blame the

inadequacies of their retraining. However, there was some evidence to suggest that they had been less than realistic in some of their choices of retraining courses. The key again to explaining the largely negative responses of the works group lies in the relationship between the organisation of family life prior to redundancy and political and social conciousness. Given the evidence presented earlier it would appear that traditional proletarianism linked to work, the organisation, Trade Union involvement and a male social fraternity, can be a positive impediment to an individual's ability to cope with altered social circumstances, in particular when large numbers of fellow workers do not pursue collectivist goals, as was the case in the rundown of B.S.C. in the 1980's.

The pattern of segregated work roles and marked divisions of labour in the home, linked with fixed ideas about 'men' and 'women' and separate leisure lives has created considerable problems. Perceived gender roles, acquired during childhood and continued throughout married life, have remained unquestioned after redundancy.

For the two staff families, the Pattersons and the Hamiltons, responses to redundancy are clearly related to their perceptions of men and women's roles in life. In both cases these were quite orthodox. This, linked to a pattern of separate work and leisure lives, had become such an integral part of their world views that when the circumstances which had supported it fell away, they were unable to change. This is reflected both in lack of increased involvement of men in housework and the depressive spells both Reg [Hamilton] and Jim [Patterson] experienced [In the latter case severe nervous tension and reactive depression]. It is also reflected in the reactions of the wives,

resenting 'interference' in the housework and in Pat Patterson's case, disliking her new found role as the principal breadwinner. All this, in spite of both families being, relatively, financially secure.

Amongst the works' families, there was evidence of both pauperisation and other problems associated with prolonged unemployment. All four families have had to make cutbacks in their weekly budgets, cutting out more expensive foods and luxury items. One of the most often mentioned losses was meat. As Twigg, Pill and Murcott (1983) have shown, meat has been and continues to be, in spite of the growth of vegetarianism, highly prized, not only as a source of solid, nourishing food (for working men in particular) and as a sign of wealth, but also in symbolic terms, in terms of its association with virility and strength. To lose the ability to prepare meat based foods represented a loss to all of these women, in their traditional role of preparing their men folk and children for the outside world. I did not find that the women did with less food than husbands or children, but there was evidence to suggest that both husbands and wives made sacrifices for young children (The Bracewells and The Greens in particular). Although they may be unable to protect their children from *all* the potentially negative effects of unemployment, this protective attitude indicates that the children are unlikely to suffer too much from the effects of having an unemployed father, with of course, the exception of the Lloyd family.

Although none of this group have been through a phasic response to unemployment, their experiences do tally closely with the generally negative images associated with worklessness: reduced income/poverty, listlessness, boredom, apathy, increased tensions between husbands and

wives and a deep pessimism about the future. There was some evidence that the leisure lives of these women had become more circumscribed by their husband's unemployment [cf: Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987 : 51-61].

Unlike the 'positive copers', these men and women have found it extremely difficult to cope with life after redundancy. The men belong to the growing group of long term unemployed and have not, as yet, come to terms with the economic and social changes in the local area over the last five years or with their own circumstances. Their lack of transferable work skills combined with inflexibility within the home, means that their difficult situations and negative experiences are unlikely to improve in the near future, unless the men are able to find work.

CHAPTER 14

WORK AND FAMILY LIFE OVER THE LIFE COURSE

Although a few families, particularly in the 'Chequered' : Re-Active Group, fit quite neatly into Critical accounts of the often oppresive and exploitatative nature of modern family life, the majority do not and we need to make sense of this. Those who are generally critical of the organisation of family life in modern Britain have some difficulty in explaining why the family, in whatever forms, continues to exist, and is still seen as a source of pleasure and identification for many people. Although a great deal of attention is focussed on a divorce rate of one in three marriages in the 1980's, marriage still remains the ideal for most young people and even for divorcees or those embarking on second marriages. Many people still strive for traditional monogonous contentment [Burgoyne, 1984, a] and b]; Mansfield, 1985]. These generally pessimistic images of family life may reflect the paucity of research into successful marriages and stable family life and a concentration on 'deviant' or 'problem' families.

Many ex-steelworkers and their spouses viewed family life as a central concern, of greater motivational, interpretational and thematic relevance than the world of work outside the home. Even under the distorted economic and social relations of Britain in the post-World War II period, as Marxists describe it, the relations between these men and women did not fit easily, in most cases, into simplistic accounts of domination and subordination. There was very little sense of these in

both the interviews and in informal contacts with my interviewees in most cases, although I did pursue this area with vigour.

Whilst housework does indeed involve a great deal of isolated, repetitive and often boring work (especially difficult and emotionally taxing with young children), I noted earlier [V : 11 : 3] that work for many of the men was hard, monotonous, often in an unpleasant, noisy and dirty environment and regularly involved long shifts and anti-social hours. Most of these men and women recognised that both of their labours contributed to the household, not that one was 'better' or 'worse' than the other. The recognition that men gave to housework, in many instances, reflects a genuine awareness of the contribution of their wives to the 'team'.

The generally pessimistic view view of traditional family structures, discussed in III : 7 : 1 , also serves to obscure another important fact: for almost all the families in this study, it was an arrangement which has *worked*, from the oldest to the youngest families. It has provided a sense of intimacy, belonging and voluntary co-operation, not merely as a response to economic oppression or alienation from paid work, but as a positive reaffirmation of their own identities. The result of such an involvement was the loyalty shown by the men to their wives and children in the event of redundancy, rather than support for colleagues at work and their Unions in the rundown of B.S.C. in the 1980's. This does not mean, as some Marxists would suggest, that family life always militates against collective action. In both mining communities in 1985 and in steel closure areas in 1981, families provided considerable support for collective action. We need to develop more sophisticated accounts of the links between family loyalties and

collective [class] loyalties and the ways in which 'selfish' interests may outweigh 'altruistic'/'proletarian' interests.[68]

The varieties of family organisation in the interview sample suggest that something more than social class, economic differentials and occupation determine attitudes towards gender roles and family life, since, inequalities between men and women characterises the whole of British society, despite differences in the anthropological expressions of such inequalities. What distinguished those men who were more involved in home/domestic life, whether their wives also worked or not and who became more involved in 'women's work' during times of unemployment, was related to the degree to which they obtained their sense of role identity as 'male', from traditional role models of 'male' and 'female'.

The importance of these perceptions of gender roles is illustrated by the differences between the reactions of the Higgins', Whites' and Pattersons' to the changes in their patterns of income generation after redundancy. Phil and Janet Higgins were able to renegoiate this. Jim and Pat Patterson and Pete and Judith White were unable to change, clinging onto their traditional views of men and women. It is significant that the man who least identified with this role, Phil Higgins, was raised only by his mother.

The women who derived the most satisfaction from the 'female' role of 'housewife' were likely to resent male 'interference' in the domestic sphere at any time in the life course, no matter what external circumstances existed [eg if their husbands were unemployed and around the house all day]. Men with an extra-familial/male-collective identity were equally unlikely to want to be involved in the domestic sphere,

regardless of their own circumstances. This, as noted earlier, often caused considerable conflict, particularly when the women began to question their role as 'housewife'.

The interview material shows that there are degrees of patriarchal control in family life. Where 'benevolent patriarchy' exists, change and flexibility in relationships are possible and indeed may well become a necessity for many families in the future. The evidence presented in Parts IV and V suggests that not only are egalitarian marriages one important basis of stable family life in times of economic affluence, but an absolute necessity in times of economic uncertainty. This general rule is applicable to all the families in the interview sample including those whose patriarchal traditionalism was not questioned during a smooth transition from work in B.S.C. to work elsewhere, by the men.

A neo-Weberian perspective allows 'the family' a degree of autonomy in sociological thought, not recognised in the artificial divisions between 'public' and 'private' life in both structural-functional and critical theory. The arguments against functionalism are well documented but also apply to the Marxist version. To recap: the modern nuclear family, with its [male] breadwinner and [female] domestic labourer is organised solely to service the needs of capital and women's oppression is the result of the operations of capital. This, as I noted earlier, is a limited account and is itself, functionalist and reductionist. We need to differentiate between different family types, degrees of patrimonal control and the organisation of work/'breadwinning' and consumption within the household. This enables us to see the family as both an economic unit whilst isolating the issues of marriage and gender

identity, the forms of which have a crucial bearing on family organisation, attitudes towards family life and self-perceptions of masculinity and femininity.

Such an approach has two main benefits. First, as noted, it allows us room to identify different types of family organisation. Secondly, it allows us to be sympathetic to those activities of men and women which are not directly related to paid work such as playing with children, looking after the house, gardening, cooking good food, entertaining friends, leisure pursuits and so forth. Although 'work', in the pure sense of expending energy with purposeful goals in mind, these are often quite unrelated to capitalism, or indeed any other -*ism*'. Indeed, it possibly reflects a healthy and, perhaps, universal desire to escape from the world created by capitalists, economists, politicians, bureaucrats and policy makers, collectively lumped together as 'they'.

The family life of steelworkers is not a passive unimportant variable in examining the course and consequences of redundancy to be subsumed under a heading of capitalist/patriarchal domination. Whilst we must remain acutely aware of the realities of male economic and sexual control, past and present, we must recognise the importance of family life to many men and women. It is only by recognising the importance of family dynamics that we can begin to explain why families which are similar in terms of class origin and stage in the life course do vary so much, in terms of domestic organisation, and how these variations can highlight the different responses of families to redundancy.

This focus on the family is not new, but it has remained obscured in much sociology in the 1960's and 1970's. I ts 'rediscovery' in the 1980's

has opened up new avenues of understanding. It helps us to understand why many of the men and women in this study had such a detached and instrumental attitude to the public world of work and the trade union, preferring instead to support a family life style which brought other rewards, based in the main, on male economic control, but a control as most of them described it, of a benevolent and genuinely open kind. This is not to slip into the reified world of positivism, but serves to emphasise the point that family life is often viewed as a system of mutual pay offs between men and women which can work successfully. Few of the women in this study viewed marriage as either unwelcome or alienating, even those who came to question some aspects of their relationships, viewing their marriages as a 'team' effort, even if based on traditional assumptions about male and female life roles.

Attitudes towards family life are also a function of men's attitudes towards work. Answering the question 'why do people work?' is of course beyond the scope of this study, since both the form of work and attitudes towards work have been so different in particular socio-historical eras.[39] . For the purposes of this discussion I take work to refer to:

> ' definable and purposeful activity which is instrumental and yields income, involves expenditure of effort and some element of obligation or constraint.'
>
> [Shimins, Quoted by Clarke, 1982 : 183, Footnote (i)]

Work involves effort and has purpose. It generates income and involves loyalty and constraint and is instrumental. It is also generally seen, although this has changed somewhat, to be synonymous with formal paid employment. This definition of course has its limits, it ignores for example the effort and time expended by women in formally unpaid housework. Also, the social construction of 'work' is clearly influenced by other characteristics of a given societal community - its class structure; the organisation of industry, commerce and services and their divisions of labour; the respective power relations between dominant and subordinate groups; the nature of the work being undertaken and the 'health' of the national economy and polity at any given point in time.

These difficulties of precision are further compounded when we examine subjective attitudes towards work, since any attempt to grasp in a few words how everyone regards work is bound to be inadequate and open to the criticism that not all viewpoints were taken into consideration. The subjective experience of work is influenced by many variables including: stage in the life course, occupation, class, gender, ethnicity and familial organisation. The schema presented below represents a synthesis of the most common elements generally attributed to the activities associated with 'work' [From: Neff , 1968, Hayes and Nutman, op.cit; Clarke,op.cit:21-29; Tautsky and Piedmont, op.cit; Klein, 1968; Morse & Weiss, 1956; and others]. Work provides:

- income and purchasing power, an admission ticket to the goods and services in the marketplace and a primary means for acquiring security and status;

- a socially accepted role, for both men and increasingly women. To work is 'normal', not to work is 'abnormal'. For many men even in boring or unpleasant work it confers a sense of manhood, a basis reaffirmation of masculinity;
- in varying degrees, and for different occupational groupings, creativity and mastery over the environment and an opportunity to exercise creative, intellectual and practical skills;
- identity and purpose which may, in certain cases, be intimately bound up with a particular occupation;
- a symbolic reaffirmation of men and women reaching adulthood and throughout life an important focus of the family life course;
- for social interaction outside the home, a focus round which family life, leisure activities and involvement with others can operate.

As noted above, attitudes towards work vary a great deal but can be subsumed under three Pure Constructs. These are:

- *Instrumental*: where work is not value for itself but is perceived as a necessary activity which confers other benefits [eg income];
- *Quasi-expressive*: where work is valued in itself but not seen as a source of prestige placement;
- *Expressive*: where the work itself is enjoyed, is a source of income and confers prestige placement and status.

Those in white collar, professional and skilled blue collar occupations generally emphasise an interest in their work *perse*, a sense of accomplishment and a sense of contributing towards society. Those in

blue collar semi- and unskilled occupations place greater emphasis on work as something which fills time and generates income and little more. Differential attitudes towards work are nothing new, there always have been scales of motivation to work, dependent on the position of men and women in social systems and in labour markets, past and present.

Amongst these men, we find a clear continuum, from a generally expressive attitude towards work amongst white collar and skilled men to a much more instrumental attitude amongst semi- and unskilled men. Despite this, few of the men missed B.S.C. itself, although many of course missed the income, the routine of work and interaction with colleagues.

In the works over 55 group, attitudes towards work were overwhelmingly negative, with the exception of one skilled man. The rest viewed their work as monotonous, unhealthy and unpleasant. It was seen as a pay off, enabling them to derive benefits outside of work. This detachment is reflected by a minimal involvement of most of these men in trades unions activities outside of work hours. Many pointed to the failure of Morissonian-style nationalisation to democratise work or change parochial industrial relations at B.S.C.

Although traditional divisions of labour existed in the home, the time most of these men had outside of work was spent largely with their families and children. Without overplaying the 'home as haven' idea, the privacy and familiarity of home life was in general of greater importance to these men than was the world of work, trade unions and labour politics. This, as we saw, was reflected in the relative ease this group had in coping with redundancy. This familial orientation may have been untypical of men of this generation, but one of the tangible

results has been a marked degree of upward mobility amongst their children.

A similarly instrumental attitude towards work was expressed by all the men in the works under 55 group. In short, it provided benefits which could be enjoyed outside work. There were greater differences in this group, in terms of those who chose to spend this time with families or in some other way, which has had a crucial bearing on the post-redundant 'careers' of these families. Again, there was a general apathy about trade union activities in spite of a sense of 'us and them' in the workplace . This generally negative attitude towards work is reflected by almost all of this group professing not to miss B.S.C., even those who had suffered from unemployment.

Five of the seven men in the staff under 55's group were occupationally and socially upwardly mobile, moving from blue collar work in B.S.C./Private Steel Industries, to senior positions in production and management. Compared with the two works groups there was a generally more expressive attitude towards work. However, these men did not in general exhibit primarily work/union centred identities although their degree of involvement in home life was marginally less than the other three groups. This group, as a whole, expressed a greater sense of missing work and had a slightly more difficult time in coping with redundancy when compared to the works group.

Although coming from identical class locations to the works under 55's, the five men in the staff group were all upwardly mobile in terms of occupation. As with the over 55's [staff] a more expressive attitude towards work in itself was discernible. Although men's work, in the early years of marriage, did impose some stresses and strains, this was

felt to be a worthwhile sacrifice, enabling these families to 'get on' in life.

The adoption of a 'life course' perspective in the interviewing has generated some other useful data. These changes over the life course described by Burgoyne [1986] as,'a tapestry of past and anticipated change' are lived, in the main, in the immediate present but are, more importantly, *a process*. Perceptions of 'correct' gender roles can vary enormously, between an elementary family without children , to families with young/latency age children where only the husband works, to those families with older children or where adults are approaching retirement age. The different degrees of involvement of men in the home has been a function of their self perceptions of 'masculinity' across the life course. The under 55's for example were all more involved in housework at all stages in the life course than were the over 55's. Conversely, many of the over 55's, having relinquished the role of breadwinner, became much more actively involved in housework.

The life course perspective also highlights the declining significance of extended family/kin networks in the lives of these men and women. There has been a marked decline in a sense of community belonging amongst all four groups and interaction with extended family networks. One consequence of this was less sharply segregated divisions of labour in the home amongst older steelworkers than was typical of their parents' generation due to a substantial weakening of communal sub-cultural support for such set ups. This shift was less marked amongst younger steelwoorkers raised in more dispersed communities.[165] This perspective also highlights the impact of social mobility or the

lack of it on family life and on political and religious consciousness. This is discussed in Chapter 15.

CHAPTER 15

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS.

If sociologists had been asked in the 1960's to predict what might happen in this country in the 1980's if unemployment were to rise to over three million, few I think would have presented a scenario where the working class[es] were unwilling or unable to generate unified collective opposition; where the Trade Union movement was severely weakened in power and influence and Conservative Governments had been in power throughout the entire decade. The evidence presented in the interview section and discussed here presents some suggestions as to why, in the case of steelworkers, such a situation has arisen, the findings of which may have a more general application.

Overall there has been a shift towards the centre of the British political spectrum over the last thirty years and this is particularly marked amongst both the over 55's groups. Even amongst those who were, at times, traditionalists, there was evidence of a shifting and, at times, contradictory patchwork of political/social attitudes, across the life course. For those steelworkers growing up in the 1930's and starting work and families in the 1950's there came a non-revolutionary ideological commitment to the Keynsian consensus of sustained economic growth, full employment and the welfare state, shared by both Conservative and Labour administrations. It provided a system which worked for these men and women for thirty years, a period of relative economic affluence and social stability which they often compared with the poverty and unemployment which had characterised their childhoods.

The Labour voting of these men and women during this period really tells us very little about their reasons for doing so. Such voting in the 1950's and 1960's need not be viewed as illustrative of an altruisic or collective consciousness but rather as indicative of a pragmatic opportunism, using the Labour Party, not as a vanguard for revolutionary socialism, but as a means to acquire better working conditions and pay, better health and education services, improved housing and increased opportunities for their children. To what extent this marked a radical break with the 'collectivism' of the working class in this period is open to question, since 'embourgoisement' in its modern sense can be traced back to at least Engel's time [Bernstein, 1963]. It did, nevertheless, mark a significant charge in the life expectancies of the men, women and children in the over 55's groups.

As Halsey [1981] Klein [1965] and others have noted, economic and social change in the 1950's weakened the 'old' collectivism of working class communities - as work hours were reduced, longer holidays became possible, incomes grew and smaller families became the norm. Men in general become more involved in domestic life than their parents' generation. These marriages were still highly inegalitarian but marked a shift from a Hoggartian picture of working class life, alongside a distanced attitude towards revolutionary socialism [Halsey, op.cit.: 103]

Bott [op.cit.] also points to upward mobility creating status dissonance and growing patterns of privatised lifestyles as old working class communities declined. The appeal of such lifestyles was, in Williams' words, 'a dazzling alternative to solidarity' [1958 : 119] and produced a real conflict of values, a conflict it should be said, which

still characterises the social and political attitudes of many ex-steelworkers.

The decline in support for the Labour Party, as distinct from socialism, which few working class people have ever supported, goes back to at least 1945 [Franklin, 1985]. Indeed, Blackwell and Seabrook [1985] suggest that even at this time Labour had lost its pre-war working class basis when, only 47% of the working class voted Labour. This has declined to about 32-35% over the last three elections [Heath et.al, 1986 : Chapter 8 ; Crewe, The Guardian : 15/6/87]. The most significant variables associated with this shift have been upward social mobility, status group consciousness and a marked growth in home ownership. There has been a concomitant growth in antipathy towards Morrisonian style nationalisation and central planning, even in traditional labour heartlands.

This marked drift from the Labour Party is the direct result of a loss of an organic relationship with its constituences. These ex-steelworkers no longer view themselves as primarily elevated by their membership of corporate groups or institutional belonging. The appeals of parties of the left, fighting for the honour of leading 'the proletariat', have continued to fall on deaf ears. In the recent election, the British Communist Party received just over 16,000 votes nationally [Crewe, ibid.]. These trends of embourgoisement and privatisation have been accelerated, ironically, by the housing and social policies of many local Labour Administrations which contributed towards the break up of the very communities upon which their support was based. Although this is a trend which may slow in the late 1980's, the appeal of the Labour Party to the 'working class' in the last three

elections failed, because it has not come to terms with the actuality of class fragmentation in this country.

It is clear that politics, in the sense of active participation in the political process, played a minimal role in the day-to-day work/ /family/ leisure activities of these men and women. Indeed, whilst interviewing, few mentioned 'class' or 'politics,' unless I prompted them. In only two cases did I find men who approximated to the ideal types of the 'collectivist' intent on destroying capitalism or the deferential privatised worker interested only in the wage packet and life outside work. Even those who did exhibit a more proletarian consciousness, mainly in the works under 55's group, had very little contact with the Union or Labour Movement whilst in work and had even less when they left B.S.C. What I found, was a shifting constellation of attitudes and beliefs whose degree of proleterianism/deferentialism was a function of interactions with the larger social world. On the one hand, the 1981 steel strike evoked for a short period collectivist responses to management tactics. On the other, the event of redundancy evoked, for the most part, highly individualistic coping strategies.

The relationship between these steelworkers and society, to reiterate the point, is a two way dialectic. If the world 'out there' changes as a result of national and local economic recession, redundancies and rising unemployment, significant and unexpected changes may occur at a micro-level, for example, rejecting collectivism in favour of more individualistic strategies, and rejecting in part or in total world views which had made sense of the world for twenty or thirty years.[eg.becoming self-employed]. Durkheim's concept of 'natural egoism' is particularly relevant in this respect.

The lack of involvement in Trade Union activities coupled with a general lack of militancy amongst the men and women reinforces this point. There was a fear of 'extremists', a general belief that trade unions had too much power in the 1970's and some reactionary views on race and immigration, law and order, divorce and homosexuality. The greater conservatism of the women reflects perhaps their primarily domestic as opposed to occupational self identity.(11) Their support for socialism, in the sense that Seabrook would understand it, was at best, partial. Given such a limited commitment it is little surprise that they did not, in conjunction with other groups of industrial workers, act in collective defiance of some supposed collective class interest because, in their own minds, it did not exist.

Part of the explanation for this detachment lies in Weber's concept of 'status'. For Weber, classes,

> 'are stratified according to their relation to the production and acquisition of goods whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their concumption of goods as represented by specific styles of life.'
>
> [1964 : 193].

In societies where upward mobility is rare, common collectivism is more likely to exist and this is born out by the memories of life in the 1930's in IV : 9 :1. In societies where upward mobility is more common, as it was in the 1950's and 1960's, static class structures are likely to be weakened thus obscuring and blurring the class consciousness of upwardly mobile groups like steelworkers. In Weber's terms these are 'acquisition' classes.

