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THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

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THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

Ingrid FAERDEN, Cand. Sociol. (Oslo)

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

Plymouth Polytechnic, December 1985
Department of Social & Political Studies
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that whilst registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the Council for National Academic Awards, I have not been a registered candidate for another award of the Council, nor of a university.

The following activities, comprising the programme of related studies, have been undertaken:

1. Attendance at and presentations given to the British Sociological Association Conference 1984 and the European Group for Organisation Studies Colloquium (Stockholm) 1985

2. A programme of reading guided by the supervisors

3. Participation in staff research seminars

4. Attendance at a variety of under-graduate lectures and seminars.

Ingrid Faerden

Oslo, December 1985
This thesis reports on a study of seasonal employment in the tourist industry of Devon and Cornwall. The study is based upon official data, employer interviews and interviews with seasonal workers in eight organisations during the Summer of 1983.

In the Summer months, the tourist industry is of considerable importance in the area both from a general economic point of view as well as a provider of employment. The real benefit of seasonal employment is, however, questioned since such large groups of people are left without work during the Winter months. Furthermore, working conditions for seasonal workers are poor from all points of view: working time, pay, training opportunities, job security and promotion possibilities. High unemployment in the labour market and the personal characteristics of the sample makes for difficulties in obtaining more permanent work. Low expectations, aspirations and self-confidence towards work thus reflect a realistic attitude within this group, mostly working seasonally on a regular basis.

Working conditions, prospects and the personal characteristics of the workers suggest that seasonal workers are firmly in a secondary position in the labour market. The sample suggests seasonal work more often being undertaken by women and that there are skews towards the younger and older age groups. The relatively high skill level of the sample indicates discrimination on the basis of ascriptive characteristics. Personal resources and the lack of worker collectives provide few opportunities for change. This is made more serious through seasonal work being largely hidden in statistics and unregistered by official agencies. Generally employment legislation and statutory rights are made with either the permanent worker or the fully unemployed in mind.

For employers, this situation provides for a malleable, cheap and flexible labour force that can be tapped and untapped at will. Although working conditions are not necessarily better during an economic boom, recession ensures that the labour reserve willing to work under such conditions is large.

With continued recession, the incentives for cost-conscious employers to make use of cheap and flexible labour through casual or temporary employment may increase in a range of employment situations such as education, home-working and sub-contracting. Both public policy suggestions and employer incentives encourage such a trend.

Although there are problems with generalising too widely from the data here, some effects of temporary or casual work contracts would apply universally. The study has taken a small step towards identifying such effects.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank my supervisors, Professor David Dunkerley and Dr Tony Spybey, for ideas and criticism at every stage of this work. Special thanks go to Professor Dunkerley, as Director of Studies, for his extraordinary patience, encouragement and practical help under difficult supervisory conditions. His professional advice and support have enabled this work to be completed.

I should also like to thank Adrian Lee, Head of the Department of Social and Political Studies at Plymouth Polytechnic, for the provision of considerable facilities that contributed to the production of this thesis. Dr Tony Chapman of the Department of Sociology at North Staffs. Polytechnic provided valuable assistance with computing and much helpful advice in the early stages. Thanks are also due to the respondents, especially the seasonal workers, who provided information about their lives so willingly.

Needless to say, the defects remaining are solely attributable to me.

Ingrid Faerden
Oslo, December 1985
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The areas of work and organisations have been given much attention by social science researchers. This is not altogether surprising when it is considered the effect these areas have on society in general. Unemployment studies, in particular, have shown the enormous economic, psychological and social effects of employment and working conditions on people's lives.

Many population groups of working age do not, however, fit into the two groups that are normally considered - that is, those in full-time permanent employment or the unemployed. Recent research on the informal or irregular economy as an example of the distinction is blurred. There are also groups working in the formal economy that remain somewhat marginal. Those employed part-time or on a casual or temporary basis have been given little attention from a social science and a public policy perspective. Whether such groups are increasing in importance is a matter of debate, although high unemployment in recent years has spurred suggestions of job splitting schemes and other ways of dividing work between more people without increasing the total amount of work.

Casual work is not only found in the service industries, which is the object of study here, but also in outwork in
manufacturing industries, subcontracting in building, cleaning and office work and in direct sales jobs. Casual work contracts do not only apply to unskilled work. For instance, cuts in education budgets have led to an increased use of casual contracts within the education system. Although the hourly wage may here be quite high compared to other forms of casual work, the effects towards segmentation and secondary labour market conditions may be the same.

Employers' incentives to cut costs by using cheap and flexible labour on short-term contracts may increase during recession, and cost-consciousness gains increasing importance. But the possibility for employers to compose a labour force to suit their requirements also increases in recessionary periods. Large labour reserves may, for instance, make it possible for employers to hold a minimal core of permanent workers, who receive all the traditional benefits of security, training and promotion opportunities and employ casual workers to help out, at low cost and high flexibility, when demand arises.

There are also other reasons why the traditional norm of life-long, full-time work may change in future. Recent policy suggestions in Scandinavia, for instance, have been to provide far more flexible arrangements for groups of workers with young children or other personal situations calling for flexibility. In this case, more flexible working hours in retailing and the provision of private and public
services have been introduced to cater for those workers whose working time coincides with opening times in the latter organisations.

The question, however, is whether full working time is a condition for receiving decent working conditions. Certainly, legislation and statutory policies seem to have been formed with the full time worker or the fully unemployed in mind.

One group of workers that are neither fully employed nor fully unemployed are seasonal workers as found in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall. Seasonal work is not a new phenomenon in this area, as seasonal work has also been a tradition in various primary industries. Public planning documents for the area emphasise the importance of the tourist industry to the economy in general and to the employment situation in particular. On this basis, it was surprising to find in the initial stages of this research that remarkably little reliable information was available on the extent or conditions of work in the tourist industry, especially that of seasonal work. In fact, seasonal workers were not registered as such with the Manpower Services Commission and were not included in official statistics.

In essence, the study aims to analyse the tourist industry and the part played by the seasonally employed in it, together with investigating the seasonally employed as a group adapting to a work situation characterised by signifi-
cantly lower annual wages than for those in permanent employment and where there is considerably more free (i.e. non-work) time than for the full-time employed.

Preliminary investigation has suggested that the seasonally employed display the classic characteristics of a secondary labour market, in the sense used by dual labour market theorists. Tourism employment is often seasonal and has relatively low rates of pay. It is also susceptible to recessions in the economy. Studies of the hotel and catering industry and the fact of high female employment reinforce this point.

The first part of the empirical study concentrated on the analysis of descriptive statistics in order to produce up-to-date and accurate numerical information on the relative importance of seasonal employment in the tourist industry and to compare this with seasonal unemployment at other times of the year. This part of the study also entailed looking into the material available on workers' rights to see if working time and type of contract made any difference to eligibility to such rights.

The second part of the study involved the collection of primary data of a more qualitative nature. This comprised a study of particular work-places within the tourist industry. The sample included a range of organisations in hotel and catering work, 'museum' centres, motoring organisations and
district councils, each of which employs seasonal workers in significant numbers. These are all fairly large, formal organisations.

The aim of this phase of the investigation was to examine personnel policies, personnel strategies and actual working conditions. Information was obtained on the basis of semi-structured interviews with personnel managers or their equivalent. The existence or otherwise of an internal labour market was investigated together with such issues as the conflict potential between permanent and seasonal workers and the advantages/disadvantages for employers in employing the respective groups.

The third data source was derived from seasonally employed persons themselves, drawn from the same organisations as the employer data were gathered. Data were obtained from in-depth interviews and included some open-ended questions. The aim of this third phase was to collect material on working conditions, and to discover how these groups organise their lives. It makes a significant difference, for example, whether these workers are working on a seasonal basis out of choice or because this is all they can obtain in the local labour market. Preliminary investigation among employers indicated that seasonal workers were people who preferred this type of work, leaving them the winter off for other pursuits. If this is correct, it is important to discover
how they cope financially and how they pass the time in the winter. This phase therefore provides valuable information on the significance of an informal or hidden economy. The data should thus enable a reasoned assessment of the contemporary debate as to whether the informal economy is gaining increased importance as a result of more available free time, greater costs of services and whether participation in an informal economy contributes financially in any significant manner. Other financial sources are also examined.

If seasonal workers take part in such work, not out of choice, but because permanent work is not available, their information on attitudes to being seasonally employed becomes even more important. So do questions of labour market segmentation. It becomes important to identify the factors that support segmentation, and to identify the groups who fail to compete in the labour market.

Conflicting and contradictory labour market theory raises different explanations for labour market problems, whether it is the lack of jobs or poor working conditions in existing jobs which is the problem. Basically, these explanations may be broadly divided into two groups - individual and institutional or structural explanations. Examples of individual explanations may be that disadvantaged workers have chosen such a position directly or that they indirectly have made such choices by, for instance, failing to make the right investments in education or training. Institutional
or structural explanations see the main reasons as deriving from economic, social or institutional factors. Examples here are that good jobs are simply not available in sufficient quantity and for reasons other than worker investment decisions or that it may be functional for capital and the employer to support segmentation in the labour market, thus providing different types of labour at different prices, making for cheaper and more flexible staffing arrangements.

An important consequence of the type of explanation taken is that this affects the nature of policy with respect to employment and unemployment. While government employment measures often seem to be based on individual short-comings, thus resulting in government training courses and aid in mediating between workers and employers in job centres, measures at a different level would be needed if the explanations are to be found in structural or institutional arrangements.

Access to different jobs in the labour market is often seen to be based on formal qualifications. In the secondary labour market, however, where jobs are often unskilled and educational qualifications are not important, workers are 'screened' on other characteristics. An important part of this study is to investigate how this 'screening' takes place. If access is based on ascriptive traits like sex, age, race, this may point to discrimination in the labour market of importance
also to opportunities of gaining primary sector jobs.

The direct and indirect means of control affecting seasonal labour relationships is another important question here. Internal labour markets providing control through training schemes and promotion ladders may not be options open to the seasonal employer. Neither can control built round technical arrangements be very important in the service industry. If pay is low and seasonal work easy to come by, it may be an incentive for workers to shop around for the best arrangements available. It is a usual expectation in the secondary labour market that labour is unstable and will not stay long in one job.

The implications of worker protection is the other side of this coin which will be raised here. Unions have not been strong in service industries in general and in the typical tourist-linked industries in particular. The effects of this on job security and working conditions will be discussed. The questions of ideology and worker attitudes will shed further light on this. A variety of factors is raised here, like constraints outside the organisations, social and organisational factors within organisations, as well as individual action and attitudes. The full causal pattern will not be possible to determine, but the aim is to identify the main factors of importance in forming the present pattern.
The account of this research begins with a discussion in Chapter Two of the theoretical background to the research. Theories of the labour market and some central points from theories of work organisations form the basis for the further theoretical discussion in Chapter Three of relevance to the investigation into seasonal employment. Chapter Four describes the methods by which information was collected, assessing the value and problems inherent in each.

Chapters Five to Eight present the empirical data collected. In Chapter Five, secondary sources are examined in order to give a general overview of the employment situation in Devon and Cornwall and to try to arrive at a reasonable assessment of the importance of seasonal employment to different groups of workers. It also provides information on the basis of existing material on workers' rights and benefits as seasonal employees. Chapter Six discusses the results of the interviews with employers. Chapter Seven provides data to identify the sample of seasonal workers, the type of job they do as seasonal workers and the working conditions experienced, whilst Chapter Eight emphasises possible causal factors, like work history, attitudes to work and preferences.

Whilst many questions remain unanswered, this research is an initial attempt to draw attention to a group of workers whose working conditions and ability to obtain permanent full-time work has remained highly unquestioned on the
assumption that they are employed on a seasonal basis as a chosen 'way of life'.
CHAPTER TWO

LABOUR MARKETS AND WORK ORGANIZATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the empirical data employed in this thesis are not suitable for strict testing of hypotheses or theory, much of the information brought to light here is of significance in describing, discussing and analysing seasonal employment, and may also apply to other forms of irregular employment elsewhere. In order to provide a theoretical basis for this discussion theories of and the recent debates regarding labour markets and work organizations will be relied upon in the next two chapters.

This chapter gives a resume of theories on and of labour markets and work organizations. The former include neoclassical, dual labour market and later segmentation theory, including 'radical' theory, while the latter is based on 'industrial' sociology and the labour process debate. Although one tradition focusses on the availability, conditions and divisions of work in society and the other on workplace behaviour, there is a considerable overlap of concepts and interests between the two traditions.

In Chapter Three, these concepts will be discussed further and a priori propositions suggested that could relate to the labour market and the work-places in question, including the conditions and situation of seasonal workers. Such
concepts are for example 'the secondary sector of the labour market', 'wage determination', 'managerial strategies for cost-minimisation and control', 'the reserve army of labour' and 'social reproduction'.

Initially, it would seem that the above theories might be of very little use as a basis of discussion. Many of the theories mentioned, and the empirical material accompanying them, deal with large organisations in large industries, where labour is highly organised, where the production of goods is often the task and where technology and specialised skills are important issues for describing and discussing change. It is possible that the very different features of a small labour market, with small, often family-based service industries, where formal skills or education are less important and where bargaining is often an individual matter between employer and employee fit very poorly with this model. The same may be said of public sector organisations whose aims differ from those of capitalist industries.

In this case, it would be an important question to ask why it is that theories of the labour market or the work place are largely only applicable to certain types of industries. Is it because such industries are 'more important' than others, that they belong to more advanced capitalist systems than, for example, the firms that are studied in this thesis or is it that they are geographically more accessible for
the researchers, or indeed even hold a higher status in
the world of researchers? This may also be a result of
higher tolerance to outsiders in the large, goods-producing
industries.

Nevertheless, there are concepts, relations and phenomena
dealt with in these wider theories which may be used for
the purpose of studying less central industries and workers
in the labour market and the work place. A summary of
these theories can be approached on this basis.

2.2 THEORIES OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Labour market theory is central for an understanding of the
issues raised in this thesis on seasonal employment. An
understanding of how labour markets - the match and mismatch
of jobs and labour - function in general, must be the basis
for discussing the more special case of casual labour.

'Labour market theory' is, however, far from being a simple
concept. Several theories have been developed to explain
how the labour market works and reasons why access to and
rewards from work varies. Within orthodox economic theory,
neoclassical theory is used to explain labour market
stratification on the principle that the labour market is
shaped by economic motivation (Montagna 1977, p.65). The
dual labour market thesis, radical theory and labour market
segmentation theory take a more institutional or structural
approach, challenging the neoclassical view that the labour market is a unitary phenomenon and claiming that factors outside the individual's choice influence possibilities, conditions and limitations in the work sphere.

These different approaches do not only see the labour market as having different forms (unitary versus segmented or structured for example) but focus different phenomena as main explanations of problems in the labour market. The different approaches are also in some respects contradictory and lead to conflicting ideas of what should be done about unemployment, wage inequalities and other labour market problems. Neoclassical theory will be discussed first.

2.3 NEOClassICAL ECONOMIC THEORY

Until the beginning of the 1970's labour markets were very much the object of study by economists. Within traditional economics there are two main 'schools', Macro- and Micro- economics, which give somewhat inconsistent explanations regarding the factors of importance in generating jobs to match the supply of labour (Thurow 1975). These theories have in common the aim of general application (Garnsey et. al., 1985, p.12), i.e. one labour market is the object of study, in which no parts are seen to operate differently from others. Another similarity between the two theories is their abstract analysis. As Rubery et.al. (1984) put it:
"The tendency for orthodox economists to abstract from the detailed consideration of labour at the point of production is prevalent at all levels of analysis".

The macro- and micro-economic theories have been given shifting emphasis as the bases of government action at different points of time. In the 1930's a macro-economic orientation, based on the work of J.M. Keynes was used by Western governments in the attempt to combat unemployment. The economy was seen as the patient and macro-economic palliative measures were taken. During the present recession, micro-economic, neo-classical thinking seems to lie behind government action with regard to the labour market. Since neoclassical economic theory, unlike the macro theory, gives explanations as to why access to jobs and wages vary between individuals, this theory will be given the greatest emphasis here. For the comparison, a short summary of macro-economic reasoning about the labour market will be given first.

Macro-economics treats the labour market as representing a disequilibrium, unemployment being the visible sign of this. Wages are assumed to be rigid and do not shift to clear markets in the short or medium run. Therefore, "to minimize disequilibrium in the labour market, governments must use macro-economic policies to raise or lower the aggregate level of demand in such a manner as to clear the labour market or to hold the disequilibrium within tolerable limits".
Unlike neoclassical theory, where great emphasis is placed on the wage rate for labour, the demand for labour depends, according to macro-economics on total output. Supply of labour is seen to depend on long-run demographic trends and job availabilities and not on wages.

Neoclassical economic history, on the other hand, sees the labour market functioning along the same principles as any other market. The labour market's natural state is equilibrium, while 'imperfections' in this equilibrium, for example, unemployment, would correct themselves if left to themselves and not interfered with. The central point is at what price or wage level perfect equilibrium between supply and demand will occur.

"Individuals buy and sell skills in a bidding framework in which the equilibrium price clears the market so that there are no unsatisfied buyers or sellers" (Thurow 1975, p.51). This is explained by the marginal-productivity theory of distribution, underlying both workers' and employers' actions. Thus, the same investment calculus is relevant whether one is considering investments in labour skills or investment in plant and equipment. If unemployment exists, then this is due to workers asking too high a price for their labour compared to their productivity. A reduction in this price provides investment signals to employers and demand for (unemployed) labour will increase. The theory assumes that,
"with perfect competition and market equilibrium wages will vary with variations in the worker's ability (talent) and work experience" (Montagna 1977, p.66).

A major development of neoclassical theory is the "human capital" theory, which states that wages are the result of investment of individuals in formal education and on-the-job training. (Becker, 1964). The only barriers to entry into a job are seen to be the individual ones of education, job skills and ability. The greater the human capital, the higher the wage level reached by an individual. Workers are, according to this theory seen to have perfect information about availability and prices (wage rates) in the market, which leaves responsibility for unemployment or low wages with the individual. Through human capital investments, workers can better their productivity and thereby their job chances and remuneration. Alternatively, workers can choose to prefer unemployment or low paid jobs.

The greatest problem with the neoclassical approach is its reliance on abstract models of reality, where so many factors are taken for granted that reality is blurred. First of all, wages are not left to vary according to individual choices by employers or workers. At least in core industries, wages are decided through collective bargaining and sometimes with government interference limiting wage rates, both in terms of minimum and maximum wages. Montagna (1977), p.77 shows how labourers with the same human capital earn very
different wages, concluding that "wage earnings of individuals
depend on human capital factors of the individual and the
economic structure in which they work, the latter being much
more important in the determination than the former". Secondly, workers are expected to hold full information about
jobs and wages in the labour market, an expectation that is
highly unreasonable. Furthermore, as Garnsey et. al. (1985
p.32) state "Unemployment among the well qualified during
recessionary conditions supports the contention that good
jobs are scarce because of inadequacy in the demand for
labour rather than because of deficiencies in the quality
of labour". They also point out that while neoclassical
theory views labour as the scarce commodity, there are
alternative sources of labour open to employers, such as
foreign labour, making provisions for part-time work, and
so on. The wage mechanism need not operate as postulated
if such choices are made by employers instead of increasing
wages when faced with labour scarcity.

Another problem is that employers often pay a fixed rate for
a job and do not reward workers on an individual basis.
Even if they do, productivity is almost impossible to measure.
In the classical example of 'Scientific Management' (Taylor
1911) where productivity measurement proved difficult,
education may even have been counterproductive. If Taylor's
workers were better educated, they may have found ways to
put up more efficient resistance to increasing productivity.
Finally, it is unreasonable to treat all workers and
employers the same in a theory of the labour market. For, as Garnsey et. al. (1985, p.14) point out

"labour markets include a multiplicity of groups organised (whether as trade unions, licence holders or professional bodies) to obtain job protection and pay benefits through group action. Vulnerable workers fail to find 'shelter' in the form of reasonably stable and well-paid jobs defended by group action."

Although it seems reasonable in some circumstances and to some extent, that wage demands and expected productivity are influential factors in obtaining jobs and rewards in the labour market, this is clearly too simplified a model. A weak or non-existent relationship to the labour market has clearly to do with additional factors such as the differential social reproduction of group or class, employer discrimination and principles of organisation and remuneration within firms, branches and industries. Also, the macro-economic contention that the demand for labour depends on wider economic influences in society, and internationally, seems difficult to ignore. With this in mind, alternative theories on the working of the labour market can be discussed below.
2.4 THE DUAL LABOUR MARKET THESIS

Alternative theory giving more emphasis to social and institutional characteristics in the labour market has been developed since the early 1970's. The original 'Dual Labour Market' model (Doeringer and Piore 1971, Piore 1975) based on empirical research in the United States developed as a result of traditional theory's inadequacy in explaining phenomena in American society in the 1960's such as structural unemployment, inflation and discrimination in the labour market. This original contribution has since been extended and debated. In the next two sections this debate will be presented in the form of 'radical theory' and 'segmentation theory'.

Doeringer and Piore's starting point was that society's divisions between groups were also reflected in the labour market and indeed within the single firm. Divisions in the labour market seemed to take a dual pattern and hiring and training of workers appeared to be largely dependent on administrative rules within the organisation. These rules would vary within the different sectors. While well-educated and skilled workers often find employment within medium- and large-size enterprises in the most stable and administratively well-organised segment of the economy, "there are, however, a group of low-wage, and often marginal, enterprises and a set of casual, unstructured work opportunities where workers with employment disadvantages tend to find work"
(Doeringer & Piore, 1971, p.163). Doeringer and Piore (1971, p.179) suggest that the following groups may be termed 'disadvantaged' in terms of their adaptability to primary employment:

"1. Persons with stable, but low-wage work experience. This group consists primarily of adults. Black female workers are disproportionately represented in this group as are recent immigrants from Latin America and the South.

2. Teenagers with little or no previous work experience. Instability is most serious among urban-born blacks within this group.

3. Adults with a work history of chronic turnover and poor work habits.

4. Persons with clearly defined obstacles to employment, including the aged, mothers with young children, students seeking part-time work, alcoholics and addicts, illiterates, and the physically or mentally handicapped.

5. Persons not in the labour force who have sources of income such as welfare and illicit activities, which are competitive with productive employment"

Although such groups may be defined, it is the contention of dual labour market theory that change in this pattern demands changes not only on a personal or group basis, but also in the working environment itself.
The dual labour market theory, almost by definition, argues that the labour market is divided into two main sectors. Jobs in the primary market are well paid, with good working conditions, stable jobs, chances of advancement, equity and due process in the administration of work rules. Primary sector jobs are tied into promotional or career ladders, while jobs in the secondary market, in contrast, offer few opportunities for vertical movement. The secondary market tends to offer low wages and fringe benefits, poor working conditions, high labour turnover, little chance of advancement, and often arbitrary and capricious supervision. A further division is made in this model between the upper and the lower tier of the primary sector. Upper-tier occupations are, according to Montagna (1977, p.69), based on a generalised body of theoretical knowledge, whereas the lower-tier occupations are based on specific skills acquired through on-the-job training. While upper-tier employees are often recruited from the external labour market, it is especially in the lower tier of the primary sector that the internal labour market comes to force, offering internal security regarding pricing, training and promotion.