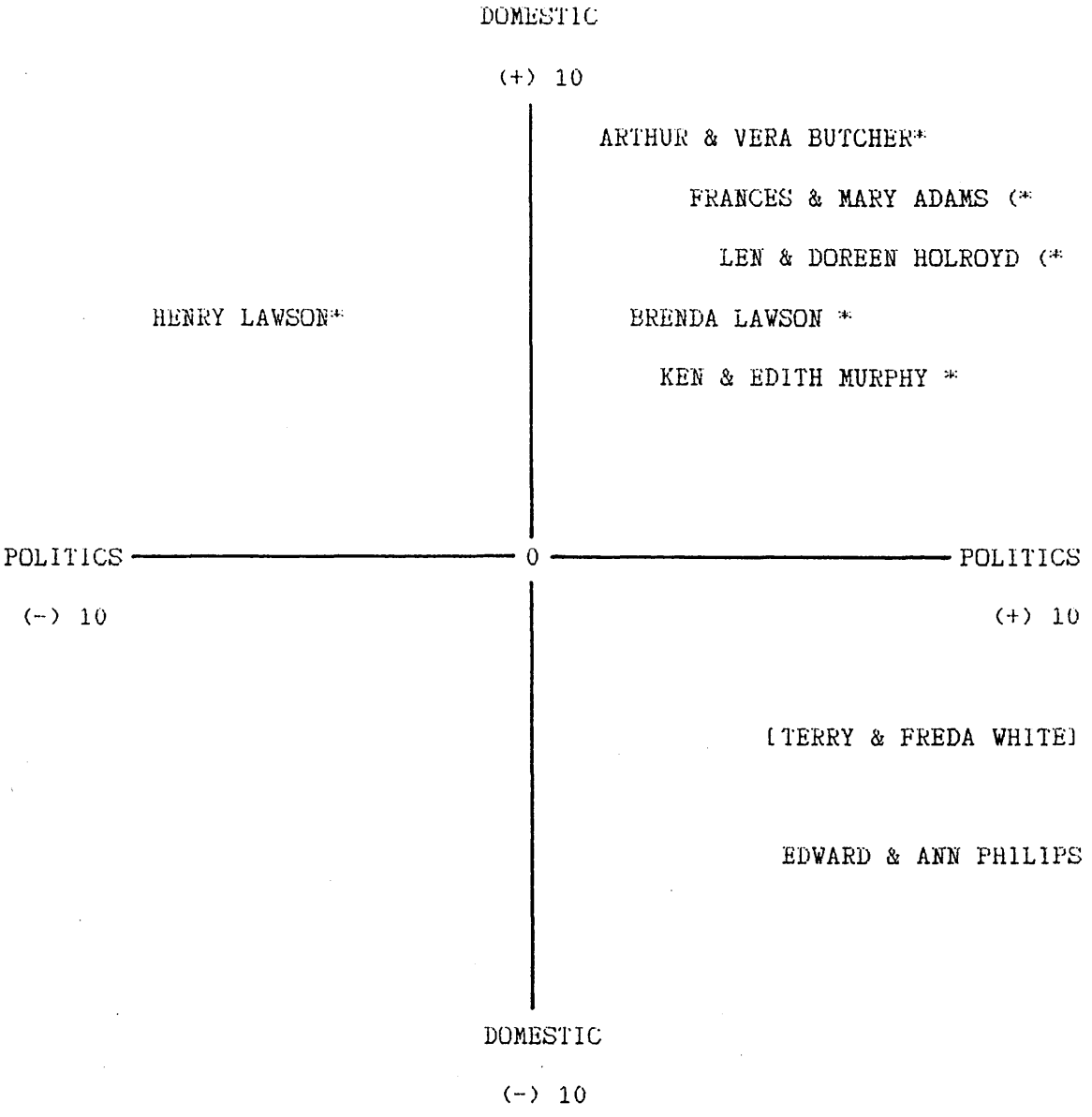
One consequence of the emergence of such status groups has been a more privatised political consciousness, as is illustrated by a more traditional political consciousness amongst the works under 55's group, whose experience of upward mobility was less than that of the staff groups and much more shortlived than their peers in the over 55's group. Those steelworkers in upwardly mobile positions are a class fraction - a status group whose move from working class origins to middle class 'respectability', has altered their political consciousness. Whether individuals perceive their situations in terms of class or in terms of their position in a status hierarchy, will have a crucial impact on their cultural understanding of society and their actions within it. In a society charcterised by rigid class stratification [in the 1930's and increasingly so now] perceptions of status differentiation will be rare. Where class stratification is more fluid [i.e. in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's] perceptions of status differentiation are likely to be more prevalent. The emphasis placed on 'individual effort' in the over 55's groups illustrates this point.

The complexities of the political consciousness of these men and women are further highlighted when we look at the relationship between domestic divisions of labour and changes in political consciousness over the life course. The four cluster diagrams over ['valid approximations'] illustrate these general shifts in the pre and post-redundant stages of the life course. Domestic (+) 10 signifies marked shifts towards greater equality in the home. Politics (+) 10 signifies a marked move towards the centre of the political spectrum [defined as support for the Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance]. Positions near the 0 Axis signify minimal movement. The Brackets signify marginal individuals and

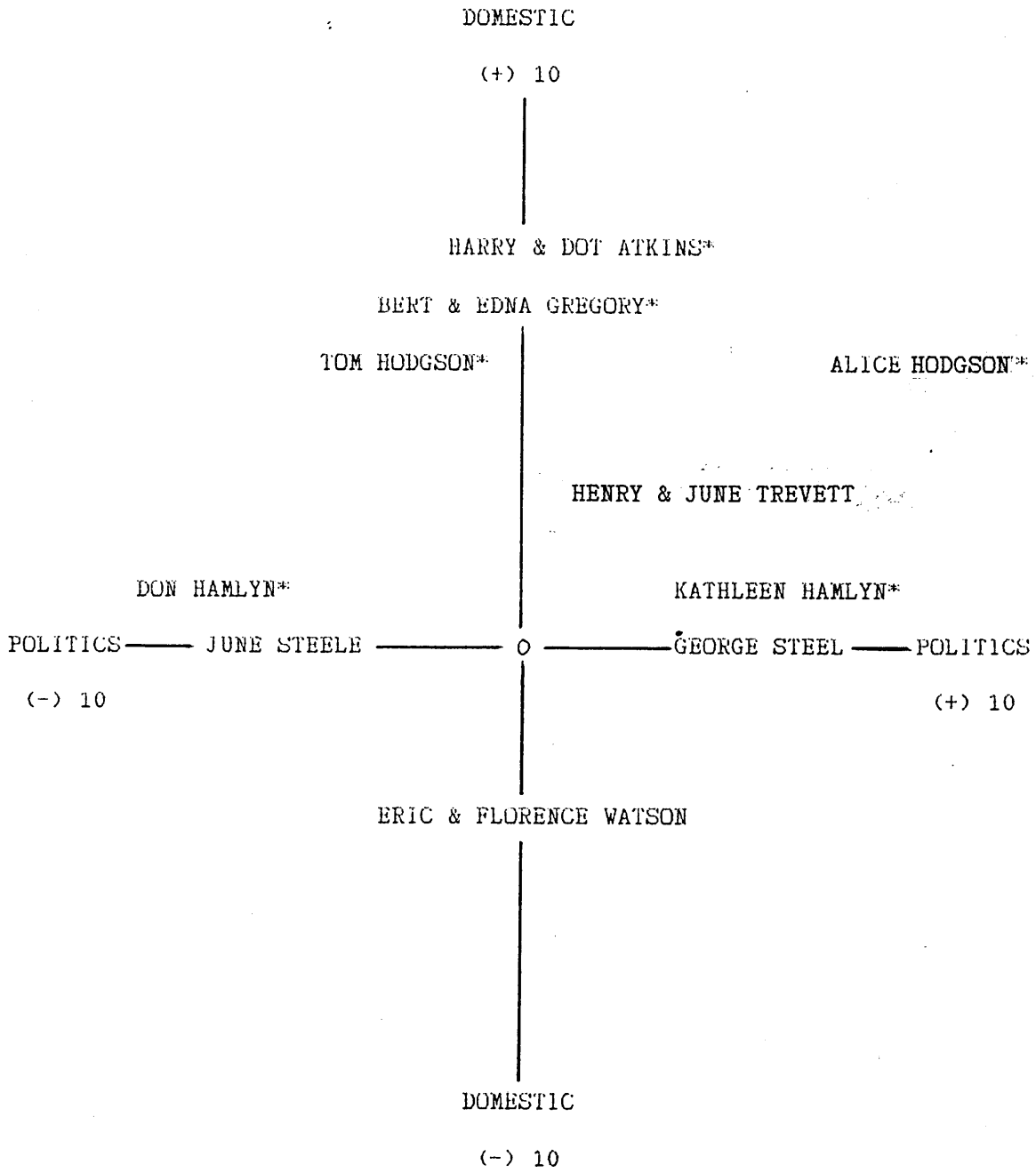
couples. The asterixes signify 'positive copers' in the post redundant stage:

Figure 18 : Changes In Domestic Divisions Of Labour And Political Conciousness Over The Life Course (Staff and Works Over and Under 55s).

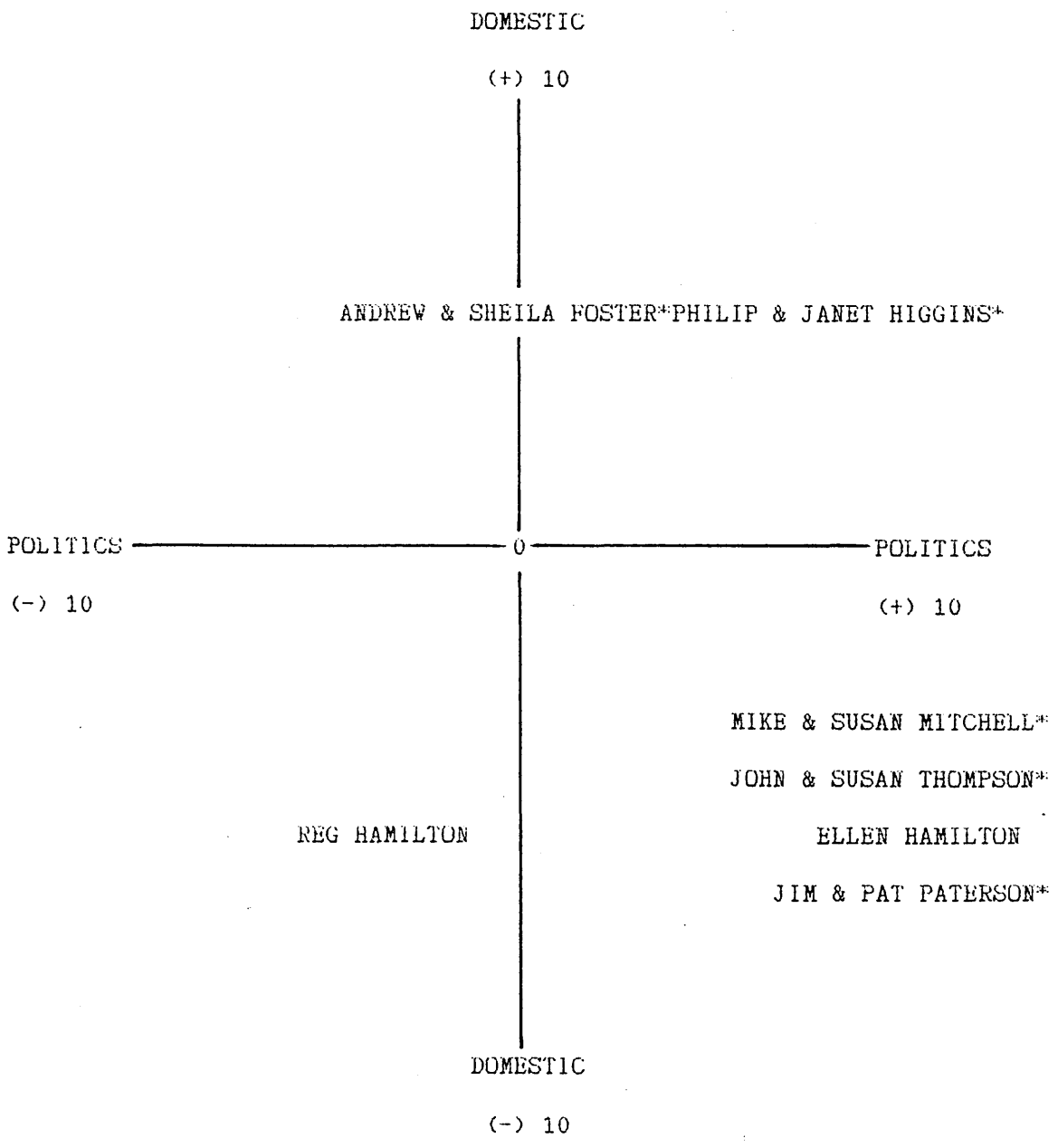
(1) Staff > 55's Group



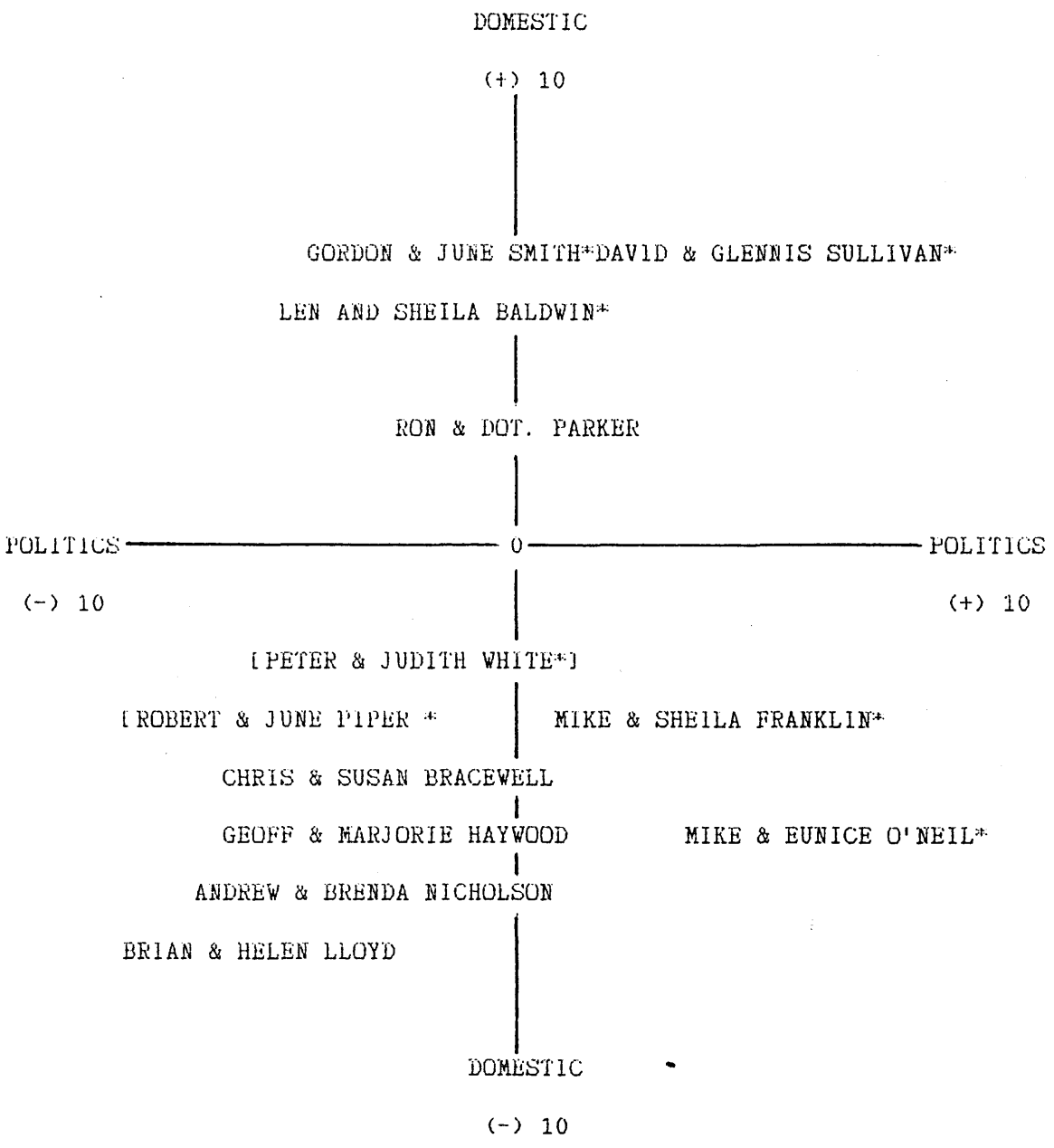
(2) Works > 55's Group



(3) Staff < 55's Group



(4) Works < 55's Group



These diagrams illustrate some marked differences between the four groups, with more positive copers in the two over 55's groups. It is also quite clear that the greatest shifts towards equality of labour within the household were amongst these groups, with only two couples

showing little or no movement in this direction. There has been a marked shift to the centre of the political spectrum amongst the staff group.

This is in some contrast to the two under 55's groups. The staff group has moved towards the centre politically yet in only two cases has this been accompanied by greater equality in the home, although two of the 'no change' men were in work after redundancy. In the works under 55's most of the men and women remain traditional labour supporters. Significantly the three couples who have moved towards the centre were all self employed. The two self employed 'failures' [Peter White and Len Baldwin] remain Labour supporters. Although three couples have moved towards more egalitarian divisions of labour in the home, the majority have shown little or no change.

There is also a marked difference between the two under 55's groups and the two over 55's groups in the degree of movement towards greater equality in the home. In the latter groups, this is the outcome of the decline of perceived gender roles after industrial disengagement. The data presented here also indicates that shifts in political consciousness, do not necessarily militate against renegotiations of divisions of labour in the home.

It will be clear that the religious beliefs of this group of industrial workers accord very closely with accounts in sociological thought on secularisation. By secularisation is not meant the 'death' of religion but a change in the forms of religious expression, in particular the decline of church centred religiousity set against the continuing existence of privatised or marginalised religiousity amongst most men, women and children.

Berger decribes secularisation as,

> 'the progressive autonomisation of societal factors from the domination of religious institutions and meanings' within a social setting 'where there is competition in the institutional orderings comprehensive meanings for everyday life'.
>
> [Berger, 1973 : 33]

Berger maintains that the 'plurality', 'componentiality', 'multi-relationality' and 'progressivity' of modern society, has meant that the traditional plausibility structure of religion has been destroyed. The social and scientific revolutions of modernity have, for Berger, resulted in a widespread collapse of religion, because religion is no longer 'whole'. The result of the fragmentation of modernity is a development that transforms religion into an increasingly subjective and private reality. The pluralism of modern society has signalled the end of the institutional specialisation of religion. The decline of traditional religion is due only in part to the rise of secular ideologies, [science, neo-paganism, etc.] - it is largely due to the complex social changes and global transformations that have shaken the occident in the recent past. The consequences of these changes are exprressions of religiosity which are increasingly subjective and privatised [ibid, 1973 and cf. Luckmann, 1967].

The interview findings lend considerable support to these arguments. With the exception of one atheist and the Higgins family, religion has been relegated very much to the realm of private speculation, although it did retain a symbolic significance in times of importance in the life course [eg birth, illness, marriages] and still retained an importance as a comforting sanctuary in times of crisis [eg bereavement]. With the

exceptions noted above, all these men and women felt that religion, save perhaps in its moral content played a minimal part in their lives. Indeed many were critical of its 'middle classness' and its 'Victorian attitudes' on women, contraception, nuclear weapons etc. These findings reinforce trends reported elsewhere, that religion has in general declined in its significance for the operation of the social system. Although religion plays a role in the private sphere the trend continues to be towards a lack of religious expression in public life.

CHAPTER 16

THE CHILDREN.

VI : 16 : 1 The Effects of Redundancy.

Unfavourable socio-economic conditions can exert an adverse effect on growing children as can emotional and material deprivation, stress and instability in marriage. Security, routine and love are important throughout a young person's life but particularly important during early childhood and at other sensitive periods, for example during adolescence [cf.Townsend, 1986]. Pringle suggests that parental stress during such periods may be followed by emotional, psychological, physical and educational problems in children. Such problems, she argues, are most likely to occur in the homes of semi and unskilled blue collar workers [1975:98], in poor families and in families suffering from 'detrimental circumstances' such as a husband's unemployment [ibid: 107, 114]. Hodge [op.cit.], Fagin [op.cit.] and Fagin and Little [op.cit.] as noted earlier, found that unemployment can lead to a variety of negative consequences for children.

In the over 55's groups, no such problems arose, with children either in work or married to spouses in work, thus removing an emotional and financial commitment [IV : 10 : 3]. Similarly, in the under 55 'self- employed' and 'employed' groups the father's redundancy had little effect on their children [V : 12 : 2 : 1] What about the two 'chequered' groups? Those who had experienced unemployment and had young children, were keen to protect their children from any potential

negative effects. I found that that they 'went without' as couples so as to ensure that their children had an adequate diet and found no evidence of any behavioural problems. Burgoyne [1985] found that fathers spent 40% more time with children and sought to protect children from the effects of unemployment. Rapaport [1981 : 16] found that young children often benefited from the increased presence of a male parent in the home. In certain families [eg the Higgins and the Pipers and Whites] it was clear that the presence of young children served to add strength and purpose to the lives of the parents, when they were going through difficult periods.

For those with adolescent children, The Greens and the Lloyds, the situation was rather different. There was evidence of considerable strains, between teenagers and fathers. The climate of uncertainty generated by unemployment in traditional family set ups clearly exacerbated the usual conflicts between parents and adolescents. Such strains seemed to be less acute between mothers and teenage girls. Rapaport [ibid.], Hodge [op.cit.] and Westergaard et al. [op..cit.] also found the most acute stress in families existed between teenage children and adults particularly when marriages were unstable prior to redundancy [Rapaport op.cit.]

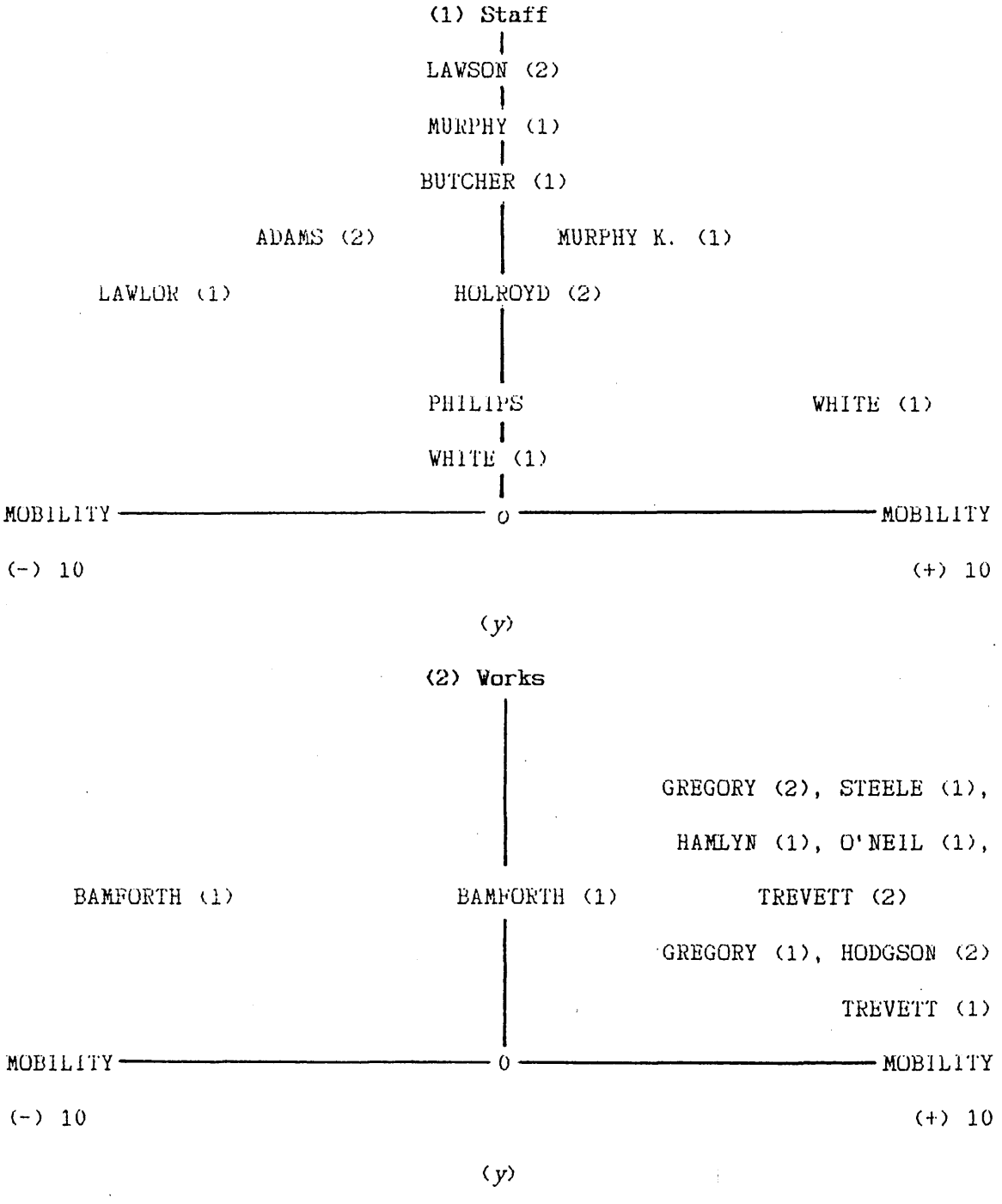
V : 16 : 2 Other Issues..

There were some significant inter-generational differences between the children of these men and women. In the works over 55's group there was evidence of a marked degree of upward mobility, when the children's status was compared with their father's last occupation at B.S.C. In

the staff group, although upwardly mobile itself, the children had achieved positions commensurate with those of their parents. These shifts are reinforced by evidence presented elsewhere of a movement of groups of working class and lower middle class origins into the middle class in the 1950's and 1960's (Reid ; Halsey, op.cit.).This was due to a greater involvement of fathers with their children's welfare and education, the growing 'embourgoisement' of sections of the working class and a shift from an essentially 'ascriptive' society to a more 'achievement' orientated society in post-war Britain.

The cluster diagrams (over) illustrate these trends , where degrees of upward mobility are measured against their parents status on the *y* axis : (+) 10 signifies a marked degree of upward mobility, (-) 10 signifies a marked degree of downward mobility.

Figure 19 : Upward Mobility Compared With Fathers Final Occupation [Staff and Works Over 55s].



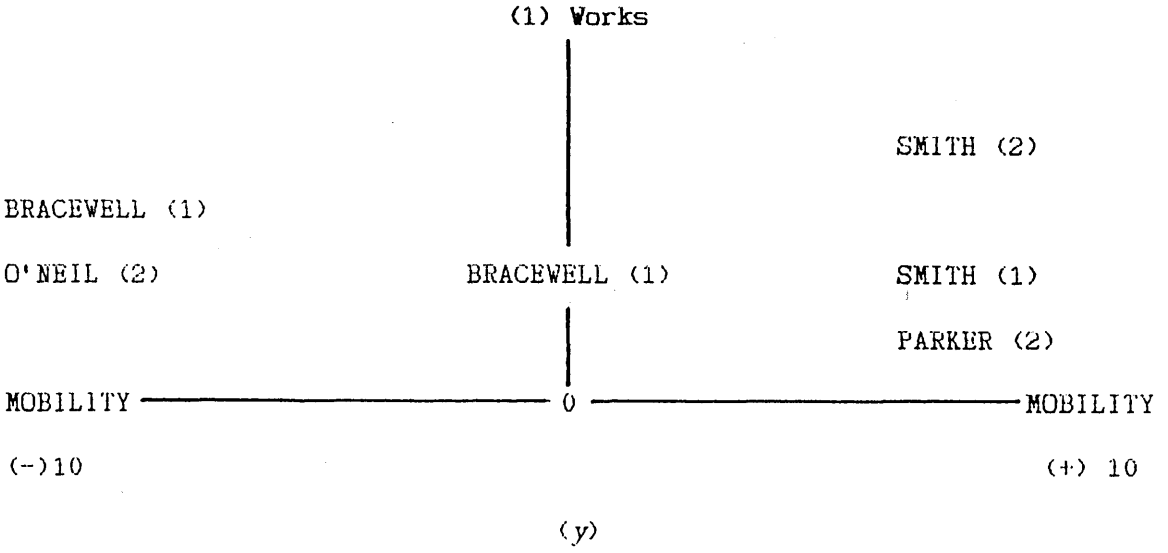
[Key : * 'Housewife': status based on husband's occupation;

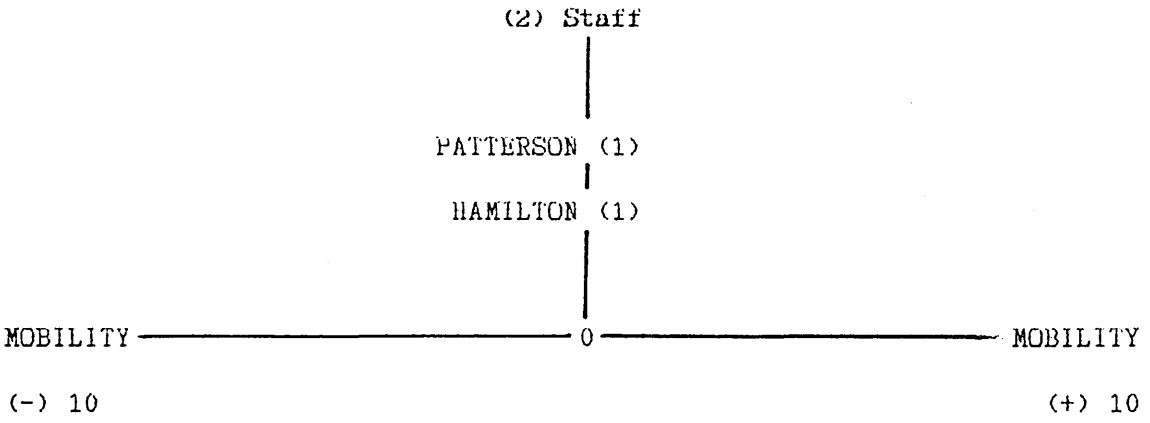
'Unemployed' - given as marked downward mobility.]

The degree of success of these children, particularly in the works group, illustrates the way in which new educational opportunities created openings for working class children on a scale unimaginable before the war. Almost all of these families regarded their children's education as very important and created a home environment which could support and encourage their children. It is also significant that both male and female children have achieved this mobility which is in marked contrast to their parents' generation. Although the degree of upward mobility in the staff group has been negligible in comparison it has remained commensurate with their parents' status. Here too, there was evidence that parents were keen for their children to 'get on' regardless of gender.

The situation with the under 55's is, of course, rather different:

Figure 21 : Upward Mobility of Children Over 18 Compared With Fathers Last Occupation [Staff and Works Under 55s] [Key : As Over 55s].





These diagrams tell us nothing about the potential for social mobility, stasis or downward mobility amongst younger children in these groups. I would suggest however that two distinct trends are likely to emerge;

- In the staff group the children will achieve positions commensurate with those of their parents, due to often expressed desire of the men and women in this group to push their children at school and encourage them to achieve, although this potential must be offset against recent rises in unemployment nationally and in the local area.
- In the works group it is likely that children will be pushed at school and encouraged 'to achieve'. Older children are unlikely to achieve upward mobility and may even experience downward mobility, particularly in the families of the 'negative copers'. Indeed, with the exceptions of Gordon Smith and Ron Parker's daughters, aged sixteen and over [Eleven in total] six are unemployed and one was in a Y.T.S. scheme at the end of 1986.

Whereas those with young children all expressed a desire to push their children now it would appear that such encouragement was not given to older children. The opportunities for these children to 'move up' is of course now restricted by the current economic recession. Although Britain did indeed become a more meritocratic society post world war II [Reid ; Heath op.cit.], opportunities for working class children in general are likely to become more restricted, in terms of available jobs and opportunities for upward social mobility , in areas like South Yorkshire.

There is a clear divide between the over and under 55's. The former, with memories of their own childhood and the struggle they had to get on in life made the education of their children and their equipping with relevant life skills an important priority. In the latter, perhaps lulled into a false sense of security in the affluent 1960's and 1970's, such encouragement was lacking. For those with young children, there was a deep sense of the need to push their children, male and female, in order that they might get on in life and avoid the treadmill of government schemes and the dole queue.

CHAPTER 17.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE.

Many of these men and women expressed a profound sense of pessimism about the future. Even those who declared themselves to be optimists qualified this with worries about rising unemployment, rising crime and so forth. Everyone felt unease about Britain's future suggesting that the impact of new technology on work and rising unemployment would increasingly polarise British society, into north and south, employed and unemployed, against a background of rising crime and social instability. All felt that the 1980's marked the end of an era and that Britain's future was at best uncertain and, potentially, dangerous.

A number of commentators now believe that not only is the time of full employment over [in Beveridge's sense], but that we are on the threshold of a qualitatively different type of society, due to the scientific revolutions in computer technology, bio-technology, robotics and communications [Gill, 1986]. Gorz [1982] has suggested that new technologies will not only continue to remove waged labour from industrial labour markets, but may also supercede the old laws of political economy and the function of the market. Marx of course had observed that the laws of the market would become extinct when direct labour ceased to be the primary source of wealth in any social system.

These developments, it is argued, may in turn lead to a qualitatively different economic, political and social order, quite unlike the 'mass societies' of the 19th and 20th centuries. There is a

widespread feeling amongst : academics [references in this section]; politicians [Pym, The Guardian 18/6/83; Kinnock this Chapter]; Trade Unionists [Jenkins and Sherman, 1979], amongst the public [The Guardian, 6/7/85] and amongst these ex-steelworkers, that there is something transitional about the present and that we may be moving towards a new type of society.

Bell talks of the 'Post-Industrial society'; Dahrendorf of the 'Service Class Society'; Gorz and Kahn of the 'Post-Economic Society'; Litchheim of the 'Post-Bourgeois Society'; and Toffler of 'Future Shock'. The central theme underlying all these diverse approaches is that the old mass industrial order is being superceded to be replaced by knowledge based industries, utilising robots, computers and advanced telecommunications. Toffler suggests that 'Technopolitics' will mean a radical rethinking of the way we organise ourselves economically, politically and socially, since this 'Third Wave' [after the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions] will make our current arrangements obsolete [The Sunday Times : 17/6/84]. He asserts that this period is as important in magnitude as the break from Barbarism to Civilisation. This he argues will lead to a demassification of industrial societies and the creation of a 'Transient Society' [1970 : 50] characterised by 'economics of impermanence'[1970 : 59], where people have more liberty and control over their own working lives in small 'high-tech' industrial units.

It is a very appealing vision, but we have little idea when this 'new' society could be described as 'post' industrial [unless everything is done by machines which is not possible at the present time]. To

conceive of present economic and social change as a break with the past is mistaken because,

> 'What are projected as novel patterns of development turn out on examination to be massive continuities within the basic systems of developed industrial societies. Essentially, and in so far as they are occurring, the trends singled out by post-industrial theorists are extrapolations of tendencies which were apparent from the very birth of industrialism.'
>
> [Kumar op.cit : 232]

There are, I would suggest, some signs of change - the decline in traditional industries and the noticeable impact of new technologies but one must agree with Kumar when he says that many of the old patterns exist and were Marx, Durkheim or Weber alive today, they would be surprised by the continuing relevance of their work. In addition, technological advance is erratic - the areas most affected in the U.K. today by economic decline have seen little of the new technology.[12] This is certainly true of the Rotherham/Sheffield area. The labour market for these new firms is also restricted largely to a graduate white collar market, appealing to particular skills and confined to traditionally affluent areas. Plans for industrial development at the old Tinsley Park site, on the River Don and a new Science Park near Sheffield City Polytechnic in the town centre, will not lead to substantial reductions in unemployment in the local area, although they are a step in the direction which South Yorkshire has to take in the 1990's.

In 1979, Jenkins and Sherman warned that unless some kind of centralised governent control over new technology was imposed, 'market forces' could well lead to massive increases in unemployment and a failure to cash in on new technologies. Their warning has not been heeded. Despite being the world leader in technological innovations in 1970 we are falling further and further behind America and Japan. We are in serious danger of becoming dependent on imported products and new technologies. Only one-third of current hardware in our shops is British [N.E.D.O. 1985]. We are failing dismally to invest in new industries [The Guardian : 20/6/84] and it may be that our 'Sunrise Industries' are being eclipsed before they have risen. One fifth of all new technology industries in the U.K. started in 1984 failed [The Guardian : 23/9/85].[139]

This brief account makes for grim reading. The roots of Britain's economic and social decline go back a long way, but have been massively accelerated by recent events: the oil crisis, the world recession, government economic and social policies and our inability to face the challenge of the future. Britain now spends less on research for health, education, industry and the development of new resources, than any other nation in the big league of the O.E.C.D. Much of our manufacturing industry is still in decline and imported goods continue to erode our balance of payments. I would imagine that a social historian of the 21st century looking back on this era will find indicators which should have been read as *dire warnings*. Perhaps this government and its supporters cannot read.

We have an almost impossible choice to make, and it is captured succinctly by Jenkins and Sherman:

> 'Remain as we are, reject the new technologies - we face unemployment of up to 5.5 million by the end of the decade. Embrace the new technologies, accept the challenge and we end up with unemployment of around 5 million.'
>
> [op.cit : 13]

If even only some of these predictions come true, sociologists as well as economists and policy makers, will need to 'deconstruct' the old divisions between full time paid work, informal work, work in kind and unemployment. A growing number of writers have suggested that we need to reassess conventional approaches to work and the work ethic and sensitise ourselves to both macro and micro economic and social changes in modern Britain [Gershuny, 1983; Gershuny and Miles, 1984; Pahl, 1980; 1983; 1984 and 1985]. Barry [op.cit.] has suggested that the traditional work ethic may be declared counter productive or even irrelevant to society's needs in the future and that 'leisure' will play an increasingly large part in people's lives where an average working life of thirty-five years may become the norm [ibid : 243].

Technological unemplomont may create a two nation society - the information rich and the information poor. In a society where five million plus may be out of work, 'employment' may need to be redefined as any form of work or activity or time that is or may be beneficial to society and not merely in terms of its financial rewards [ibid : 241]. This he acknowledges will involve a radical reorientation to 'work' by politicians, public administrators, educationalists and ordinary people

[See: The Guardian 10/1/84 on this]. Since traditional paid work still provides the primary focus of people's lives, to replace the old 'protestant ethic' poses formidable problems. In a society where new technology threatens to create an elite of technological workers and a vast army of marginally employed persons, attitudes towards work and its distribution will have to change. Such changes in the labour market and the availability of work are already happening in the U.K. and elsewhere, for example in Japan [cf. Smith : The Financial Guardian 6/12/83]. They are also beginning to happen in the local area as this research has shown.

It *may* be that the mass society of times past is breaking up and that Britain in the future may be a more heterogeneous society based on smaller industrial units of production with much closer links with family units providing goods and services for itself [Kumar, 1985].Such developments, it is argued, will force us to reassess old ideas about work and leisure, which looked through male spectacles like this:

	WORK			LEISURE	REST/SLEEP	
'P	1	2	3	5	6	'P
U						R
B	to:					I
L						V
I	WORK		OBLIGATORY TIME	LEISURE	REST/SLEEP	A
C'	1	2	3 4	5	6	T
						E'

[Key: 1 = Full Time Work; 2 = Part Time Work; 3 = Work in Kind; 4 = Time Spent in Production of Goods and Services for the Home and on Domestic Duties and Childcare; 5 = # 1 → 4; 6 = # 1 → 5.]

The ideologies of both left and right may be falling on some deaf ears as people actively seek more control over their immediate working environment by becoming self-employed or working in the rapidly expanding co-operative sector. Pahl's work on Sheppey suggests that many other types of 'work' are as important to 'proletarian' consciousness as is traditional full time employment and Thomas has suggested that,

> '...informal and formal economics are beginning to overlap with the growth of home based industries...it is significant that employment is rising in small firms and in self-employment whilst it is declining in big industries and offices.' [Financial Guardian 11 /3 /85].

This may explain why such a high proportion of the ex-steelworkers in this study [six out of nineteen families in the under-55's], tried self-employment, despite the problems associated with establishing small businesses and their doubts as 'labour supporters' about the choice they made to 'go it alone'.

Recent economic and social changes, at both national and local levels and in patterns of work and family life are likely to build upon already existent privatised household life styles at the expense of occupational/class base identities, leading to a further fragmentation of the 'mystical cult' of proletariat, work and production in the 1990's [Gorz op.cit.: 67]. A new sub-class, a post industrial neo-proletariat may emerge who will only experience casual, temporary and part-time employment, their skills consistently threatened by automation and who may feel that they do not belong to any class, never mind the working

class. This many of these ex-steelworkers are an example of such a sub-class. A *lumpen-proletariat*, if it ever has existed as a homogeneous entity, will be increasingly hard to find, nationally and locally.

There may be other significant changes. According to Pahl [1980 and 1985 : 21-49] and Oakley [1981 : 164-165] the recent male domination of industrial labour markets can be seen as an historical anomaly. The growing historical evidence we now have suggests a much greater involvement in formal work by women in pre- and post-industrial Britain; the existence of community and kinship economic and support networks in Victorian Britain and individualistic coping strategies to chequered working lives; and an underestimation, by many thinkers, of the involvement of male workers in the domestic sphere from the early 19th century to today [Pahl, 1985 : 50-51].

Thatcher's appeal to family virtues testifies [as did Disraeli's in the 1870's], that the family still retains great significance to many people as the only institution capable of giving a sense of identity and purpose in a world of impersonal ties and contractual relationships. It has, in all probability, been a potent source of identity, self provisioning and capital accumulation in times past, a quasi-autonomous unit pursuing its own goals and activities. The passing of mass industrial society linked with the diffision of feminism in the popular consciousness *may* represent a truly radical break with the past. Families with egalitarian relationships, mixing both formal and obligatory work between its different members, could provide the basis for small industrial/service units , able to cope with *individual* unemployment and 'chequred' life courses, through collective

provisioning. Three of the families in this study are already following this course.

In Pahl's view, the division between relatively self-sufficient, multiple earner, adaptive households and non self-sufficient, non earner, re-active households is becoming a far more significant split in Britain's class structure, than the old manual/non-manual distinction [1980 and 1985]. This research adds considerable support to such a contention and, something more. An equally significant division will occur between those families who are unable to negotiate flexible income generating/obligatory work arrangements within the home, because of traditionalist views about 'masculinity' and 'femininity' and those families with more egalitarian set ups. The evidence presented in this study suggests that a split between inegalitarian and egalitarian families will be as important as that between multiple and non earner households , particularly amongst those lower socio-economic groups which have been so acutely affected by recent economic and social change.

In looking to the future, I take a position midway between Kumar and Toffler. Changes in both the economic and social structure of Britain there will be, few can doubt that. However, without a strong commitment to meritocracy and equality of opportunity for all, massive investment in the new growth industries and a new approach to education and training [nationally and locally], few of benefits of the industries of the future will accrue to the thousands of men and women who have lost their means of livelihood in the Steel Industry over the last decade. The future for many ex-steelworkers and their families in the local area remains, at best, uncertain .

SUMMARY:

SUGGESTIONS FOR A CRITICAL HUMANIST SOCIAL ENQUIRY :BRIDGING THE 'PUBLIC' AND THE 'PRIVATE ' IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY.

Sociology, as a discipline committed to the analysis of social life, can must seek to balance macro and micro-analyses. Although this is an uneasy dualism it should be remembered that Durkheim and Weber and to a lesser extent Marx, saw no real divide between 'public issues' and 'private troubles' in their substantive sociology, despite the opposed epistomological intent of their formal social theories. There is no clear fit between the boundaries of macro and micro-sociology but ideally, they should be combined.

Redundancy and its effects on family life, to recap, is a classical illustration of the ways in which 'the personal troubles of milieux' and 'the public issues of social structure' interact, in a two way dialectic of mutual influence and causation [Mills, 1970 : 8-9]. Whilst, as Kant observed, all our actions are nominally 'free', they are inevitably causally bound. The process of redundancy illustrates clearly how changing public issues can radically alter private concerns. For example, much of the empirical support for the phase model came in times of full employment where responses were very different to those we find in times of sustained high unemployment. Redundancy and unemployment in the 1980's are different phenomena when compared to any other period in the 20th century, even in the 1970's. They elicit a different variety of coping strategies, negative or positive, which are not explained by the 'phase' model. Redundancy and its after effects represents a psycho

-social transition with many possible outcomes, which we are now in a position to explicate and categorise. These are outlined below:

An individual who is likely to suffer from a negative, re-active and potentially phasic response to job loss is one who:

- is at work in times of sustained economic growth, low levels of unemployment and low incidences of redundancy in national and local labour markets;
- lives in an occupationally and socially heterogeneous neighbourhood/ community;
- has a collectivist/proletarian political consciousness;
- experiences stable, well paid employment prior to redundancy;
- is male, but increasingly likely to be female [cf Coyle, 1984]
- has an expressive attitude towards his/her work;
- is at a later stage in the life course [40-55 for men, 35-50 for women] and married with children;
- is in good health prior to redundancy;

- has traditional attitudes towards masculinity and feminity and the work, family and domestic roles of men and women;
- is only marginally involved in domestic work and childcare outside work hours;
- does not enjoy close relations with his/her spouse and children;
- [in the case of men] enjoys an extra familial male centred leisure/social life;

- has a very short period of notice prior to redundancy;
- has skills/qualifications not applicable or transferable to other sectors of national/local labour markets;
- has no personal, financial, emotional and counselling support and no access to retraining facilities, or access to retrain in relevant work skills;
- has no access to or does not make use of social support systems;
- does not make plans based on realistic assessments of his/her skills and abilities;
- is unemployed for a year or more;
- is geographically isolated from others made redundant;
- has little subcultural support in the local neighbourhood or community;
- is unable to maintain regular routines and goal related activities;
- is unable to become more involved in domestic work/childcare;
- is inflexible in coping with his/her new assumptive world.

Conversely, an individual who is likely to experience a positive, pro-active and non phasic response to redundancy is one who:

- is at work in times of low economic growth, sustained high levels of unemployment and high incidences of redundancy in national and local labour markets;
- lives in an occupationally and socially homogeneous neighbourhood / community;
- has an privatised/instrumental political consciousness;

- experiences unstable, poorly paid, chequered working prior to redundancy;
- is female, but increasingly likely to be male;
- has an instrumental/deferential attitude towards work;
- is at an early stage in the life course [under 25] or approaching retirement, is single or does not have responsibilities for teenage/adult children;
- is in poor health prior to redundancy;

- has a relatively egalitarian/ non-sexist attitude towards masculinity and feminity and the life roles of men and women;
- is actively involved in domestic work and childcare outside work hours;
- enjoys a close relationship with his/her spouse and children;
- [in the case of men] enjoys a family centred leisure/social life;

- has a lengthy period of notice prior to redundancy;
- has skills/qualifications applicable/transferable to other sectors of national/local labour markets;
- has personal, financial, emotional and counselling support and access to retraining in relevant skills;
- has access to and makes use of social support systems
- makes realistic assessments of his/her own skills and abilities;
- is able to find work quickly and/or is unemployed for less than one year;
- is geographically in close proximity to others made redundant;
- has subcultural support in the local neighbourhood/community;

- is able to maintain regular routines and goal related activities;
- is able to become regularly involved in domestic work and childcare;
- is inflexible in coping with his/her new assumptive world.