Because of barriers between the two segments, workers in the secondary sector cannot advance into primary employment and thus learn primary worker traits. These barriers are "inter-related and interact with each other in complex ways, making it difficult to analyse each factor separately without doing violence to the simultaneous nature of the processes at work."
For example, the characteristics of the secondary labour market most closely related to each other are the relative instability of employment, the comparative instability and the high unemployment rates of the work force, low wages and poor chances of advancement, the paucity of training opportunities, and the arbitrariness in the administration of work rules" (Doeringer and Piore, 1971, pp.169-70)

'Disadvantaged workers, the theory asserts, are confined to the secondary market by residence, inadequate skills, poor work histories and discrimination' (Doeringer and Piore, p.166). Workers in the secondary sector are perceived by employers to have poorer working habits than those in the primary sector as displayed by higher levels of turnover, lateness and absenteeism, more insubordination and even greater theft from employment. Barron and Norris (1976) list five main attributes that make a particular social group a likely source of secondary workers:

1. Dispensability - the ease with which an employee can be removed from a redundant job.

2. Clearly visible social difference - preferably one which emphasises the relative inferiority of the secondary group.

3. Little interest in acquiring, training and experience.

4. Low economism, i.e. little concern for monetary rewards.

5. Lack of solidarism - for instance, relatively low level
of trade union or collective strength.

It seems that the 'labour market' or indeed 'industry' is too general a term for the purposes here. Any employing organisation probably displays not a single but at least a dual set of conditions and practices of employment (Hakim 1979). Thus, one organisation may have a primary sector with a strong internal labour market, where workers are well organised in unions or professional bodies and simultaneously a secondary sector where entry to jobs is from the external market and where the unstable traits of workers and jobs alike, that is, the workplace characteristics, hinder more stable work practices from being established due to difficulties in establishing collective worker practices under unstable conditions. In this way, entry to labour market segments may be partly due to personal characteristics, while the maintenance of such a segment may be due to workplace characteristics and employer strategies. Indeed, as will be discussed below, many employers may deliberately be interested in keeping a secondary sector within the organisation.

2.5 INTERNAL LABOUR MARKETS AND EMPLOYER STRATEGIES

A range of social, historical and economic factors help to maintain duality in the labour market.

"Market size and uncertainty affect the division of labour, which in turn, affects the skill
distribution of jobs. Work tasks become more specialised and routinised in the secondary sector and the lower tier of the primary sector and broader and more generalised in the upper tier. The two sectors become more interdependent and, at the same time, more antagonistic" (Montagna, 1977, p.69).

Whatever factors may be found empirically to be most important, there can be little doubt that the coexistence of primary and secondary sectors offers employers both workforce stability through a primary sector and flexibility through a secondary sector. Some writers even argue that the division of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors results from deliberate employer strategies to retain skilled and technical workers (Barron & Norris, 1976).

An internal labour market is defined by Doeringer and Piore (1971, p.1 and 2) as 'an administrative unit, such as a manufacturing plant, within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures'. These rules give the internal labour force rights to jobs filled internally, without competing with workers in the external labour market. In the latter, pricing, allocating and training decisions are supposed to be controlled directly by economic variables. As mentioned above, internal labour markets are particularly found in the lower tier of the primary sector, of skilled and semi-skilled workers. The specific on-the-job training
and internal promotions given here, ties the labour force to the employer, who benefits from stability and return on training investments. In many cases it will not be worthwhile for employees, having received specialised skills, to move on to other employers.

It was mentioned above that neoclassical theory failed to explain why disadvantaged workers often remain disadvantaged, even in times when demand for labour is high. It would be expected that even the end 'tail' of the labour queue would be employed in such circumstances, given that their wage demands did not exceed the marginal productivity of their labour. Perhaps the dual labour market thesis may contribute better to an understanding of why employers in such a situation are not encouraged to reduce their hiring standards or provide training to raise the productivity of disadvantaged workers.

If the dual system is 'functional' to employers in providing stability and flexibility simultaneously, it would seem that flexibility could be lost if in an economic up-turn workers in large numbers were introduced into primary employment conditions, which includes the 'shelters' provided by the internal labour market. If the flexibility provided by a 'reserve' labour force is important to employers, 'sheltering' in the internal (primary) sector would make it more difficult to hire and fire in order to meet the variation in consumer demand. Thus, avoidance
of risk and uncertainty emerges as an important source of motivation for the establishment of primary and secondary employment conditions by employers, to the extent that such action is open to them' (Garnsey et. al 1985, p.21). Employers' aims and needs alone do not account for growth in primary-sector employment conditions; workers' actions also contribute to segmentation through organised attempts to secure their positions on the job.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that although the discussion above has been very general, assuming that most organisations have primary as well as secondary sectors and working conditions, this may be too simplified a view. Primary- and secondary- type employment represent ideal types, and variations may be found both in how clear the distinctions between the sectors are within the firm and the size and use of different sectors in different organisations and industries. While primary employment conditions may in some organisations be offered only to the few at the top, in other organisations primary conditions may be the norm and a minority of workers may have secondary employment conditions. Industrial characteristics do not always provide the explanations for this, as some firms offer good conditions in an otherwise low paying industry and vice versa.

Contrary to human capital theorists, who see the responsibility for unemployment or inferior working conditions
in individuals' failure to make the right investments in education and jobs, dual labour market theorists claim that social institutions and the structuring of the labour market severely limit the choices certain groups of individuals have to act strategically in the labour market. "Employment in primary jobs depends to a great extent on the degree of social acceptability of work groups and occupations. This acceptability is determined by factors such as race, sex and social beliefs" (Montagna 1977, p. 71). Radical theory agrees with the structural argument and also finds race, sex and age important factors on which basis stratification is constructed. But radical theory, to which discussion now turns, takes a clear Marxist stand and thus goes further in drawing upon the wider concepts of, for instance, class and in questioning the economic system as such in the analysis of labour market stratification.

2.6 RADICAL THEORY

Unlike neoclassical theory, both dual labour market and radical writers see the labour market as divided into different segments. They emphasise structural factors in explaining the labour market and labour market disadvantages for certain groups and both see poverty as a main problem resulting from labour market segmentation. Radical economic theory, however, links the primary-secondary distinction to other potential class divisions. Policy recommendations to
alleviate poverty are accordingly different. While dual labour market writers usually recommend changes in employment policy, the result of radical theory is usually the suggestion that only a change of economic system will alleviate the problem.

"The central thesis (in radical theory) is that poverty and inequality are necessary functional aspects of capitalism, not merely aberrations that can be remedied by minor adjustments to the system". (Montagna, 1977, p.72) The capitalist mode of production is based on wage labour in a class system where ownership of the means of production and the social relationship between owners and non-owners is essential to understand the system. Stratification is thus seen as a purposeful organisation of the labour market by the capitalist class, in order that wage labour may be manipulated for the benefit of the accumulation of capital by this class.

Wage labour is perceived as 'functional' for a number of reasons. First, the poor comprise a reserve army of unemployed who can be called upon when the employed threaten to strike. Second, the poor serve as a measuring-stick of success for those above them. Third, wages can be used to make workers accept alienating work under poor working conditions. And finally, goods and services can be purchased at lower prices by the more advantaged when wages are kept down among the underemployed and the working poor.
Three major social forces lead to labour stratification. First, socialization of the individual in the education system and in industry, through ideology and vocational training, is imposed to secure acceptance of the economic system and the social relations in this. Second, "hierarchy fetishism" among workers is achieved through stratifying the labour market so that a desire is created among workers for higher status and better jobs, but not higher income. An "illusion of mobility" is thus created and level consciousness is the result rather than class consciousness. Solidarity between groups of workers is thus minimised and social acceptance achieved towards stratification. Finally, structural elements are mentioned by Montagna (1977) as the third source of stratification of the labour market. Such elements include the degree of market concentration in an industry, the political power of the trade union, and the relation of the industry to the state and profit rates. According to such elements, the industrial structure may be divided into a "tripartite economy": the core economy, the peripheral economy and the irregular economy. (Bluestone, 1972). According to Montagna it pays for the capitalist class to support such a "tripartite economy". He provides empirical evidence from the United States showing that "labourers with the same human capital earn from $4708 to $6136, depending on the industry in which they are employed." A "tripartite economy" may thus ease the flexibility in wages and hiring and firing according to short term demand, mentioned above
as a reason why it is in the interest of employers to have a structured labour market.

Marx expected that the struggle between the classes would eventually lead to the extinction of the capitalist system. Many radical writers (for example, Gordon, et al, 1982) claim that divisions within the working class have been the weakness of that class and one reason why this change of economic system has not come about. Through labour stratification the capitalist class has maintained control over ideology reproduction and hindered solidarity within the working class. But according to Gordon, et al (1982) labour stratification is a fairly recent means of labour control. In their recent work an historical analysis is undertaken in order to develop a theory of capitalist development.

Three "long swings" in the economy have been suggested from the 1790's to the present, comprising 'initial proletarianization', 'homogenization' and 'segmentation', each containing periods of exploration, consolidation and decay. The argument is that these different stages have depended on and resulted in specific organisational forms and labour market structures. While most writers concentrate on either work organisation or labour markets it is interesting to note that Gordon et al here treat the two as inter-dependent and influenced by the same forces, as, for example with production relations between capitalists and workers.
The period of segmentation of the labour force is said to start with the rapid capital accumulation after the Second World War, although large corporations had already initiated this period in the 1920's and early 1930's when new means of labour control were needed to replace the "drive system" of the 'homogenization' period. The latter was breaking down due to rising labour turnover and "the restriction of effort even by unorganised workers" (Gordon et al, 1982, p.15) as external labour market competition and the rigours of the drive system, itself products of the homogenization period, were felt.

The consolidation of the segmentation period is said to have come about after the labour conflicts of the 1930's had been followed by a more peaceful period following the Second World War. Arrangements like the recognition of unions, seniority rules for lay-offs and promotion and arrangements giving the employers discretion in the organisation of work, provided that wages were increased with increased productivity are important to this consolidation period.

This period involved a growing divergence between, on the one hand, primary and secondary jobs and on the other hand between independent primary and subordinate primary jobs. While many large corporations established internal labour markets, many smaller firms were forced to retain the more primitive drive system of labour control. Within the
organisation a need was felt to gain management control over the generating and deployment of skills among workers, earlier controlled through the craft method of skill generation. The latter explains the divergence within the primary market.

These two segmentation processes, it is argued, dominated the development of the labour process as well as the labour market in the 1950's and 1960's. But as the writers point out, in peripheral industries "small firms continued to resemble the entrepreneurial firms of the late nineteenth century" (Gordon et al, 1982, p.190). This emphasises the importance of focusing industry as well as organisation in empirical studies of labour market segmentation.

Of the theories discussed above (neoclassical, dual labour market and radical) radical theory comes closest to what is here termed "later segmentation theory", where socialisation, ideology and class elements are also important aspects, although the latter do not take a clear Marxist stand. Later or more recent segmentation theory will be the theme of the next section.

2.7 LATER SEGMENTATION THEORY

It is no easy task to present 'later segmentation theory' in a concentrated form without feeling that full justice is not given all those who have contributed to this theory.
Some consolation can be found in Garnsey et. al. regarding this:

"Writers on labour market segmentation are sometimes accused of failing to provide a consistent theory because they are divided among themselves. But a new framework of analysis must undergo continual modification until a mature and coherent theory emerges which is capable of making sense of evidence which is not adequately accounted for by conventional theory" (Garnsey et. al. 1985, p.33)

While writers on labour market segmentation differ in emphasis and interpretation, a new paradigm is being shaped which takes historical, social and institutional factors into account to explain the shortage of good jobs and differences in labour market conditions for different groups of workers.

In taking the starting point that a shortage of good jobs is the problem and that the majority of jobs do not pay a rate sufficient to support a family, writers on labour market segmentation differ from orthodox theory where the basic problem was claimed to be the shortage of good quality labour. It will, in fact, be apparent from this chapter than segmentation theory not only differs from orthodox theory, but finds reason to criticise this theory for most of the assumptions it makes. This is mostly done through empirical evidence, the collection of which is an
important part of the development of a coherent theory on labour market segmentation.

While segmentation theory builds upon many of the concepts and notions of dual labour market theory, this theory is also questioned. For instance, dual labour market theory assumed that a process occurred which allocates high-productivity workers to well-paid and secure jobs and workers characterised by instability and lesser efficiency to jobs with secondary employment conditions. This assumption has been questioned:

"The individual performance of workers assigned to high-productivity equipment is not necessarily greater than that of workers having similar educational levels who are taken on by firms using low-productivity equipment. Indeed, the level of skill required of individuals may be greater on the equipment which is less mechanised. Higher wages may be caused by greater ability to tolerate wage costs by the employer and/or the collective bargaining of the workforce, rather than by the greater productivity of individual workers". (Garnsey et.al. 1985, p.28)

Another main assumption by Doeringer and Piore was that workers acquired poor working habits from secondary sector jobs, which in turn rendered them unsuitable for primary sector employment. This assumption is doubted by referring to women drawn into male craft jobs during the Second World War, who performed well without full qualifications. Barry Bluestone is also cited in support of this argument:
"... Given the opportunity to escape to the high wage sector, many low wage workers would perform admirably. Without years of extra education, without massive doses of institutional and on-the-job training, without learning a new 'industrial discipline' many low-wage workers could fit into a unionized, profitable, capital-intensive industry and begin to earn a living wage". (Cited in Garnsey et.al. 1985)

One of the most intriguing sides of labour market segmentation theory is that it does not attempt to provide a general theory that can fit any situation in a complicated world. "One of the hallmarks of the (coherent alternative) framework is an historical approach to labour market analysis, which admits to and predicts differences between countries, time periods, industries and firms" (Rubery et.al.1984).

Nevertheless, Wilkinson (1981, p.Viii) mentions three main generalisations that can be drawn from present empirical studies on segmentation. Firstly, a shift from explaining a stable structure of pay and job inequalities towards an analysis of dynamic changes in labour market structure has taken place. Such changes are for example due to overall demand for labour differing in different periods of time. The German case of guest workers taken on in the 1960's and early 1970's and later made redundant through decreasing demand for labour is an example where the domestic workers' segmentation borders have changed accordingly. This example also supports the point mentioned above that employers have alternative strategies open to them other
than manipulating wages and demands for qualifications in the domestic, indigenous labour force.

Secondly, "the importance of specific historical experiences and the complex interplay of economic and institutional factors in determining patterns of labour market segmentation" is stressed. Although such differences are said to undermine the case for unicausal theories, like the neoclassical theory, there is a danger then of relying on ad hoc explanations.

There are, however, and this is mentioned as the third generalisation from the empirical material, general tendencies apparent. The trend towards the casualisation of the labour force in the metropolitan countries is found to be particularly notable. Thus, despite differences between countries in, for example, the protection of workers, "the common response of capital to the growing crisis is to marginalise at least some part of its labour force." (Wilkinson, 1981, p.ix). Rubery and Wilkinson write:

"Segmentation theorists were initially concerned with differences in employment conditions for directly employed labour. They considered casual employment forms to be marginal or archaic and therefore uninteresting. However, the persistence and even expansion in the use of a wide range of forms of casualised labour, from home-working to on-site labour-only-subcontracting, combined
with evidence of the vertical disintegration of production in advanced as well as declining sectors, demands a reinterpretation of the relative importance of different forms of labour organisation". (Rubery & Wilkinson in Wilkinson 1981, p.116)

Wilkinson defines the existence of segmentation in the labour market as "different wages for workers of equal efficiency." (Wilkinson, 1981, p.x) Ryan likewise defines segmentation as "the differentiation of economic opportunities and rewards amongst objectively comparable people independent of their desires." (in Wilkinson, 1981, p.4). Segmentation in this sense stresses that it is not only a question of a division between two or more labour market segments, but that the main point is that objectively comparable people find different opportunities in the labour market. According to this, it is a result of segmentation when, for instance, the same job in different industries or firms provides different rewards.

A further point is Ryan's contention that duality is not a necessary condition for the acceptance of segmentation theory (Ryan in Wilkinson, 1981, p.6). While strict duality may be a possibility, where the 'good' jobs in the primary market are vividly separated from the 'bad' jobs in the secondary market, jobs may be placed along a continuum, where an arbitrary frontier is chosen to divide between the 'better' and 'worse' jobs. Also, since there are many levels of labour quality, Ryan argues that "the
implication is that several disadvantaged or secondary segments may exist at the various levels of labour quality" (Ryan, op.cit.)

Thus, as indicated above, highly qualified workers who receive markedly lower job rewards than their peer group, would also be classified as belonging to a secondary sector. Primary and secondary employment conditions can thus be seen as ideal types, where it is necessary to distinguish between industries, firms and occupations in the analysis of actual causes and outcomes of segmentation on a primary-secondary continuum. The next section will deal with the processes, on the demand side as well as the supply side in the labour market and in the social institutions of relevance here, that contribute to segmentation. The interaction between the demand- and supply-sides in the labour market is an important focus in analysing how the labour market is actually structured.

2.8 PROCESSES LEADING TO SEGMENTATION

Segmentation theory does not provide any simple answers to why labour markets are segmented or why groups of individuals are rewarded so differently by the labour market. Neither employer (or capitalist) strategies nor insufficient worker qualifications alone can explain these phenomena. Rather, combinations of and interaction between many different social forces work towards segmenting labour
markets. In this section, some of these forces will be discussed.

According to Garnsey et al. (1985) upon which most of this section will be based, demand for labour is a result of both the constraints within which employers make their choices and the strategies they choose to pursue within these constraints.

It is possible to distinguish between external and internal constraints. The former include technology, which in part determines job design within the firm, economic environment, i.e. the general economic situation, the firm's cost structure and demand for the goods or services supplied, industrial structure (competition and market control), employment regulation and institutional constraints, through, for instance, education and labour organisation. The internal constraints include, for example, the historically developed customs and practices in an organisation, that are not easily changed and that are sometimes necessary to secure the compliance of the work force.

Although these constraints can be limiting to employers' actions, there are nevertheless areas of discretion open to employers in selecting workers and providing jobs. As mentioned above, management may choose to provide good pay and prospects in order to reduce labour turnover and minimise the costs of recruitment and training. Primary conditions may, on the other hand, be a necessary result
of collective bargaining. Secondary market conditions may be provided to increase flexibility and cut costs. Choice can also be made as to which categories of labour to hire, at wage rates that will vary not only with qualifications, but also with more personal characteristics, like age, sex and race.

The supply of labour is also structured by social institutions and differentiating processes. Social reproduction in the family and later, in the education system, tend to influence expectations, acceptance of class differences and sex roles and thus the terms on which workers make their labour available, both by influencing individual behaviour and by stimulating collective action. Domestic divisions of labour and role expectations within the family also influence the availability of labour in the market. These may have implications for segmentation through the expectation that the male breadwinner must have a wage sufficient to reproduce a whole family, while womens' wages have often been seen as an addition or supplement to this main family wage. There is evidence that this has had implications for womens' wages independent of their qualifications and that "where the earnings of a male wage-earner are not available to other family members, problems of low income and poverty predominate" (Garnsey et.al. 1985, p.23).

Garnsey et.al. point out that those whose positions in the
labour market are most vulnerable are those most likely to be found in low-paid jobs. Their bargaining position may be limited by "ill-health, household responsibilities, alien nationality, minority racial status, lack of employment experience or a combination of these factors" (Garnsey, et. al., op. cit.). Two main characteristics are mentioned as applying to vulnerable workers. Their personal wages are partly subsidized by other sources of income, which applies to women and youths dependent on a male breadwinner's income or those dependent on state benefits for their survival. The other main characteristic is that they are unable to exert organised control over the type of labour they supply. This may be a result of an unstable work-pattern, low tendencies to organise in the secondary labour force and/or that simply being a member of a vulnerable group may inhibit allocation to the primary labour market, independent of qualifications.

A vicious circle is often established, since "it is only by organised, collective action that otherwise isolated workers whose skills are not in special demand can achieve any degree of job protection." (Garnsey, et.al. 1985, p.24). But restrictions on entry to jobs where collective action is possible help maintain an unstable work pattern in the secondary labour market for these groups. Alternatively, the reaction of married women to inadequate remuneration is often withdrawal from the labour force, where this is a feasible alternative (Humphries, 1977). To the extent
that this is the result, employers have their expectations of unstable groups confirmed and reinforced and will continue their discrimination of vulnerable groups. This is a good example of the various forces contributing simultaneously to segmentation in the labour market. It is also an example indicating that supply and demand factors in the labour market are not separate, but interactive forces structuring employment.

This, in fact, has been suggested as being the main focus of segmentation writers: "the extent to which demand is structured by supply conditions and the supply of labour shaped by features of demand, in ways which are mutually reinforcing but which create conflicting interests" (Garnsey et.al. 1985, p.26). Workers' social positions are likely to determine the sectors in which they seek jobs and to influence the expectations they have as regards rewards. Belonging to different labour market segments influences the attitudes to and ability for collective bargaining, which for those in the primary sectors leads to job protection and for those in the secondary sectors to vulnerability. Primary sector sheltering enforces the difficulties of secondary workers.

At the same time employers may utilize and enforce segmentation to suit their aims and needs for stability and/or flexibility. This is eased by segmentation being widely accepted. Through thinking based on, for instance,
human capital theories many unemployed or disadvantaged workers themselves accept that the responsibility for their vulnerable position in the labour market lies solely with themselves.

Segmentation theory distinguishes between industries, firms and occupations in providing both primary and secondary employment conditions in an array of combinations. Economic and technological conditions of industry cannot fully explain segmentation. Rather, a combination of political, social and cultural factors must be added to explain the interaction of the supply- and demand side in the labour market. Segmentation is reinforced by action on the part of employers and groups of workers alike. Writers within segmentation theory therefore reject any simple explanations of labour market disadvantage, such as the neoclassical ones of wage levels and human capital investments.

Attention is now turned to theories of work organisation. Although the main focus will be on the organisation, labour market theory and organisation theory should not be seen as completely separate. Elements from the two traditions naturally overlap and explanations and causes may be interlinked.
2.9 THE ORGANISATION OF WORK

As many writers have pointed out (for example, Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980, Gordon et.al. 1982) there are clear links between labour markets and organisation structures. Not only are both phenomena developed in the same historical economic context, but both mirror contemporary ideologies in the society in which they develop and are interrelated parts of management's strategies to control the work force in a way that may benefit the main goal of capitalist enterprise: the accumulation of capital.

Despite the obvious interrelationship between labour markets and the way the work place is organised there has been a tendency for sociologists interested in work to focus almost purely on one or other tradition. Although labour market theory seems a natural starting point in the present work on seasonal labour, it is nevertheless the case that many points made in organisation theory and the labour process debate would benefit from the analysis of the data. Similarly, when later segmentation contributions put emphasis on political and ideological factors in their analysis of the labour market, the result is a convergence in concepts between the two traditions, for example, the concepts of reserve army, bargaining, professionalisation.

It may, therefore, be difficult, at times, to keep the two traditions apart in a strict and formal manner. However,
as one mainly deals with the principles by which people are allocated to and kept in slots of jobs and the other with how the structure thus resulting is reinforced or changed within the organisation, it seems relevant here to consider the organisation of work separately.

2.10 CONTROL OF THE LABOUR PROCESS

Central to much of the literature within work organisation and the labour process debate has been and is the concept of control. Indeed, some writers see organisation as control of the labour process (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980) "that both technology and organisation structure have developed subordinate to the needs of capital accumulation and control". (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980, p.5) Edwards (1979) points out that hierarchy at work, as a means of control over the labour process, exists and persists because it is profitable. These notions are linked to the problem posed by Marx of turning labour power into actual labour within capitalist production. Marx saw the needed control achieved through mechanisation (Littler and Salaman, 1982, p.265), a central theme also in Braverman's work (Braverman 1974).

Although Braverman sees technology or mechanisation and the accompanying division of labour as the means through which control of labour is achieved under Monopoly Capitalism, this does not mean that the labour process
is viewed purely from a technical standpoint. With Marx, Braverman states that the labour process has in addition become a process of accumulation of capital and that it is this aspect which is the dominating force determining the labour process. Capitalist control over the labour process has, however, partly been achieved through development of technology and has rendered workers no other choice than selling their labour power to others. Technological developments have been used by the capitalist class not only to increase productivity, according to Braverman, but as a means of control. Through managements' subdividing of work tasks, with the help, at least initially, of machinery and scientific management methods, workers lost the skills, previously held, to plan and execute the whole production process. Management took over the planning (mental work) and individual workers were left with fragments of (manual) work in the labour process. This process of early industrialisation, Braverman argues, has continued and unskilled labour has been substituted for complex, skilled labour through subdivision, fragmentation and specialisation. This 'de-skilling', moreover, has occurred not only in manufacturing, but in all kinds of occupations at every level of the occupational hierarchy.