Hence, a family which is likely to suffer during periods of unemployment is one where, prior to redundancy:

- husband and wife had traditional attitudes towards ,'masculinity' and 'feminity';
- the husband was not actively involved in domestic work and childcare;
- the wife resented 'interference'in housework;
- husband and wife did not have a close relationship with each other and their children [particularly with teenagers];
- it was at a later stage in the life course ;
- the husband was engaged in extra-familial male centred political/ social/leisure activities;
- the husband had experienced regular, well-paid employment and had an expressive attitude towards work;
- the husband was in good health;
- the husband had little notice of redundancy, access to personal/ financial/emotional support and/or access to counselling/retraining opportunities and did not make realistic plans based on his skills and qualifications;
- the family does not have access to or does not make use of social support systems

- the family lives in an occupationally and socially heterogeneous neighbourhood/community with little subcultural support;
- the husband is out of work for more than a year;
- husband and wife are unable to maintain regular routine and goal related activities;
- husband and wife are unable to renegotiate traditional divisions of labour in the home and are both inflexible in their coping strategies after redundancy.

These Pure Constructs, of course, represent diametrically opposed reactions to the 'unitary' event of redundancy. They serve to clarify and assist in the catagorisation of the many posible outcomes which may result from redundancy. They possess a reasonable degree of predictive power and are 'causally adequate on the level of meaning'. In short, *they make sense* and represent a significant advance on the phase model discussed earlier. They are , 'valid approximations', to the effect that under specified conditions, certain courses of action would be expected to occur [cf: 1 : 2 : 2].

A critical humanism, synthesising both macro and micro-sociology does not share a Hobbsian or Durkheimian over-socialised or a Marxist over-integrated view of people. Nor does it share in the reductionism of ethnomethodology or grounded theory. Pure holism or pure reductionism, in either their positivistic or critical guises, are of no use to a critical humanism. It does recognise that all individuals, including this group of men and women are, in a very real sense, created and constituted by the social milieux in which they were born, raised and educated, in which they work, marry and procreate and from which,

eventually, they retire. However, it also recognises that each individual in a given social system is able to act back on this socialisation, often in radical and unexpected ways, which we may have difficulties in coming to terms with. Such an approach, in addition, does not share one of the central *a priori* tenets of neo-Marxism, to paraphrase Napoleon in 'Animal Farm', that socialism/ collectivism/ public life is 'good' and capitalism/ family life/ individualism is 'bad'.

Whilst neo-Marxism remains an important, if flawed ,explanatory paradigm within sociology, it is insensitive to those essentially non-economistic, intrinsically *sociological* features of social life which a critical humanism is sensitive to, such as:

- varieties of class structuration and fragmentation;
- gender, generational and life course perspectives;
- the effects of social mobility and status dissonance;
- residential, communal and ethnic considerations
- the interplay between personal/family dynamics and public/societal dynamics.

This interplay, particularly in relation to redundancy and unemployment, cannot be adequately explained by reference to such imprecise concepts such as: 'class struggle', 'capitalism', 'the proletariat' or 'patriarchy'.

This research, and other recent empirical historical studies must make us at least sceptical of three related assumptions in neo-Marxist and feminist thought, that:

- from some unstated period in the past, there has been a break-up of an economically, socially and culturally homogeneous proletariat;
- in all times past, there has been a universally low level of male participation in domestic work and childcare alongside regular involvement in male centred social activities;
- the normal family structure prior to industrialisation was the extended family. The 'modern' family type is in fact a universal type which has existed in all social systems alongside the extended family and has always enjoyed a degree of autonomy from it.

There have always been, at least since Engel's time, a substantial proportion of working class people who have never been supporters of socialism and continue to be home centred, privatised, patriotic, law-abiding and even Conservative supporters. Indeed, apart from a few isolated cases, in specific occupational groups and in particular geographical areas, a collective revolutionary consciousness has never emerged in Britain. Franklin [1985] and McKenzie and Silver [op.cit] have suggested that the 'normal' working class man has always been deferential and privatised. The 'deviant', historically, has been the traditional proletarian. Other aspects of life, such as family life have always been potent sources of identity.

The evidence presented in the sections on political consciousness suggests that there have been and continue to be other significant determinants of consciousness other than the class location or the occupation of the male breadwinner in a family. It would appear that neo-Marxist theories about class and stratification do not have the explanatory power which many sociologists have attributed to them. They

can only provide a very limited basis for an analysis of the consequences of the rundown of B.S.C. in the South Yorkshire area. The constant search for class struggle and class consciousness in neo-Marxism has, according to Pahl, generated 'more wishful than critical thought'[1985]. Indeed, Gorz has suggested that:

> 'The impossibility of any empirical justification of the theory [of the proletariat] has kept hanging over Marxism like original sin. Since empirical justification of the theory is impossible, the various theoretical and political positions amongst marxists can only find legitimation in fidelity to the dogma []. Any attempt to find the basis of the marxist theory of the proletariat is a waste of time [] The philosophy of the proletariat is a religion. It acknowledges as much of reality as it finds reassuring. Its examination of facts always starts from the following premise: 'given that the proletariat is and must be revolutionary, let us examine those facts which lend support to its revolutionary will and those which frustrate it'. The terms of the problem govern the inquiry into its solution.'
>
> [op.cit : 3]

There is much truth in Gorz's assertions. Neo-marxism pre-judges many of the outcomes of its enquiries into social life, by the paradigmatic assumptions of its formal theories. For anyone engaged in critical, but open minded empirical research, this is, at the very least, problematic. There are now significant doubts in my own mind about the supposed collectivism of ordinary English people. In neo-Marxism, only one form of behaviour is permissable and that is

collectivist. To aspire to family life, home ownership, 'respectability' and a desire to see one's children get on in life is regarded as abnormal and even, in certain circumstances, as a betrayal of the working class(es). Explaining such aspirations in terms of 'false consciousnes's may satisfy neo-Marxists, but is inadequate to rigorous social scientific enquiry.

This research indicates a direct link between the existence of an alienating industrial work environment creating a strong desire for a sphere of individual autonomy. This would seem to be the inevitable product of any complex, bureaucratised industrial social order ['capitalist' or 'socialist'] and will exist until such time as all monotonous work is performed by machines. Indeed, so long as Marxists accept the logic of ever expanding industrialism, alienation in this sense would be a characteristic of any future socialist society. Marx himself admitted that alienation could only be removed from work when society had reached a very high level of technological development [1973 : 611-612].

A desire for individual autonomy is not simply based on a desire to consume or solely on leisure activities but is based on activities quite unrelated to any economic goals such as communication, giving, tenderness, pursuing emotional and intellectual capacities and the creation of non-commodity use values such as involvement with children and grandchildren. The importance of these non-class, non-economistic, non-occupational features of life is illustrated by the ways in which many ex-steelworkers and their wives drew on them during periods of unemployment. Family life and non-work related goals and activities

have been as important to many of these men and women as has work and occupation.

This awareness means, in Pahl's words, that

'there is much more concern to allow people to frame their own worlds rather than to insist that the investigators frames are self evidently true but requiring a little modification and a willingness to allow people to report without devious prompting what they thought about their social identities and their place in society' [1985 : 8]

In other words, we may not like what we find 'out there', personally, ethically, politically or intellectually but we must be responsive to it and seek to explain it. It has been suggested that future approaches to such issues as work, family life, redundancy/unemployment and post-industrialism, will be a combination of neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approaches [Pahl, ibid.; Harris (4), S.S.P 1984] I would contend that a more fruitful synthesis would be neo-Weberianism/Social-psychology/Feminism and *some* neo-Marxism, with possibly socio-ecological perspectives, alongside a synthesis of the range of quantitative and qualitative research methods now available, with an equal commitment to practical research as much as to *critique*. Such a synthesis would not only generate an understanding of 'the spirit' of the world we live in but an empathic responsive and open minded understanding of world as seen by real people. This also implies that all sociologists should be regularly engaged in empirical research, as a basic, even *the* basic requirement of their profession, rather than abstract 'textbookism' in the corridors of academia. This study has, I

hope, provided one building block for a Critical Humanism, drawing on what is good in sociology's diverse paradigms whilst discarding what is of limited heuristic value.

FOOTNOTES

PART I : RESEARCH METHODS

1. These were:

- Explanations of the Causes of Economic and Social Change in the U.K. 1945 - 1984;
- The Objective and Subjective Meanings of 'Work';
- The Family and the World of Work;
- The Economic and Social costs of Redundancy and Unemployment in the 1980's;
- Research Methods;
- The Main Statistical Findings of the Questionnaire Survey;
- The Declining Fortunes of B.S.C. Nationally and Locally;

I would suggest that regular writing is an extremely important part of doing a PhD.

2. Since privatisation in April 1986, this has moved to Aldewarke.

3. This assumed return was based upon returns in other questionnaire surveys of this kind. [cf.,Harris (1) Swansea Steel Project 1983]

(***Note*** *: to ease identification, all further references to studies in this Project are referenced as : Name, No(s). of Paper(s), S.S.P. and Year*)

4. Both management and Union representatves showed little interest in my proposal to interview pre-redundant steelworkers. No rank and file members contacted me at this time.

5. These also included: Mike Padden and others at S.C.C. Employment Department; The Managers of: Debenhams, Cole Brothers, Sainsburys, and

several other large stores; various I.S.T.C.S. officials including Roy Bishop.

6. As indeed happened see 1 : 3 : 2 : 2 (i)

7. As regards the *political* issues of redundancy and unemployment, I made it clear to striking Tinsley workers my opposition to redundancies and closures at this time.

8. a) It is interesting to contrast the more philosophical and 'exotic' nature of sociology in the 1970's with the widespread desire of sociologists in the 1980's to produce practical research.

b) The credibility of sociology amongst the general public, our peers and many undergraduates leaves much to be desired. We are all aware of the availability of sociology degrees in every students' union's toilet around the country!

9. Ritzer [op. cit.] argues that the emergence and history of sociology fits neatly into a Kuhnian framework:

- it emerged in revolutionary fashion;
- it enjoyed a lengthy period of 'normal science' under Parsonian structural functionalism;
- it experienced a period of 'revolutionary science' in the 1960's, with the re-emergence of Marxism and feminism;

Nisbet [1962] has shown quite clearly that none of the key ideas in sociology - class, rationalisation, bureaucracy etc. were the product of a rigorous scientific methodology but were, rather, the result of introspective leaps of imagination, only later verified by empirical research.

10. For reasons of space I have excluded a discussion of 'objectivity' in Durkheim's Sociology. The criticisms of his 'naive inductivism' are well documented. As Goudsblom [1970 : 21] said:

'Under no circumstances do the facts speak for themselves, they only speak through our mediation and interpretation .'

11. B.S.C. paid for 1,000 franked envelopes.

12. This was a very time-consuming process - organising: the layout, printing, the pilot sample, writing out each address by hand etc., followed by organising the returns. I would allow more time in future.

13. Brook [op. cit.] suggests that higher returns can be expected if this is done.

14. A total of 114 were excluded : those known to have moved abroad; anyone under 21 years of age and those of ethnic minority origin. The latter group, 33 in total, were excluded because of the obvious theoretical difficulties involved.

15. Interviewing is also, as Plummer [op. cit. : 33] has observed

'the strategy of the poor researcher who has little hope of gathering large representative samples.'

16. By this I mean having a 'normal' haircut and wearing tidy clothing [shirt and tie etc.]

17. By this time I had purchased a car. This is absolutely indispensable where an interview sample lives in a fairly dispersed area. See Appendix 15 for the geographical locations of the interview group.

18. This number roughly approximated the original questionnaire groups.

19. This of course has a very long history in sociology : The Chicago School; Community studies of the 1950's and 1960's and more recently on

redundancy and unemployment cf. Swansea Steel Project; Fagin and Little 1984 and others [See III : 6 and 7].

20. Some of the reasons given were:

- 'the wife is not keen';
- 'the wife's not interested in the personal stuff';
- 'I thought it were just about me redundancy';
- 'I'm back in work';
- 'Lack of time'

PART TWO : ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1. Socio-Economic change involves:

- changes in the production of manufactured goods and the provision of services
- changes in patterns of resource and investment allocation;
- changes in relations of production and the interests of different groups in society.

Socio-Political change involves:

- changes in the distribution of power and wealth;
- changes in the ideological legitimation of new social structures;
- changes to the class/status systems of a given social system.

Socio Cultural change involves:

- changes in ideas and beliefs, artistic and literary styles, knowledge etc.

Scientific change involves:

- breakthroughs in technical and scientific knowledge, particularly when these have a major impact on industrial production and industrial labour markets.

2. The interest of social theorists in change has a long history :

- Comte : Theological/Military → Metaphysical/Judicial → Scientific/Industrial.
  Weber : Community → Association

- Durkheim : Mechanic → Organic
  Marx : Primitive Communism → Agrarian → Socialist/Industrialist

[Linear - Flow - Neo-Darwinian]

- Spengler : Adolescence → Maturity → Decay

[Non-Linear]

3. The origins of Britain's current economic and social problems can be traced back to the 19th century:- see House of Lords [1982]; Mandel [1976]; Garraty [1978]; Coates and Hillard [1986]

4. The idea that high inflation and high unemployment cannot co-exist [Philips A.W. : Economica : Volume 23 : 203-209]

5. If we include:

- many men aged 55 and over;
- many women aged 50 and over;
- married women not registered at job centres; [estimated at 41% - General Household Survey 1985]
- some of the long term employed;
- those on 'training' schemes.

6. As far as I know contemporary Marxists have not as yet addressed themselves to the effects of increasing home ownership, profit sharing and the appeal of shareholding.

7. Cripps has gone much further than this:

> 'Nobody really understands how the modern economy works; neither the I.M.F. or G.A.T.T. have a model of the world economy that really works. Nobody really knows why we had so much growth in the post war period, what was the role of the Marshall Plan or how the various mechanisms [of the economy] slotted together. Under classical economics one just assumed a tendency towards full employment, a tendency towards equilibrium. Economics has become the religion of modern man. We build up these deities - it's a kind of Stonehenge syndrome. These things have ritual and symbolic meaning, but we don't really know what they do [The Guardian 26/9/83 : 13]

8. There are of course other substantial drains on the British Economy, which will be worsened when North Sea Oil runs out. The slowest growing economies in the west in the early 1980's were America and the U.K. -

both who spend more on arms and nuclear weaponning [as a % of G.N.P.] than anyone else in the west. Japan with the lowest expenditure has the highest rate of growth, with barely any of its own natural resources. [See: Threat or Opportunity : The Economic Consequences of Defence, Bradford School of Peace Studies, Report No. 6 1984].

9. In fact, there has been some form of metal manufacturing going on in this region since the Iron and Bronze ages.

10. It is likely that these figures are only accurate to within 5%. I found persistent discrepancies in the national and local press; B.S.C. Documents; Steel News and I.S.T.C.S. Documents about 'redundancies in Steel'.

11. This described the integration of four plants in Rotherham with G.K.N.'s plant at Brymbo in Clwyd.

12. There is little doubt that B.S.C. was over-manned, employed some obsolete technology and had a massive over-production capacity. Hence, large numbers of redundancies were probably inevitable, even if a sympathetic Labour government had been in power. However, this would have been less marked than the savage cuts made by B.S.C. over the last eight years. It would also, probably, have been planned in such a way as to lessen the negative effects of redundancies which have followed from a poorly planned redundancy programme [see II : 4 : 3].

13. For women over 50 and men over 55 make up pay was maintained for this length of time, as they were seen as more disadvantaged in terms of job prospects. For people under 55/50, make up pay of up to 52 weeks was available during retraining or 90% of previous income if they found work which paid less than their original wage at B.S.C.

For those over 55/50 previous earning were maintained at 90% of previous earnings for 52 weeks after the first 28 weeks of unemployment benefit, thereafter at 80% of earnings for a further 26 weeks. There was also an option available to the over 55/50's which enabled them to convert this extra benefit into an additional pension which would enhance the annual pension payable to all employees who leave B.S.C. at 55/50.

14. In an extraordinary Guardian article of 17/7/86 it was claimed that B.S.C. Industry Ltd. had created 59,000 new jobs. Although I wrote explaining that this meant that everyone under 55 made redundant from B.S.C. over the last decade was now in work, I received no reply. These figures are grossly inaccurate, 16,000 is the figure given by B.S.C. Industry Ltd.

15. Despite an E.E.C. cash injection to aid small firms in this area, 36% of all non steel redundancies in 1983-1984 were in companies employing less than 200 people, highlighting the dramatic collapse of a local economy heavily dependent on steel [Sunday Times Business News 25/11/84].

16. For a detailed account of this see : Robson [op. cit.]; Burrows [op. cit.] and B.S.C. [1980].

17. It should be remebered that the miners did not support the 1981 Steel Strike. Steelworkers returned the complement, by refusing to support the 1985 Miners Strike.

PART III : REDUNDANCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

1. For the obvious theoretical reasons this discussion is limited to the 1970's and 1980's. There is of course a long history to this literature : from the work of Chadwick and Engels in the 19th century, Jahoda's 'Marienthal'[1930] up to the present day.

2. The unemployment rates in inner city 'riot areas' amongst under 25's were:

- Moss Side, 42.9% - Toxteth 49.1%
- Southall, 42.4% - Chapeltown 43.4%
- Brixton, 44.1%

[Kettle, 1981]

3. Brenners work is generally accepted as accurate by the M.S.C. and the Civil Service.

4. An interesting footnote to this section is provided by Jane McLoughlin of the Guardian ['Workface' 27/5/84 : 10] who wrote of the rejected manager who for 25 years has caught the 8:15 train to work in London; the problem was that he had been unemployed for the last two years, his wife knows nothing about it and he cannot bring himself to tell her. This charade is maintained with an elaborate web of lies and fabrications.

5. As we now know this 'internal'/'external division is very artificial.

6. The term extended family, is used to refer to :

'any grouping related by descent, marriage or adoption that is broader than the nuclear family.' [Bell and Vogel op. cit. : 2]

7. In a study as long ago as 1960, the authors found that 96.7% of all married couples maintained dwellings away from parents - suggesting some degree of emotional and financial dependence for most young families [Nimkoff and Middleton, 1960].

8. As Morris [(1)-(5), S.S.P. 1983] has observed this is also due to the existence of women's social networks reinforcing their attitudes in the same way as male social networks inhibits male involvement in child care and domestic work.

9. According to data from the 1980 General Household Survey, more than 50% of unemployed men were married; 33% had dependent children; unemployed men with large families were twice as likely to be out of work as men without children.

PART IV : THE OVER 55'S

1. Full details of family histories; work histories and children's statuses are to be found in Appendix 11 .

2. See Appendix 7 for details of the symbols used in the transcripts.

3. In the joint interview it was revealed that she had done laundry for others in the home.

4. It should be noted that these couples spent, on average, 2.7 years living with parents after marriage. Given the confused arrangements in these homes, where wives often worked outside, I have omitted this from my analysis, referring only to married life after they had moved into their own homes.

5. All such figures are rounded to the nearest £50.

PART V : THE UNDER 55's

1. Full details of family histories; work histories and childrens statuses are to found in Appendices 12 and 13.

PART VI : CONCLUSIONS

1. With the growing numbers of elderly people and early retirers in the U.K., there has been a concommitant growth in support for them [eg The Guardian and Legal's pre-retirement courses, announced 17/5/86].

2. Another factor promoting lower mortality rates is home ownership [Townsend and Davidson op. cit. : 60] All these couples were homeowners.

3. This concentration in Services is very similar to that in South Wales [Lee (3) S.S.P., 1983].

4. Why people are 'entrepreneurial' in general terms, is beyond the scope of this section but see references in main text.

5. Bechhofer et. al. [op. cit.] [in Parkin op. cit.] casts doubt on these assumptions.

6. Or, they are in a 'contradictory' class position [Carchedi 1977].

7. Illich [1973 : 22 -24] describes 'convivial tools' as those 'which enhance the ability of people to pursue their own goals in their unique way', as against 'programmed tools' which 'engender pre-determined actions'.

8. See Mount [op. cit.] and Lukes [1973, Chapter 9] for a further evaluation of the relationship between individual, familial and collectivist loyalties.

9. In 1957 Bott found that divisions of labour in the home were also a function of social relationships between family, kin and other peer groups [ibid: 3-4]. She found that where close social networks existed outside the elementary/nuclear family, role segregation was highly marked. This situation was reversed where only loose social networks existed and where contact with other kin was infrequent. Hence, degrees of conjugal separation was related not only to class, but also to family organisation and interaction. She suggested that even families in close knit communities enjoyed a large measure of privacy to organise their own affairs [ibid : 53 and 216].

10. Indeed, it is probably unanswerable, but see Hendrick [1943] and other references in this Chapter. 'Work' has meant a myriad of different things at different periods in history : it was regarded as little more than a curse in Ancient Greece and Rome; as symptomatic of God's Blessing and good grace for protestants in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries; as a world of alienation and drudgery for the industrial proletariat of 19th century Europe; as a means to ever increasing consumer consumption and affluence post World War II and today, increasingly, as the most important ticket to effective participation in society.

11. McKenzie and Silver suggest that the family serves as an insulating environment to many women - sheltering them from changing economic and social realities outside the home. They found women to be, in general, less politically articulate than men and more deferential at all stages of the life course [1968 : 187, 190 and 254-55].

12. With some minor exceptions, eg: 'Silicon Valley' in Strathclyde.

13. Corrie has suggested that:

'The technological revolution has failed to stimulate growth because we are now a consumer of new technology products, not a producer. Consequently, the faster we automate the worse the technology deficit becomes. A buy British policy is meaningless when the British computer industry consists of companies packaging imported silicon chips.' [ ] 'new technology oils the wheels of industry, it does not drive them. In a period of growth it can aid expansion, in recession it is used to speed up the loss of labour. As a result the technological revolution directly contributes to the reduction in domestic output not to growth' [The Guardian 20/2/86].

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APPENDIX A: PARADIGM THEORY

Given the complexities of Kuhn's original formulation [1962] and the subsequent controversies it created, the most I can do here is bring out the essential elements of his theory and the most essential elements of the criticisms levelled at it. This section therefore provides the background to the remodification and reformulation of the ideas to be found in the main text.

(i) A Question of Definitions

For Kuhn, a paradigm, amongst the twenty one different definitions he provides, is essentially the fundamental image a science has of itself. It serves to define what should be studied, what questions should be asked and the methodological procedures we should follow in order to answer those questions. A paradigm is the broadest unit of consensus within a science and governs the day to day working of any scientific community. This is what Kuhn calls 'normal science'. Normal science, is a habit governed puzzle solving activity, research, 'based firmly on one or more past scientific achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundations for further practice' and 'universally recognised scientific achievements that for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners' [1962 :21-23]. Such an example in sociology would be Parsonian structural functionalism, a fusion and extension of the works of Durkheim and Weber.