Braverman's work relies strongly on a criticism of 'scientific management', the principles of management introduced by F.W. Taylor at the beginning of this century. Control of production as the means by which management
could increase profitability through higher productivity within the capitalist mode of production was the idea upon which Taylor based his work on Scientific Management. Following the influential craft system, Taylor saw that an alternative system was needed if management were to take over the control of production, control over the acquiring of skills, over the speed of production and over the intra-class relations of the working class. Through time-studies, mechanisation and developing management as a separate function, thus splitting the conception of work from the execution of work, the aim of scientific management 'should be to secure the maximum prosperity for the employer, coupled with the maximum prosperity of each employee.' (Taylor cited in Wood, 1985, p.49).

Three reasons were given by Taylor why workers were not sufficiently efficient:

"1. The universal belief amongst workers that a material increase in the output of each worker or each machine will result in unemployment or at least redundancy.

2. 'The defective systems of management which are in common use, and which make it necessary for each workman to soldier on, or work slowly, in order that he may protect his own best interests.'

3. The use of rule-of-thumb methods."

(Wood 1985, p.49)
By eliminating the managerial practices in 2 and 3 above, production could be expanded and feelings of insecurity among workers (1.) eliminated. Scientific management involves three important tasks:

"1. The development of a science for each element of a man's work, which replaces the old rule-of-thumb method.

2. The scientific selection and training and development of workmen.

3. The co-operation with the men so as to ensure that all of the work is being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed."

(Wood, 1985, p.50)

The economic motive was seen as an important incentive to increase worker productivity and entailed a piece-work system of payment. Although Taylor expected workers to accept scientific management without conflict if more money was available, he underestimated, among many things, the need workers have for social rewards, group restrictions to output from fear that higher productivity may lead to redundancies and the role of unions. Nevertheless, as Michael Rose points out, "Taylorism initiated the systematic study of industrial behaviour... its content and course influenced in a decisive way the problems upon which later industrial students were to focus so much of their attention". (Rose, 1975, p.31)
According to Stephen Wood, "the significance of Taylor, for Braverman, is that he was the first management theorist to acknowledge the necessity of management control."
(Wood, 1985, p.50). Taylor's distinction between conception and execution or between mental and manual work and the fragmentation of work tasks is the basis upon which Braverman rests his theory of a degradation of the labour process. Technology is less important for Braverman than the growth of Taylorism and managerial control, methods of control that could be applied at any given level of technology.

Nevertheless, "Braverman has been strongly criticised for an overemphasis on scientific management. The idea that the latter is the only or major managerial control system represents a serious flaw in Braverman's thesis."
(Dunkerley, 1985, p.90).

Also in the Human Relations school, developed in the 1930's and following scientific management, profitability and thus the need for control was the underlying motive, although this was presented more subtly under the more humanistic cover of psychological studies (Rose, 1975). The human relations approach to organisational studies came partly as a reaction to the human engineering of scientific management, and brought human behaviour, informal relationships and communication patterns to the fore. Through experiments with changing material conditions in the work-
place, in order to increase productivity, the Hawthorne effect was discovered in the Hawthorne studies (1926-1932). This effect was that by being chosen for the experiments, workers felt recognised as human beings and responded with increased productivity, independent of material changes in the work environment. The researchers also discovered that co-workers restricted output through social norms regarding reasonable productivity. Levels of production, then, were not necessarily determined by physiological factors, but by social factors. Furthermore, the incentive schemes, so important in the scientific management model, were negated by non-economic rewards and/or sanctions. Workers were thus seen to react as group members rather than individuals and informal leadership in groups was high-lighted.

The Human Relations approach, and later work humanization programmes, have been criticised for leading to changes in work organisation that are purely 'cosmetic' with no real impact on work systems (Wood, 1985, p.62). The significance of the approach has been seen as solely ideological, undermining conflict potential in the organisations where such methods are pursued. The main question, however, is not whether work humanization and job-redesign schemes deceive workers, but how workers react to them. These reactions will vary with the same management initiative, so that some workers may be able to put up resistance, some may turn such schemes to their advantage and in
certain situations go on the offensive. It seems that the job enrichment and long-term democratic potentials of such programmes should not be undermined even if capital's domination and real conflict lines might be blurred by such schemes. Again, at a different level, it brings the discussion back to the differential effects of such policies on different groups of workers. Although many authors accept de-skilling as representative of the twentieth century, "a polarization of skill - that is, the upgrading of certain jobs as well as the deskilling of others - seems more probable". (Wood, 1985, p.65).

A similar pattern may develop from work humanization schemes, even if the basic aim of such schemes may be to secure managerial control and productivity gains.

Much of the Marxist inspired writings on labour control sees control brought about by management as an intentional necessity of the capitalist mode of production. Such a conspiracy of capitalism is questioned by Littler & Salaman (1982). Rather than taking a deterministic view they suggest that it is the conflict between workers and management, as actors, that form history and that management is merely mediating historical change. Central to Littler and Salaman's argument is that there are many modes of control within capitalist organizations and that the requirements of employee control within organisations will vary as will the forms of control. Furthermore, they argue, only dis-
cussing managerial strategies "overlooks the possibility that control of work and the work force can be achieved for the capitalist away from the organisation itself". (Littler and Salaman, 1982, p.264). The idea, then, is that there are many types of control, within and outside the organization, intentional and unintentional and that these forms of control will vary. The basic starting point for analysis should therefore be the requirements of employee control within the organization and perhaps accumulation is not specific enough for this purpose. Indeed, Littler and Salaman (1982, p.257) write "it could be argued that under Monopoly Capitalism the centrality of control over labour diminishes", since "the extraction of surplus value now occurs via monopoly pricing and taxation."

It is necessary, then, according to the above writers to see control in an historical perspective and not only linked to the place of production. Although the way in which work is organised, for example in a bureaucratic hierarchy, the technology adopted and the way this is used together with management strategy (including manipulation of the employment relationship) are all important factors by which control may be achieved by less direct means, namely by ideological and market factors. The remainder of this chapter will give a discussion of these indirect factors of control and finally, variations in direct means of control will be discussed.
2.11 INDIRECT FACTORS - IDEOLOGY

It has already been indicated how later segmentation theories have incorporated ideological factors in their theoretical model of the labour market. Ideologies are mediated through the family, the school system and other non-work institutions, as well as work institutions, and are seen to aid the reproduction of a secondary labour force through, for example, the persistent idea, even among the disadvantaged labour force itself, of gender or race inferiority in the sphere of formal work. Also, "Work organisation is only partly the outcome of a struggle between capital and labour: subjective and ideological assumptions (for example, about gender) also influence it." (Wood, 1985, p.51).

Therborn writes that "Ideology functions by moulding personality in a process of subjection and qualification. Ideology subjects the amorphous libido of new-born human animals to a specific social order and qualifies them for the differential roles they will play in society."
It does so, Clegg and Dunkerley stress, by providing categories of existence, possibility and ethics:

1. Ideological formation tells individuals what exists, who they are, how the world is, how they are related to that world. In this manner, people are allocated different kinds and amounts of identity,
trust and everyday knowledge. The visibility of modes of life, the actual relationship of performance to reward, the existence, extent and character of exploitation and power are all structured in class-specific models of ideological formation.

2. Ideology tells what is possible, providing varying types and quantities of self-confidence and ambition, and different levels of aspiration.

3. Ideology tells what is right and wrong, good and bad, thereby determining not only conceptions of legitimacy of power, but also work-ethics, notions of leisure, and views of inter-personal relationships, from comradeship to sexual love. (Therborn, 1978, cited in Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980, p.409).

The example, mentioned above, of ideology contributing to the reproduction of secondary labour market conditions for women workers may be used to illustrate the role of non-work institutions in this process.

Littler and Salaman argue that not only may such ideologies serve to legitimise management's right to control, the ideologies themselves serve to control worker action and worker consent of many issues that might otherwise have been questioned in the organisation of work. Littler and Salaman (1982, p.258) suggest several levels where worker consent may come into force through such ideology. First, the extent to which the economic system itself - capitalism -
is regarded as acceptable or inevitable. Second, "ideologies of technocracy, with their attendant insistence on the neutrality and inevitability of modern, scientific, rational technologies and social structures". Third, cultural norms which assert the legitimacy of property rights in the enterprise. On a more detailed and specific level are managerial ideologies which will be discussed below.

Such ideologies, then, serve as forms of control that have already been adopted by many workers before they even enter the place of work or the labour market. Workers thus expect as natural that their labour is seen as a commodity, that they have a subordinate role in the work place, that authority is allocated to certain positions in the hierarchy or, indeed, the need for a hierarchical organisation at all.

Although ideology is often based and reproduced outside the work place, managerial strategies in hiring labour and organising work, often produce and reproduce ideology. Clegg & Dunkerley mention, for instance, how management may use ascriptive characteristics (sex) as a basis for job allocation. If women allocated to secondary jobs show high degrees of turnover or job instability, this is seen as a confirmation of management's expectations towards female labour rather than having anything to do with the job conditions offered. Likewise, a hierarchical, bureau-
cratic organisation may have an inbuilt acceptance of position, as assumed by Max Weber. In the discussion of radical theory above, it was pointed out how the poor serve as a measuring stick of relative success for those above them in the organisational hierarchy, leading to 'level' consciousness rather than 'class' consciousness.

There is one very important factor in work organisations that may question accepted ideology - the trade unions. Unions will, however, give priority to questions regarding their own members. To the extent that secondary labour is not organised in unions, and to the extent that traditional sex roles are accepted by the male dominated unions, little pressure will arise concerning the above issues.

Ideology production and reproduction may be intentional or unintentional on the part of management. There is no reason to believe that management is aware of the strength of ideology in reproducing their own attitudes towards, for instance, male and female labour. Management will often have been subjected to the same ideology reproduction as other people and may not see alternative interpretations to the actions of secondary labour, for instance. On the other hand, management as a group, often helped by public authorities and mass media, may take an active and intentional part in ideology production. When the idea that unions are to blame for the country's economic problems is
accepted in parts of the population, this may be due to management and government propaganda in the media, where alternative interpretations are under-stated. There can be little doubt that ideology reproduction and production in such ways aids the autonomy of management and makes it more difficult for workers to gain support for collective action.

2.12 OTHER INDIRECT FACTORS

Littler and Salaman (1982, p.261) stress that "it is through the employment relationship, and the ways in which this can be manipulated by management, that a great deal of management influence is achieved". However, these writers emphasise the need to go beyond the workplace itself in order to analyse control and that the dictates of capitalist markets and state/capital relationships may be non-control mechanisms leading to control.

Littler and Salaman further stress that the most important dimension of the employment relationship is that of dependency, which is determined by two main factors. First, "the capacity of subordinates to organise"; second, "alternative sources of need-satisfaction". The latter mainly includes alternative employment possibilities which may depend on the size of industry's reserve army of labour, and the two factors interact, since "resistance in any form is extremely difficult where no alternative
employment opportunities exist". The capacity to organise is also influenced by divisions within the working class. "Sheltering mechanisms" by those already established in the work organisations may inhibit those outside organisations or those in the secondary labour force to take part in collective action. Finally, Littler and Salaman point out that there is always some discretion open to workers in the choice of action. They write: "Workers, then, can always bargain with their obedience, effort and conscientiousness. It is this fact which makes the achievement of consent a basic aspect of all strategies of control" (Littler and Salaman, 1982, p.263).

The idea with these brief extracts from Littler and Salaman and the previous section on 'ideology' has been to show that there are numerous factors operating to influence management control other than those directly linked to managerial choice. In the final section here, the possibilities of management to apply direct control will be considered.

2.13 DIRECT STRATEGIES OF CONTROL

Apart from the more subtle and "automatic" forms of control mentioned above, it is obvious that management has the discretion to influence and control within the workplace itself, that is, to apply intentional control, although this is sometimes met with resistance from the workers.
Scientific Management and Human Relations had as a main object to make such resistance difficult, through the introduction of time and motion studies and individual incentives and psychological motivations respectively. It may be argued that in the early days of scientific management, making management a separate function was the first step in the establishment of control over the workforce.

But the means by which management controls workers in the workplace will vary with size and type of organisation, type of production, technological level, the degree of organised resistance (unionisation etc), management attitudes, workers' legal rights and the degree of alternative employment in the labour market.

The way in which people are recruited, selected and trained may be highly significant in creating attitudes of consent or resistance in the labour force. Since these factors usually vary between primary and secondary employment relationships it might be expected that primary workers are easier to control since they have more to lose through resistance. A place in the career ladder within the internal labour market in one firm does not necessarily give the worker equal status in a different firm. On the other hand, primary workers are more likely to be organised and "sheltered" by different means and thus have more power within the organisation to influence decisions.
Secondary workers have little to lose by changing employment but are also easier to replace, given a large reserve army of labour, at least in times of recession or in geographical areas where work is scarce. Yet secondary workers may, due to lower education, age, sex, race and fewer "sheltering" mechanisms, be found to hold more of the pre-market attitudes securing submission and consent to management decisions.

Edwards (1979) points to personal (simple) and impersonal control: the former occurring where there is a clear distinction between worker and management; the latter occurring in organisations where the lines of authority are more blurred through higher degrees of stratification.

Another dichotomy suggested by Edwards is that between technical control and bureaucratic control, both impersonal or 'structural' means of control. Technical control is control derived by machinery and work design to fit this machinery and is the idea behind Scientific Management, while bureaucratic control is achieved through "the social and organisational structure of the firm and is built into job categories, work rules, promotion procedures, discipline, wage scales, definitions or responsibilities and the like." (Edwards, 1979, p.131).

There is a reason to question the term 'technical control' so far as it denotes some kind of technical determinism
over the labour process or the labour market. Although management may make choices regarding technology that lead to increased control possibilities over the labour force, machines alone do not control the work process. It is the way technology is used, which is a result of long-term management and worker negotiation and actions that decide the impact of technology on control. Wood shows how

"potential differences in work organisation within the same technology led social scientists to coin the term 'socio-technical system' to draw attention to the totality of the production system and not simply to the person/machine interface"... "It is at this point that arguments about developments in technology and work organisation intersect. For there is an argument that it is precisely because technology is not inherently deterministic that technologies may be designed with the human in mind." (Wood, 1985, p.56).

So while technology may limit the type of work organisation applied and the nature of tasks, the degree to which control is derived from technology is to some extent a result of managerial choice.

Similar care should be taken towards the term 'bureaucratic control'. As Dunkerley (1985) points out, choice exists in the design of organisational structure and the structure is capable of adaptation to particular circumstances. Furthermore, within an organisation alternative means of control may be available to management arising from the organisation structure. Dunkerley also refers to Gouldner's
"shows clearly that the control strategies arising from organisation structure can vary quite considerably from very tight formalised arrangements (punishment-centred) through to very loose informal settings as in mock bureaucracy. It would appear that the use of these different strategies depends upon the perception of management as to the appropriateness of structure to wider conditions. A further point worth stressing is that a distinctly non-bureaucratic structure may be adopted as being the most efficient organisational form in certain circumstances."

(Dunkerley, 1985, p.81)

Finally, and this is of particular interest here, Dunkerley shows how Edwards' three categories of control - simple, technical and bureaucratic control - may be linked to the labour market segmentation categories such that:

"simple control may be associated with the secondary sector; technical control with subordinate primary; and bureaucratic control with the independent primary sector"

(Dunkerley, 1985, p.91)

Similarly, Friedman (1977) suggests a dichotomy between 'central' and 'peripheral' workers. In line with the above suggestions on primary and secondary worker control, Friedman argues that an employer can divide his/her work force according to the different strategies of control or authority used: "Central workers are granted responsible
autonomy with an outer circle of casual workers or 'floaters' subject to a direct control strategy".

Purcell and Sisson (1983) point to the importance of the size effect in industrial relations. They refer to literature showing that larger establishments are more likely to employ a specialist industrial relations manager. One would expect more conscious and possibly more negotiated means of control to be present in such establishments than the more subtle and individual control mechanisms open to the owner-manager of a small family firm, for instance. The former type of managers are more likely also to be forced to maintain legally enforceable contracts than the latter.

Finally, Purcell and Sisson point to different approaches and styles in the management of industrial relations. They refer to Fox's (1966) two perspectives of management ideology. The 'unitary' view emphasises the sense of togetherness, common goals and objectives between management and workers and the legitimacy of management. Trade unionists are here seen as 'trouble makers'. The 'pluralist' view, on the other hand, involves recognising the enterprise as being composed of a variety of interest groups, but predominantly labour and management, each with different aims and objectives. Trade unions are seen as legitimate representatives of labour and conflicts are resolved if possible through bargaining and compromise.
This short section on managerial strategies is not exhaustive of the literature in this field nor has it intended being. The main aim has been to present some concepts and ideas which may be useful in the discussion of seasonal labour in the following chapters. One of the main lessons here should be that organisational control shows great variations over time, with organisational size, type of production and between different categories of workers and this should be kept in mind when analysing control mechanisms open to or used by management in a given situation. External constraints limit the choices open to management in controlling the work force; but external institutions also ease management control, for instance through worker consent deriving from ideology production and reproduction in family, schools and media. Following Littler and Salaman's suggestion it should be kept in mind that conflicting principles of labour-management may occur and that managerial strategies are in constant change, in a dialectic process between management and workers. For the purposes here it should, however, be added that the manifestation of the class struggle in industrial conflict, as pointed out by Garnsey et al. above, may lead to segmentation as long as only part of the working class is represented by union activity. The result is that some groups may resist management control better than others and that management may vary their methods of control towards different groups of workers.
2.14 CONCLUSION

The aim with this chapter has been to give a general theoretical framework within which to discuss the more special case of seasonal employment. The chapter has given a summary of different theories of the labour market and presented some central points from theories of the work organisation and labour process theory. The latter, however, include vast areas which cannot be fully examined in a thesis such as this.

The most important divide within labour market theory is between orthodox, neoclassical economic theory, including the Human Capital thesis on one hand and the dual labour market thesis, 'radical' theory and later contributions to segmentation theory on the other. The former aims to be of general application, and treats the labour market as a unitary, natural equilibrium where problems like unemployment are seen to be 'imperfections' due to individual choices based on marginal utility. Unemployment, then, is due to individuals making inadequate investments in Human Capital, asking too high prices for their labour or preferring leisure to work.

The other theories have in common that the neoclassical assumptions are questioned on the basis of labour market problems, such as unemployment, poverty or the lack of 'good' jobs, which cannot be explained through neoclassical
theory. They take a structuralist approach, seeing the answers to such problems in the economic, social and institutional structure. The labour market is seen as segmented, where different sectors operate in different ways, with different opportunities, conditions and problems deriving from access to the different sectors. Access tends, moreover, to be based on other groups or individual characteristics than education and training alone, namely the ascriptive traits of sex, race and age.

Radical theory links segmentation explicitly to the capitalist mode of production, and sees stratification and segmentation as an intentional organisation of the labour market by the capitalist class to make wage labour maximally functional for the accumulation of capital. Stratification was seen to be facilitated through the capitalist control of industry as well as wider areas like socialisation and ideology production.

The issue of 'control' has also been discussed throughout the sections on work organisation. The role of management in controlling the labour process through direct and indirect means has been discussed and modified. Management decisions were seen to be constrained by various external and internal factors. It was pointed out that control may be facilitated through ideology reproduction outside the work place, leading to worker consent through acceptance of the economic system, management's 'right' to
manage, and the like. On the other hand, it was stressed that workers cannot be manipulated freely and that the role of collective bargaining and occupational 'shelters' limit management autonomy in decision making. Nevertheless, there are areas where management have the discretion to make influential choices, which makes it important to study managerial strategies.

It has been argued that the labour market and work organisation cannot be studied completely separate. There is no clear borderline between job entry and job allocation and issues regarding the internal work organisation in practice. Both areas are influenced by constraints and factors outside the organisation as well as social, technical and organisational factors within it. Ideology, economic systems, historical and technical development all have implications for and interact with decisions taken by management regarding issues of hiring and organising.

Furthermore, differentiating processes between groups of workers (segmentation, polarization etc.) must be explained through analysis of the interaction of non-work social institutions, the labour market processes and factors internal to the firm alike. Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from this chapter is that, although general trends may be present, an analysis of a specific phenomenon in the labour market, such as seasonal labour,
must make use of a wide range of factors to reach a meaningful set of hypotheses about the relationship between different variables. On the basis of the discussion above, an attempt to develop such hypotheses will be made in the next chapter.
3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Two a general overview of labour market theory and theories of the work organisation has been presented. This forms the basis for the theoretical discussion of the phenomenon of seasonal work in the present chapter. Hypotheses about seasonal work - to be tested through the empirical material in later chapters - will be derived from the following.

The theories presented in Chapter Two, although in many ways connected and conceptually overlapping, point to differing questions about employment. Labour market theory deals mainly with socialisation, recruitment and hierarchical or segmented working conditions, the latter including the varying possibilities of different groups to form or defend their position. Theories of organisation are based more upon the organisations themselves: managerial strategies, social relations in the working sphere and in the work place, including class conflict and control.

One problem with the practical use of these theories is that they are necessarily at a high level of generalisation, leaving the variations between different parts of the labour market and different types of industries and firms
somewhat unarticulated. In focussing on seasonal work it therefore seems necessary to discuss what is specific to the industries employing people on a seasonal basis. Next, the demand side of the labour market will be focussed upon the basis of labour market theory presented in Chapter Two. As well as segmentation, working conditions such as wages, job stability and training will be included here. The third section will deal with managerial strategies, which in many ways links to the preceding section. It will, however, be more specific regarding management motivation, strategy and control. Finally, the fourth section will focus the supply side of the labour market, i.e. the seasonal workers' situation, including orientations towards work. This chapter forms the basis for the discussion of the empirical material in the following chapters.

3.2 SEASONAL EMPLOYERS

In order to discuss meaningfully the expectations and hypotheses that may be reasonable regarding seasonal work, it is necessary to start with a short discussion of seasonal employers and the specific traits linked to the industries in question.

First of all, the notion of seasonal employment will here be linked to the tourist industry in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. While this omits the traditional seasonal
employment in primary industries such as agriculture and horticulture, the definition is still wide and indeed the limits of the concept are difficult to set. While there are clearly many industries that might have seasonal peaks, for instance manufacturing of certain goods such as ice cream or the transport industry taking extra supplies to areas where the population increases in the holiday season, the industries that will be focussed here are those that provide direct services to holiday-makers.

The industries providing services to the summer holiday population include accommodation and catering facilities, the retail trade, the local authority district councils, museums and other leisure facilities, motoring organisations and other service organisations. These are clearly very different industries and organisations and there are great variations in size, location, as well as whether the single firm operates on a full-year basis with a summer peak or whether it only operates in the summer season. While some providers of goods and services to holiday-makers may make do with permanent staff, at the other extreme some firms may hire a complete set of seasonal staff every year. In between are those organisations that supplement their full-year staff with seasonal staff in the tourist season.

Tourist-related industries are all to some extent market-dependent and vulnerable to competition. This competition extends beyond the local area, as trends in the general
population's holiday preferences vary for economic, weather or fashion reasons. Business is thus partly dependent on local authorities' ability to 'sell' the area and is largely out of the single firm's hands. This makes for a wide insecurity in planning from year to year. On the basis of comparative material from several countries, Berger and Priore argue that "strategies to deal with economic uncertainty are at the root of labour market differences on the demand side and that managers make use of existing but culturally diverse divisions in the labour force to draw on segmented labour supplies". (Berger & Priore cited in Garnsey et.al., 1985).

In using seasonal labour, all seasonal employers have specific problems in recruiting and training staff. A large influx of temporary staff may make it difficult to establish routines and possibly necessitate quite strict control mechanisms. Such problems on the part of management are further accentuated by the fact that these service industries are labour rather than capital intensive. The labour factor thus becomes important.