Kuhn argued that any scientific community is 'an essentially closed society intermittently shaken by collective nervous breakdowns, followed by restored mental unison' [ibid : 24]. These 'breakdowns', mark periods of 'Revolutionary Science'. By analogy with political, social and religious revolutions, Kuhn describes how old paradigms are 'overthrown'" and replaced by new ones. Anomalies within a particular paradigm became so great that a 'gestalt switch' occurs a new paradigm emerges which can explain these anomalies. Only at this time does 'genuine science' occur, when new fields of research are mapped out and a new 'tool kit' of research methods created

An example of this in sociology was the re-emergence of humanistic Marxism in the 1960's which, at least in Europe, posed a major threat to Parsonian thought, whose greatest anomaly was its inability to adequately explain social conflict. Another example, has been the impact of feminism on much of the implicit sexism of sociology.

The Kuhnian notion of science, in its early stages, rejected implicitly the models of 'conjectures and refutations' Popper and 'branching' [Mulkay 1973], because of their inability to explain the quantum jumps which have occurred in science. Ritzer [1978] and Koestler [1975] have given considerable empirical support to this view. Both have stressed the jerky and unpredictable way in which the natural sciences have progressed. They argue that the history of science cannot be understood solely in terms of conjectures and refutations. The same would apply, argue Nisbet, Ritzer and others to the history of sociology.

(ii) The Criticisms

There have, of course, been substantive criticisms levelled at Kuhn. Popper has described the idea of paradigms as 'intolerable and dangerous' and 'a danger to science' [Popper, 1959]. His vision of science is almost the complete antithesis of Kuhn's. What is normal science for Kuhn is non-science for Popper, when no genuine falsification occurs. Kuhn's arguments for Popper represent an illogical historical relitavism and are little more than 'mob psychology'. Popper argues that revolutionary science is very rare and that most scientific progress occurs during periods of normal science. Kuhn would respond to this,by arguing that it is only possible to refute conjectures so long as the basis of the questions being asked remains unchallenged [Current examples would be quantum physics in natural science and the impact of feminism on functionalist accounts of the family]. Chalmers describes Kuhn's work as

> 'subjective, irrational, behaviourist and inductivist', whilst providing no basis for scientific research.'
>
> [1978 : 49].

Kuhn, it should be said, never intended to provide such a basis.

Whilst agreeing that his notion of social control in science has some relevance, he argues that the pursuit of new knowledge in possible utilising a Lakatosian model. Those changes referred to by Kuhn as revolutionary science are better seen, he argues as units of variation in the progress of science. Watkins [1970] has taken these criticisms a stage further, attacking all the central ideas underlying paradigm theory.

These are:

- the paradigm monopoly thesis;
- the no interregnum thesis [i.e. that communication between paradigms is not possible];
- the incompatibility thesis;
- the Gestalt switch thesis;
- the instant paradigm thesis.

Watkins argues that no single paradigm ever totally dominates a science; that there are always close links between old and new paradigms; paradigms are rarely incommensurable; the Gestalt switch thesis implies irrationalisation, psychologism and suggests that 'great minds' alone are responsible for major scientific developments and finally, the idea that paradigms are created in one piece has no support in the history of science.[I was not able to find a reference to this last suggestion in 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions'].

Masterman [1970] describes this critique as 'crude' and malicious', and a familiarity with Kuhn's thought would seem to confirm such a view. I think Pearce-Williams [1970] is right when he argues that, as regards natural science both Kuhn and Popper are partly right and partly wrong: Kuhn in his inability to account for the substantive advances made in terms of normal science and Popper in those irrational and subjective leaps of imagination which have contributed substantially to the development of science.

Sociology, Pearce Williams argues, fits better into a Kuhnian framework, not withstanding the advances in knowledge made in times of

normal science. I would suggest, that in its original form, the concept of paradigm does not easily fit the history and practice of Sociology . However, Kuhn has extended and modified his original ideas, changes which make the concept of paradigm applicable to sociology. A discussion of these changes is to be found in the main text.

Sheffield City Polytechnic

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Department of Applied Social Studies
Head of Department Roy Bailey BA

NF/AC

Dear

My name is Nick Forster. I am a Researcher in the Department of Applied Social Studies at Sheffield City Polytechnic. I am working on a study of the effects of redundancy on a group of former Rotherham Works employees and their families, financed by the Economic and Social Research Council. I am writing to ask you for your help in this study. Although I am working quite independently, I have discussed this study with BSC management and the trade unions and they support what I am doing.

Although there is a great deal of talk in newspapers and on television about redundancy at present, we still know very little about its effects on family life. I am writing to you, as one of about 1,000 former Rotherham Works employees, hoping that you would be prepared to fill in the enclosed questionnaire. It should only take about twenty minutes. If you feel able to help could you fill it in and return it in the envelope provided.

When this stage of the research is complete I intend to contact a group of about forty people to discuss their experiences in greater detail. If you think that you would be willing to talk to me informally I would be grateful if you would complete question 7 which includes details of your name and present address. Needless to say, any information you provide will be treated in the strictest confidence and will only be used in connection with this study. You will not be identified individually.

I am hoping that with your help the results of this study may lead to a better understanding of the problems and effects of redundancy, particularly as they affect families.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Nick Forster.

Nicholas Forster

If you would like more information about my research or if you have any queries I can be contacted on Sheffield 368116 Extension 233 (Evenings)

D:LNF2

Redundancy and After

Reference No: | | | |

1 **Working at BSC**

(i) How long did you work at BSC?

Number of years : ☐

Don't know/Can't recall : ☐

(ii) Can you tell me briefly, what type of work you did when you were made redundant?

(iii) Has your working life so far included

At least one period when you were not in paid employment?: ☐ (tick as appropriate)

A period of illness lasting more than eight weeks?: ☐

At least one period of work outside the BSC?: ☐

At least one promotion within the BSC?: ☐

(iv) Can you tell me when you first suspected that there were to be redundancies in your work area?:

Month: ☐ Year: ☐

Can you tell me briefly why you became suspicious at that time?:

(v) When did you first know definitely that there were to be redundancies in your work area?:

Month: ☐ Year: ☐

Can you tell me briefly, how you came to know this?:

(vi) When did you actually finish working for BSC?

Date: ☐

Month: ☐ Year: ☐

(vii) Were you ever a member of a trade union whilst you worked for BSC?

Yes: ☐

No: ☐

2 **Present Circumstances**

(i) At the moment are you:

Employed?: ☐

Full Time ☐

as:

Part Time ☐

as:

Self Employed?: ☐ (tick as appropriate)

Retraining?: ☐

Finished Retraining?: ☐

Registered Unemployed?: ☐

Not working but not registered as unemployed?: ☐

Not working due to ill health or disability?: ☐

Retired?: ☐

Other?:* ☐

* If you ticked the last box, could you tell me briefly what you are doing at present?:

3 Family Circumstances

(i) At the moment you are:

(tick as appropriate)

Married? ☐

Separated?: ☐

Divorced?: ☐

Remarried?: ☐

Widowed?: ☐

Single?: ☐

(ii) Would you have ticked the same box five years ago?:

Yes ☐ No ☐

Don't know/Can't Recall ☐

(iii) Could you please list below the people who live permanently in your household (Column 1) and their relationship to you (Column 2)? In the case of children could you please tell me their ages? (column 3)

	1	2	3

(iv) If you have children who do not live in your house-hold can you tell me their name (Column 1) and their ages (Column 2)? If they have worked at BSC please tick column 3.

	1	2	3

4x **(If you are at present married, please complete this question. If not see question 5)**

(i) Whilst you have been married has your wife had

a full time job?: ☐

a part time job?: ☐

no paid work outside the home?: ☐

(tick as appropriate)

(ii) Has your wife ever worked at BSC?:

Yes: ☐

No: ☐

(tick as appropriate)

(iii) At the present time, which of the following descriptions best fits your wife's circumstances?:

She is in part time work: ☐

She is in full time work: ☐

She is self employed: ☐

She is on a retraining course: ☐

She has finished a retraining course: ☐

She is not in paid employment: ☐

She is not working due to ill health: ☐

She is retired: ☐

4y **(If you are at present married, please complete this question. If not see question 5)**

(i) Whilst you have been married has your husband had:

a full time job?: ☐

a part time job?: ☐

periods when he was without paid employment?: ☐

(tick as appropriate)

(ii) Has your husband ever worked at BSC?:

Yes: ☐

No: ☐

(iii) At the present time which of the following descriptions best fits your husband's circumstances?:

He is in part time work: ☐

He is in full time work: ☐

He is self employed: ☐

He is on a retraining course: ☐

He has finished a retraining course: ☐

He is not in paid employment: ☐

He is not working due to ill health: ☐

He is retired: ☐

5 **If you wish to take no further part in this study, please tick the box and return the questionnaire to me in the envelope provided:** ☐

6 **If you would be willing to talk to me informally about your experience of redundancy, could you please supply me with your:** ☐

Name:

Address:

Telephone Number:

Thank you very much for your help.

Nick Forster.

Nicholas Forster

APPENDIX 2

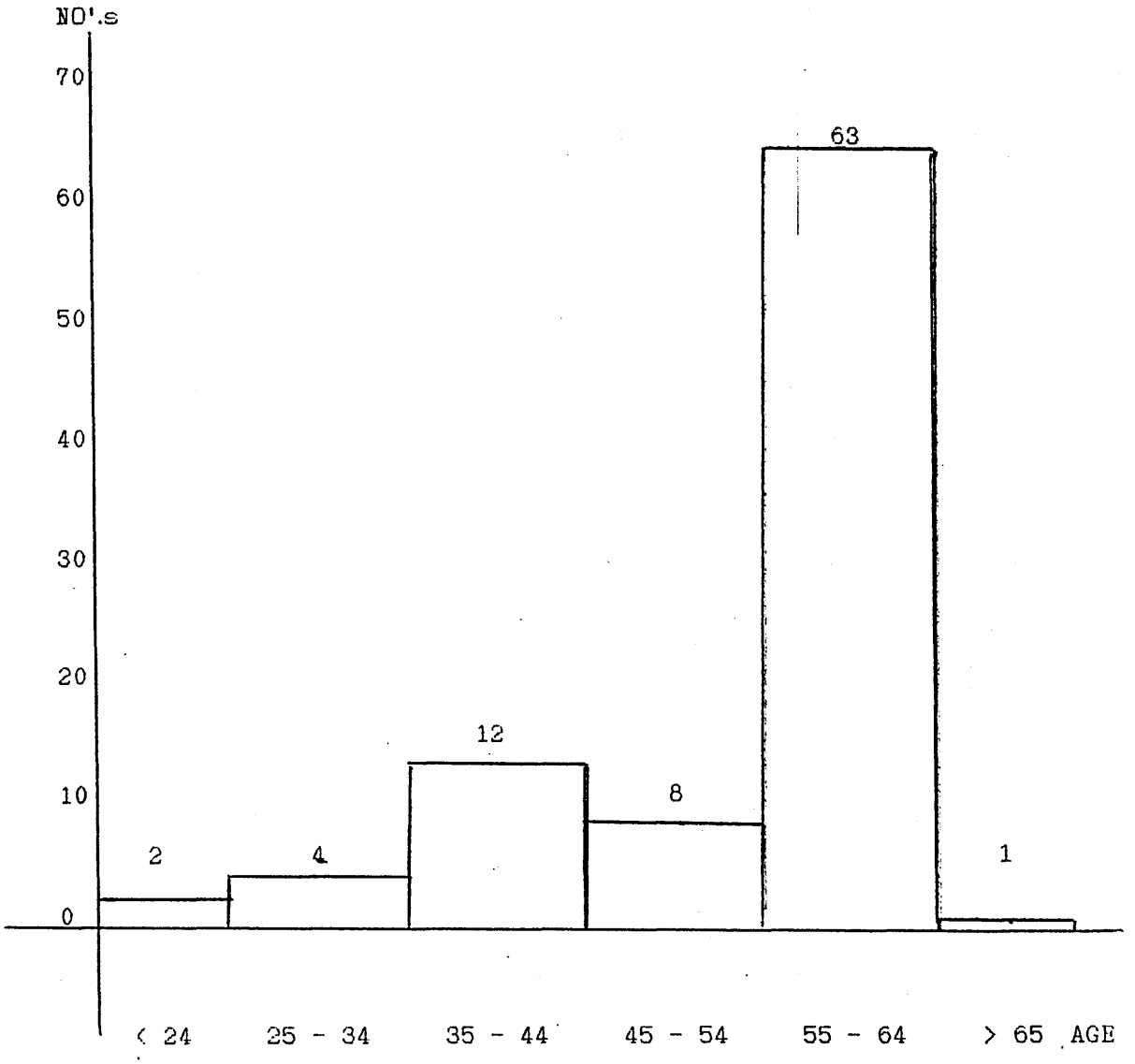
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE GROUPS:

[All figures rounded to the nearest whole number / decimal point]

2 : 1 THE STAFF GROUPS (108)

2 : 1 : 1 THE MEN

(ii)HISTOGRAM OF AGE DISTRIBUTIONS



LENGTH OF SERVICE

OVER 55's : LONGEST = 48 SHORTEST = 8 MEAN = 28.3

UNDER 55's: LONGEST = 28 SHORTEST = 4 MEAN = 13.7

"PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" (EARLY 1985)

THE OVER 55's (64)		THE UNDER 55's (26)	
UNEMPLOYED	= 58 (40.6%)	F/T EMPLOYMENT	= 7 *1 (26.9%)
RETIRED	= 4 (6.3%)	P/T EMPLOYMENT	= 3 (11.54%)
NOT WORKING DUE TO ILL HEALTH/ DISABILITY	= 2 (3.1%)	RETRAINING	= 1 (3.8%)
		SELF-EMPLOYED	= 5 *2 (19.2%)
		RETRAINED	= 13 (49.9%)
		UNEMPLOYED	= 10 (38.6%)

(*1 = 1 RETRAINED *2 = 2 RETRAINED)

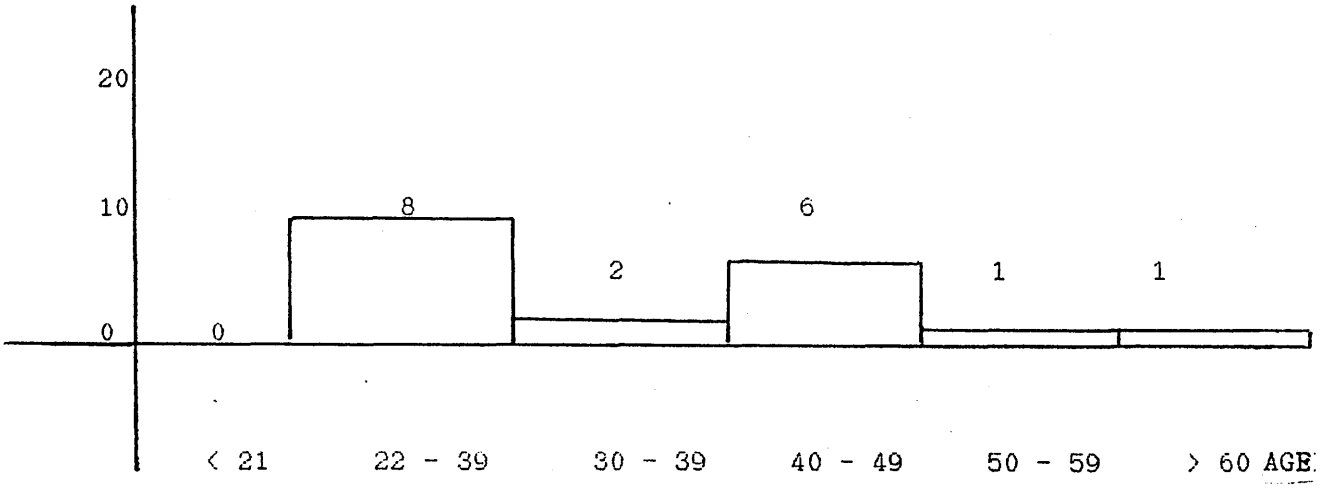
*3 = 10 RETRAINED)

2 : 1 : 3 THE WOMEN

TOTAL = 18

HISTOGRAM OF AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

NO.'s



LENGTH OF SERVICE:

OVER 50's : LONGEST = 23 SHORTEST = 5 MEAN = 11

UNDER 50's: LONGEST = 13 SHORTEST = 5 MEAN = 7

"PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" (EARLY 1985)

a) THE OVER 50's (2)

RETIRED = 2 (100%)

b) THE UNDER 50's (16)

F/T EMPLOYMENT = 3 *1 (18.7%)

RETRAINED = 9 (56.3%)

[*1 = 2 RETRAINED]

[*2 = 7 RETRAINED]

UNEMPLOYED = 13.

(81.3%)

(53.9% retrained)

2 : 1 : 4 MARRIED CIRCUMSTANCES

THE OVER 55's / OVER 50's

	MEN (64)	WOMEN (2)	(TOTALS)
MARRIED	53 (82.8%)	2	(55)
SEPARATED	2	0	(2)
DIVORCED	3	0	(3)
REMARRIED	0	0	(0)
WIDOWED	4	0	(4)
SINGLE	2	0	(2)
X BOX	(4)	(0)	(4)

MEN'S 'MARRIED' GROUP (53)

MEAN NO. OF CHILDREN = 2.946

LARGEST = 6 (x1)

SMALLEST = 0 (x2)

WOMEN'S 'MARRIED GROUP (2)

MEAN NO. OF CHILDREN = 2.500

LARGEST = 3 (x1)

SMALLEST = 2 (x1)

THE UNDER 55's / UNDER 50's

	MEN (26)	WOMEN (16)	(TOTALS)
MARRIED	18 (69.2%)	8 (50%)	(26)
SEPARATED	1	1	(2)
DIVORCED	2	0	(2)
REMARRIED	0	1	(1)
WIDOWED	0	0	(0)
SINGLE	5	6	(11)
X SAME BOX	(2)	(4)	(6)

MEN'S 'MARRIED' GROUP (18)

WOMEN'S 'MARRIED' GROUP (8)

MEAN FAMILY SIZE = 2.013

LARGEST = 5 (x1)

SMALLEST = 0 (x2)

MEAN FAMILY SIZE = 2.257

LARGEST = 4 (x2)

SMALLEST = 0 (x3)

2 : 1 : 5 CHILDREN'S AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

KEY * :

[AT LEAST ONE IN SPECIFIED AGE BAND(S)]

(i) THE OVER 55's / OVER 50's

a) MEN : 51 * = > 16 YEARS OF AGE (etc.)

13 = > 16

11 - 16

(i.e. except for one

1 = > 16 family all have

11 - 16 teenage/adult children)

< 11

1 = 11 - 16

< 11

1 = < 11

OF WHOM: 21 COUPLES HAVE ALL THEIR CHILDREN LIVING AWAY FROM HOME.

39 COUPLES HAVE AT LEAST ONE CHILD LIVING AWAY AND ONE CHILD living at home

12 COUPLES HAVE ALL THEIR CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME

b)WOMEN

2 = > 16 YEARS OF AGE BOTH LOTS OF CHILDREN LIVE AWAY FROM HOME.

(ii) THE UNDER 55'S / UNDER 50'S

a) THE MEN (18)

11 = > 16 YEARS OF AGE

7 = > 16

11 - 16

(i.e. even age spread of children)

5 = > 16

11 - 16

< 11

7 = 11 - 16

< 11

14 = < 11

b) THE WOMEN (8)

3 = > 16

2 = > 16

11 - 16

(i.e. skewed towards young and teenage families)

0 = > 16

11 - 16

2 = < 11

4 = 11 - 16

< 11

2 : 1 : 6 SPOUSES PAST STATUSES : OVER 55'S & OVER 50'S

(i) THE MEN (53)

WIVES WHO HAVE WORKED F/T = 19 (35.9%)

" " " " P/T = 30 (56.6%)

(" " " " P/T & F/T = 11)(20.8%)

WIVES WHO HAVE NOT WORKED

OUTSIDE THE HOME = 4 (7.5%)

(ii) THE WOMEN (2)

HUSBANDS WHO HAVE WORKED FULL TIME = 2

SPOUSES PAST STATUSES : UNDER 55'S & UNDER 50'S

(i) THE MEN (18)

WIVES WHO HAVE WORKED F/T = 5 (27.8%)

" " " " P/T = 11 (61.1%)

(" " " " P/T & F/T = 3

WIVES WHO HAVE NOT WORKED

OUTSIDE THE HOME = 2

(ii) THE WOMEN (8)

HUSBANDS WHO HAVE WORKED F/T = 8

HUSBANDS WHO HAVE WORKED P/T = 0

2 : 1 : 8 SPOUSES PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES (STAFF GROUPS)

	OVER 55'S MEN	OVER 50'S WOMEN	UNDER 55'S MEN	UNDER 55'S WOMEN
1	1	1	5 (27.8%)	0
2	5 (9.4%)	0	2 (11.1%)	6 (75%)
3	1	0	3	2
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	26 (49.1%)	0	7 (38/9%)	0
7	4 (7.6%)	0	0	0
8	16 (30.2%)	1	1	0
	53	2	18	8

KEY: 1 = P/T WORK 5 = RETRAINED

2 = F/T WORK 6 = UNEMPLOYED

3 = SELF EMPLOYED 7 = ILL HEALTH

4 = RETRAINING 8 = RETIRED

2 : 1 : 9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYED MEN (UNDER 55) AND WIVES' PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES

1 = 2	5 = 0	[KEY : AS ABOVE]
2 = 1	6 = 7 (70.0%)	
3 = 0	7 = 0	
4 = 0	8 = 0	

2 : 1 :10

LAST OCCUPATION AT B.S.C. VERSUS PRESENT STATUS : MEN UNDER 55's (26)

	OCCUPATION*									
STATUS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT	1	4	1	1						7
PART TIME EMPLOYMENT	1	0	0	2						3
RETRAINING	0	1	0	0						1
REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED/ NOT WORKING	1	3	0	1		3		1	1	10
SELF-EMPLOYED	2	3	0	0						5
ILL HEALTH/ DISABILITY	0	0	0	0						0
RETIRED	0	0	0	0						0
	5	11	1	4	0	3	0	1	1	26

* KEY: SEE APPENDIX 3

LAST OCCUPATION VERSUS PRESENT STATUS : WOMEN UNDER 50's (18)