Furthermore, by definition, in labour intensive industries the labour cost becomes very important. These tourist-related industries are the ones experiencing low rates of pay (Brown and Winyard, 1975) and job insecurity. They are also traditionally part of that group of industries providing greater employment for women, often because
personal service is seen as 'women's work', but also for reasons of availability and wage demands, as will be discussed later. With this general picture in mind, attention can now turn to a theoretical discussion of seasonal employment.

3.3 THE LABOUR MARKET AND SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

This section will deal with the issues raised above in the chapter on labour market theory, but focussing on the relevance for analysing seasonal labour relations. Hypotheses and expectations regarding seasonal labour will be derived from this chapter and later tested against the empirical data.

Taking segmentation in the labour market as occurring where "different wages for workers of equal efficiency" (Wilkinson, 1981, p.x, my emphasis) can be found, one would expect segmentation to occur along dimensions like geographical area, industry, firms, occupation and type of employment contract, as well as between workers with different personal characteristics such as age or sex. Montagna (1977, p.71) argues that an increasing number of secondary jobs are in the service-producing sector of the economy and, as such, it would be a reasonable expectation that most seasonal jobs in the service-producing industries are, in fact, in a secondary sector.
Public sector organisations and firms operating with national wage agreements (e.g. District Councils and motoring organisations) will probably pay their workers the same wage in whatever geographical area the work is carried out. But local firms, deciding wages on a more ad hoc basis, would be expected to follow the 'going-rate' in the local labour market. In peripheral regions and certainly in rural areas this going rate may be lower than in central and urban areas because of the lower supply of jobs in the former areas. One may, therefore, speak of segmentation along geographical dimensions, wherein for example, a London hotel probably pays more for equal work than a hotel in, say, Salcombe.

As mentioned above, tourist-related industries experience low rates of pay. Although it may be difficult to compare "efficiency" in different industries the suggestion of segmentation between industries may be viable when the general rate of pay for a day's work is substantially different.

Within the individual firm there is a suggestion that segmentation is likely between management and workers. The argument is that any industry and any employing organisation displays not a single but at least a dual set of conditions and practices of employment (Hakim, 1979). Full time management and other key positions in a firm tend to be held by men of 'middle' age, who expect and usually receive relatively good wages, career possibilities and generally good working
conditions. However, within the single firm, segmentation may be more complex than a simple duality between management and employees. It is possible that a distinction may be drawn between the full-time employees and the casual and seasonal employees within the firm. The former may be more "efficient" but even where equal efficiency occurs, it would be expected that permanent staff are better paid and have more job security, more rational working contracts and more chance of training and promotion than their seasonal colleagues. As Garnsey et.al. write:

"In many firms where most employees enjoy primary status, secondary employment conditions apply to part-time, temporary, seasonal workers, who are not treated as internal employees. But these conditions may also apply to a stable and regular category of jobs with the firm, as in the case of cleaners or canteen workers". (Garnsey et.al., 1985 p.20).

It is tempting to suggest that cleaners, canteen workers and similar categories employed seasonally are secondary in a double sense, both by their short-term contract and by the nature and status of their occupation.

With this brief suggestion of segmentation taking place at different levels, the argument can be elaborated by examining different factors suggesting segmentation, such as wages, and job stability and the internal labour market.
3.4 WAGES

All the theories in Chapter Two - neoclassical, dual labour market, later segmentation and radical economic theory - use wages or earnings as the basic measurement factor distinguishing individuals and categories in the labour market. The basis for wage setting may vary between different occupations. It may be expected, for instance, that in the case of engineers wages are greatly dependent on market factors, the supply and demand of jobs and workers in the labour market at a given time, and that human capital factors may come into force in the competition for jobs and the economic remuneration and other working conditions offered. At the other extreme, doctors' wages are greatly influenced by the power of their professional bodies and the negotiations reached between these professional bodies and the government. As a result, working conditions in this case would scarcely by dependent on the market. Through the professional organisation having influence in the number of doctors to be educated, demand for the profession may be kept high and unemployment low.

In the case of seasonal workers in the tourist industry wages would be expected to be decided on an ad hoc basis, where the market is of great importance. Although no amount of human capital would be expected to be very relevant to the mostly unskilled jobs that are offered
here, the availability of alternative employment in the local labour market and the competition for jobs in the labour market are possibly important factors. Although the neoclassical economic theory's stress on market factors determining wage levels thus seems to have some relevance here, the argument is that this is too simple for analysing seasonal work.

Wages offered to seasonal workers must be expected to be linked to the job rather than the applicant's personal skills. If, for instance, a professional engineer applied for a seasonal job as a chambermaid or a shop assistant, the rewards would not be higher than those offered to an unskilled worker. Gender might come into it, as well as age or personal impression, but this would not be the skill or Human Capital factor stressed by neoclassical theory.

In some sectors and jobs in accommodation, catering and retailing a statutory minimum wage applies. The discussion of this will be returned to later. Here it is argued that market factors are important in wage setting for seasonal workers, but that this is too simple a notion that is in need of further explanation.

Seasonal workers would by definition have lower pay on an aggregate annual basis than other workers since they work only part of the year. The most important point that can
be drawn from this, however, is that seasonal workers must have alternative means of financing their lives, be it by private or public support. This will be discussed below, but here it seems important to point out that this limits the available work force to seasonal employment to groups such as students, women (or men) with a spouse working full-time, persons supported by their parents (for example, young school leavers) and those on public benefits (old age pensioners, mentally or physically handicapped for instance) - in short a marginal work force, belonging to a residual labour power sector (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980, p.545).

These are groups unlikely to be organised in unions or professional bodies and when their work is intermittent it strengthens the argument that their working conditions are probably decided on a personal or ad hoc basis. Mars and Nicod (1980) mention that only 13 per cent of workers in hotels and catering are unionized. It may be expected that this is not the seasonal part of the labour force. Also, to the extent that it is the groups mentioned above that largely make up the seasonal labour force, their bargaining position on the basis of personal traits must be expected to be rather low. Both the employer, competing employers and workers themselves know that these are not high-wage categories. Ideology and legitimisation factors mentioned above thus come into force. Being a diverse non-cohesive group, in many instances socially as well as
occupationally isolated, gives few possibilities of collective worker action. To the extent that there is some conflict between full-time and seasonal workers or that the latter are not accepted by the former as a true part of the organisation, any solidarity here would also be quite unreasonable to expect.

Alternative employment possibilities seem to be an important factor for wage and job conditions that are offered in any market dependent employment situation. A shortage of good jobs is more often the problem rather than the neoclassical contention of a shortage of good quality labour. However, as Doeringer & Piore suggest the underprivileged workers are "stuck" in the secondary sector because of where they live, lack of professional qualifications, an unstable working history and racial discrimination. Local estimates suggest that most seasonal workers in the tourist industry are local labour. Since many of the areas in which they live are small and partly relatively "remote" the availability of jobs would be limited. Only geographical mobility would give these workers a chance of primary sector employment, through stable jobs and training. Those who work seasonally over years may still be stigmatized through a lack of stable work history, even if this instability is caused by the lack of permanent employment possibilities in the local labour market. If permanent jobs are few and competition hard it seems impossible for many workers ever to get the
permanent employment which is often a pre-condition to obtain permanent work in the first place. A vicious circle has thus been established.

It was mentioned above that geographical mobility might be a solution for secondary workers to obtain the necessary training and permanent work relations that over time could give them possibilities of work in a primary sector employment situation. However, the typical secondary sector worker is probably less geographically mobile than primary workers. A family supporter with qualifications in demand in the labour market may, and often does, move the whole family to where suitable work exists and firms will often be willing to cover moving expenses, help with housing and pay a wage that makes such relocation worthwhile. This option is less open to those seasonal workers who obviously depend on the support of other family members for their living, or those who have few financial reserves after years of depending on public benefits and low paid seasonal work. Also, where age, sex and other personal factors are the main reasons why workers are denied entrance to the primary market, a geographical move may not solve the problem. Although the idea that male family supporters must be given the good jobs before other groups in the population may apply more forcefully in a small local labour market, it still holds in most urban areas as well.

To summarise briefly this discussion, then, it is unlikely
in a limited labour market where discrimination applies according to personal traits that additional education or human capital would do much to secure these large groups of seasonal workers permanent primary sector employment or that such human capital would increase the wages for seasonal work. This is, of course, something that will have to be discussed further on the basis of the empirical information that will be presented later, where the educational levels and wages of seasonal labour will be analysed. It is likely that segmentation, meaning different pay being paid for workers of equal efficiency, does apply in the firms employing seasonal workers. Marx's idea that workers are not paid according to what they contribute to production but according to the costs necessary to the social reproduction of their labour power, i.e. a socially acceptable wage, obviously would not apply directly to temporary or seasonal workers, who must depend on others' wages for their social reproduction. One might, therefore, ask whether seasonal work can be considered 'real' work and speculate whether seasonal workers comprise a 'reserve army' of workers, who together with part-time workers and casual labour form a necessary pool to be hired and fired according to the needs of capital. If this is the case the possibility of improving the bargaining position and working conditions for these groups seems remote, especially in times of recession when a large pool of cheap labour would be available to employers.
3.5 JOB STABILITY AND THE INTERNAL LABOUR MARKET

Generally, employment in the secondary labour market, according to dual labour market theory, fails to provide the kind of job security, wages and working conditions required to stabilise the work relationship. Increasing job stability or reducing turnover may in some cases have little value to some groups of employees. Alternatively, the employers in secondary sectors of the economy may not have the economic resources to establish primary sector conditions that may reduce turnover, and, as in the case of seasonal employers, may be interested in keeping the flexibility inherent in unstable jobs.

On the one hand, then, there are workers whose priorities in life, for example decided by their phase in the life cycle, are not interested in stable employment. This may be the case with some working mothers seeking part-time or casual employment to fit in with children's activities, although this would possibly not be the typical seasonal worker as children are on school holiday in the peak summer season. Also, students, seeking summer employment and pensioners are groups for whom one might expect job security to be of less importance. There are, however, certain problems linked to this proposition. One is that intermittent employment over several years may reduce one's chances of obtaining permanent employment later. This is partly due to employers' expectations, partly, according
to dual labour market theory, to a factual disability to learn stable work habits in secondary sector employment. Lateness and absenteeism may not be given the same emphasis in some secondary sector jobs. More important, however, is the lack of training often experienced in secondary sector jobs. Further, there is the problem of low wages for what work is done. Third, it is a question of how far the instability goes. There is clearly a difference between jobs where a person is employed for six months year after year and a short term "contract" where people are hired and fired throughout the season according to the needs of the employer. Such questions are included in the empirical material and will be discussed further later. On the other hand, as will be discussed in the next section on 'managerial strategies', many secondary sector employers will have few incentives in investing in training and applying more primary sector conditions if their employees form an unstable working force. The internal labour market, that is a planned system of promotion, training and career ladders is usually seen to apply to the lower segment of the primary sector of the labour market, i.e. the sector of skilled or partly skilled workers.

Training is often firm-specific and therefore ties the labour force to the firm, making training investments worthwhile for the employer. Such investments are clearly of limited value for seasonal employers, who are interested
in a work-force that can be fixed when they are not needed any more and who must be interested in keeping labour costs at a minimum, the industries not being among the most prosperous.

It is expected, then, that seasonal labour will be given very few training or promotion options, have few chances of being promoted into more permanent primary employment in the firm and that seasonal work, almost by definition, will be unstable with a low level of security. With this contention in mind, discussion now turns to managerial strategies.

3.6 MANAGERIAL STRATEGIES

The last section argued that seasonal work is typical of what is termed secondary sector employment in segmented labour market theory. The suggestion was that both internal firm organisation and factors external to the firm make such use of labour possible. This section will focus on the aims and strategies open to seasonal employers for recruitment and control of labour with reference to the more general discussion in Chapter Two. It is possible that the external and internal constraints to management decision-making referred to in Chapter Two, have less impact on the autonomy of management in small, regional firms than they may have in large national industries. Thus, technology will play a more modest role in labour-intensive,
service-producing firms and it may well be the case that management in small tourist organisations are less controlled by public insight and union activity than what may be normal in other industries. Whether the seasonal employer in question is him/herself the owner of the establishment or just the manager it is expected that in the tourist industry the main goal will be capital accumulation. While in larger bureaucratic firms managers may have alternative goals as well (political, professional), it is assumed that these do not play any significant part in the case of hotels, retail trade, motoring organisations and other tourist-linked establishments, at least not of relevance to the recruitment and organisation of labour. Although museums and interest organisations have cultural aims, the private ones that are included in the sample here must have economic goals to secure their survival. The exception to this aim would be the District Councils supplying services to the holiday population. Although capital accumulation is here not relevant there is still a financial aim of making these services as cheap as possible, even more so with cuts in public budgets during the recession. The suggestion is that firms in the tourist industry would aim to deliver as good a product as possible in order to compete in the market, with the lowest possible cost.

Cost-consciousness in labour recruitment and organisation is generally more important in times of recession or in
industries with low profit margins. Such cost-consciousness seems of great importance where a short season is the main or total period for profit making. In addition an industry like the tourist industry is highly labour intensive rather than capital intensive, so that labour costs become highly important. Jones (1) mentions four means by which management may save on labour costs in times of recession:

1) use of part-time, casual, seasonal labour
2) subcontracting
3) skill differentiation (one worker does more than one job)
4) effort-intensification/supervision.

The first two points above have to do with the recruitment of labour, the second two with organisation and control. With the exception of subcontracting, such means are expected to be found used in seasonal firms and the discussion here turns first to recruitment or hiring of labour as a means of keeping production costs down. The next section takes up the control or organisational factors important to the seasonal employer.

3.7 RECRUITMENT TO SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

One of the main problems for seasonal employers in the tourist industry is the fluctuation and uncertainty in demand for business. Not only is there a short period of
the year in which to secure profits, there is also a labour problem. Businesses that are only open in the summer season must rehire a total set of staff every season and organise and train at least central staff at the beginning of each season. Even though some staff may be rehired every year, these central positions will sometimes be in skilled work and unless the labour market is very tight the skilled workers from last season may have found alternative employment in the meantime.

As indicated in Chapter Two, firms may establish a dual set of employment conditions, primary status being reserved for full-time employees, while temporary, part-time and casual workers provide a buffer enabling firms to reduce their commitments to this group and so to vary labour costs. It has been assumed so far that jobs in the secondary sector do not require much in the way of formal training. It is possible, however, that some general skills and even in some cases specific skills are needed to do these jobs. This begs empirical investigation, but museum guides, life guards, cooks and waiters, for example, all need considerable skills in their particular fields. If their work is not considered skilled, this may be due to 'skill' being a socially constructed term, where the availability of formal training and rewards rather than the actual knowledge needed defines what is skilled. Assuming that this is correct, it may not be that easy for employers to obtain these skills even from among a large
With seasonal fluctuations, it is natural that firms with little or no alternative 'production' in other periods of the year must rely on seasonal recruitment. But with strict cost-margins and sometimes uncertain demand fluctuations, as well as peaks during the day (meals in the case of hotels, rainy mornings or afternoons in the case of museums, sunny periods in the case of beaches) seasonal employers would be expected to try to construct the labour force to be as flexible as possible. It is therefore expected that contracts for seasonal labour would be sought to be as vague as possible and the use of part-time and casual labour to be made within the season. If this is a correct assumption it could be suggested that the present research on seasonal employment may have relevance for wider groups than seasonal workers in the tourist industry of Devon and Cornwall. Recent policy suggestions with regard to reducing unemployment include decreasing hours of work and introducing more part-time work (Williams, 1981). Trends in working hours showed a large increase in the numbers of married women working part-time from 1971 to 1977, so that by 1977 the majority of married females were working part-time (Employment Gazette Nov. 1982). Also, Rubery and Wilkinson (in Wilkinson 1981) find evidence "of increasing or persistent use of casualised labour".

Apart from the flexibility offered to the employer in using
casualised labour the costs are probably very favourable. Not only is the hourly rate for casual, unskilled labour low in itself, but the employer only pays for the hours needed. In addition, as will be discussed in later chapters, holiday pay, sick pay, tax and social security payments only apply when a person works over a certain number of hours and when the employment relationship is official. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the opportunity of by-passing regulations may, in fact, be part of the incentive for some employers to use casual labour. The cost-consciousness of employers combined with the short-term economic interests of seasonal workers suggests that at least some part of this labour will be on a cash-in-hand basis whereby employers' costs are minimised. Finally, training costs would be expected to be minimal in the case of seasonal workers, especially where part-time or casual 'contracts' are the norm. The incentive to the employer to invest in the training of employees is low where labour is only to be used for short and intermittent periods.

So, from which categories of labour would management be expected to recruit seasonal labour? As indicated above, some key positions may be recruited from primary sector, skilled labour pools, where this is possible on a seasonal-only basis. Some full-year establishments would already have key positions filled with permanent labour. But the bulk of the seasonal labour force would probably be
recruited from the secondary labour market sector and would display the characteristics of that sector. As mentioned in Chapter Two, managers may make use of ascriptive characteristics such as sex and age to identify such workers. Alternatively, these may be the only individuals who apply for seasonal work because other job opportunities are not, or are not perceived as being, available.

Drawing upon Marx's notion of an 'industrial reserve army of labour' Braverman distinguishes three sectors:

"A floating reserve is constituted from workers repelled from industry by movements of capital and technology, suffering periods of unemployment before being 'attracted' back into jobs often at a lower rung. Of the other two, latent refers to sections 'set free' by major changes in non-industrial sectors, the classic example being agriculture in Marx's time; whereas the stagnant sector is drawn from the economically disadvantaged, who find it difficult to find employment other than in a casual, irregular and marginal way."

(in Thompson, 1983, p.192)

The type of people being recruited and the way in which they are recruited to seasonal employment begs empirical investigation. But clearly they must be people able and available for work, and in quite large numbers at that, and people who are able and willing to take short-term, relatively low paid and insecure work. As indicated before, these may be groups like students, those in receipt of
varying types of pensions or social security, unemployed persons actively looking for permanent work and those (especially women) supported by a spouse. As suggested above, it may also be required that applicants hold some type of general or specific skill.

It is a reasonable contention that the availability of cheap and flexible labour is a condition for some organisations with seasonal peaks or for seasonal-only firms to be able to provide their services. Since it has been indicated that large numbers of seasonal workers are needed, it is an interesting question how people are recruited to such jobs. Goodman (1970) suggests that for manual workers the labour market has strong local boundaries, likely to be set by the systems of communication linking employer and worker.

"For manual workers this system is unlikely to extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood, such as the area covered by local newspapers, employment agencies and the geographical range within which friends and acquaintances work." (Goodman, 1970, p.181)

It has been suggested, however, that seasonal labour is recruited from other areas of the U.K. This is an interesting question in view of the assumptions above that secondary workers are unlikely to be geographically mobile. The channels through which employers seek seasonal labour should give a good indication of whether such mobility
exists and whether it is encouraged by employers' or workers' initiatives. Goodman refers to American evidence that "blue collar workers acquire their jobs largely by informal means, gaining information from and being referred by friends working for alternative employers." (Goodman, op.cit.)

The question of geographical mobility and local labour market boundaries for different categories of labour is a pertinent one and will be discussed further on the basis of both employer and seasonal interviews in due course.

3.5 "CONTROL" IN SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

The need for control of the labour force will vary with different organisations at different times but it will be assumed that some sort of control factors are always present, even though this will be more or less subtle and sometimes as indicated earlier (Littler and Salaman, 1982), factors external to the firm may be more important than the internal ones.

In the case of seasonal work it has been suggested that profitability is dependent on a maximum utilization of the labour force and that this labour force will probably receive little training. In addition, it may be expected that the loyalty to the firm of seasonal or casual labour is limited. Discipline, reliability and loyalty are worker
attributes that "are hardly less important in traditional firms, and may in fact be more important to employers in firms providing secondary employment conditions, who cannot provide strict worker control systems or tolerate misfits or troublemakers." (Garnsey et al., 1985, p. 21). To the extent that such worker attributes are not present, it seems a reasonable expectation that some form of direct control in the organisation is necessary to the employer.

A direct, personal form of control in seasonal employment is expected for several reasons. First of all, low or non-existent union activity in the firm, combined with few other "sheltering mechanisms" on the part of the labour force, points to management holding a 'unitary' view of industrial relations rather than a 'pluralist' view. A 'unitary' view, emphasising the sense of togetherness, common goals and objectives between management and workers and the legitimacy of management points to sympathies and antipathies playing a larger role than in the case of larger, bureaucratic organisations. Technical control would also play a small part in seasonal work, since the latter is rarely based on machinery. The time-and-motion studies characteristic of Scientific anagement therefore seem largely irrelevant to seasonal employment in the tourist industry. Although the ideas behind Scientific Management or Human Relations schools may be present in the minds of employers, it is not likely that
managers of seasonal establishments will take the time to organise the labour process according to such principles when labour relations are of such short duration. The result would be in accordance with Edwards' suggestion above that simple control was associated with the secondary sector, while technical and bureaucratic control was expected in the primary sectors.

In firms where the seasonal labour force is large, training and skills are low and the motivation of workers a short-term monetary one, the main form of control would be expected to be one of direct supervision. In small firms this supervision will probably be carried out by the manager or owner, in larger firms one might find that key roles are filled with skilled primary sector workers who supervise the seasonal, secondary sector workers. This supervision will partly take the form of a minimum amount of training, partly serve as a control against activities such as petty theft which Doeringer and Piore (1971) have indicated as being one of many characteristics of the secondary worker. In hotels, for example, Mars and Nicod (1973) have pointed out that 'pilferage' is a widespread phenomenon. This begs empirical investigation and later empirical chapters will follow up this discussion on the basis of the collected material.

Control may partly be built into the labour contract of seasonal labour in that low job security gives the employer
the option of firing workers that fail to do a satisfactory job, or oppose the working conditions, for example fail to agree to flexible hours.

The external control elements mentioned above were suggested to be of two main kinds, linked to market factors and ideology respectively. The market factors indicate the employees' dependency on the labour relationship and their importance is decided by the employees' capacity to organise and alternative sources of need-satisfaction. The first has been previously discussed and found largely irrelevant in the case of seasonal labour. The most important factor of need-satisfaction was seen to be alternative employment possibilities, which vary with both the extent of job vacancies and the market position of individual workers. To the extent that such alternative employment is hard to obtain, this serves as an important factor in worker consent to managerial decisions.

"Vulnerable groups in the labour market differ in the reasons for their limited bargaining capacity, but they share an inability to exert control over the type of labour they supply". (Garnsey et.al. 1985, p.24). In small communities where seasonal employment has been a widespread phenomenon over years, where unions have little power and few alternative positions are offered, one may expect the cultural norm to favour such employment relationships
rather than question them. If so, there might be a built-in consent to the working conditions and the subordinate role of the worker in the community. It is a contention here that working class consciousness and ideology, pointing to a basic conflict of interests between management and workers, is low where a union tradition is lacking and perhaps more so in the case of seasonal workers who will often hold subordinate roles in other institutions (married women, the very young or people on social security benefits for example). If this is so, it would ease management's opportunity for direct personal control through supervision and to some extent legitimate using labour as a commodity to be hired and fired according to company needs.

So far in this chapter the emphasis has been upon the employment relationship from the employers' point of view. The next section deals with the expectations that might apply to the supply side of the labour relationship, where the opportunities and limitations of seasonal workers will be discussed, as well as the importance of alternatives for financial and other needs and orientations to work.

3.9 SEASONAL WORKERS - OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS

To identify the type of person who may work on a seasonal basis poses several problems. First of all, as mentioned before, seasonal workers are not registered in official
statistics in the way other categories of workers are. As discussed in detail in Chapter Four below, official statistics are notoriously unreliable in regard to seasonal employment. This is probably partly due to the fact that at least some of this work is strictly between employer and employee, kept hidden from tax authorities and partly that the intermittent and casual character of such employment is not regarded as 'proper' work.

It has, however, been pointed out above that certain assumptions may be made about the groups in question. Due to the low wages expected for such work, the casual character of at least part of seasonal work and particularly the fact that it is seasonal, means that candidates for such work must either be people who hold other jobs in the winter, persons who keep changing jobs and where typical 'seasonal' work just happens to be what is available in the summer or persons that depend on their family, private means or public sources for financing their living and just treat seasonal work as an additional financial source. Such alternative means of income are, it is argued, a condition for the existence of casual labour.

Work should not, however, necessarily be equated with paid employment in the formal economy. It has been argued by various feminist groups, for instance, that work in the home, child-rearing or caring for elderly family members
is 'work' and as such should be paid and at least recognised as work. Other types of 'hidden' work have later been debated: work in the black economy, unregistered community work and outwork (Wilkinson and Rubery, 1981) have been given renewed interest. Pahl and Gershuny, for instance, speak of the formal economy, the underground economy and the household economy (Pahl and Gershuny, 1979) suggesting that the latter two may be increasing in importance with higher unemployment and changing attitudes in the population towards (formal) work and leisure.

Writers studying the informal and household economies question the assumption that an expanding service sector can compensate for the loss of employment in declining manufacturing industry. Gershuny (1977) shows how services provided by the market or public authorities are increasingly being provided by the household. Examples of this are the use of cinemas replaced by televisions and public transport replaced by cars. Thus, it is argued, people widely substitute the purchase of goods that help them provide their own services for the purchase of final services (Gershuny, 1978). This may result in a re-evaluation of time spent in the formal and informal economies respectively or a change of attitude to employing someone to provide services on a formal basis if the services are available cheaper through informal channels.

Pahl (1980) points out that the uneven access to employment
is also relevant to the informal economy. Time, skills as well as whom you know, that is one's position in locality-based social networks, are all important factors to obtain access to work in the informal economy. Interestingly, Pahl refers a study by Ferman et al. showing that the informal or irregular economy was widespread throughout all social levels, rejecting the hypotheses that this kind of work was likely to be more attractive to the unemployed (Pahl, 1980). Since time is one thing that is available to the unemployed, this may be explained by lack of skills or social networks. Factors which may be equally important in obtaining work in the formal economy. On this basis, it may be speculated whether access to the informal economy is easiest for those who also hold jobs in the formal economy, in which case the availability of such work would increase the polarization in opportunities between the employable and the unemployable.

Since holiday resorts are often local communities with little alternative industry or jobs, much 'free' time would be available to the seasonal worker who fails to find winter employment. There is naturally an economic incentive to find some sort of work outside 'the season' and the idea of the informal and household 'economies' seems reasonable in small communities with close social networks. The condition for finding informal or irregular work in these communities would be, first of all, that work in the
formal economy is available for some, so that someone is capable of paying for such services as may be rendered in the informal sector. Without taxes and other indirect labour costs, this informal work would be cheaper than using official labour. Also, in a small community it may be expected that such services are paid through mutual services or goods as well as cash.

Another condition for finding informal work would be that the seasonal worker has some skills that are worth selling. The skills of electricians, plumbers, builders or car mechanics may be typical of those sought in the informal economy. It was pointed out in Chapter Two above, however, that disadvantaged workers are often confined to the secondary market by residence, inadequate skills, poor work histories and discrimination. To the extent that seasonal workers lack adequate skills in the formal economy, it may be that the informal economy does not provide opportunities for work either. It demands empirical investigation whether seasonal workers take part in the informal economy and whether their partaking in the household economy is any different because of the seasonal character of their work. This will be discussed further in Chapter Eight on the basis of the interviews with seasonal workers.

3.10 SEASONAL WORKERS - ORIENTATIONS TO WORK

The importance of work in people's lives and the orient-
ations they hold towards work is a large area which cannot be covered fully here. It seems relevant, however, to raise the subject in connection with seasonal workers. Of particular interest here is whether working seasonally is a result of choice or constraints in the labour market and to the extent that this is a chosen way of life, to examine why.

The constraints to obtaining permanent primary sector working conditions have been examined above. It has been argued that the way work and working conditions are divided between individuals and groups in society is a result of many interacting factors outside individuals' control. Organisational needs for different types of labour, holding differing skills, being more or less flexible or controllable varies with the technical and economic situation of the organisation as well as management style and the social relationship between management and different groups of workers. The success of some workers in obtaining primary job conditions and high job security may, in fact, increase segmentation between and within industries, firms and occupations. It has been pointed out that the value that is placed on different types of skills is partly a result of 'sheltering' processes of some groups of workers and partly to such values being socially constructed through institutions external to the work place. It is argued, then, that there is no clear relationship between skill and productivity on one hand and rewards in the
labour market on the other. Ideology has been mentioned as a factor both providing acceptance for the status quo regarding the division of jobs, working conditions and methods of control and providing acceptance towards management discrimination and favouritism of different groups of potential workers based on ascriptive traits like age, sex and race.

Apart from such factors, providing constraints on the opportunities open to different groups of labour, the concept of 'choice' is also relevant here. For within the above mentioned constraints some choices are made. It is of interest here to examine the factors influencing such choices.

Choices regarding work may be more or less based on knowledge of opportunities and constraints in the labour market. But they are also dependent on orientations to work and perceptions of one's own place in the working sphere. The latter may or may not be realistic perceptions. The orientations groups and individuals hold towards work, such as aspirations, subordination and commitment are dependent both on previous work-history and attitudes formed in their non-work surroundings. Such relations between work, ideology and consciousness may well give rise to self-fulfilling prophecies. Expectations of the value of one's work in the labour market may limit the kinds of jobs that are applied for, the terms asked for and the
ability to take part in forming one's career options. In the extreme case, the 'discouraged worker', "those persons who want work but are not looking for a job because of a belief that their search would be in vain" (Flaim, 1973) results.

Lockwood (1966) points to three different types of workers, inferring

"that the work and community relationships by which they are differentiated from one another may also generate very different forms of social consciousness". The three types are ...  

"first, the traditional worker of the 'proletarian' variety whose image of society will take the form of a power model; secondly, the other variety of traditional worker, the 'deferential', whose perception of social inequality will be one of status hierarchy; and, thirdly, the 'privatised' worker, whose social consciousness will most nearly approximate what may be called a 'pecuniary' model of society." (Lockwood, 1966, p.250)

To the extent that seasonal workers have had only intermittent relations with formal work or belong to groups which the community norms lead to few expectations regarding such work, it may be reasonable to expect that their work orientations approximate the third category above. This implies that they work for the short-term monetary benefits in order to improve their private lives and that "work and the workplace are not central life interests" (Lockwood, 1966, p.256). Work is thus seen as a means to an end or
even as a necessary evil. Earning some extra money to add to the family income, student grants or pensions could be a realistic incentive to take on seasonal work, even if wages are relatively low.

An examination of previous work history in the sample of seasonal workers may show that alternative attitudes have been present through previous jobs, in which case it is interesting to examine whether conflicts arise between previous perceptions and present work situation and how such a conflict is handled.

In the case of those seasonal workers who are unemployed in the winter season, a discussion of orientations to work must include not only the orientations they hold towards working, but also the orientations they hold towards being unemployed. Some indication of this will be derived from their answers to whether they choose to work on a seasonal basis. This will often be a hypothetical question since full-year employment may not be available and the respondents may have rationalised their attitudes to fit this situation. Whether seasonal workers claim to be looking for permanent work and the reasons for this will, however, give some indication of these matters.

Much literature on unemployment (for example, Marsden and Duff, 1975) stress the need for work per se and the loss of identity experienced by unemployed people. Whether
this is the case for seasonal workers depends, it is hypothesised, on what they perceive as their main role and the prior work experience they have, as well as community expectations.

There is some disagreement in the literature as to the importance of different factors in shaping attitudes to work. While Thompson (1983), in line with Lockwood's third category above, refers to literature showing how people's experience of work is primarily shaped from factors external to the work situation, McNally (1979) argues that attitudes to work should be explained by the jobs themselves and the labour market. In an analysis of temporary office work she shows how the limited opportunities for these workers was the main factor determining low aspirations and the seeking of satisfaction outside the work place. Gallie argues that "attitudes towards and integration into work depends on the specific nature of aspirations and wider conceptions of society current in the working class sub-cultures of the specific society". (Gallie, 1978, cited in Thompson, 1983, p.30). It seems that these variations in views of what are the most important factors shaping attitudes to work confirms Lockwood's notion of variation between different groups of workers. Whether his typology is accepted or not seems less important than the point that there are differences. For instance, it is less stigmatising for some groups to be out of work than others. Traditionally, it has been accepted that
married women, pensioners and the young do not work and to the extent that such groups see their domestic or other institutional positions as their primary roles, satisfaction deriving from the work sphere might be expected to be given less weight by such groups.

If, as was indicated on the basis of Lockwood's typology, seasonal workers hold an instrumental view of work, the loss of income would probably be the main problem of being unemployed in the winter. There may, however, be groups of seasonal workers who hold an alternative attitude to work. Also, whatever attitude people claim to have, these cannot be seen independently of the quality and quantity of offers in the labour market. In other words, given different material circumstances, attitudes may change. This should be borne in mind when discussing such attitudes on the basis of the empirical data in Chapter Eight.

3.11 CONCLUSION

After giving a broad review of theories of the labour market and work organisations in Chapter Two, the present chapter has had a narrower focus in order to provide some useful hypotheses about the special case of seasonal employment. Throughout this chapter a structural point of view has been taken. Thus, structural and institutional factors outside and within the place of work have been argued to place constraints on the actions open to both seasonal
employers and seasonal workers.

While education and training are clearly important factors in allocating people to jobs, as argued by human capital theory, it has been argued here that this is too simple an explanation for the phenomenon of inequality in obtaining jobs and good working conditions. For instance, race, age and sex have been suggested as indicators to management of worker productivity, independent of training. It has been the supposition here that labour markets are segmented and that it may be functional for the capitalist system as well as management in capitalist firms to support such a system of segmentation. For seasonal employers, this secures the opportunity of drawing on cheap and flexible labour for the summer season. It would also ease management control as long as alternative jobs are not available and collective action among such workers is kept at a minimum. The use of primary and secondary workers within a firm may further provide an opportunity that the former group may be used to control the latter through supervision.

It has further been suggested that the groups of workers most likely to take on seasonal work are those with alternative means of financial support, and people who do not hold high expectations of their relative value in the labour market, since poor working conditions probably apply. However, it is worth examining the orientations and attitudes that seasonal workers hold towards working as well as being
out of work, since it is possible that some would choose seasonal work even where permanent work may be available. Working in the informal economy may be an option for these groups if they hold skills worth offering and have social relations in the community that facilitate finding such work.

The question of orientations to work is a complicated one because choice may be illusory where good jobs are scarce. If an instrumental attitude to work is found, it does not mean that work orientations would be the same if alternative employment is found in the future. A whole set of past and present experiences form work attitudes, such as previous work experience, community expectations towards providing jobs for different worker categories and individual socialisation through family, education and media. Choice may, therefore, not only be constrained by external opportunity structures, but also through internalised expectations and norms providing consent towards the present work position and work conditions of individuals and groups.

It remains to be seen whether the pattern that has been sketched here corresponds with the empirical data collected and what relative importance the different factors discussed may have. Chapters Five to Eight below will deal with these questions in detail. First, the methodological approach of this study will be presented in the following chapter.
Note

1) B. Jones, University of Bath - oral presentation at the BSA Conference, 1984.
CHAPTER FOUR
METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Seasonal employment in the tourist industry is a crucial part of overall employment in Devon and Cornwall. Even so, only rough estimates of the numbers of workers involved exist and research into the implications of such employment for those concerned has been largely ignored. The Manpower Services Commission, for instance, does not register this type of employment and detailed information is scarce. For this reason, the research was initially based on exploration rather than on hypothesis testing.

The first stage was a study of available statistical and other written sources in order to identify the industries that were affected by seasonal employment, numbers of workers affected compared with the "ordinary" labour market and unemployment figures through the year, personal and social characteristics of the "typical" seasonal worker and, finally, conditions and protection of this category of employee in relation to the public system. It soon became apparent from the study of secondary sources that not only was information scarce regarding the identification of seasonal employers and employees but that seasonal employment was also found in a very wide range of organisations and businesses. It includes areas like direct services to tourists such as hotels, catering, hairdressing,
the retail trade, motoring organisations and museums as well as the more indirect employment deriving from an increased population in the summer months (1). The latter includes, for instance, manufacturing and transport. Also, both private and public organisations are producers of goods and services on a seasonal basis in connection with tourism. Secondary sources also showed geographical variations in seasonal employment (2). Small rural centres were more typical for seasonal employment than the larger cities.

Given the lack of empirical overview and an adequate theoretical framework, the research into seasonal employers and employees was designed on the basis of moderately intensive studies of some typical "cases" rather than a widespread but more superficial study of a large number of organisations.

As the purpose of the study was not only to describe working conditions in seasonal jobs and allocation of different groups to such jobs, but also to test hypotheses from labour market theory regarding segmentation and segregation in the labour market, opportunity structure as well as individual attitudes and behaviour were focussed upon.

4.2 LEVELS OF INFORMATION AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

In collecting information about seasonal employment three
levels of data were relevant in order to move beyond a simply descriptive account. These three levels all need investigation and should be seen as inter-related. First, a description of the general employment and unemployment situation and the extent and distribution of seasonal employment in the local labour market is important in itself, but may also provide useful background data for understanding individual constraints and opportunities for choice when acting in this labour market. Second, managerial philosophy and strategies in the labour market and in organising the internal labour force. For instance, why choices are made between permanent and temporary staff and how these are dependent on the supply of different categories of labour in the market. This clearly has consequences for the type of employment opportunities open to the local job applicant. Third, the social impact of seasonal employment on those workers concerned depends on the two previous levels, for instance alternative job opportunities or other public sources of income and managerial practise in addition to their personal family situation, educational background, attitudes and choices.

These three levels of information, all interlinked, correspond with the three sources of data collected for the study. First, information was gathered regarding employment in general and seasonal employment in particular in Devon and Cornwall, using secondary statistics.
Included at this level was gathering of information about conditions and rights in the seasonal employment relationship, such as pay and unemployment benefits. Second, a series of semi-structured personal interviews was carried out with nine employers (or their representatives such as personnel managers) in nine organisations employing seasonal labour. Some of the organisations were full-year establishments experiencing seasonal peaks, while others were open only in the summer season with all employees on a temporary basis. Third, in-depth personal interviews were undertaken with forty-six seasonal employees in the same nine organisations. The guiding principle for selection was diversity in age, type of job, gender and other social indicators in order to obtain as "wide" a picture as possible of the reasons for and consequences of being a seasonal rather than a permanent worker.

4.3 COLLECTION OF BACKGROUND DATA

The gathering of background data was the first stage of the research and such data were seen to be of interest in themselves for an analysis of seasonal employment as well as useful for the design and interpretation of the interview material later.

Two types of background data were included here. First, information regarding various aspects of employment, such as the relative importance of seasonal employment in the
tourist industry. This comprised mostly numerical descriptive statistics. Second, laws and regulations relevant to seasonally and temporarily employed persons. It seemed reasonable to put these two together here, because both categories are "background data" to the main research and both give information on opportunities and limitations that exist outside the organisations and the actors' choices.

4.4 OFFICIAL STATISTICS

The most useful source for employment data in general was the 1981 Census, especially the County reports. Census material gives data on the population's distribution within categories such as "in employment" - part time or full time - and "out of employment" (unemployed). These statistics are further divided, providing figures for occupational group, districts, gender and marital status. The Census is useful in that it gives fairly reliable (3) and up-to-date data on the overall employment situation in the Counties, data that are comparable both over time and with national averages. However, the employment information given in the Census is of little use for gathering data on seasonal employment. Temporary employment is not specified as a separate category and the survey is carried out at one time of the year when comparison throughout the year is rendered impossible. Such comparisons could have been a useful indicator of seasonal variations
in employment. Since the data are collected at the end of April, which is the very beginning of the tourist season, most seasonal workers may not even be included in the total employment figures. Those seasonal workers not receiving unemployment benefit, would be classified as "economically inactive" in the Census.

The Manpower Services Commission would seem a natural source of information about seasonal employment. However, data from here are not gathered and estimates of the phenomenon were unavailable. Tables giving the seasonal variation in unemployment, based on Department of Employment figures are included in Appendix 2. As will be discussed in greater detail below, though, many seasonal workers do not register as unemployed in the winter and will not be included in these figures. The seasonal differences in unemployment should therefore in reality be greater than these figures indicate.

The most important sources of information about seasonal employment used in this study (4) were the County Structure Plans and special publically initiated reports, such as "The Holiday Industry", "Economic Survey of the Tourist Industry in the South West" (SWEPC), The Torbay Tourism Study and other local studies. Although these studies do focus on seasonal employment, their main shortcomings is that they can only provide numerical estimates and that limitations of geographical or industrial type are made throughout.
4.5 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES WITH USING OFFICIAL STATISTICS

The main advantage of using official statistics in this study is to give a broad basis of knowledge about the employment situation in Devon and Cornwall in general and with regard to seasonal employment in particular as a reference for the further study of seasonal employment in the tourist industry in the two counties. There are not resources available to administer such numerical studies within the limits of this project.

The sources of available material, however, all have certain limitations as to how useful they are for this purpose. First of all, official statistics are socially constructed (5) and thus include only data that are considered important in the context they are collected. It may be argued that seasonal employment is not regarded by the Government to be of any special interest when the Census or the internal statistics of the Manpower Services Commission exclude such data. As mentioned above, categories like temporary or casual labour equally go unrecorded in these sources. A second problem which is encountered in dealing with most official statistics is that the very wide categories used sometimes makes it difficult to judge what the category really contains. A good example of this is given in an Open University text:
"one of the occupations in which women comprised over 70 per cent of the labour force ... is called 'catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services'. This is a very general category, which includes a wide variety of rather different occupations". (Women and Employment, p. 37)

It may be added that it also includes a wide variety of working time arrangements.

The more specific seasonal data referred to here have similar limitations, although some of these statistics are gathered for the purpose of studying seasonal employment. The main problem with the SWEPC study (6) was that attention was limited to seasonal employment in accommodation, while much seasonal employment is generated in other areas as well. Kilvington et al. (1982) comment on this aspect thus:

"This limitation was imposed because estimating employment levels in the tourist industry tends to be extremely difficult owing to its very diverse nature and the fact that significant numbers are employed part-time and seasonally. Additional complications are caused by the numbers of self-employed and family workers. Against this background it is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of people involved at any one time, let alone through the year." (Kilvington et al., 1983 paragraph 25.2).

It would still seem surprising that 'estimates' are the
best available material here. However, it may be kept in mind that in many cases neither employer nor employee have any interest in registering the employment relationship. This is an important point which will be returned to again in other contexts.

Another problem mentioned by the same authors is that the SWEPC study, on which much of the County assessments are based, relies on data collected in 1973. And:

"Although this major survey employed rigorous research techniques, the information contained refers to the industry as it was in 1973 and there are indications that there have been important subsequent, but unassessed changes concerning data on which there is heavy reliance." (Kilvington, paragraph 31.7)

The special surveys carried out in Torbay (1982)(7) and later in other areas of Devon, are of course more recent and include other businesses serving the tourist industry in addition to accommodation. However, only certain geographical areas were studied and the response rate to the postal questionnaire used was about 25 per cent, so again there is a problem of reliability. A bias might be inherent in the material because this 25 per cent may be consistently different from the rest of the firms in other respects than that they answered the questionnaire.

Finally, the _ad hoc_ nature of all the studies and the
differences in methodological approach, geographical areas and businesses studied make comparisons over time extremely difficult. The conclusion must be that a very critical approach is needed in interpreting data from these sources. However, as the main theme of this research is the social impact of seasonal employment it seems the data are sufficiently valid and reliable to make suggestions regarding the numerical importance of this type of employment, the type of businesses that employ workers on a seasonal basis and also something about the social characteristics of the typical seasonal worker.

4.6 LAWS AND STATUTORY POLICIES

A large number of laws and statutory policies affect working conditions for employees. An examination of how these laws and practices affect seasonal workers in the short- as well as the long-term is an important part of this thesis, both because the full-time worker has probably been the norm when regulations and policies were established and because seasonal and other temporary and casual employment arrangements will not be registered and therefore evade public control.

Examples of laws relevant to the seasonal worker are the Employment Protection Act and the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts. Rather than examine these laws in detail, they will be kept in mind where relevant. The main
discussion of laws and statutory policies in Chapter Five will focus on wage rates, fringe benefits, sick-pay schemes, rules and practices for unemployment benefit and non-monetary conditions of employment like hours of work, holidays and terms of notice.

With the exception of unemployment benefit, these working conditions are covered by the Equal Pay Act, which is also of relevance in making comparisons between men and women. Wage rates will be discussed on the basis of publications from the Low Pay Unit and unemployment benefit rights will be examined through publications from the Department of Employment. The material presented in Chapter Five will later be compared with the responses of the sample of seasonal workers regarding these issues.

4.7 SEMI-STRUCTURED PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH SEASONAL EMPLOYERS

As was the case with the background data, information about the seasonal employers is of dual interest to the topic in question. Seasonal employment cannot be described and discussed without some knowledge of the type of business concerned, the extent of and reasons for employing on a seasonal basis and personnel policy and behaviour. Such data also give a background on which better to interpret and understand the data deriving from the interviews with seasonal workers in the final stage of the study.
The focus here, then, was on examining personnel policies and attitudes to different categories of workers in organisations where seasonal staff are taken on for the summer season. Why seasonal staff are used, benefits and disadvantages for the firm, hiring and firing policy, training and actual working conditions were aspects questioned in this part of the study. Where possible, comparisons were sought between full-time permanent and temporary staff.

The interviews with the employers, personnel managers or their equivalent were in the form of semi-structured personal interviews. A guide was used by the interviewer to assure that all relevant topics were mentioned in the interviews, although the questions were not actually formulated beforehand. This has the advantage that the person being interviewed may give information specific to his or her experience which the interviewer would not have asked for, but which can be used as the sample is small. With a large sample, the problems of analysis become too great unless a more structured and generalised questionnaire is used.

The sample of employers, nine in all, consists of two District Councils, two hotels, two motoring organisations, two "museums" (8) and a shop representing a large shopping chain. In fact, data are reported from eight of the nine organisations since the seasonal employment in the retail outlet peaked at the Christmas period, rather than during
summer period. Originally, the intention was to have a far larger sample than nine, but this was impossible without some financial funding, as more than one interviewer would be necessary to finalise the interviews during the summer season. If a larger sample had been possible, a stratified, representative sample of organisations employing people on a seasonal basis in Devon and Cornwall, by geographical districts, size and type of organisation and labour force characteristics would have been chosen. An additional problem would then have been - and is - that there is no accurate list or known universe of seasonal employers. The organisations taking part were chosen on the basis of a list estimating numbers of seasonal employees in certain branches of industry (9). It was thereby hoped to ensure covering the main types of seasonal employers.

On the basis of this list and the numerical importance - in employment numbers - of the various branches sixteen organisations were contacted, first by letter and then followed up by telephone where no reply was given. Seven of these (44 per cent) rejected, with reasons ranging from 'not willing to spend time on this' to 'fatal accident in management'. The most ordinary and interesting reason, and one given by most of the Plymouth shops, was that they were busy all year round and seasonal peaks were covered by a group of casual staff called in when needed. In Plymouth, Christmas seemed to be more of a peak than the summer season. The interviews with the employers were carried out
in June. The responses will be discussed in Chapter Six.

4.8 THE ORAL INTERVIEW - ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Prior to discussing the interviews with seasonal workers the advantages and disadvantages of interviews demand some attention. Galtung (1967, p.110) divides the main forms of data-collection into three categories according to the type of responses received from the informant. These three categories and the corresponding forms of data-collection are non-verbal acts (observation, experimental techniques), oral, verbal acts (conversations, pre-coded and open-ended interviews) and written, verbal acts (letters, articles, biographies, open-ended and structured questionnaires). Depending on what available material already exists about the problem in question, including both theory and data, the type of hypotheses held and the resources available to the researcher the choice between an exploratory approach for insight and interpretation or an approach seeking more numerical verification of certain hypotheses may be given. On the other hand, choice of method may often be made without due consideration. It is therefore important to be aware of one's reasons for such choice.

a) Questioning or Observation

First of all data from questioning and observation focus
on different sets of social system properties:

"Data from observation reflect the network of actions and reactions among group members - the objective properties of the system. Data from questioning reflect the subjective network of orientations and interpersonal relationships - the underlying ideas and feelings of the members, their dispositions to act toward the others and to define and evaluate these others in various ways." (Riley, 1963, p.184)

The choice between these two methods is thus dependent on whether people's actions or orientations are given the main emphasis by the researcher when choosing the object of study, although "orientations may be indirectly reflected in data from observation, and interactions indirectly reflected in data from questioning." (Riley, 1963, p.185).