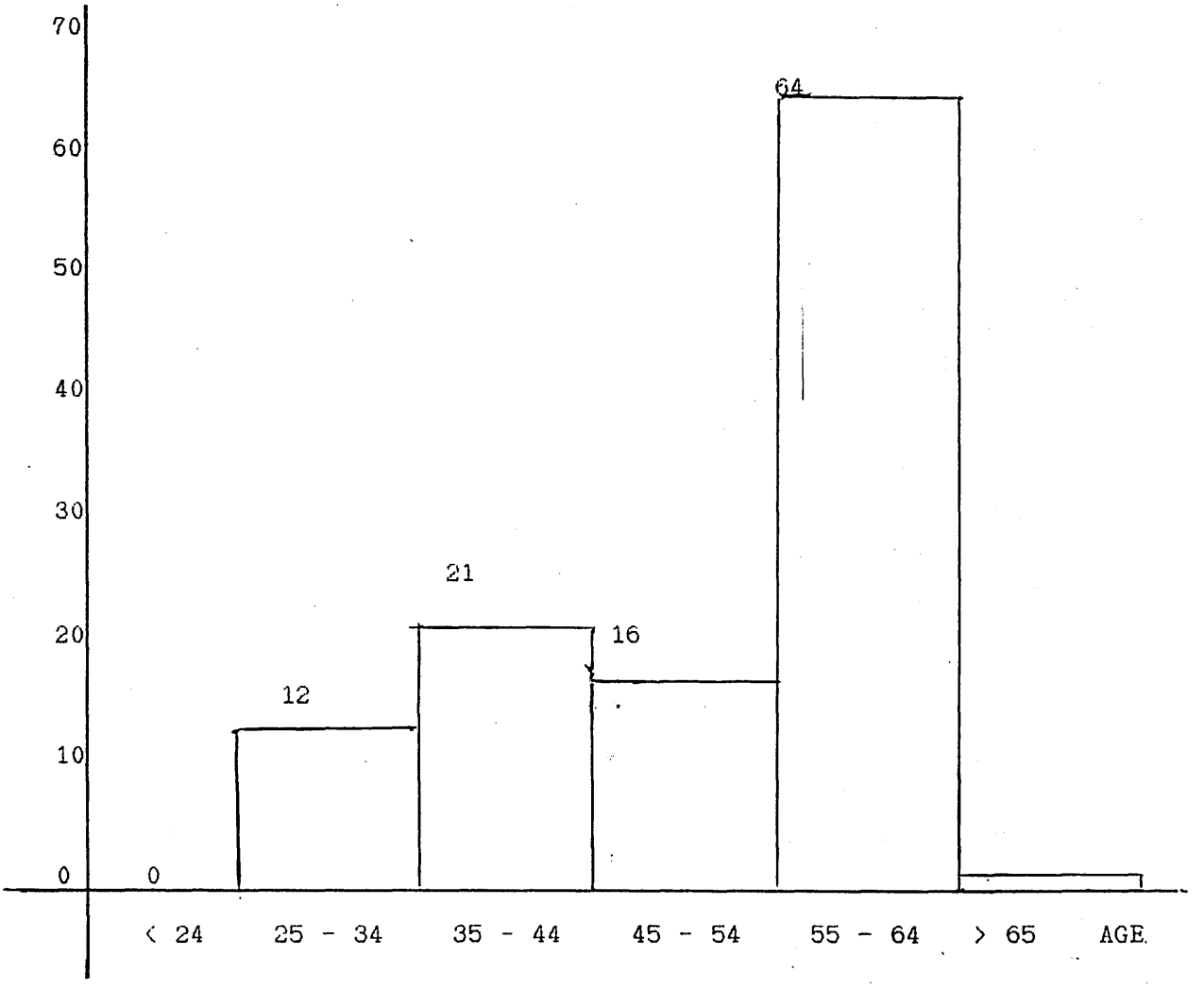
	OCCUPATION									
STATUS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT				3						3
PART TIME EMPLOYMENT				1						1
RETRAINING				1						1
REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED/ NOT WORKING				10				1	1	12
ILL HEALTH/ DISABILITY										
RETIRED				1						1
	0	0	0	16				1	1	18

2 : 2 THE WORKS GROUPS

TOTAL = 114 (ALL MEN)

HISTOGRAM OF AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

NO 's



OVER 55's = 65 (OLDEST = 65 YOUNGEST = 55 MEAN = 57.3)

UNDER 55's = 49 (OLDEST = 53 YOUNGEST = 26 MEAN = 41.7)

PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES (EARLY 1985)

THE OVER 55's (65)		THE UNDER 55's (49)	
UNEMPLOYED/NOT WORKING	= 44 (67.6%)	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME	= 8 [* 1] (16.3%)
RETIRED	= 13 (20.0%)	EMPLOYED PART-TIME	= 4 [* 2] (8.2%)
NOT WORKING DUE TO ILL HEALTH/DISABILITY	= 4 (6.2%)	SELF EMPLOYED	= 8 [* 3] (16.4%)
OTHER	= 4 (6.2%)	RETRAINING	= 5 (10.2%)
		UNEMPLOYED	= 21 [* 4] (42.8%)
		NOT WORKING DUE TO ILL HEALTH/ DISABILITY	= 3 [* 5] (6.1%)
		OTHER	= 0
		(RETRAINED	= 30)

[* 1 = 5]

[* 2 = 3]

[* 3 = 1]

[* 4 = 14 : 66.7%]

[* 5 = 1]

2 : 2 : 2 MARITAL STATUS

	OVER 55's (65)	UNDER 55's (49)
MARRIED	46 (70.8%)	42 (85.7%)
SEPARATED	0	1
DIVORCED	6	1
REMARRIED	2	1
WIDOWED	5	1
SINGLE	6	3
x SAME BOX	(2)	(3)

'MARRIED GROUP'

MEAN NO. OF CHILDREN = 3.013

LARGEST " " " = 7 (x1)

SMALLEST " " " = 0 (x2)

'MARRIED GROUP'

MEAN NO. OF CHILDREN = 1.961

LARGEST " " " = 4 (x3)

SMALLEST " " " = 0 (x5)

2 : 2 : 2 CHILDREN'S AGE DISTRIBUTIONS (KEY: AS STAFF GROUP)

OVER 55's	UNDER 55's
44 = > 16	23 = > 16
4 = > 16	34 = > 16
11 - 16	11 - 16
	11 = > 16
	11 - 16
	< 11
	8 = 11 - 16
	< 11
	5 = < 11

2 : 2 : 4 WIVES PAST AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES

PAST

	OVER 55's (46)	UNDER 55's (42)	TOTALS
WORKED FULL TIME	20 (43.5%)	27 (64.3%)	(47)
WORKED PART TIME	21 (45.7%)	11 (25.6%)	(32)
(BOTH)	(12)(26.00%)	(4)(9.5%)	(16)
NO PAID WORK	5 (10.8%)	4 (9.5%)	(9)

PRESENT

	OVER 55's (46)		UNDER 55's(42)	
1	9 (19.6%)		13 (30.1%)	
2	5 (10.9%)		4 (9.5%)	
3	0		3	
4	0		0	
5	0		0	
6	9 (19.6%)		19 (45.2%)	
7	5 (10.9%)	) (69.6%)	3	
8	18 (39.1%)		0	

[KEY: AS STAFF GROUP]

2 : 2 : 5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYED MEN AND WIVES' PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES

TOTAL UNEMPLOYED = 21

1 = 5 (23.8%)	5 = 0	[KEY: AS PER STAFF GROUP]
2 = 2 (9.5%)	6 = 13 (61.9%)	
3 = 1	7 = 0	
4 = 0	8 = 0	

2 : 2 : 6 LAST OCCUPATION AT B.S.C. VERSUS PRESENT STATUS (<55)

	OCCUPATION					
STATUS	1	2	3	4	5	6
FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT	8					8
PART TIME EMPLOYMENT	4					4
RETRAINING	5					5
UNEMPLOYED/ NOT WORKING	12	2		6	1	21
SELF-EMPLOYED	8					8
ILL HEALTH/ DISABILITY	3					3
RETIRED						
	40	2		6	1	49

[KEY: SEE APPENDIX 3]

[COMPILED USING SPSS(x) AND MINITAB PACKAGES 1985 - 86]

APPENDIX 3

OCCUPATIONAL CODINGS

	CODE
STAFF	
a) SENIOR MANAGERS:	(1)
Administration, Industrial Relations,	
Marketing	
b) SCIENTIFIC/TECHNICAL	(2)
Laboratory & works :	
Electrical engineers, Mechanical	
engineers, mechanics, chemists,	
metallurgists, design and development,	
some computer services	
c) CONTROL/PLANNING SERVICES	(3)
Process control/planning/services	
Quality " / " / "	
Production " / " / "	
Plant Managers	
Supervisors	
d) CLERICAL/OFFICE	(4)
Office Managers	
Records Managers	
Finance/Accounts (incl. salaries/materials/stores)	
Purchasing and Sales accountants	

Printing, typing and some computer services

e) OTHER STORES (5)

f) MISCELLANEOUS (6)

No's. 53, 182, 217 Safety and Production Instructors

121 Driver and Chauffeur

236 Personnel Officer

253, 282, 334 Education and Training Officers

259 Social Services Officer

g) SECURITY OFFICERS (7)

h) SALES/SUPPLIES/MATERIALS/PURCHASING MANAGEMENT (8)

i) EXTERNAL SERVICES (9)

Communications, rail and road traffic, shipping & transport.

WORKS	CODE
a) SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS	(1)
various steel makers/manufacturers, preparers and final process workers/supervisors, engineers, electricians & maintenance workers, fitters, joiners, riggers, sawmen, hand grinders, machine workers, boiler- smiths, blacksmiths, bricklayers, mates (assistants/trainees to above), fettlers, deseamers, stampers.	
b) UNSKILLED	(2)
General labourers/Loaders.	

c) AMENITIES (3)

Cleaners,Catering staff

d) TRANSPORT (4)

Fork lift; cranes; trains; lorry drivers;

overhead cranes

e) STORES (5)

Non clerical stores workers

f) OTHER (6)

No. 137 General Assistant

APPENDIX 4

SOURCES OF SUSPICIONS/DEFINITE NEWS OF REDUNDANCY

WORKS

	(A) "SUSPICIONS"	(B) "DEFINITE NEWS"
RUMOURS/GENERAL TALK:	26	7
UNIONS/SHOP STEWARDS:	6	29
B.S.C./MANAGEMENT:	15	45
WORK MATES:		1
PRESS/MEDIA:	5	4
RATIONALISATION:	4	3
PRIVATISATION:	7	1
MANNING AND PROD'N CUTBACKS/REDUNDANCIES ELSEWHERE/LOSS OF ORDERS:	30	14
OVERMANNING/CAPACITY:	3	0
MODERN TECHNOLOGY:	2	0
STEEL STRIKE:	8	0
"OVER 55":	3	1
TORIES/GOVT. POLICY:	4	1
MCGREGOR:	12	4
AVAILABILITY FOR VOLUNTARY REDUNDANCY	3	10

(Note : 13% gave no answers; 37% gave more than one source)

STAFF

(A) "SUSPICIONS"		"DEFINITE NEWS"
RUMOURS/GENERAL TALK:	10	3
UNIONS/SHOP STEWARDS:	2	11
B.S.C. /MANAGEMENT:	13	61
WORKMATES:	1	1
PRESS/MEDIA:	0	5
RATIONALISATION:	12	6
PRIVATISATION:	2	0
MANNING AND PRODUCTION CUTBACKS/LOSS OF ORDERS/ RED'NS ELSEWHERE/ JOB REDUCTIONS:	42	14
OVER MANNING/CAPACITY:	0	0
MODERN TECHNOLOGY:	8	2
STEEL STRIKE:	3	0
TORIES/GOVT. POLICY:	3	0
MCGREGOR:	3	0
"OVER 55"/AVAILABILITY OF VOLUNTARY REDUNDANCY:	5	13
INVOLVED IN PLANNING REDUNDANCIES:	4	4
WORLD RECESSION	2	0
CHEAP IMPORT COMPETITION:	3	0

APPENDIX 5

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

BAR EXAMINER : Checks for defect in bars etc.

BAR/WIRE DRAWER : cleans scale etc. off bars; stretching wire to correct tolerances.

CENTRELESS GRINDER : grinds bars to different sizes and tolerances to a fine finish.

CROPPER : removes scrap metal after rolling process.

FITTER : responsible for maintenance of plant/machinery in and around steelworks.

FETTLER : removes imperfections in brackets & other small steel goods.

SHEARER : an old job removing scrap etc. - now done by machines.

SHOTBLAST OPERATOR : burning off imperfections with oxyacetylene torches.

APPENDIX 6

THE INTERVIEW OUTLINES

(1) LIFE PRIOR TO REDUNDANCY

(i) a) **Childhood** : date and place of birth; memories of youth; neighbourhood; memories of parents' working history and division of labour in the home.

b) **Schooling & Education** : memories of school primary/11 plus/ Secondary and Further education; attitudes to school; qualifications; decisions related to leaving school and entering work etc.; memories of adolescence and prework phase.

c) **Work histories** : how first job was obtained; recollections of work from first to last job; orientations to work; nature of work; income; stability/instability of work;overtime;extra jobs; promotion/training; relations with workmates at work and in leisure; work history at B.S.C. (if worked elsewhere); involvement with unions; male and female divisions women's work as 'extra' to men's work.

d) **Residential History** : where lived from childhood to today; types of houses and neighbourhoods.

(ii)**Family Life** [Expanded in joint interview]

a) **Courtship and Wedding**: attitudes towards opposite sex in teens; how met spouse when and where; perceptions of expected roles

of males and females in marriage; where married; delay between marriage and finding own home; the decision to have children male and female roles in this; changes in conjugal relationships; the role of kin, neighbours and other support in marriage.

b) **Domestic Management**: types of income over marriage; mono or dual and effect on different systems (total, independent, pooling, allowance); arrangement of domestic financial management - who does what (joint bank account, savings, info. on H.P payments etc.).

c) **Divisions of labour**: who did/does what (repairs, decorating, maintenance, cooking, shopping, cleaning, washing etc. etc.) influence of dual earning couples on this; childcare; attitudes towards parenting and male and female roles in this (feeding, clothing, teaching, discipline etc.); involvement of kin, parents, neighbours.

(iii) **Recreation/Leisure**: Who did/does what - when and where; description of rec./leis. activities; leisure as joint or independent activity; times and places of rec./leis.

(iv) **External relations - Informal and Formal**

a) Contact with kin; how often, when, where; degree of 'connectedness' of extended family.

b) Friends: who are perceived as friends; divisions along sexual

lines (in relation to (iii)).

c) Contact with church; social clubs; vol. associations; children's school; hospitals & other health; degree and frequency of contacts.

(v) **Ideological Considerations**

Political beliefs and voting past, present and intended; degree of pol. involvement eg with Trade Unions/Labour Party; attitudes towards major political groupings and present political climate.

(vi) **Religious Beliefs** - attendance at church; beliefs overthe life course; the place of such beliefs in family and work life

(2) LIFE HISTORIES : POST REDUNDANCY

(i) **Redundancy**: the sequence of events which led up to it; origins of news; attitudes at time and decision making process (with spouse, friends etc.) which led up to 'voluntary' redundancy; changes at work; decisions about: reallocation, other work, retraining, early retirement etc.

(ii)**Counselling**: use of; attitudes towards; other sources of help/information; the influence of the redundancy package; effects on 'dependent' spouse.

(iii) Present Circumstances: in work; unemployed; retired etc. if in work - how obtained; comparisons with work at B.S.C.; self-employed: specific probes into sources of finance, advice, success of business, reasons for going self-employed; influence on family life (below); role of spouse during this time.

If unemployed/retired - length of unemployment, financial and emotional effects; coping strategies; attitudes towards future; changes in political/religious orientations; unemployment as liberating or restricting; proactive or reactive strategies of coping; role of 'dependent' spouse.

(iv) Family Life

a) effects on individual 'dependent' spouse and children; impact on domestic management and domestic division of labour [as (2) b) and c)]; financial management - cutbacks and other restrictions; role of support networks; impact of unemployment on personal wellbeing (worry, strain, depression etc. or relieved to be out of B.S.C., free, financially comfortable); typology of family responses

b) effects on children; young and latency age - differences between different age groups; any stigma felt by children (eg free school meals); their hopes and attitudes about parents' sitaution.

(iv) The Future : hopes for self/family/country.

6 : 3 JOINT INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Prior to and after redundancy

(i) **Married Life:** in depth probes into attitudes towards opposite sex, divisions of labour - who did what; financial management; changes to division of labour when both spouses worked and the reasons for this; influence of work (eg shifts) on home life; did couples 'bring work' home; strains imposed; how redundancy and its after effects have altered or not altered financial management and division of labour; have men become more/less involved, attitudes of women towards man's role or non role at present, housework as 'a woman's job'.

(ii) **Children:** general personalities (placid/temperamental; easy/difficult etc.); achievements at school/after school; activities at home; attitudes of latency age children -
Responsibilities of husband/wife in childcare - hopes for their children's futures.
Influence of redundancy and its after effects on above; effects on behaviour ; nutritional details; any behavioural difficulties; attitudes towards the future.

(iii) **Throughout:** checking of facts and any disparities in previous individual accounts.

APPENDIX 6 : 4

TYPOLOGY OF FAMILY RESPONSES

This is the framework I used in assessing the degree of adaptability of these families to redundancy.

PRIOR TO REDUNDANCY	AFTER REDUNDANCY
HIGHLY INTEGRATED FAMILIES →→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→	HIGHLY ADAPTABLE MODERATELY ADAPTABLE UNADAPTABLE
MODERATELY INTEGRATED FAMILIES →→→→→→→→→→→→→	HIGHLY ADAPTABLE MODERATELY ADAPTABLE UNADAPTABLE
UNINTEGRATED FAMILIES →→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→	HIGHLY ADAPTABLE MODERATELY ADAPTABLE UNADAPTABLE

APPENDIX 7

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTS

(i) .... = pause in dialogue

(ii) [] = part of interview material omitted

(iii) [L] = laughter

(iv) [1/name] = Interruption and name

APPENDIX 8

FREQUENCY OF INTERVIEW QUOTES

(i) OVER 55's

WORKS				STAFF			
HODGSON:	TOM	3)		PHILIPS:	EDWARD	4)	
	ALICE	4)	7		ANN	3)	7
TREVETT:	HENRY	2)		MURPHY:	KEN	5)	
	JUNE	2)	4		EDITH	2)	7
WATSON:	ERIC	2)		HOLROYD:	LEN	2)	
	FLO'	2)	4		DOREEN	3)	5
STEELE:	GEORGE	3)		LAWSON:	HENRY	1)	
	JEAN	1)	4		BRENDA	1)	2
ATKINS:	HARRY	6)		ADAMS:	FRANCIS	3)	
	DOT	2)	8		MARY	1)	4
HAMLYN:	DONALD	2)		BUTCHER:	ARTHUR	3)	
	KATH	1)	3		VERA	2)	5
GREGORY:	BERT	4)		WHITE:	TERRY	3)	
	EDNA	1)	5		FREDA	1)	4

MEN = 22 [62.85%])35

WOMEN = 13 [38.15%]

MEN = 21 [61.76%])34

WOMEN = 13 [38.24%]

FREQUENCY OF QUOTES (cont) : UNDER 55'S

WORKS				STAFF			
FRANKLINS:	MIKE	3)		HIGGINS:	PHILIP	11)	
	SHEILA	1)	4		JANET	10)	21
SULLIVAN:	DAVID	4)		MITCHELL:	MIKE	2)	
	GLENNIS	4)	8		SUSAN	1)	3
O'NEIL:	MIKE	2)		HAMILTON:	REG	4)	
	EUNICE	7)	9		ELLEN	5)	9
SMITH:	GORDON	4)		BURGESS:	GLENN	2)	
	JUNE	3)	7		ANN	4)	6
PARKER:	RON	3)		PATTERSON:	JIM	4)	
	DOROTHY	1)	4		PAT	3)	7
BALDWIN:	LEN	9)		THOMPSON:	JOHN	5)	
	SHEILA	3)	12		SUSAN	3)	8
PIPER:	ROBERT	3)		FOSTER:	ANDREW	7)	
	JUNE	2)	5		SHEILA	5)	12
WHITE:	PETER	8)					
	JUDITH	3)	18				
BRACEWELL:	CHRIS	4)					
	SUSAN	4)	8				
GREEN:	GEOFF	3)					
	MARJORIE	3)	6				

(cont.)

NICHOLSON: BARRY 4)

BRENDA 5) 9

LLOYD: BRIAN 4)

HELEN 2) 6

MEN = 51 [56.04%]) 91 MEN = 35 [51.47%]) 68

WOMEN = 40 [43.96%] WOMEN = 33 [48.53%]

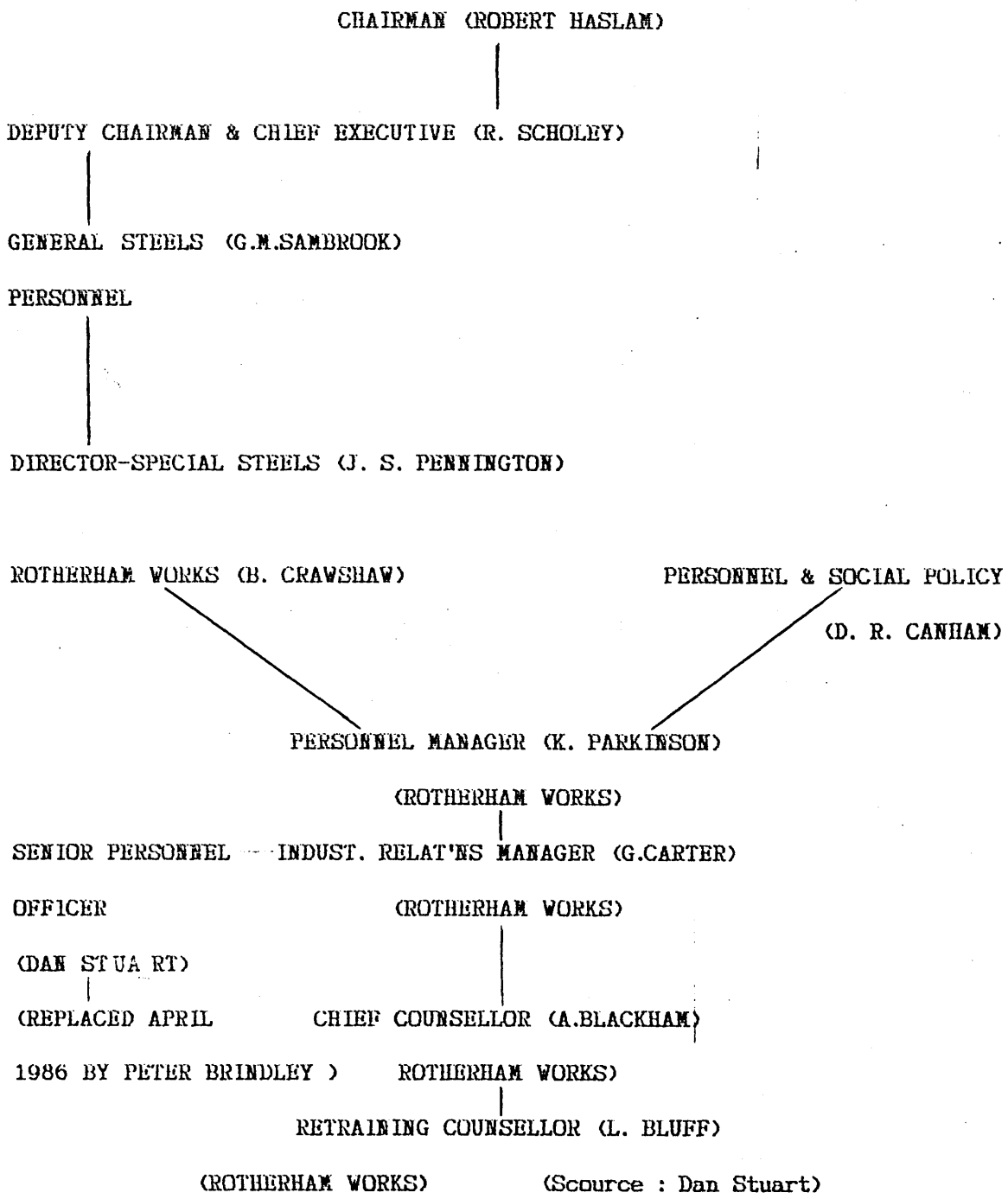
TOTAL NO. OF QUOTES : [ALL GROUPS] = 232