Observation has the advantages, apart from studying actual actions - not only what the participants say they do - that it can uncover unintentional patterns of actions and structures of roles. If such unintentional patterns exist, they are less likely to be expressed in an interview. The problems, however, with observation are that "strict and methodological observation seems suitable only for fairly small groups..." (Riley, p.186) and that only action taking part in the present can be observed. Also, if participant observation is used, a degree of control-effect and a biased-viewpoint effect are possible.

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Questioning, on the other hand, has the advantage that more cases can be studied, given time-limits, and that far more questions or topics, regarding past, present and future actions and orientations may be raised. It may be argued that this method may uncover what people think, or at least what they think they think and which would not be expressed in observable social situations. Convictions, ideologies etc. probably only appear clearly through verbal responses. Verbal techniques may also be more reliable than observations since "The specificity of verbal categories, and particularly the possibility of varying the degree of specificity up and down as one wants, contribute to reliability". (Galtung, 1967, p.114).

However, a major problem with questioning is that it is probably easier for a respondent to lie or at least twist the truth than it is when actions are observed. This problem demands great care by the interviewer during interviews and in interpreting the answers.

b) Oral or written responses

The differences between oral and written responses usually correspond to the categories of personal interviews or questionnaires. Where resources are ample, a combination of these two approaches may be beneficial, the oral interview to obtain insight and basis for interpretation and the written questionnaire to obtain confirmation (Galtung, 1967).
The most obvious points in favour of the oral interview are flexibility during the interview and that the interviewer's presence aids in recording subtleties. Flexibility is especially important where the data in question are not mere "facts" like age or income but where they are open to interpretation. The oral interview gives the interviewer a chance of explaining the questions and for probing. Follow-ups can be improvised. The questionnaire can include filter-questions, but these have to be made *a priori* and are the same for all respondents. By 'subtleties' is meant non-verbal acts, such as hesitation, laughs, sighs and 'body language'. This information gives the interviewer a better background for understanding the answers than when simply using a questionnaire. Also, in an oral interview much information may be received that has not been asked for. Respondents may put more emphasis on what is important for them or give comments on the phenomenon being investigated. However, this also has its disadvantages. First, only if the interviewer is able to interpret the subtleties correctly and to keep to the point, given the flexible nature of the interview, will the resulting data be of value. Second, the oral interview gives the problem of an interviewer effect or bias. This can go both ways, as the interviewers selective perceptions, as mentioned, will come into force in an oral interview, as may the answers result of what expectations the interviewed has as to what the interviewer wishes to hear. This effect can be reduced by seeking to reduce the interactive character.
of the interview relationship and to neutralise the questioner's role, for instance by the interviewer expressing neither approval nor disapproval. But this effect will possibly always remain to some extent. Finally, it should be mentioned that interview data will often be of a less standardised form and therefore not lend itself to statistical comparison as easily as the questionnaire data.

There are many reasons why the written structured questionnaire has been so popular in many social research settings. The questionnaire is a relatively inexpensive means to reach many cases. In a pre-coded form, large data masses may be easily compared by statistical means. This gives an air or appearance of 'science' and verification of hypotheses without too many reservations is possible. However, only social systems and problems that are already quite well researched may be formulated specifically enough for such an approach. Also, there is often a problem of non-response. A skilled interviewer is more likely to be able to reduce the refusal rate, while it is easy for those receiving a postal questionnaire simply to ignore it. Also, self-selection is likely to produce a bias, as those who are especially interested, whether positive or negative to the questions studied, are more likely to reply. Finally, on a more detailed scale, spontaneity is lost since the questionnaire gives respondents time and opportunity to "edit" their answers and the researcher has no control of the setting. It is therefore impossible to know whether it
is the respondent, the family, friends or others who formulate the answers.

Which methods are used in social research is always a balancing of advantages and disadvantages, but these will have different importance according to what the object of study is. This discussion will be kept in mind when attention now turns to the choice of oral interviews in this research.

4.9 CHOICE OF ORAL INTERVIEWS

The aim with the data collection for this study was to obtain information about seasonal employment in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall. Although some numerical estimates exist regarding the importance of this employment niche in the two counties, little published information or recorded data are available for a detailed study of seasonal employment and seasonal workers. The lack of records also makes the universe of seasonal employers and employees unknown.

For this reason it was felt that the numerical and statistical advantage of administering a postal questionnaire would be lost, as problems of representativeness would still exist. Bearing in mind that the Torbay study (10) only achieved a response rate of 25 per cent among employers and the biased sample and self-selection problems this
poses for representativeness, no immediate advantage could be seen from reaching initially larger numbers.

Also, since so little is known about seasonal work, it seemed natural to take an exploratory approach, which is better done by oral interviews than by questionnaire. This view was strengthened by the fact that information about orientations, intentions and feelings were of prime importance, as were data about the past and the future.

As mentioned above, one problem with the oral interview is that actions cannot be easily confirmed - one must rely on what the respondent says about his or her actions. For this reason, observation could have been a useful addition to the interviews. However, the advantage of this would probably not correspond with the extra effort. It would have meant extending the data collection to one extra summer season, while only one case could be properly studied. The heterogeneity of seasonal workers would mean that whether this case was typical would be a pure coincidence.

There is one means of 'correction' in the research design as it is. Since employers and employees were interviewed in the same organisations, about much the same topics, the opportunity was afforded to make comparisons. A special note was made about any discrepancies between the employers' and the employees' statements.
It is always a problem to generalise from a sample which is not ideal in terms of size and representativeness. As already mentioned, this would have been impossible in this case, since the population is unknown. These interviews are therefore best treated as nine "cases" of seasonal employment relationships. Even so, there is a problem of reliability based on sampling problems. It is unknown how 'typical' the chosen cases are and whether an alternative set of cases would have given different results. On the other hand, many of the issues raised through the interviews and the responses seemed to be relatively general for most of the respondents. This in itself is interesting even if it does not apply to all those seasonal employers and workers that were not reached. Through careful interpretation of the data it is reasonable to arrive at a set of conclusions and, equally important, suggestions for future research and verification have been developed.

Attention will now turn to the study of seasonal workers. The above discussion of methods should be kept in mind, as the oral interview was also chosen for data-collection here, although a much more structured interview schedule was followed.

4.10 PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH SEASONAL WORKERS.

The interviews with seasonal workers was the final, but most important part of the data collection. While the
previous two sources gave information about seasonal work as such, only this final stage provided data for discussing the real theme of the research, namely the social impact of seasonal employment. The aim here was to collect seasonal workers' own accounts of their total relationship to working life. This included questions about attitudes to work and leisure, whether taking seasonal jobs was by choice or compulsion, their past and present work behaviour, working conditions in their present - seasonal - job, their financial position when not working and how time was used when not in employment (21). The latter questions aimed at finding out whether persons with much free time and a relatively low income were apt to take part in 'irregular' work in the household or informal economies. Before attention is turned to methods used in this phase of data-collection, the notion of informal/hidden economies demand some attention.

It would be pretentious on the basis of this study to aim to contribute to either the debate as to whether the 'service' economy is becoming more important in contemporary society (Bell, 1974) or whether work (especially service-work) moves from the formal to the informal economy as a result of more available free time, greater costs of services and the like (Gershuny, 1979, Pahl, 1980). Longitudinal data nationally would be needed to make reasonable assessments of these.
A central aim, however, is to analyse the directions taken by the seasonally employed in the light of this debate. Seasonal and other temporary workers have a low yearly wage whatever their relative hourly rate of pay may be. If they are out of work during the winter, it may be expected that both the available free time and the economic incentive would lead to a high degree of work being done in the household or in the informal economy. (12).

There are official statistics (13) that contain data on people's use of time for various activities, spending and the like. Unfortunately, these have the same disadvantages as official statistics, namely that comparisons between groups with different links with the labour market are not available. Also, they are not specific enough to assess whether work is done in one or other of the 'economies' above. Quite apart from the fact that paid work in the informal economy is tax-exempt by definition and therefore difficult to gain reliable data for, there is also a conceptual problem. Whether household work actually comprises "work" or "leisure" activities and whether the unpaid exchange of goods or services between neighbours, for example, would be placed in the 'household' or 'informal' category are problems of definition that will not be discussed here, but that clearly have implications for the possibility of gathering useful data in this field.

In an attempt to avoid the problems of secrecy around
involvement in a 'hidden' economy, the questions were formulated indirectly as well as directly. The respondents were asked to give details about how time was spent when they were not doing their seasonal job, how they managed to finance the rest of the year and, finally, directly about their informal exchange of goods or services.

It is thought that a fair indication of the extent of household or informal work in the sample can be reached. Although this will give no possibility of comparisons with other employment groups it is interesting to see if seasonal, casual or temporary workers see this as an interesting addition to formal work and manage to administer such work.

The same considerations as discussed above regarding employer interviews were decisive for choice of method in this part of the study. Although more information about seasonal work had been collected at this stage, giving a better basis for formulating questions, the worker interviews were still of an exploratory nature. Verifications of some hypotheses was an important part of this stage, but it seemed reasonable to keep the possibility of further areas open. For such reasons, the interviews with seasonal workers, although oral, were based on a formal questionnaire with some open-ended questions included. The former gave room for comparing the data statistically, whilst the latter gave respondents a chance
of emphasising what they found important, such as attitudes, beliefs, hopes and complaints.

4.11 THE SAMPLE

The sample of seasonal staff was drawn from the organisations where previous interviews had been made with the manager, owner or personnel manager. Again, the discrepancy between 'ideal' and actual conditions for sampling must be mentioned. Ideally, the sample of staff should have been numerically proportionate to the number of seasonal staff actually in the organisations. The staff sample should then be picked at random from a list of all seasonal staff in the organisation. This was impossible for several reasons: Most employers wanted to spend as little of the organisation's time as possible on the study and felt that the initial suggestion of ten interviews was too much.

In several organisations a list of employees did not exist or was said not to exist and a list of seasonal employees would, for some of them, be too time-consuming to produce. Others would not let the researcher see such a list. The reason being was to protect the workers' anonymity, but, equally important, in some cases it may have been that the employer had not fulfilled all the obligations inherent in an employment relationship, for instance, registering with tax and other public authorities.
Also, only those that happened to be present on the day of interview could be reached. Bearing in mind that much of this work was on a shift, part-time or casual basis, some workers were eliminated on this basis. The sample was therefore chosen by the employer on the understanding that all job categories that seasonal workers were involved in should be represented and that different age and gender categories were taken into consideration. It may have unfortunate consequences to leave it to one party in a possibly conflicting interest relationship to choose the sample in this way. There was though no other choice in this case. The effect of this was minimised as the employer had to choose among those working and available at the time the researcher arrived. Also, as will be shown in the presentation of the interviews with the seasonal workers, there is little reason to believe that particularly loyal or contented employees were chosen rather than others. Although the seasonal workers interviewed cannot be claimed to be representative of all such workers in the two counties, such a sample would have been impossible due to the unknown universe. The forty-six interviews represent twenty-three job types within seasonal work (14). Both genders and all age categories are included.

4.12 ADMINISTERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The interviews were carried out in July to October inclusive,
and were based on a standard questionnaire, (15) which had been pre-tested and reformulated. They were in-depth personal interviews with individual workers. Some questions were open-ended and gave the interviewed persons a chance to mention points of special interest to them.

Interviews were mostly done in the respondents' place of work, although three were conducted in the persons' own homes. Some employers supplied a special room, other workers were interviewed while actually working. The latter group may, especially where the working atmosphere was not very private, have had difficulties in giving an honest opinion to some of the more sensitive questions. In one organisation, for instance, where most of the interviews were conducted in a large kitchen and dining area with several people present, giggles, glances and 'avoiding' answers gave clear signs that the workers were unhappy with pay and partly with supervision. Nobody said this openly in answer to the direct questions, but comments would be made during interviews with others when they thought their comments would not be recorded. All such indirect responses were, of course, carefully recorded.

No worker rejected the invitation to be interviewed, which is not very surprising as the employer asked them to take part. Some seemed almost relieved to be given the opportunity to talk about their employment situation. These interviews were difficult to keep within the time limit set to one
hour per respondent and, where possible and necessary, this limit was exceeded. Other workers showed some resentment to the study, especially where interviews interfered with a busy working situation. In a very busy car-park, where answers could also be overheard by colleagues and car-owners, the interviews could become almost farcical at times. The workers were all elderly men, who had held this seasonal job for many years, who claimed to dislike it, but for whom this was the only job they could get. The cynical humour that had developed in this group over the years came to the surface when there was a chance that answers were overheard. Great care was taken not to rush these interviews, so that through repetition of questions and probing, reasonable responses were eventually obtained. In this research the interview setting was not open to the choice in the part of the researcher. If lists of respondents had been made available, the best approach would probably have been to conduct the interviews in the respondents' private time, in an informal setting.

4.13 DATA ANALYSIS

The data from the worker interviews were coded (16) and punched for analysis by computer. The SPSS statistical package was used, an elaborage package suitable for large samples, many variables and intricate statistical analysis. Although none of these characteristics describes the data here, it can equally well be used for smaller samples and
sets of variables. The reason for this choice was partly practical, since good supervision was available with the use of this package and partly educational, since this is an internationally used system considered to be of future value for the researcher.

In fact, cross-tabulations are the most sophisticated level of statistical analysis used in the study. Problems with sample size, representativeness and the relatively 'qualitative' type of data makes more sophisticated statistical measures meaningless here. Although cross-tabulations are useful as a means of counting and comparing, care must always be shown with 'statistical' output that too much is not deduced from the material. Rather than correlations, a set of interrelated phenomena or association between variables would be a sufficient level to aim for. Generalisations cannot be made from this material to all seasonal workers although some further hypotheses may be strongly suggested. The data must be treated as a group of 'cases' about seasonal employment, on which basis some conclusions can be drawn as to consequences of this form of employment for some seasonal workers. At this stage of research on the type of marginal labour in question this must be an important and useful outcome.

4.14 CONCLUSION

By the use of three different perspectives, that of the
public planner, that of seasonal employer and, finally, that of the seasonal worker, information has been collected which is suitable for describing and discussing at least some of the important issues regarding the under-researched field of seasonal employment in the tourist industry.

Although the data do not hold for broad generalisations, they do provide the possibility of some conclusions being drawn as to the possible effects of such employment. It may also prove suitable for making certain suggestions regarding further research in the whole area of seasonal, temporary or casual employment.

In the next four chapters the empirical data resulting from the study will be presented and discussed. The following chapter first presents background material, based on secondary sources.
Notes

1) It is estimated that in 1981 at the height of the summer there were 244,000 visitors to the County, compared with 426,000 permanent residents (Cornwall County Structure Plan, Explanatory Memorandum 1981)

2) For instance, employment from tourism was of little importance in Plymouth and Exeter, but seemed of greater importance in smaller centres, especially along the east and north coasts (Devon County Structure Plan, Phase IV, 1977)

3) It ought to be reliable as it is a major public statistical publication, where rigorous research techniques are employed

4) For a full list of sources of employment and tourism data, see Appendix I

5) As, for example, argued in The Open University: The changing experience of women - Unit 10: Women and Employment p.35

7) Torbay Tourism Employment and Investment. Prepared by Torbay Borough Planning Officer and Devon County Planning Officer. November 1982

8) The category "museum" is a wide one. There are countless places of present or historic interest in the counties which attract large numbers of tourists. Both the "museums" here are large places and employ 35 and 80 seasonal workers in different jobs

9) For this list estimating numbers of seasonal employees in different industries in Cornwall, see Appendix 3


11) The Questionnaire used to interview seasonal workers is included as Appendix 4

12) Pahl (1980) distinguishes between the Formal Economy, the Household Economy and the Informal Economy

13) See for example The General Household Survey. The Family Expenditure Survey

14) See Appendix 5 for a list of jobs represented by the sample of seasonal workers
15) See Appendix 4 for the questionnaire

16) For details of coding procedures and various classifications, see Appendix 6
CHAPTER FIVE
SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT IN A LARGER FRAMEWORK - SECONDARY SOURCES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Assumptions have been made in the theoretical chapters above that:

- employment opportunities are limited in Devon and Cornwall;

- seasonal work is widespread;

- certain groups of workers are more likely to take on seasonal work than others;

- seasonal work means poor working conditions.

The support for such assumptions has so far been either purely theoretical or speculative. The aim of this chapter is to provide empirical data to confirm, reject or modify these assumptions. To clarify these matters is important before the primary data regarding seasonal employers and employees is discussed.

As mentioned in the previous chapter on Methods and Methodology, there are some limitations to the available material regarding these questions. Nevertheless, a general picture of the specific employment problems in the two counties compared with the national situation may be
obtained, even if some figures may be slightly inaccurate. This chapter, then, gives the context within which actions are made by employers and employees.

The chapter contains two main sections. First, an outline of facts and figures describing employment in general and seasonal employment in particular, followed by a discussion of working conditions and rights in the employment relationship as regards seasonal workers. This will form a basis for discussing the collected data in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

5.2 THE STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

As Table 1 shows, in 1981 in Devon, 79.2 per cent of men aged 16-64 were in full-time employment, 1.5 per cent were in part-time employment and 8.7 per cent were "out of employment", the latter category comprising those seeking work or temporarily sick or, in other words, part of the "economically active" population. In Cornwall, 76.7 per cent of men in this age group were in full-time work, 1.7 per cent in part time and 10.8 per cent "out of employment."

The figures for women aged 16-59 in employment were in 1981 much lower than those for men, thus in Devon 30.7 per cent were in full-time, 20.9 per cent in part-time and 4.5 per cent "out of employment", while in Cornwall 27.4 per cent
Table 1 - Economic Characteristics

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<th>Economically Inactive</th>
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<td>Out of employment</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>Part-time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Men aged 16-64</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women aged 16-59</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devon</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 1981, County reports
were in full-time, 17.3 per cent in part-time and 5.3 per cent were "out of employment".

There are thus, both for men and women, a slightly higher proportion in employment in Devon than in Cornwall and correspondingly lower unemployment figures in Devon. Compared with the national average of 80.2 per cent men in employment, the Devon figures are about average, while the percentage of men in employment in Cornwall is slightly lower. Comparisons with national averages show greater discrepancies for women: where in England and Wales in 1981, 35.2 per cent of women in this age group worked full-time (significantly higher than both Devon and Cornwall), 21.1 per cent women worked part-time (about the same as Devon, but higher than Cornwall).

Despite increases in the last ten years in women (especially married women) working or seeking work in Cornwall "the proportion of women working or seeking work in 1981 was still lower than in any other County of England and Wales" (Cornwall County Council, 1981). As Table 1 shows, about half of all women in this age group are economically active in Cornwall, with slightly higher figures for Devon. As pointed out in Chapter Four, however, and as will be developed further below, the category "economically inactive" may well contain people who work on a seasonal basis. The census would not register these
being "in employment" on the date that the census is taken and lack of unemployment benefit rights may leave this group out of the "out of unemployment" - or unemployed - category.

From 1976 to 1981, the most important change was the "onset of severe economic recession" (Devon County Council, 1981). Even so, there was a 3 per cent increase in jobs in Devon in this period and similarly, in Cornwall between 1971 and 1978 the number of employees in employment rose by 12 per cent. While there was a slight fall in male employment, these increases were due almost entirely to a rise in female employment rates. It is worth noting the high proportions of female workers in part-time employment, 20.9 per cent and 17.3 per cent in Devon and Cornwall respectively. To the extent that the above mentioned employment increase was in part-time jobs, and there is ample evidence of this, the explanation may therefore be that the way work was divided or organised made for a higher number of jobs rather than that there was necessarily such a great increase in the aggregate amount of work to be done.

One of the particular characteristics of the Devon and Cornwall economy compared to the national average is the relatively small size of the manufacturing sector and the dominance of the service sector. In 1978 the latter accounted for 72 per cent of employment in Cornwall and
68 per cent in Devon, while the corresponding figure for Great Britain as a whole was 59 per cent (Dobson, 1984). Furthermore, Dobson puts the above mentioned increase in total employment down to an expansion of the service sector. In fact, the only industry in which the number of employees increased in Devon in the 1974-78 period was the service industry, with a 7.3 per cent increase in this period.

"Distribution", "professional" and "miscellaneous" services are the largest service sectors in the county, the first-mentioned including retail outlets and the latter including hotel, catering and other more directly tourist-related activities. Even though the broad category "service" industry covers a wide range of jobs, this is the industry in which seasonal workers will be found. The importance of this industry in the two counties and the corresponding relative insignificance of the manufacturing industry may, as indicated in the theory chapters, suggest a low level of class consciousness and worker unionism in the area. This will be elaborated further in the discussion of working conditions below. It may be mentioned here, however, that relatively low wages characterise "this peripheral industrially underdeveloped area" (Dobson, 1984, p.110). If this is the general case, it may also have significance for the acceptance by seasonal workers of modest working conditions.

Another feature of the Devon and Cornwall economy is the
relatively high rates of self-employed to be found. In Devon in 1981, 14.6 per cent of the economically active population were self-employed and in Cornwall the corresponding figure was 18.5 per cent. Nationally, however, only 7 per cent of the economically active were self-employed. Also, the increase since 1971 was significant. In Devon the increase in self-employed was 16.6 per cent in this ten-year period. This increase may reflect an expansion in the small business sector, which itself may be a consequence of a wave of redundancies in recent years (Cornwall County Council, 1979).

Dobson points out, on the basis of figures for Devon, that the highest proportion of the Cornish self-employed are in the service sector and that four times as many males as females are self-employed. This may be an indication that the supply of full-time jobs has been unusually poor in the two counties, especially since most of the increase in jobs has been in part-time employment. This suggests that the way of dealing with labour market problems may be different between men and women. Men may be more likely to become self-employed, while women may more readily accept part-time, low paying jobs. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven in connection with the seasonal worker data.

Finally in this section, unemployment figures in the two counties demand some attention. Unemployment has been high
in Devon and Cornwall compared to the national figures for a number of years. Thus, in 1981 the percentage unemployed in Devon was 12 per cent and in Cornwall 13.5 per cent, compared to a national average of 10.5 per cent. (Department of Employment Gazette, June, 1983). The increase in unemployment has followed the national unemployment rates, but it is interesting that unemployment in Devon almost doubled between 1979 and 1982 and that in Cornwall the rate doubled from 1975 to 1983 (Dobson, 1984). Seasonal unemployment, i.e. variations in unemployment throughout the year, is of great significance here and will be discussed in connection with seasonal employment below in this chapter.

To sum up this section, employment opportunities in Devon and Cornwall may be described as relatively gloomy compared with national averages. Employment rates are generally lower in Devon and Cornwall than in Great Britain as a whole and this is most marked among women. Unemployment figures, on the other hand, are higher than the national averages. The same goes for rates of self-employed. This may indicate a lower supply of jobs in the two counties than nationally. Furthermore, the service industry is over-represented in the two counties and the manufacturing sector relatively insignificant as a provider of jobs. The significance of the tourist industry in this overall profile is important to assess for the purposes of this thesis and will be discussed in the next section.
5.3 EMPLOYMENT GENERATED THROUGH THE HOLIDAY INDUSTRY

There is no doubt that tourism is of great economic importance in the two counties. In 1976 it was estimated that tourism's contribution to the Devon economy was in the order of 5 per cent (Devon County Council Structure Plan 1981). These are direct economic benefits arising from accommodation and other spending by tourists, but also more indirect effects to local building firms and suppliers should be counted. Even though the actual number of tourists visiting the two counties has dropped since 1978 by around 15 per cent, the size of the industry is illustrated by the fact that in the region of a quarter of a million visitors were in the county at the height of the summer in 1981: the all year round resident population is just below half a million. There has been a significant growth in self-catering holidays with the effect of there being rather less spending in hotels and guest houses and, of course, a decline in tourist-related employment.

Nevertheless, tourism generates a substantial amount of employment. Although accurate figures for tourism employment do not exist, it has been estimated that in tourism accommodation alone, 13 per cent of total employment in Cornwall and 8 per cent in Devon can be accounted for (Department of the Environment, 1976). In fact, the number of people involved is far greater than these figures suggest since in the estimates full-time seasonal and part-time
mostly men. On the other hand, "housewives or others engaged in the holiday trade on a casual basis" (Cornwall County Council, op. cit. p. 9) are not counted. This makes it difficult to pinpoint exactly the categories that are being discussed and makes comparison difficult. Thus, the Torbay study concluded that jobs in accommodation were divided almost equally between men and women, but that the seasonal jobs were more likely to be held by women.

In Torbay, it was found that a total of 16,650 jobs or about one third of all employment in Torbay stems directly from tourism at the height of the summer. This, it is noted, is a minimum estimate, as it excludes jobs like suppliers to Torbay hotels and tourist attractions. Holiday accommodation contributes the largest part of this, with 11,400 jobs, while 5,250 jobs of seasonal character were found in businesses other than accommodation. About half of the jobs in accommodation were permanent and the other half were seasonal. About half of all seasonal jobs, then, were found in accommodation, the other half in other businesses. This is in accordance with other figures where about half of the seasonal jobs in Cornwall were found to be in hotels and catering (Cornwall County Council, Topic Report, 1976). The proportion of permanent jobs in accommodation in Torbay, however, may be higher than in many other holiday resorts in Devon and Cornwall. The large hotels in Torbay have been quite successful in attracting out-of-season business and being a geographical
centre may find the situation somewhat similar to Plymouth where hotels do not experience great differences between seasons. Also, the 25 per cent response in the Torbay survey may give a bias, as it might be the same employers who are organised enough to respond to the questionnaire who are also organised enough to be able to keep a high proportion of permanent staff.

The holiday industry, then, seems to be a very important provider of jobs in the two counties, with effects on employment in other areas than just providing direct services to tourists. It is, however, a vulnerable industry, completely dependent on tourists visiting the area. Visitor numbers have been adversely affected by the economic recession, poor weather and competition from holidays abroad in recent years (Devon County Council, Structure Plan, 1979). The peak periods of tourism are July and August, but even in these months, as well as off-peak months, tourism is falling. If the trend towards self-catering holidays continues, this will further affect employment in the area. The hotels and guest houses, moreover, seem to be the sectors providing most full-time jobs, so that a decline here would have adverse effects on such jobs. This is also the sector providing most tourist-related permanent jobs. The seasonal factor is, however, important when describing jobs generated by the tourist industry. Discussion now turns to these seasonal jobs.
5.4 SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

Figure One illustrates the length of the tourist season based on visitor numbers to Devon. The season thus starts in April/May and continues till the end of September, with a peak in visitor numbers in July and August. With so many holidays taking place in July and August, it is clear that a substantial part of tourist-related employment must be on a seasonal-only basis.

Figure 1

Source: Devon County Council Annual Survey of Holiday Development
That the seasonal factor plays an important part in employment in the holiday industry is illustrated by the estimate that in Cornwall as many as two-thirds of workers in accommodation are on a seasonal-only basis. (Department of the Environment, 1976). Of the 11,400 jobs in holiday accommodation in Torbay, about 60 per cent of the employees were employed on a seasonal basis (less than 6 months of the year). It was estimated that another 5,250 seasonal jobs were held in other tourism-related activities. There are, then, quite a substantial number of seasonal jobs.

It is interesting to note that while the permanent jobs in holiday accommodation in Torbay were mostly full-time jobs (85 per cent) with only a small proportion of part-time or casual work, only 40 per cent of the seasonal jobs in holiday accommodation were full-time, with 35 per cent part-time and nearly 25 per cent as casual labour. Seasonal jobs in tourism-related activities other than accommodation had an even lower proportion of full-time workers, as 35 per cent of these were estimated to be full-time, and nearly 65 per cent part-time or casual. This characteristic of seasonal jobs more often being part-time compared to permanent jobs is found to be prominent also in other sources used in this study.

Furthermore, the Torbay study suggests that women have a tendency to work on a seasonal basis far more often than men. While the balance between male and female jobs is
relatively even in permanent jobs, there is a very clear predominance of females in seasonal jobs in accommodation (31 per cent male, 69 per cent females). Of the seasonal jobs in other tourism-related activities, as many as 70 per cent of the employees were female. This figure has also been mentioned elsewhere (for instance Department of the Environment, 1976).

It seems, then, that the 'typical' seasonal worker is female, working on a part-time or casual basis. Another interesting dimension here is whether staff are local or are recruited from other areas. The Torbay study showed that nearly all employees working on a permanent basis are resident in the Torbay area, while 4 per cent of the hotel staff normally reside elsewhere. Since these groups are employed on a permanent basis, this is perhaps not so surprising. Of seasonal staff in holiday accommodation, it was found that about 22 per cent were normally resident elsewhere, most of these were in the 'holiday camp' sector. Of seasonal jobs in other tourism-related activities most employees were local. The only area in which non-indigenous seasonal labour made a significant contribution was in cafes/restaurants and shops, where some 15 per cent of employees were immigrants to the area. Other studies contradict this low proportion of 'immigrant' labour and it has been suggested that only about one-half of the seasonal workers in Devon and Cornwall in hotels and guest-houses were locals, while the rest were non-local
or students. In self-catering accommodation, however, the vast majority were locals (Department of the Environment, 1976). There is a suggestion, then, that only a proportion of all seasonal jobs are filled with local labour. The Torbay study did indicate, however, that the majority of jobs were taken by local people. When figures for local labour were compared with the drop in unemployment figures in the gap between January and July figures, a much lower drop than would be expected is observed, it was concluded that "most of the seasonal jobs are filled by people who are not registered as unemployed (e.g. housewives, students, moonlighters, etc.)." (Torbay Borough Council and Devon County Council, 1982). The question of seasonal workers registering as unemployed will be returned to below; here, it seems relevant to look closer at the figures for seasonal unemployment, which may give some additional idea as to the size of the seasonal working population in the two counties, although all those who do not register as unemployed are naturally missing.

Figure 2 shows that, except for Plymouth, there is a clear tendency in Devon for unemployment to rise in January and decrease in July, a trend which cannot be seen from the unemployment figures for Great Britain as a whole. In Great Britain as a whole, unemployment tends to peak in the first and third quarters of the year and fall during the second and fourth. In West Cornwall, however, it was found that unemployment peaks only once during the year,
Unemployment Rates in Structure Plan Areas 1976 - 1982

Source: Devon County Council, Structure Plan, 1981
in the first quarter, falling during the second and third, and rising between the third and fourth quarters. The explanation for this is 'seasonal' unemployment, which 

"arises because certain industries regularly experience large changes in their labour requirements at certain times of the year. If these are not counterbalanced by corresponding changes in complementary industries (i.e. industries which use similar skills, the resulting unemployment is termed seasonal". (Department of Employment, 1979)

In the later chapter covering the interviews with seasonal workers, it will be shown that only a small proportion of this sample actually registered as unemployed in the winter months and in the discussion of unemployment benefit rights below, it will be shown that for seasonal workers to register as unemployed may be of limited interest. Nevertheless, the fluctuation in unemployment figures, indicating seasonal unemployment, suggests that not all seasonal workers are groups that see seasonal work as a chosen 'way of life' and that seasonal work has quite an impact on employment opportunities in the counties.

Seasonal employment is also concentrated in certain geographical areas in Devon and Cornwall. Obviously the tourist centres experience high levels of seasonal employment as do certain rural areas. By contrast, the Plymouth City Planning Department estimates that only about 1 per cent of trade in the city is derived from tourists - the
casual work-force here is mainly employed over the Christmas period in retailing. If, as seems to be the case, there is a concentration of seasonal workers in the smaller towns and rural areas, the problems of employment out-of-season are considerable since these are precisely the locations with fewer vacancies on a year-round basis.

Finally, although there was little net change in the total number of jobs in holiday accommodation 1978-81, the number of seasonal jobs in other tourism related activities decreased by 11 per cent in this period. The largest reductions have taken place in the local authority controlled activities. The explanation for this is likely to be cuts in public spending rather than in an increased demand for services. In light of the last section's discussion of the vulnerability of the holiday industry employment, however, it is an important question here whether seasonal staff would be the first to go. It may be when there is a need to decrease staff numbers it is easier for management to stop taking on seasonal staff than to make permanent staff redundant. In the next section, however, attention is turned to working conditions, including job security, for seasonal workers.

5.5 SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT - WORKING CONDITIONS

Although negative effects of the holiday industry, such as congestion of roads and overcrowding, are mentioned in
public reports regarding tourism, the benefits in terms of incomes and jobs are rarely questioned (e.g. Cornwall County Structure Plan, 1981).

Benefits in terms of employment are undoubtedly important in numerical terms. However, to the extent that the industry provides casual jobs with low pay and low job security, local authorities may have done better to support alternative industry, providing relatively more secure, permanent and well-paying employment.

It was shown above that most tourist-industry jobs are in service-industries and that a significant proportion are seasonal-only. Being seasonal, it is obvious that these jobs do not provide a living wage on a full-year basis and that job security and job stability are poor. It was also shown that a larger proportion than normal of these jobs are part-time and casual, which further accentuates the point of low output for the individual worker. Further, the vulnerability of seasonal jobs to recession and tourist preferences have been emphasised.

a) Pay

In view of the hypothesised instrumental attitudes to working seasonally, remuneration received through these jobs should be an important question. In addition to the
purchasing power deriving from pay, however, the level of pay has further implications in that it indicates the value society places on people's work and thereby affects their self-esteem.

Although direct data regarding pay for seasonal work are not available, there is clear evidence of pay by region, industry, occupation and individual characteristics that all indicate that seasonal workers in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall are among the low paid.

There are several definitions of low pay. The Low Pay Unit (in Low Pay Review No. 12, Feb. 1983) distinguish the various definitions represented by Supplementary Benefits, Family Income Supplements, Council of Europe, Low Pay Unit, TUC and the Royal Commission and conclude:

"Although the definitions are derived from a variety of different approaches, the levels of income they suggest are very similar, converging around a figure of just over £90 per week. The simple average of the six definitions stands at £92.65 a week, with a median (midpoint) at £92.10. We therefore believe that a definition of low pay of £90 a week in 1982/83 is one which should command general acceptance."

By full-time is here meant a 40 hour week and the hourly definition of low pay is therefore £2.25 for 1982/83.

On the basis of the New Earnings Survey, 1984, it is concluded
"Workers in the South West Counties of Avon, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall have been, and are amongst, the lowest paid in the Country. Indeed, the South West Region is one of the economically poorest in the European Community". (South West TUC, 1985, p.2)

This is made worse by the fact that living costs in the South West, based on spending patterns are second only to those of the South East (Family Expenditure Survey, 1982/83).

Furthermore, within the South West Region, there are distinct variations in earnings. Thus, on the basis of the TUC's low pay level of £104 per week (1985), Devon and Cornwall top the low pay table within the region with 29 and 30 per cent respectively of male manuals earning below the low pay level. Although a full survey is not available for women manual workers, the corresponding figure of 81 per cent for Devon is significant.

There are also higher than normal concentrations of low pay in the service sector. Thus, more than half the region's low paid workers are in the service sector (distribution, catering, hotel and repairs), about one sixth are in shops or hairdressing, while about a quarter of the low paid are working in manual occupations in public education, health or other local government
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<th>Occupations</th>
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<td>Butchers</td>
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<td>Road Sweepers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shop check-out operators</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>94.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hairdressers</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>91.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shop Assistants/Salespersons</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitresses</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing Machinists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counter Hands</td>
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<td>Barmaids</td>
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<td>Nursing Auxiliaries</td>
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<td>79.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestics</td>
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<td>78.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Press Machine Operators</td>
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<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chefs/Cooks</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>71.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Packers/Bottlers</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculating Machine Operators</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering Supervisors</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Source: South West TUC 1985 (based on New Earnings Survey data 1984)).
services (South West TUC, 1985). Also,

"the predominance of low pay in industries covered by wages councils is clearly demonstrated; 23 per cent of low paid manual males are employed in Miscellaneous Services (hotels and catering, hairdressing etc.) and Distributive Trades (retailing and wholesaling)..." (Low Pay Unit Bulletin, June 1978)

Data on earnings in specific occupations further support this pattern of low earnings in jobs linked to the tourist industry. The underlined occupations in Table 2 are relevant here and show a significant proportion of occupations in the tourist industry, and where seasonal work is found, to be under the low pay minimum.

In line with such findings "The Royal Commission on Distribution of Income and Wealth (1978) suggested that differences between Regions in the incidence of low earnings, are attributable chiefly to differences in their industrial and occupational structure" (South West TUC, 1985).

Thus, an explanation of low pay based on individual workers' characteristics or productivity, as supported by human capital theory, seems far too simplistic. This is further supported by evidence from the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, showing that "apart from the South East, the South West has the highest percentage of graduate (or equivalent), 'A' Level, 'O' Level and CSF achievers in
### TABLE 3: Earnings Under £110 per Week by Age Group - National Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weekly Earnings Under 50</th>
<th>% Under 60</th>
<th>% Under 70</th>
<th>% Under 80</th>
<th>% Under 90</th>
<th>% Under 100</th>
<th>% Under 11</th>
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**Male Manual Workers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>21-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>13.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>18.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
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**Male Non-Manual Workers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>21-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<td>40-49</td>
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**Female Manual Workers**

<table>
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<th>%</th>
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<td>21-24</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<td>60-64</td>
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<td>28.2</td>
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**Female Non-Manual Workers**

<table>
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<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
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<td>7.9</td>
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<td>22.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
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<td>6.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** New Earnings Survey 1984.
the whole Country. The region is also second only to the prosperous South East in its low percentage of unqualified employees" (South West TUC, 1985, p.9).

A more likely explanation of low pay, then, may be that such wage levels have become institutionalised in the region, and that reasons for this may be found in the lack of strong trade union activity through the low level of manufacturing plants and little collective activity in the service industries.

Finally, the variations in earnings are considerable by sex and age. For instance, the New Earnings Survey (1984) (Table 3) shows that while there in no age group where more than 25 per cent of men are earning under £100, over 60 per cent of women in all age groups earned under this level. The wage/age correlation is strongest amongst male non-manual workers and weakest among female manual workers. In other words, the situation for women is that earnings do not get significantly better in middle age, the way they do for men. Low pay is, however, significantly higher in all groups among the very young (under 24) and those in their last ten years of employment.

This, then, gives some indication of the wage levels for seasonal workers in the tourist industry. The sample is situated in a region where wages are low relative to the rest of the country, they are employed in the service
industry, which is a low paying industry, in occupations which dominate the low pay ranking list. In addition, they are more often women than men, which further develops an expectation of low pay.

b) Wages Councils:

The industries in question are largely covered by Wages Councils: hotel and catering, and retailing which also includes shops and cafes at museums and other tourist attractions. By definition, industries covered by Wages Councils have little or no union representation. The Wages Councils are supposed to take on a similar negotiating role, with representatives of employers, employees and a third party of so-called "independent members". The role of Wages Councils have, however, been questioned as large groups covered by such Councils remain under the low earnings limit. (Stevenson, 1980).

There seem to be two potential problems in the Wages Councils system. One is the way negotiations are carried out, the other how enforcement of the minimum wages are secured once the minimum rates are arrived at. The former may be illustrated through some Wages Councils Settlements referred to in Low Pay Review (May 1983 and September 1983).

The cases quoted where the Wages Council for workers in cafes, snack bars and teashops, where the legal minimum was
brought up to £66.27 per week, the Licensed Residential and Licensed Restaurant Wages Council where an increase which would bring the minimum to £58.80 a week were proposed, and the Retail Trades (Non-food) Wages Council were £67.50 weekly was arrived at in two stages. The reason for the latter was that the then Secretary of State for Employment, Norman Tebbit, intervened in the wages settlement, as he did in all three cases above, on the grounds that wage increases would "damage employment prospects in the industry". In the September issue (above) it is stressed how important the role of the "independent" members of the Wages Councils becomes when deciding to follow such advice or not. The fact that the "appointment of these members is subject to periodic review by Norman Tebbit himself "may influence the outcome of such intervention.

None of the above, of course, has to do directly with seasonal employees. But it does give the basis on which employment is remunerated in the typical seasonal work places. There is no reason to believe that seasonal workers, with a minimum of seniority in the firms, are paid over these minimum rates. And we we have seen, these minimum rates are considerably below any definition of low pay.

As mentioned above, enforcement of the minimum wages arrived at through negotiation may also pose some problems. Thus, "Underpayment of the Wages Council rates is high, particularly among the small firms sector, at over a third
of all firms inspected" (Low Pay Review, 1983). This is also confirmed by articles in Department of Employment Gazette (e.g. The wages Inspector Cometh, Feb. 1977), suggesting that employers have little to worry about if they do underpay. The investigation of actual complaints is given first priority by the inspectors and the target of visiting 7½ per cent of all establishments known to be covered by Wages Council regulations, in itself a modest target, was not being reached. Further, when employers are caught under-paying staff, "it has long been the Inspectorate's policy not to prosecute first offenders unless the offence is flagrant" (op.cit. p.109). Even second offenders (even though it seems that few firms are checked twice) usually escape prosecution. Only 3 cases out of 54 who had broken the regulations for the second time, were actually prosecuted.

It seems a reasonable conclusion, then, that the Wages Councils system, set up to secure a minimum wage level for low paid workers, is not achieving this aim. Stevenson (1980), in fact, suggests that Wages Councils actually reinforce a stratified and exploitative wage structure. If the picture presented here is an accurate one, and the low wages described above suggest that it may well be, it seems that the employers are free to set the wages that they choose. This will be returned to in later chapters. Here, discussion will turn to other working benefits than pay, with reference to secondary sources.
5.6 OTHER BENEFITS

It was suggested in the last section that pay for work in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall is low. Even though variations will probably be found, there is reason to believe that many seasonal workers will be paid at the lowest extreme since seniority factors or employers' interest in holding on to the seasonal employees are of little significance. The actual wage received, however, gives only part of the remuneration picture. Permanent workers receive benefits from being employed, like sick pay, unemployment benefit, maternity benefit, membership of pension schemes and paid holidays which may not be made available to temporary or casual labour. It was indicated in Chapter Two that it may be of interest for employers to bypass regulations designed to protect employees by using other types of labour. Such regulations will be examined in this section.

It seems that there are few absolute demands on the employer's obligations to any employee in British law (Whincup, 1983). Two principles seem to be the cornerstones of financial security for the worker in and out of employment. The first and the one that affects the employer more directly, is the principle of negotiation and collective agreements in industry. The problem with this principle, of course, is that it tends to benefit members of strong unions in times of prosperity. It has been obvious in
recent years, however, that the government and public opinion, together with the employer representatives can make even the negotiating power of strong unions illusory. Where negotiations are impossible due to lack of worker unionisation, Wages Councils should fill this role, at least as far as pay and sometimes holiday arrangements are concerned. The last section gave an indication of the limitations in the Wages Councils system.

The other basic principle, when negotiations/collective agreements are not possible, or regarding areas not covered by the agreements, is the public Social Security system. All the "normal" work-linked benefits like pensions, maternity benefits, unemployment benefit and sick pay have requirements linked to them, whether they be length of time worked for an employer or the related issue of number of National Insurance contributions paid during a specific period. Because of its temporary nature, it is seldom that seasonal work is eligible for such benefits.

Of particular importance for seasonal workers would be eligibility for unemployment benefit during the months of the year they are not working. After all, and as will be shown later, many seasonal workers are not seasonal by choice, but because this is the only work available where they live. One would, perhaps, expect these to be eligible for unemployment benefit the rest of the year.
The basic rules for unemployment benefit apply also to seasonal workers. In addition **special** rules must be met for these workers. The **basic** conditions for obtaining unemployment benefit is that the worker must have paid 26 **class 1** National Insurance contributions, i.e. 6 months of contributions. Alternatively 13 weeks class 1 contributions which combined with **credited** contributions (credited by UBO when unemployed if registered unemployed), altogether 50 times the weekly lower earnings limit at £32.50 with one employer, will qualify for unemployment benefit.

For "seasonal" workers (that is, those who have worked seasonally for each of the last three years) the rules are the same as for other workers if the person is unemployed during "the season" - the period when they normally work. If a person claims unemployment benefit in the **off** season, they "must be able to show that either you have already worked for at least a quarter of the off-season or you stand a good chance of getting that amount of work". (!) (Department of Health and Social Security, Oct. 1982).

In other words, a person who has worked seasonally for each of the last three years is considered a "seasonal worker" whether he or she is working only in the season voluntarily or not and will not qualify for unemployment benefit the rest of the year unless the chances of getting work in at least a quarter of the off-season are good, i.e. conditions
beyond the control of most workers in the present labour market.

Where collective agreements are not applicable it is largely up to the munificence of the employer as to what other benefits are made available to the employee, especially when the supply of labour is large enough to make such benefits unnecessary to attract labour. Even in relatively skilled work it does not seem obvious that the employer provides such benefits. Tables 4 and 5 show some interesting figures regarding pensions and sick pay provided by employers. Only 16 per cent of men and 15 per cent of women in "personal service" belong to an employer pension scheme, while only about half of workers in "personal service" receive sick pay from the employer. It is more than likely that seasonal workers score even lower on these dimensions than workers overall. This will be raised again in the analysis of worker interviews below.

| Table 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **SEG** | **Men** | **N** | **Women** | **N** |
| 5.1 (semi-professional) | 82 | 411 | 62 | 644 |
| 5.2 (supervisory) | 87 | 125 | 67 | 110 |
| 6a (junior office) | 69 | 646 | 39 | 1656 |
| 6b (sales) | 51 | 234 | 9 | 495 |
| 7 (personal service) | 16 | 69 | 15 | 796 |
| 9 (skilled manual) | 52 | 2470 | 20 | 229 |
| 10 (semi-skilled manual) | 55 | 1119 | 23 | 708 |
| 11 (unskilled manual) | 38 | 359 | 9 | 544 |

**Source:** GHS 1979

**Sample:** Economically active men and women, defined as in Table 1.

**Note:** Respondents were asked 'do you belong to the [pension or superannuation scheme run by your employer]?'
Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wage Group</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 (semi-professional)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>644</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.2 (supervisory)</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>6a (junior office)</td>
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<td>1656</td>
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<tr>
<td>6b (sales)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>7 (personal service)</td>
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<td>1119</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>708</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 (unskilled manual)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>544</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Sample: Economically active men and women, defined as in table 1.

Note: Respondents were asked 'Does your employer pay you anything when you are off sick?'

Where the employees do not meet the requirements of National Insurance Contributions or length of employment for other employment-linked benefits, they will either have to rely on being supported by other persons or Supplementary Benefit, when this is available. The main point here, however, is that only workers who put in full-time work, permanently, really have a chance of benefiting from worker-linked benefits of all kinds. Those who cannot find full-time permanent work, an increasing proportion of the population, do not only lose the direct benefits of a wage, but also indirectly through the loss of rights to many often more long-term benefits. And this seems to apply whether the benefits are made available by the employer or the state.
5.7 SEX DISCRIMINATION AND EQUAL PAY

It was shown above that women overall receive lower wages than men, even when the same occupational categories are compared. Since the differences in pay cannot thus be accounted for by skill differences, this points to segmentation in the labour market based on gender. Segmentation was defined in Chapter Two as "different wages for workers of equal efficiency". In fact, it is unlawful to pay men and women different wages for the same work:

"The Equal Pay Act 1970 provides for an individual woman (or man) to be treated not less favourably than a man (or woman) in the same employment in respect of pay and other terms of her contract of employment, where she is employed on the same work as he is, on work which is broadly similar, on work which has been given equal value to a man's job under job evaluation, or on work which is of equal value to that of a man where no job evaluation scheme exists..."