" " " " : [MEN] = 129 (55.60%)

" " " " : [WOMEN] = 103 (44.40%)]

APPENDIX 9 :

B.S.C. ORGANISATION - SOCIAL POLICY : TO APRIL 1986



(Scource : Dan Stuart)

APPENDIX 10

THE OVER 55's : DIVERGENCE AND CONVERGENCE

MALES	BIRTH	FEMALES
	EARLY CHILDHOOD	
	(DIVERGENCE)	
	SCHOOL	
WORK	COURTSHIP	WORK
	(Re)NEGOTIATIONS OF MARITAL	
	DIVISIONS OF LAB.	
	MARRIAGE	
	FIRST CHILD	LEAVE
		MARKET LABOUR
	YOUNG CHILDREN/	RE ENTER
	LATENCY AGE	LABOUR MARKET
	CHILDREN	
	CHILDREN LEAVE HOME	
REDUNDANCY		
LEAVE LABOUR MARKET		LEAVE
		LABOUR MARKET
	RETIREMENT/CONVERGENCE	
	OF LIFE COURSE(S)	

APPENDIX 10

WORK HISTORIES AND CHILDRENS' STATUS : WORKS OVER 55'S

KEY: FIGURES IN BRACKETS = WORK OUTSIDE B.S.C./STEEL INDUSTRY

UNDERLINED = WORK BEFORE & AFTER MARRIAGE (WOMEN)

M/F = MALE/FEMALE (CHILDREN)

MEN:	YRS AT B.S.C.	JOBS	HOME OWNER? ✓	WOMEN:	JOBS	CHILDREN'S STATUS
1.BERT GREGORY	39	SHOTBLAST OPERATOR/ DESEAMER	✓	EDNA GREGORY	2/CHEMIST ASS. 2/WAR SERV. 3/WOOLWORTHS 6/MARKS & SPEN	1/TECH'N 2/DIET'N 3/ENG'R (BSC)
2.GEORGE STEELE	39	(2)APPREN. PRINTER (1)STAMPER (38)O/HEAD CRANE DRIVER	✓	JUNE STEELE	2/SHOP ASS. 4/CIN.ATTEN'T 6/p/t SCHOOL MEALS	1/LAB TECH'N
3.DONALD HAMLYN	17	(23)DRIVER FOR BACON CO. 17 HGV DRIVER	✓	KATHLEEN HAMLYN	2/WAR SERV. 4 p/t G.E.C	1/ELEC. ENGINEER

4.TOM HODGSON	20	(7)APPRENTICE ELECTRICIAN N.C.B. 20 MAINTENANCE ELECTRICIAN	✓	ALICE HODGSON	1/DOMESTIC 3/SMALL TOOLS FAC'Y 4/CUTLERY FACTORY 8/ p/t & f/t SCHOOL MEALS	1/MANAGER 2/TEACHER
5.ERIC WATSON	41	41 LOCO DRIVER	X	FLORENCE WATSON	1/DOMESTIC 2/SHOP ASST	1/UNEMP. 2/GEN. LAB'R
6.HARRY ATKINS	20	2 GRINDER (2)VAN DRIVER (5)MILKMAN 5 MACHINIST (5)WIRE DRAWER 13 CENTRELESS GRINDER	✓	DOROTHY ATKINS	13 F/T TYPIST 6 F/T & P/T TYPIST	1/POSTGRAD STUDENT
7.HENRY TREVETT	26	(3) ARMY (12) SEN.LAB'R 26 HANDGRINDER	✓	JUNE TREVETT	4 GEC 7 p/t on SCHOOL MEALS	1/DOCTOR 2/TEACHER 3/STUDENT 4/NURS.SIS

APPENDIX 11

WORK HISTORIES AND CHILDRENS STATUS : STAFF OVER 55s

(Key : As Above)

MEN	YRS.AT B.S.C.	JOBS	HOME OWNER?	WOMEN:	JOBS	CHILDREN'S STATUS
1.TERRY WHITE	24	3/METALLURGIST 7/QUAL.CONTROL 14/CUST.SERVICES MANAGER	✓	FREDA WHITE	4/SECRETARY	1/INVESTMENT CONSULTANT
2.KEN MURPHY	25	(2)APPRENT.GLASS MAKER (2)TRAINEE ELECT. 3 FITTER 10 APP.DRAUGHTS-MAN/DRAUGHTSMAN 12 PROJECT ENG'R	✓	EDITH MURPHY	2 BREWERY 2 MUNITIONS FACTORY 1 WOOLWORTHS	1/ASST.MAN. W & GLYNS BANK 2/BSC MAN (OCC. NOT KNOWN)

(cont.)

3.ARTHUR	34	2 SCRAPLAD	✓*	VERA	2 PACKER	1 & 2
BUTCHER		2 SHEARER		BUTCHER	2 CLERK	COMPANY
		(4) NAT. SERVICE				REPS
		(6) CATERING JOBS			7 P/T	3 SELF-EMP.
		7 BAR EXAMINER			SCHOOL MEALS	
		6 DESP. FOREMAN				
		7 ASST. MANAGER				
		10 SENIOR QUALITY				
		CONTROL MAN.				
		[* SELF BUILT]				
4.EDWARD	32	(2) CLERK	✓	ANN	2 SHOP ASST.	1 F/T
PHILIPS		(2) CINEMA MAN.		PHILIPS	3 LAUNDRY	HOUSEWIFE
		(4) NAVY			ASST.	[TRAINED
		1 SENIOR CLERK				NURSE]
		11 FOREMAN				
		20 SENIOR SHIFT				
		MANAGER				

(cont.)

5.FRANCIS ADAMS	41	(2) APPRENTICE ACCOUNTANT	✓	MARY ADAMS	5 PRINTER S.P.& TOZER	1 TEACHER	
		21 TRAINEE TECH'N/ INSTRUCTOR				2 AREA COMP. MANAGER	
		5 CRAFT INSTRUCTOR			10 p/t MEDICAL RECEPTIONIST	B.TELECOM	
		15 TRAINING INSTRUCTOR [COUNSELLOR]					
6.LEN HOLROYD	17	2 APPRENTICE FITTER	✓	DOREEN HOLROYD	2 BREWERY WORKER	1 PRESS AGENT	
		(4) ARMY			2 MUNITIONS FACTORY	(CUBAN PRESS AGENCY)	
		(7) AUSTRALIA (OCC.UNKNOWN)			2 DOMESTIC	2 LECTURER	
		(2) CONTRACT ELECTRICIAN WITH BSC			13 p/t SCHOOL MEALS		
		15 PLANNING ENG'R					

(cont.)

7. HENRY LAWSON	27	(2) ERRAND BOY ✓ (1) GENERAL LAB. (1) WELDER (4) ARMY (15) UNDERTAKER (7) FIRE SERVICE 20 FIREMAN/ SECURITY OFFICER	BRENDA LAWSON	4 DRESSMAKER 7 p/t SCHOOL MEALS 3 KNITWEAR FACTORY	1 UNEMPLOYED 2 & 3 F/T HOUSEWIVES	

APPENDIX 12

WORK, FAMILY AND POST REDUNDANCY DETAILS : THE STAFF UNDER 55s s

(DECEMBER 1985)

12 : 1 WORK HISTORIES AND CHILDRENS STATUS

(Key : As >55'S)

NAME	YRS AT B.S.C.	JOBS	HOME OWNER ✓	STATUS SINCE REDUNDANCY	CHILDREN'S STATUS
1.REG HAMILTON	25	(2) PIROMETER ATTENDANT	✓	RETRAINED EMPLOYED	1. 21 [M] STUDENT
		4 INSERT MECHANIC		UNEMPLOYED	2. 17 [F]
		2 FOREMAN		EMPLOYED	SCHOOL
		3 ASSISTANT MANAGER			
		13 SECTION MANAGER			
		1 COUNSELLOR			
ELLEN HAMILTON	6	(4) SUPPLIES CLERK P/T	✓	RETRAINED/ NOT WORKING OUTSIDE HOME	
		6 SUPPLIES ASST F/T			

2.MIKE MITCHELL	21	21	CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER	✓	EMPLOYED F/T	1. 17 [M] school 2. 15 [F] 3. 9 [F]
SUSAN MITCHELL	0	(4)	NURSE F/T	✓	NOT WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME	
3.JOHN THOMPSON	13	13	PROJECT ENG'R	✓	UNEMPLOYED EMPLOYED F/T	1. 14 [M] 2. 8 [M]
SUSAN THOMPSON	0	(4) 3	TYPIST F/T TYPIST P/T	✓	TYPIST P/T	
4.ANDY FOSTER	5.5	(2) (4) (1) 5.5	NCB CLERICAL ASSISTANT SECURICOR ASST. MANAGER CINEMA MANAGER SHIFTS CLERK DESPATCH FOREMAN SHIFT FOREMAN	✓	RETRAINED EMPLOYED F/T UNEMPLOYED EMPLOYED F/T	1. 6 [F] 2. 1½ [M] 3. 17 WKS [M]

SUSAN FOSTER	0	(5) HAIRDRESSER F/T	✓	NO PAID WORK	
5.JIM PATTERSON	17	3 LAB.TECHNICIAN 4 SHIFT CHEMIST 10 METAL.CHEMIST	✓	RETRAINED UNEMPLOYED	1. 20 [M] RALLY DRIVER
PAT PATTERSON	0	(6) S.R.N. F/T SRN P/T & F/T		EMPLOYED F/T S.R.N.	
6.PHIL HIGGINS	19	2 LAB. TRAINEE 4 QUAL.CONTROL CHEMIST 13 PRODUCTION FOREMAN	✓	RETRAINED ALARM INSTALLER F/T UNEMPLOYED ("HELPS OUT")	1. 9 [F] 2. 7 [F]
JANET HIGGINS		(2) SHOP ASSISTANT (2) SEWING FACTORY F/T	✓	SELF-EMPLOYED (WOOLSHOP)	
7.ANN BURGESS	5	5 CLERK	✓	UNEMPLOYED	1. 26 MTHS [F]
GLEN BURGESS	0	(5) ARMY (3) MINER	✓	UNEMPLOYED EMPLOYED F/T	

APPENDIX 12

WORK, FAMILY AND POST - REDUNDANCY DETAILS

(DECEMBER 1985)

(i) Michael and Susan Mitchell

Michael: Born 11/2/44 at Swinton. His father was a steelworker all his life. His mother did work outside the home as a domestic. He had one sister. He attended a local primary school and then moved to Rotherham Technical College. He left there at 18 and began work at Steel, Peech & Tozer as a trainee engineer rising through a series of grades to become (post nationalisation) a construction engineer. He found work immediately after redundancy at a Private Engineering Company.

Susan: Born 21/4/47 at Wincobank, Sheffield. Her father did a variety of jobs (semi and unskilled) before they moved to Mexborough where he worked as a miner. Her mother did not work outside the home. She had two sisters. She attended local primary school, failed 11+ and left at 15. At 16 she trained as a nurse, qualifying in 1965. She worked full-time for 6 years, four of those after she had married Michael in 1967. She has not worked outside the home since.

The Family: They have two sons, Peter (17) and Steven (15) and one daughter Philippa (9). All three are at school, and "are doing well". Homeowners since 1971.

Redundancy: has had no effect on this family with Mike going straight into full-time employment. A traditional nuclear family , with Susan as 'housewife' and Mike as 'breadwinner', an arrangement both are happy with and neither question. A family which could suffer if unemployment features in their future lives.

(ii) John and Susan Thompson

John: Born 12/11/49 at Sheffield. He had one brother. He attended local primary school, passed 11+ and went into Grammar School. His father did a variety of semi-skilled jobs but was a steelworker most of his life. His mother worked in a cutlery factory on and off when he was young. He left Grammar School at 16 to go to Technical College and joined B.S.C. as a trainee engineer, rising to become a project engineer in 1980. He found employment prior to redundancy in Worksop where they now live.

Susan: Born 2/4/51 at Swinton. Her father was a general labourer and then a lorry driver. Her mother worked at a number of p/t jobs, mainly as a shop assistant. She had one sister. She attended local primary school, failed her 11+ and left secondary school at 15 to train for one year as a typist. She worked for four years at Steel, Peech & Tozer prior to marrying John and worked there for 3 years afterwards. She has worked since John's redundancy for an estate agent's in Worksop.

The Family: They have two children Matthew ("Mat") aged 11 and William("Billy") aged 7. Divisions of labour in the home were traditional prior to and after redundancy, an arrangement both are happy with, but a shared leisure life. Houseowners since 1971.

Redundancy: has had no effect on this family, due of course to John finding work prior to redundancy. In fact it has been a good move for him in career terms. This is a close knit family who could probabaly cope if unemployment were to strike in the future.

(iii) Ann and Glen Burgess

Ann: Born 2/4/60 in Rotherham. She had two brothers and one sister. Her father was a steelworker all his life. Her mother has not worked outside the home. She attended a local primary school, failed 11+, went on to secondary school and left at 16 to do a typing course. She did a variety of typing jobs before joining B.S.C. in 1978 as a clerk, rising to clerical officer before redundancy. She has not worked since.

Glen: He had three brothers. His father was an army sergeant. He joined the army at 16 and served until 1980, coming to Rotherham during the Fireman's strike when he met Ann. He was unemployed for six months before becoming a miner in 1981 where he has worked (apart from the strike) since.

The Family: They have one daughter Nicola (2½) and are planning another child. A traditional but home centred family, who did have problems when both were working. Homeowners since 1979.

Redundancy: Ann took redundancy, as she was pregnant with Nicola, quite willingly and despite the setbacks of the miners' strike their marriage has improved since. The future looks quite secure, with Glen employed in the Selby coalfield.

(iv) Andrew and Sheila Foster

Andy: Born 10/11/53 at Swinton. He had two sisters and one brother. His father was an army corporal who died when he was 9 months old. He was raised by his mother and grandparents. His mother did work outside the home (jobs unknown). He attended a local primary school, passed his 11+ and went onto Mexboro' Grammar School. He dropped out in the 6th form to become a clerical assistant at the N.C.B. (2 years), then an assistant manager at Securicor (4 years), a cinema manager (1 year) and then joined B.S.C. as a shifts clerk . He became a Despatch Foreman in 1979 and stayed in that job until he was made redundant.

Sheila: was born 7/5/61 in Rotherham and was one of eight children. Her father worked for local Government Works Dept. all his life. She attended a local primary school, failed her 11+ and left school at 16 to work in a biscuit factory. She stopped work when she became pregnant with her first

daughter (Dianna) from an earlier liaison. She married Andy in 1982 and has not worked since, but hopes to work when the children are older.

The Family: A close knit unit, based on a division of labour more egalitarian than the first three families. Shared leisure. They have three children (Dianna aged 6, Steven 1½, and Richard 6 months). Homeowners since 1982.

Redundancy: Despite planning what to do after redundancy, Andy and Sheila have faced difficulties which they have managed to overcome. With Andy now in full-time employment, the redundant phase appears to be over - one of the success stories of this group.

(v) Eileen and Reginald Hamilton

Eileen: Born 11/2/41 at Ecclesfield. She had three sisters. Her father worked as a labourer and steelworker. Her mother worked outside the home as a hairdresser p/t and f/t. She attended a local primary school, passed her 11+ and left school at 15. She joined Flather Brights and worked there full-time [as a supplies assistant] until 1964 when she was pregnant with her first son* (2 years after marrying Reg). She has worked p/t and f/t since at B.S.C. She has no plans to go out to work at present.

Reg: Born 1/5/40 at Mexborough. He had two brothers and two sisters. His father was a miner. Mother did not work outside home. He attended a local

primary school, passed his 11+ and went on to Mexboro' Grammar School. Called up for National Service in 1959 (2 years). His first job was a pirometer attendant at Flather Brights (1961 - 2 years), then Insert Mechanic (2), Fuel Observer (1), Supplies Foreman (2), Assistant Manager Glass Furnaces (2). In 1970 he became a Section Manager where he remained until 1982 when he became a counsellor. After retraining and 11 months unemployment he is in work, on a lower salary, at Securicor.

The Family: traditional division of labour ante/post redundancy, with separate leisure activities. They have two children Philip (21) at Manchester University and Sarah (17) at Sixth Form College. Homeowners since 1967.

Redundancy Given the family set up, the period of unemployment was very difficult for this couple, with little readaptation or change at this time. This is likely to recur again if Reg becomes unemployed

(vi) James & Patricia Patterson

Jim: Born 22/3/1945 in Rotherham. Suffered from ill health as a child. His father was a miner and steelworker. His mother worked part-time as a kitchen worker. Most of his education was in hospital but he did well enough to be taken on as a lab. assistant at 14. At 16 he went to Rotherham Technical College to take a metriculation exams. In Maths, Physics and Chemistry which he obtained at 18. His first job was at Steel,

Peech and Tozer's as a shift chemist becaoming a metallurgical chemist after nationalisation, staying in that job until redundancy. He has since retrained but has been unemployed since (2/12/86).

Pat: Born 9/2/43, Hilltop, Nr. Ecclesfield. She had three sisters and 2 brothers. Her father was self-employed, then a miner, then a chauffeur. Her mother worked p/t, She attended a local primary school, failed her 11+ and started training as an S.R.N. at 16. She worked f/t until marrying Jim in 1964 when she was pregnant with son Michael. She has worked p/t and since Jim's redundancy f/t as an S.R.N.

The Family: They have one son Michael (21) who is a motorcross/rally driver . The divisions of labour within the home were traditional. Separate leisure activities. I had the impression that this was not a close family, which is reflected in the post redundant phase. Homeowners since 1971.

Redundancy: Has been very stressful for this couple for reasons outlined in section (V). The most reactive couple in this group, although son Michael seems to have been largely unaffected by these stresses and strains.

(vii) Philip and Janet Higgins

Phil: Born 12/6/47 at Wickersley. His father was a steelworker and his mother worked outside the home as a shop assistant. He attended a local primary school and went to Oakwood Technical School and left at 16 with two 'O' levels. He became a Lab. trainee at Parkgate Iron and Steel Co. in 1963, then a chemical analyst (Quality Control) in 1968, became a Senior Quality Controller in 1970 and then a Shift Foreman in 1979 at Aldwarke. He obtained his City & Guilds qualification in 1969. Since redundancy Philp has retrained, been employed, been self employed, been unemployed and is now back in f/t work at a private Steel Co.

[Married 1968]

Janet: Born 8/4/53 at Mexboro'. She had two sisters. Her father was a cobbler, then a steelworker. Mother did part-time work. She attended a local primary school, failed her 11+ and left school at 15 to work in a sewing factory for four years until she married Phil. She did not work up to Philip's redundancy. Since that time she has managed their own business - a woolshop, which is essentially a holding investment

The Family: They have two daughters Sarah (10) and Victoria (8). A very close knit family with the most egalitarian divisions of labour ante/post redundancy of this group. Homeowners since 1972.

Redundancy: Despite making careful plans this family has suffered in the post redundant phase but with readaptation and reorganisation they have pulled through. No noticeable effects on children. The success story of this group with a highly pro-active response to the uncertainties of unemployment.

The Principal Events Since Redundancy (To January 1987)

The Men

(1) Mike Mitchell: Made redundant 31/3/83. Employed Full-time since at an Engineering Firm.

(2) John Thompson: Made redundant 30/6/83. Unemployed (Voluntarily) for 3 months. Employed full-time at Building firm .

(3) Ann Burgess: Made redundant 31/1/83. Maternity Leave - has not worked outside the home since.

(4) Andrew Foster: Made redundant 20/4/83. Unemployed for 3 months, retrained as a computer programmer (6 months), employed for 4 months unemployed for 6 months. Employed full-time as a programmer since, at a computer firm.

(5) Jim Patterson: Made redundant 31/4/83. 'Retrained' 18 months. Unemployed since.

(6) Eileen Hamilton: Made redundant 30/4/83. Retrained in advanced clerical skills 12 months. Has not worked outside the home to date.

(7) Philip Higgins: Made redundant 20/4/83. Retrained 6 months as an alarm installer. Employed full-time as an alarm installer for 9 months. Company went broke - unemployed until May 1986, now working full-time at a Private Steel Company.

The Women

(1) Sue Mitchell: Has not worked outside the home to date.

(2) Sue Thompson: Has been employed part-time as a typist at an Estate Agent's in Worksop.

(3) Glen Burgess: Has been on strike for 12 months and is now back in full-time work as a miner.

(4) Sheila Foster: Has not worked outside the home to date.

(5) Pat Patterson: Has worked full-time as an S.R.N. to date.

(6) Reg Hamilton: was made redundant from B.S.C. in 1983 and retrained (as a computer programer) was unemployed for 11 months and now works full-time for a security firm.

(7) Janet Higgins: has managed their own woolshop in Rawmarsh since Philip's redundancy.

12 : 4 FAMILY TYPOLOGIES

PRO-ACTIVE REACTIVE

THE HAMILTONS

THE MITCHELLS (Potentially Reactive) →→→→→

THE THOMPSONS

→→→→→→THE MARLES

→→→→→→THE HIGGINS

→→→→→→THE BURGESS'S

THE PATTERSONS →→→→→→→→→→

APPENDIX 13

WORK, FAMILY AND POST - REDUNDANCY DETAILS : WORKS UNDER 55'S (DECEMBER 1985)

13 : 1 WORK HISTORIES AND CHILDRENS STATUS

NAME	YEARS AT BSC	JOBS	HOMEOWNER?	STATUS SINCE REDUNDANT	CHILDRENS' STATUS (DEC. '85)
1.LEONARD BALDWIN	17	2 JUNIOR OP. 1.5 LAB'R 4.5 PAINTER/ STAMPER 9 ASST. BLOOM SHEARER	✓	RETRAINED PLUMBER S/E PLUMBER UNEMPLOYED EMPL. F/T IN PRIVATE STEEL CO.	1. 12 (M) 2. 8 (M)
SHEILA BALDWIN	-	(5) SHOP ASST.	✓	NOT WORKING	
2.MICHAEL O'NEIL	27.5	MACHINIST	✓	SELF-EMPLOYED: GEN. STORE/ OFF LICENCE	1. 19 (F) UNEMPL. 2. 8 (F) 3. 4 (M)

EUNICE O'NEIL	-	(2) RECORDS CLERK (2) NURSING ANCIL'Y F/T (4) "PARTY PLAN" P/T	SELF EMPLOYED	
3.ROBERT PIPER	15	15 - (PAINTLAD (HANDYMAN (SLINGER (DESEAMER	✓	RETRAINED (BRICKLAYER) UNEMPLOYED (CASH IN HAND WK. IN SUMMER '84 & '85)	1. 5 [S] 2. 1 [M]
JUNE	-	4 MACHINIST SEWING FACT'Y 3 " "	✓	UNEMPLOYED	
4.PETER WHITE	17	4 APP.FITTER 13 MAINTENANCE FITTER	✓	SELF EMPL/D UNEMPLOYED "CASH IN HAND" TAXI DRIVING TRAINEE DRIVING INSTRUCTOR	1. 1.8[M] 2. 37 WKS [F]

JUDITH WHITE	-	(1)RECORD SHOP ASSISTANT F/T (1)LIBRARIAN F/T (1)CHEMISTS ASST.F/T (3)BOOTS ASST. F/T (4) SRN P/T & F/T	✓	UNEMPLOYED
5.GORDON SMITH	9	WELDER MAINTENANCE ASSISTANT CRANE DRIVER	X	CELLARMAN P/T 1. 27 [F] (ISERBS) MARRIED SOCIAL SERVICE 2. 25 [M] COURSE AT UNEMPL. GRANVILLE COLL 3. 23 [M] SOCIALWORKER UNEMPL. F/T 4. 14 [M]
JUNE SMITH	-	(2) SHOP ASST F/T (2) CANTEEN WORKER F/T (7) SCHOOL MEALS P/T (3) OLD PEOPLE'S HOME P/T	X	SOCIAL WORKER P/T

(cont.)

6.RON PARKER	39	(3) ARMY 39 OVERHEAD CRANE DRIVER	✓	'EMPLOYED' F/T LOCAL COUNC'R	1. 26 [F] MARRIED 2. 23 [F] TEACHER
DOROTHY - PARKER		MAGISTRATE P/T		MAGISTRATE F/T	
7.MICHAEL FRANKLIN	14	4 TRAINEE ELEC. ENGIN'R 10 ELEC. ENGIN'R	✓	RETRAINED SELF EMPL'D ELECTRICIAN	1. 6 [M] 2. 4 [M] 3. 23 MTHS [F]
SHEILA - FRANKLIN		(4) SHOP ASST.		NOT WORKING OUTSIDE HOME	
8.BARRY NICHOLSON	13	4 TRAINEE FITTER 9 FITTER	X	RETRAINED (BUILDING) UNEMPL'D	1. 14 [M] 2. 13 [F] 3. 4 [M]
BRENDA - NICHOLSON		(3) SHOP ASST. (4) P/T SCHOOL MEALS		UNEMPLOYED 'CASH IN HAND' CLEANER	

(cont.)

9.BRIAN LLOYD	20	4 TRAINEE TURNER 16 TURNER	X	RETRAINED (CATERING) UNEMPLOYED	1. 17 [M] UNEMP. 2. 15 [F]
HELEN LLOYD	-	(4) CUTLERY FACTORY		NOT WORKING OUTSIDE HOME	
10.GEOFF GREEN	14	(3) TRAINEE: 11 WELDER	✓	RETRAINED (PLUMBING)	1. 22 [F] UNEMP. 2. 17 [M] Y.T.S.
ALMA GREEN	-	(4) FACTORY WORKER F/T (2) SHOP ASST. P/T		NOT WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME	
11.CHRIS BRACEWELL	8	8 MACHINE OPERATIVE	X	RETRAINED UNEMPLOYED	1. 23 [F] MARRIED 2. 21 [M] UNEMPL'D
SUSAN BRACEWELL (cont.)	-	(3) FACTORY/ SHOP ASST.		NOT WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME	

12.DAVID 16	(4) TRAINEE	✓	SELF EMPLOYED	1. 14 [F]
SULLIVAN	TURNER		IN OFF	2. 11 [M]
	12 TURNER		LICENCE	
GLENNIS	(5) CLERICAL ASST.	✓		
SULLIVAN	(3) CLERICAL ASST.		AS ABOVE	

13 : 2 FAMILY HISTORIES AND POST- REDUNDANCY DETAILS

(December 1985)

(i). Michael and Sheila Franklin

Michael: Born 3/1/54 in Rotherham. One of three brothers. Father worked as a steelworker and on the buses. His mother worked p/t as a factory operative. He attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 15 to join B.S.C. in 1969. He trained as an apprentice electrical engineer for four years and worked for ten years as an electrical engineer. He retrained and then became self-employed after redundancy.

Sheila: Born 11/5/56 in Doncaster. She had one sister and two brothers. Her father was a train driver all his life. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended primary schools in Doncaster and Sheffield and went on to secondary school where she left at 15. She worked as a shop assistant until marrying Mike. She didn't work outside the home prior to 1983. Since then she has "helped out" with Mike's business.

The Family: They have three girls Samantha ("Sam") 6, Sarah (4) and Dianna (19 months. Traditional Domestic arrangements.Homeowners since 1974.

Redundancy: has had a minimal impact on a close but traditional family, an arrangement both are happy with. No visible effect on children. Again, a family which might suffer if unemployment were to strike in the future.

(ii) David and Glennis Sullivan

David: Born Scotland 7/4/52. He had 3 brothers. His father worked as a miner all his life. His mother worked as a domestic 9p/t) and as a shop assistant (f/t). He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15 to start as a trainee turner at B.S.C. a job he did for 14 years after two years training. He became self employed (newsagents/general store) after redundancy.

Glennis: Born Rawmarsh 15/3/53. She had one brother. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother worked part-time as an amenities assistant at B.S.C. She attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 15, going to Rotherham College to do one year typing course. Worked for five years as a clerical assistant. She has worked p/t since marriage and since redundancy runs family business with David.

The Family: They have two daughters Emma (14) and Katy (11) who "are doing well at school". Quasi - Egalitarian Domestic arrangements. Homeowners since 1983.

Redundancy: has resulted in great equality between a close knit couple with work shared in shop and in the home. An opportunity to start again which this couple have exploited to the full. No discernible effect on children.

(iii) **Michael and Eunice O'Neil**

Michael: Born 26/2/41 Rotherham. Two brothers and three sisters. His father was a steelworker. His mother worked as a cleaner part-time. He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15 and joined Steel, Peech and Tozer as an apprentice machinist in 1956 - he worked there as a machinist until 1983. Since redundancy he has run a general store/off licence in Worksop.

Eunice: Born Grimsby 28/5/43. One sister. Her father was a vicar. Her mother worked part-time as a cleaner. She attended primary school in Grimsby and secondary schools in Grimsby and Rotherham. She left school at 15 and worked in a garage as a records clerk where she worked until first child. She has worked p/t and f/t as a nursery ancilliary. Since redundancy she has run the family business with Michael.

The Family: They have three daughters Tracey (21), Gail (19) and Fiona (8) and a son Robert aged 4. Tracey and Gail although qualified childminders are unemployed. Homeowners since 1969.

Redundancy: has had some negative effects on this family. Although they are financially better off Eunice does have a double burden of being a worker and a housewife - reflecting a traditional division of labour prior to redundancy. Children may be effected by lack of time parents have for them

although 'home' is above the shop. A somewhat mixed situation but a secure one.

(iv) Gordon and June Smith

Gordon: Born 7/4/32 Pitsmoor, Sheffield. He was an only child. His father was a miner all his life. His mother worked p/t and f/t as a basket weaver. He attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 14. Worked at Spear and Jacksons as a saw maker for five years, 2 years national service, sawmaker for 20 years until he joined B.S.C. in 1974 as a crane driver. Since redundancy Gordon has retrained and is now in full-time employment as a social worker.

June: Born 24/3/34 at Grimesthorpe. One sister. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother died in 1946. She attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 14 doing a variety of jobs (shop assistant, canteen work etc.) Since marriage she became involved in voluntary work ending up as a warden of an old people's home which she has continued to do since redundancy.

The Family: They have three children of their own, a daughter Julie (27 - married), two sons Robert 25 (musician), Ian 23 (musician) and Steven 14 (adopted). Planning to buy their house at the moment.

Redundancy: has had a minimal impact on a close knit egalitarian family and has given Susan the opportunity to move into a new sector of the labour market. As a couple, one of the success stories of this group but they do have worries about their two eldest sons.

(v) Ronald and Dorothy Parker

Ron: Born 2/3/32 Rotherham. One sister. His father was a steelworker all his life. His mother worked p/t as a cleaner. He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 14 to work at Parkgate Iron & Steel Co./B.S.C. as an overhead crane driver where he worked until made redundant in 1983. Since then he has worked f/t as a local councillor.

Dorothy: Born 7/6/34 in Sheffield. She had two brothers. Her father was a steelworker all his life. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended local primary and secondary schools. Going on at 14 to work as a clerk in a firm of colicitors. She has worked since as a magistrate, which she has continued to do post redundancy.

The Family: They have two daughters, Lorraine (26 - married), Jennifer (23, Teacher, living at home). They have been homeowners since 1974.

Redundancy: has had a minimal impact on this family although Ron has dropped out of the local labour market to concentrate on local politics. A fairly close knit family with a quasi-egalitarian division of labour, the post redundant phase has been unproblematic with no effect on their youngest daughter.

(vi) Leonard and Sheila Baldwin

Leonard: Born 31/8/50 Rawmarsh. He had two brothers and one sister. His father was a miner. His mother worked in factories and as a barmaid p/t and f/t. He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15. He joined Parkgate Iron and Steel Co. at 15 as a labourer and was offered an apprenticeship as a junior operative for two years. Became a painter/stamper, billet transferer, stamper and finally an assistant bloom shearer. Since redundancy Len has retrained, been self-employed, unemployed (7 months) and is now back in work f/t at a private steel company.

Sheila: Born 25/7/59 at Rotherham. She had two sisters. Her father was a miner. His mother worked as a cleaning lady p/t and f/t. She attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15. She had a variety of jobs, mainly as a shop assistant before having first son Jamie. She has not worked outside the home since that time.

The Family: They have two sons Jamie (12) and Stuart (8). They live in a council house.

Redundancy: Despite Len's unemployment and some setbacks, this close knit fairly egalitarian family has coped well. With Len back in work this period of uncertainty is now over.

(vii) Peter and Judith White

Peter: Born 2/5/50 Dalton Parva. He has two sisters. His father was a steelworker. His mother worked outside the home as a cleaner. He attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 16 with 2 S.C.E.'s. Joined in 1966 as an apprentice fitter (four years) and worked there as a maintenance fitter until 1983. Since redundancy he has retrained, been self-employed, unemployed, done some 'cash in hand' work and completed a driving instructors' course. He is still unemployed.

Judith: Born 16/6/53 Rotherham. She has one sister. She attended local primary and secondary schools and although she passed exam at 15 to do art at Rotherham Technical College, she left and did a variety of jobs before and during first marriage, which ended in divorce in 1972. She worked until pregnant with Gareth (as a nursing ancilliary). She has not worked outside the home since this time.

The Family: They have one son (Gareth 1½) and a daughter (Emma 4 months old). They have been homeowners since 1975. They were married last June - had been cohabiting up to then.

Redundancy: has had a negative effect on a close knit but traditional family. Peter has had several setbakcs since redundancy and although he is more involved in childcare does little else. The children are clearly well care for but there are some signs of stress on Peter and Judith.

(viii)Robert and June Piper

Bob: Born 5/12/51 Swinton. He has one older sister. His father was an engineer. His mother was a cleaning lady. He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 16 with 4 C.S.E.'s. Joined B.S.C. in 1968 as an apprentice (4 years) doing a variety of jobs ending up as a deseamer 18 months prior to redundancy. Since redundancy he has retrained, been unemployed, been in casual work and is now in full-time employment as a caretaker in Doncaster (April 1986).

June: Born 6/1/53 South Wales. She has three sisters and one brother. Moved to Sheffield when she was 1½ years old. Her father was a miner. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15. She worked in a sewing factory until after marrying Bob, stopped when pregnant with Emma. She has not worked outside the home since.

The Family: They have a daughter Emma (5) and a son Michael (1½).

Redundancy: Has imposed some strains on a close knit but traditional family. The children are well cared for and have not suffered as a result. Bob's involvement in childcare, combined with a routine based on a traditional division of labour have enabled this family to cope, although things could have got worse if Bob had not recently found employment.

(ix) Christopher and Susan Bracewell

Chris: Born 3/7/43 in Rotherham. He was an only child. His father was a semi-skilled engineer. His mother worked p/t outside the home as a cleaner. He attended local primary and secondary schools, leaving at 15. He did a variety of semi-skilled jobs in local factories before joining B.S.C. in 1975 as a machine operative. Since redundancy he has retrained but has been unemployed since.

Susan: Born 11/5/46 Rawmarsh. She had one sister and two brothers. Her father was a self-employed painter and decorator. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15. She worked in a variety of jobs until pregnant with Angela. She has workedp/t on school meals since. She has not worked outside the home since redundancy although at the time of the third interview was seeking work.

The Family: They have a daughter Angela (23) who was married last year and a son Andrew (21) who is unemployed. They have been homeowners since 1976.

Redundancy: Has imposed problems both emotional and financial as a traditional family set up which has been altered little by the changed circumstances of unemployment. I think that Angela's marriage was probably

accelerated with problems faced whilst living at home and there appeared to be some alienation between Chris and Andy.

(x) Geoffrey and Marjorie Green

Geoff: Born 3/1142 at Mexboro'. He has one borther and one sister. His father was a steelworker all his life. His mother worked outside the home p/t as a shop assistant. He attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15. He did a variety of semi-skilled jobs before joining B.S.C. in 1969 as a welder. Since redundancy he has retrained but has been employed and unemployed since.

Marjorie: Born 18/8/44 at Doncaster. She has two brothers and two sisters. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended primary and secondary schools in Doncaster and left at 15. She did a variety of jobs (mainly as shop assistant) prior to first child. She has not worked outside the home since this time.

The Family: They have two daughters Cheryl (24) - unemployed but engaged to be married and Lisa (17) who was on a Y.T.S. scheme at the time of the third interview. They have been homeowners since 1979.

Redundancy: at the time of the third interview (6 months after second redundancy) some signs of stress were beginning to manifest themselves. Given that this is a traditional family it is likely that unless Geoff does find work (and his present status is unknown) soon he and Marjorie could face difficulties, especially the cost of their house, whose mortgage is only seven years old.

(xi) Bartholomew and Brenda Nicholson

Barry: Born 22/5/55 Bolton-on-Dearne. He has four brothers. His father was a steelworker. His mother worked outside the home p/t on school meals. He attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 15 to join B.S.C. as an apprentice fitter in 1970. He worked there as a fitter until his redundancy in 1983, since which time he has retrained but has been unemployed since.

Brenda: born 27/9/57 Conisborough. She has two sisters. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother did not work outside the home. She attended local primary and secondary schools leaving at 15. She worked as a shop assistant until marrying Barry at 18. She has worked p/t on school meals since then. She has not worked since Barry's redundancy.

The Family: They have two daughters Caroline (11), Alison ('Ally') (7) and a son Damien (4). They live in a council house although they were planning to buy their own house before Barry's redundancy.

Redundancy: has created real problems for this couple, interrupting their plans for the future and imposing strains upon a traditional marriage. Both however were very keen to protect their young children from any possiblle effects of this. The effects of L.T.U. have been felt mainly by Barry who clearly suffers from bouts of depression.

(xii) Brian and Helen Lloyd

Brian: Born 30/12/48 Doncaster. He was a single child. His father was a steelworker. His mother worked outside the homeas a factory operative. He attended local primary and secondary schools in Doncaster. He moved to Rawmarsh with his parents in 1963 when he obtained worker as an apprentice turner at Hadfields (2 years). He worked there as a turner for the neext 18 years. Since redundancy he retrained but has been unemployed since.

Helen: Born 19/1/50 in Rotherham. She has two sisters and one brother. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother worked outside the home and as a shop assistant. She attended local primary and secondary schools and left at 15, working as a shop assistant until pregnant with first child. She has worked p/t since on school meals but has not worked since Brian's redundancy.

The Family: They have a son Damian (17) unemployed, and a daughter Tracey (15). They live in a council house.

Redundancy: has had a bad effect on this family. This marriage was not close prior to redundancy and many latent tensions between Brian and Helen and their children have become manifest after redundancy. This family is more than likely to break up completely, even if Brian were to find work again.

13 : 3 THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS SINCE REDUNDANCY

(To January 1987)

The Men

(1) Michael Franklin: Redundant 25/7/83. Retrained for six months as an electrician. Self-employed (with 4 ex B.S.C. colleagues as Industrial and General Electrical Contractors)

(2) David Sullivan: Redundant 6/5/83. Self-employed General Store/Newsagents

(Bought for £37,500)

(3) Michael O'Neil: Redundant 17/10/83. Self-employed General Store/Off Licence (Bought for £42,000)

(4) Gordon Smith: Redundant 13/9/83. Retrained at Granville College - Diploma in Social Services; 2 weeks p/t cellar man, has worked since f/t at a children's home, planning to do a C.Q.S.W.

(5) Ron Parker: Redundant 21/4/83. 'Employed' as local councillor (Rotherham) .

(6) Len Baldwin: Redundant 2/4/83. Retrained for 6 months as a plumber. Self-employed plumber for 12 months. Business collapsed, signed on for seven months. Has worked for a private steel company to date.

(7) Robert Piper: Redundant 1/7/83. Retrained six months as a plumber. Unemployed until July 1985 3 months temp. work. Unemployed again until April 1986 - f/t caretaker's job in Doncaster - planning to move there soon.

(8) Peter White: Redundant 30/10/83. Retrained 6 months on building course. Self-employed running a walking/camping holidays business for 12 months. Business collapsed. Unemployed since but Peter has had a 'cash in hand' job as a taxi driver since September 1985 and is doing a driving instructor's course.

(9) Chris Bracwell: Redundant 2/4/83. Retrained 6 months on a building course; employed f/t by a building firm until I.S.E.R.B.'s ran out. Unemployed to date..

(10) Geoff Green: Retrained. Obtained f/t work as a plumber until 11/8/85 - made redundant. Unemployed to date.

(11) Barry Nicholson: Redundant 19/3/83. Employed f/t under I.S.E.R.B.S. for 18 months. Made redundant and unemployed to date.

(12) Brian Lloyd: Redundant 6/9/83. Retrained one year on catering course. Unemployed to date.

The Women

(1) Sheila Franklin: no formal paid work but helps out with family business.

(2) Glennis Sullivan: Self-employed with husband.

(3) Eunice O'Neil: Self-employed with husband.

(4) June Smith: has continued working as a warden in an old people's home.

(5) Dorothy Parker: has increased her duties as a local magistrate.

(6) Sheila Baldwin: has not worked outside the home to date.

(7) June Piper: has not worked outside the home to date.

(8) Judith White: continued working as a nursing auxilliary until 4/85 when she had daughter Emma.

(9) Susan Bracewell: has not worked outside the home to date.

(10) Marjorie Green: has not worked outside the home to date.

(11) Brenda Nicholson: has not worked outside the home to date.

(12) Helen Lloyd: did not work for two years but now has a cash in hand job as a cleaner.

13 : 4 FAMILY TYPOLOGY

PRO-ACTIVE RE-ACTIVE

THE FRANKLINS

THE SULLIVANS

THE O'NEILS →→→→

APPENDIX 14

SERVICE AND REDUNDANCY PAYMENT DETAILS

STAFF

AVERAGE LENGTH OF SERVICE = 17.3 years

LONGEST = JIM PATTERSON (23 years)

SHORTEST = ANN BURNS (5 years)

REDUNDANCY PAY : HIGHEST = £15,000

LOWEST = £ 3,900

AVERAGE = £ 8,425

WORKS

AVERAGE LENGTH OF SERVICE = 17.5 years

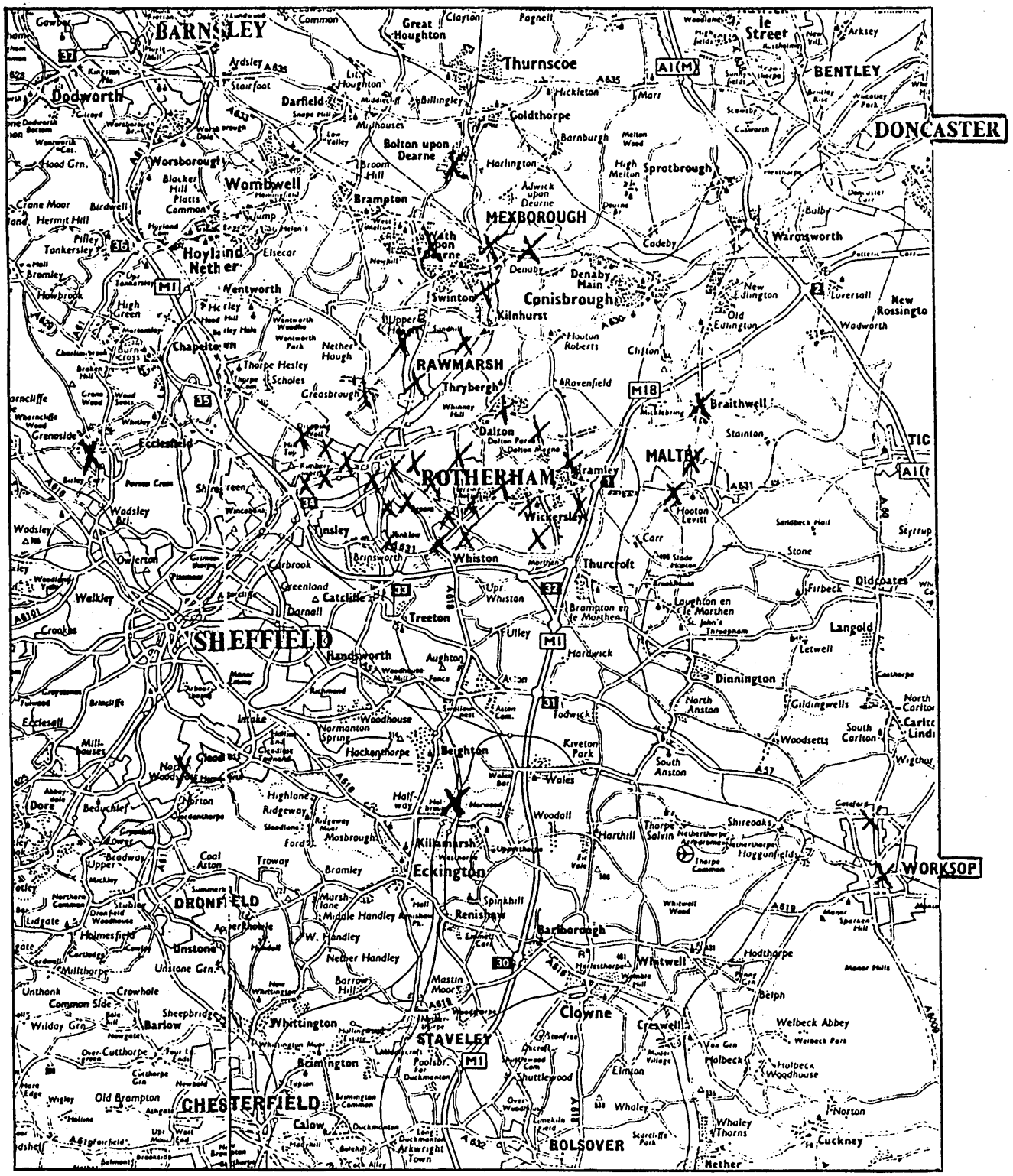
LONGEST = MIKE O'NEIL 27.5 years

SHORTEST = CHRIS BRACEWELL 8.00 years

REDUNDANCY PAY: LARGEST = £15,800

SMALLEST = £ 5,200

AVERAGE = £ 6,700

APPENDIX : 15

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS OF THE INTERVIEW SAMPLE