(Amendments to the Guide to the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975)

This Act includes not only work of the same character, Equal pay may now be sought if the job, "although different from that performed by a man, is worth the same in terms of the demands which it makes" upon a person. (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1984, p.7). An interesting point with the Equal Pay Act is that it may be involved by all workers, included part-time, temporary workers or employees over normal retirement age, for instance.
Since rates of pay are consistently lower for female workers than for male workers in the labour force overall, there is no reason to believe that the situation is different for seasonal workers. However, the motivation for claiming equal pay through the Equal Pay Act may be lower when the work relationship is of short duration. Also, to the extent that the job is insecure in terms of duration within the season, it may be considered of considerable risk to make use of this opportunity to claim equal pay. This will be returned to in Chapter Seven.

5.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, secondary sources have been used to describe the labour market in Devon and Cornwall, including the general situation, the holiday industry and seasonal work, and to discuss the working conditions, such as pay and other benefits, that may be expected to apply to seasonal work.

The two main sections suggest that the availability of good jobs and working conditions offered tend to be interlinked. Thus, there is relatively high unemployment in the two counties and wages are relatively low. In other words, this suggests that a large labour reserve may support a low-wage structure.

Tourism employment was found to affect a large number of
people in the area, a considerable part of this being seasonal employment. Seasonal employment was, moreover, found to be largely part-time or casual. This supports the suggestion in Chapter Three that cost-consciousness and flexibility may be important management considerations when recruiting workers on a seasonal basis.

There seems to be some evidence of segmentation in the labour market. First of all, the low pay in the region compared to other regions may be due to a low pay tradition in the two counties, where some jobs are consistently paid less than in other areas. Some of the overall differences between regions may, however, be explained by the dominance of the service industry, a traditionally low-paying industry, and the lack of manufacturing jobs. This may indicate that segmentation may take place between industries, although comparisons between jobs in different industries on the basis of "efficiency" may be difficult. However, it is likely that different degrees of union activity and job sheltering systems apply in the two types of industry, explaining some of the pay variations.

Segmentation on the basis of gender has also been suggested from data showing that women tend to receive lower pay than men for similar work. Women dominate the seasonal jobs, although overall women have participated in the labour force far less than the county averages would indicate. Recent years have seen a rise in female employment, especially
married women in part-time work.

As well as the unemployed, other groups that do not register as unemployed in the area were found to be seasonal workers, for instance, 'housewives', students and 'moonlighters', as well as workers from other parts of the country. Nevertheless, seasonal unemployment was found to be considerable relative to the country average. This justifies a questioning of how valuable seasonal jobs really are in employment terms.

Although data regarding wages for seasonal work are not available, one would expect working conditions for this group to be poor on the basis of what is known about pay in general in the area and in the industries and jobs in question. For seasonal workers, many other benefits normally linked to employment and provided whether by employers or the public system will be lost.

Given poor working conditions, one may well ask how it is possible to recruit such large numbers of workers to seasonal work. If the orientations to work are instrumental, as suggested in Chapter Three, the tolerance for low returns are surprising. If the lack of alternative employment opportunities determine the acceptance of low wages, the difficulty or ease by which employers recruit labour to seasonal work and the way they go about it, is of interest here. This will be a central question in the next chapter.
discussing the data on seasonal employers and may, together with attitudes of seasonal workers towards work in Chapter Eight, help clarify this conundrum.
Note

1) For instance, the proportion of women working full time remained the same in Cornwall from 1971 to 1981, while part time female workers increased from 14 per cent to over 17 per cent.
CHAPTER SIX

SEASONAL EMPLOYERS

INTRODUCTION

The last chapter gave evidence suggesting that the labour market in Devon and Cornwall is characterised by high levels of unemployment, with strong seasonal variations and a high proportion of low-paying service-sector jobs. Seasonal jobs in tourist-dependent service industries would therefore be expected to be characterised by working conditions in accordance with what has been described as secondary labour market conditions, i.e. low pay, low job stability, little job security and few opportunities for promotion and direct supervision.

In this chapter, such assumptions will be discussed further on the basis of interviews with seasonal employers. Their strategies concerning recruitment, training and control, and their attitudes to and experience of different categories of workers will shed further light on seasonal employment conditions.

It was mentioned in Chapter Four on Methods and Methodology how it is virtually impossible to gain a full and representative picture of all seasonal employers, as they are geographically scattered and the diversity of tasks, businesses and reasons for employing on a seasonal basis is great. Apart from actually finding it difficult to
identify and set clear boundaries between seasonal and non-seasonal employers, much seasonal employment will not be registered as such anywhere - it may be on a very casual basis or there may be a mutual interest of keeping the employment relationship unofficial. This would be the case, for example, if the worker wants to avoid tax and the employer wants to avoid paperwork, public control or keeping to Wages Council rates of pay. Whether work is temporary or permanent is not differentiated in official statistics or surveys. Unless such surveys are carried out during the peak season, seasonal workers would not be included in such figures. With such limitations in mind, the sample of seasonal employers will be described and discussed in the next section.

6.2 SEASONAL EMPLOYERS

The sample here, then, does not pretend to give the full picture of seasonal employment in Devon and Cornwall. But it does consist of eight employers in different but quite typical areas of activity for seasonal employment. Some employ extra staff in the summer months to supplement their permanent staff, while others only stay open for a limited number of months each year so that all their staff are "seasonal".

To describe the sample in more detail, there are two hotels, one open all year with a peak summer season, the other
open only part of the year so that all staff are seasonal. Both are fairly large hotels and cover both accommodation and extensive catering. There are two District Councils, naturally permanent organisations, both taking on seasonal staff primarily to take care of areas of special relevance to tourists in the summer season. There are two motoring organisations in the sample and as the name suggests their business is to offer service to their motoring members and recruit new members. Both are open and fairly busy throughout the year, covering a wide range of services, such as travel agency, insurance, publication and rescue service. Both these organisations are nationwide and experience a considerable increase of activity in the local branches in the summer season. Finally, the sample includes two large organisations in the museum/exhibition category. One is open all year, although for the general public only from Easter to October, the other is open only in the latter period. Both organisations offer catering services and shops on the premises in addition to their main business of exhibition.

These are all fairly large organisations, all employing considerable numbers of seasonal staff, as will be returned to below. The District Councils and the motoring organisations are not dependent on summer tourism, although the latter two do increase business during the summer peak, which may influence the relative size of these local offices. The other half of the sample, however, are totally dependent
on summer holiday trade for their survival, at least on the level they operate at present. Both the hotels and the 'museums' are therefore dependent on the market preferences of tourists, mentioned in Chapter Three. In addition, the 'museums' are short-term weather dependent, in an opposite way to what one normally thinks would benefit tourist dependent trade. According to the managers here, sunshine means beach-weather. One museum-manager, therefore, saw increases in business in rainy weather, the other depended on over-cast weather without rain as much of the exhibition was out-doors.

All organisations in the sample had financial goals, although there were differences in the way these applied. The hotels may represent one extreme, where the financial goals were the main ones for being in business. The same may be said of the motoring organisations, but much of their business was to provide service for members, so that the day-to-day business was less orientated towards profit-making. Being part of national organisations, the outcome of their services could just as well show up in long-term financial gains in other local offices. As mentioned above, the museums depended on tourism for their present activity level and the managers were very much oriented towards financial interest, although both of the organisations were charities and thus had other financial sources. Finally, the district councils profit indirectly from tourism, but very little from the extra services they provide for tourists.
However, with cuts in public budgets, cost consciousness was emphasised strongly. Financial matters, then, were mentioned by all the respondents as important, although the degree to which their survival depended on tourism varied. Whether this variation makes for different employment strategies will be examined below. Overall, though, it may be concluded that the sample is perhaps less directly vulnerable to short swings in tourist numbers than all the small, seasonal-only establishments, like guest houses or caravan sites. The former are, though, important and stable providers of seasonal jobs, although they are possibly different from some other categories.

6.3 JOB CATEGORIES IN THE SAMPLE

There are many ways in which jobs may be categorised. Here, the sample of employers will be described according to the degree by which they depend on permanent and seasonal staff respectively, the types of jobs that seasonal labour is hired to do, the duration of employment for seasonal staff and the daily or weekly arrangements that are administered regarding working time.

Except in one purely seasonal hotel, all the employers here had some permanent staff.

The District Council which employed seasonal staff for six or seven months of the year had about 400 permanent
full-time staff (a decrease from about 500 in 1978-79) and employed 47 people last summer season.

The ratio of seasonal to permanent staff is increasing in this council, as a conscious means of cutting labour costs. It was also mentioned that some seasonal employment pays for itself, such as the collection of harbour fees from visiting yachtspeople. This employers' cost consciousness is also visible from the varying but precise hours and weeks seasonal staff are taken on for. There are, thus, eight lavatory cleaners who work 10-14 hours a week, car park inspectors on full time of 39-47 hours a week for twenty weeks a year, five life guards with a 48 hour week - eighteen weeks a year, three boat park attendants (48 hour week - twenty two weeks a year), two fee collectors at 39 hours a week, three or four recreation assistants at 35 hours a week - twenty two weeks a year, and eight seasonal "labourers" (refuse collection, beach cleaning etc.) working 39 hours a week and fifteen to twenty weeks a year. This council seems to have got the rationalisation of staff numbers down to a fine art.

The other District Council in the sample had 300 full time permanent and 100 part time permanent staff. Seasonal staff were a lower proportion than for the last employer, only thirteen on full time and four on part time. This could partly be due to the greater flexibility already offered by their sizeable proportion of part-time permanent
staff, but in addition this district council seemed more unwilling to cater directly for tourists, except where necessary. There is only one centre of any tourist importance in this district. The type of work on a seasonal basis was six full-time car park attendants, six full-time bowling green attendants and one full-time life guard (except for the latter, these are all working in the same area); also, on a part-time basis (20 hour/week) there are two lavatory cleaners, one water safety officer and one half time life guard.

As expected, the proportion of seasonal staff in the hotels is much higher than this. In the hotel only open from March to November, there was, of course, no permanent staff, but some variation in staff numbers in the peak season (June - September) and the rest of the opening time. Between June and September there were 30-33 staff, 27-28 the rest of the time. These were all full time (48 hour week), six days a week and working on a shift basis, often on split shifts so that they would work in the morning and the late afternoon and have time off midday. This means that the staff are tied to the area for longer than the 48 hours a week. Some casual staff (catering students) would occasionally be taken on for special events. Seasonal jobs were naturally spread throughout the organisation as the hotel itself is seasonal and all staff must be rehired every year. The manager obviously and understandably found it a strain to fill
positions in hotel, restaurant, beauty salon/hairdresser and bar/pool every season and this seems to be his main incentive in aiming to become a full year hotel and increasingly being able to offer local labour more permanent employment.

The other hotel in the sample is, as mentioned, open all year round, and as a larger hotel in a more central position, manages to attract business conferences, exhibitions and the like in the off-season. There was some uncertainty as to the actual number of staff on different types of contract at different times of the year, but the figures for "full-time job equivalents" August 1982 to July 1983 were available. From a peak of 78 full time job equivalents in August, the figure sunk until a March "low" of 47 when the trend turned again. This should mean that between a third and a half of staff at the August peak are not there in February/March. It complicates the task of defining 'who's who' that there is a trend in the hotel towards fewer permanent full time, while 'permanent' casual are used increasingly. This, according to the manager, is a more efficient use of labour.

All kitchen, (except dishwashing), reception, porters and maintenance staff are permanent, i.e. permanent and seasonal staff are found in different departments of the hotel. As turnover is high, throughout the year in all departments, the question could be asked whether anyone
is really permanent in this hotel. Of the seasonal staff, then, all are on a full time (rather than part time or casual) basis. These hold jobs in dishwashing, bar, nanny, pool-attendant, chambermaids, waiters. In other words, they are apparently in the less prestigious and untrained areas of the hotel.

The same principle in division of labour is applied in the "museum" which is open all the year round, although in the winter months emphasis is on pre-booked parties rather than the tourism trade in the seasonal sense. Twenty people are employed there on a permanent basis, four of whom are managers, one or two part-time, but the rest full-time. This is a steady increase of permanent staff, as seven years earlier there were only four full time permanent staff.

As in the case of the last organisation the permanent staff in this one also tend to hold the key positions and, when applicable in summer season, the supervisory roles. In the months from Easter to October, twenty extra staff are taken on and in the very peak season in July and August another fifteen are needed. These thirty five are again mostly full time, a majority of locals holding the half year jobs with mostly students taking the short term jobs. Also in seasonal jobs there has been an increase in the previous seven years, when only fifteen were employed.
Seasonal staff are employed throughout the organisation, normally in supervised roles, because this is the sort of place people tend to visit when the weather is indifferent, the number of visitors, and business generally, can be very low in a summer with good weather. Seasonal jobs are in such cases insecure: especially since the short-term seasonal workers are employed on a very casual understanding (according to the manager) that if the numbers of visitors drop from one week to the next their work may not be needed. This then must be the category of job which only people with alternative means of survival can take - not knowing whether one will be employed from one week to the next or not is hardly an agreeable arrangement.

The other "museum" in the sample, also a fairly large organisation as "museums" go, can be contrasted since it is only open for a limited period of the year. It does, however, have six permanent full-time staff, in administration, stables and garden plus one permanent part time cleaner. With over a hundred people working in the organisation in the months it is open to the public (about 7 months from April to October), the seasonal factor is very important, and seasonal staff are found throughout the organisation. The voluntary worker is, however, prominent in this organisation and there is a mixture of full time and individual part time arrangements. Thus, of the eighty guides or room stewards, there are eighteen on duty each day. Half of these are on a voluntary basis, the other
half are employed, but on modest wages. Then there are three cleaners on a seasonal basis, one voluntary and the other two work ten months a year - five days a week and seven months a year - three days a week. In the shop there are six people in all, three every day and in the restaurant twelve people working (six a day), including cook, manageress and waitresses. One of the reasons for all this part time work was as mentioned above that below twenty hours work a week, National Insurance contributions were not required. This organisation had no wish to increase visitor numbers and thus expected little change in staff numbers. Voluntary work was, however, encouraged and also MSC schemes were welcomed. Around twenty people had been working in this organisation under such schemes doing maintenance work throughout the winter.

Finally, the last two organisations in the sample, the motoring organisations, naturally offer their services to the general public throughout the year and so have a relatively large number of permanent staff. One has sixteen permanent staff in its local office, some of these on a part time contract. Three full time staff are employed, in addition, in the summer season. According to the employer the seasonal staff do 'occasional' or 'backstage' work in the office and are not in direct contact with the customers, as this is seen as 'specialised' work. In actual fact, however, one interview with a seasonal worker was undertaken who worked in the reception area.
The second motoring organisation had an office locally (Plymouth) which covered more of the normal services of the parent company than the first one appeared to do locally. This organisation had 111 permanent full time staff in the West country (Plymouth and mobile offices and units) and six permanent part time workers. In the summer season thirteen extra staff were employed, six in the control room (taking breakdown calls from the public), four of these were part time (20 hours) and two were full time (40 hours). A further five of the thirteen seasonal staff were employed in so-called 'mobile offices', porta-cabins placed in various areas and two were employed in the office reception, for tourist information and membership sales. The areas not covered by seasonal staff were administration and repairmen, the latter being skilled work unsuitable for untrained seasonal staff. Except for perhaps one of the district councils, this was the only other employer of seasonal workers in the sample that had the employment of seasonal workers systematised, with job descriptions, conditions and shifts clearly presented in a written form to the workers beforehand. This is a good example of how seasonal work need not be casual and insecure.

To sum up, the ratio of seasonal to permanent staff vary in the sample here. The figures do confirm, however, the impression given in Chapter Five, that considerable numbers
of workers are employed on a seasonal basis. As mentioned in Chapter Three, employing part-time, seasonal or casual labour may be an important way in which management may cut labour costs.

There are two extremes in the material regarding working time. Thus, the use of part-time and casual arrangements were found throughout. On the other hand, full-time seasonal workers were often found to work extremely long hours. In addition, shift work applied in many organisations.

The use of part-time and casual labour may sometimes have to do with the requirements of applicants. The general impression given by employers here, however, was that their cost-consciousness was the basis for dividing up jobs, in addition to the daily fluctuations of demand. For instance, hotels would be busiest around meal-times, beaches are busiest mid-day. It seemed then, that low costs and flexibility were best achieved through a set of varying labour arrangements.

As mentioned, all the employers in the sample expected from seasonal staff that they work either long or unusual hours in the day, sometimes on a shift basis, or that they work weekends, having weekdays off in lieu. While this might be normal practice for all workers in the hotel trade, for example, it was clear in the other organisations that such arrangements could be expected from seasonal workers,
although not normally from permanent staff. In the National Joint Council Conditions of Service (Manual Workers) Section 4 covering "Seasonal workers employed at coastal resorts" (see Appendix 7) a list of rules giving employment conditions for seasonal workers is given. Examples from this include: "The working week shall be spread over six days"..., "Sunday shall be regarded as part of the normal working week and as a normal working day"..., also overtime is only paid (at time-and-a-half) after forty-seven hours have been worked in a week. It does seem, then, that there are more benefits to the employer as regards flexibility in employing seasonal staff than is initially suggested.

Except for the hotel where all jobs were staffed by seasonal workers, the impression is that the 'good' jobs are held by permanent staff, while most seasonal jobs were the most unskilled jobs in the organisation. This holds for the District Councils, the full-year hotel and to some extent in the museums. The exceptions to this, were museum guides, who needed specific skills in order to do their work and, to some extent, work in the motor- ing organisations where seasonal staff were engaged throughout the organisation, in jobs where specific skills were needed, such as geographical and mechanical insights. The question of whether these skills were acknowledged by the employer in a way that seemed good working conditions, will be raised in Chapter Seven. But, generally, and also in the latter cases, the supervisors tend to hold the
permanent positions, while the seasonal staff are the supervised. The next section deals with how seasonal staff are recruited and what recruitment problems, if any, are experienced by seasonal employers.

6.4 RECRUITMENT OF SEASONAL STAFF

It was suggested in Chapter Three that for seasonal employers the recruitment of labour may raise specific problems due to the uncertainty in demand for business and the considerable numbers of staff that must be rehired every summer season.

The employers were asked how they could determine in advance the need for staff under such variable circumstances. All employers said that they would look back to previous years' figures and hope for the best. Several employers did make it clear that the need for seasonal staff depended on actual trade, although the hotels could get some indication of numbers through early reservations for the summer season, the employment of staff could for others be a last minute decision. Two employers said that if visitor numbers exceeded the expected, "we will all just have to work a bit harder".

Once employed, though, staff numbers are not necessarily given for the season. Two employers admitted quite openly that if the weather failed or for some reason visitor numbers
fell, seasonal staff would have to leave on short notice. However, one employer said that "Of course, if the situation changes, these workers are told that there will always be a job". In other words, although this employer said that he offered full time employment for the summer season, this could turn out to be casual if demand fluctuated. It is, of course, only in a situation where work is scarce that an employer will be able to use such methods. Also, it is much easier to hire and fire workers at will when the latter have not got the duration of employment necessary to form any collective force or, indeed, have any inclination to join a trade union. As was confirmed through the interviews, employer autonomy is considerable in making such decisions. No employers mentioned having had any conflicts in handling questions of hiring and firing.

6.5 TYPES OF SEASONAL WORKERS

The employers were asked which 'categories' of people they employed on a seasonal basis, and whether these categories were picked deliberately or if they just represented the type of applicant to such work.

The sample of employers stated the following categories as their typical seasonal worker: first, with the exception of one employer, a hotel, all the employers in the sample stated that all or the majority of their seasonal staff were local. This is an accordance with the results from
the Torbay study referred to in Chapter Five, where most seasonal jobs were found to be held by local residents, although 22 per cent of the jobs in holiday accommodation were filled by non-locals. Popular belief has it that many seasonal jobs are filled by people from other parts of the UK, but on the basis of evidence here it seems that the non-locals are concentrated in few organisations. In the hotel mentioned here, about 25 per cent of the seasonal work force were local 'settled' adults, while 75 per cent were younger and what were referred to as 'holiday' people, that is, people who find summer work on the South Coast to combine this with cheap holidays.

A total and detailed break-down of the age and sex of the sample of workers will follow in the next chapter. At this stage, however, it should be mentioned that certain groups of people tended to be mentioned most often by employers as typical seasonal staff. First of all, where age was mentioned, the young and the elderly would be mentioned most often. Thus, to quote a few examples: 'under 25', 'young girls', '20-30 year olds', 'girls 18-26' and 'retired' or 'early retired' seemed to be large categories. Next, women who are or have been married and who have been away from work for some years comprise another important category. Men at their 'best working age' were seldom found as seasonal workers here, except students and also in some hotel jobs, where the line between seasonal and permanent work was blurred because of high turnover in permanent jobs.
Sex roles were very traditional in the organisations examined. Thus, men would be life guards, car park attendants, chefs, waiters, porters, bartenders, pool-attendants, washers-up and be in the control room jobs in the motoring organisations, while women were bowling green attendants, cleaned lavatories, were chambermaids, cleaners and waitresses, were cooks (rather than chefs), did office work and worked as receptionists.

Some employers maintained that the categories of staff depended on the type of applicant, but this did not seem to constrain employers in their 'traditional' choices between the sexes. Applicants mirrored the needs, perhaps, for some employers mentioned explicitly that men and women were sought for different types of jobs. For instance, one employer said that "reception work is best suited to glamorous girls between 18-26".

It was sometimes a matter of practicality that determined choices between male and female employees. The reason why only men worked in the breakdown-taking jobs was, according to their female supervisor, due to discrimination on the part of men already in the job (mostly retired policemen, firemen or naval personnel) who seemed to find women unsuited for the job. One of the 'museum' employers said that gender in that organisation had to follow a Victorian pattern, as the place mirrors this period, but that the end result was half and half men and women. Substantial
evidence was found that women hold seasonal jobs more often than men. This may have to do with traditional role patterns in the service industry as well as more women being available for this kind of work, since so many, compared to men, are not in permanent employment.

Finally, local authorities mentioned that they are required by law to have a quota of disabled people with jobs like car park attendants, but in the two district councils the interpretation of this law seemed to vary, as in one it was stated that this only went for car park attendants who could do the job sitting down and not checking windscreenes or directing cars.

Most of the categories of workers mentioned here as seasonal workers could be grouped in what Doeringer and Piore termed 'disadvantaged groups in the labour market': young people with little training, married women with a neglected career, retired or early retired people and the disabled. It is difficult to determine whether these categories are matched to seasonal jobs because other jobs are not available, a question that will be raised in Chapter Eight, or whether the main reason is that these groups are deliberately picked by employers for reasons of cheapness and flexibility. Both explanations probably contain some truth. The answers given by employers to the difficulties they had in finding suitable staff on a seasonal basis indicate that there are large groups of prospective workers in these areas willing
to take seasonal jobs, so employers should have a good choice as far as personal traits like sex and age are concerned.

6.6 RECRUITMENT PROBLEMS

Not unexpectedly, all employers in the sample found it easy to find applicants to fill seasonal vacancies. For example, one of the district councils mentioned that there were plenty of retired and unemployed people together with people who have taken early retirement. In one hotel, up to twice the number of applications would be received for the actual numbers required for the season. In one motoring organisation it was mentioned that there were more applicants for full time than part time work, but even the latter had twenty applicants for four positions, while a receptionist job (seasonal) had a hundred applicants. This confirms the picture in Chapter Five that work is, indeed, scarce.

Although such examples were given, other employers said that the quantity of applicants was there, but not the quality. One hotel, for example placed two advertisements for chambermaids and waitresses in a national magazine. They had 500(!) replies, thirty of these looked interesting after reading the applications/letters and only three were found suitable and employed after interview. It was difficult to find out what was actually wrong with the
applicants, as formal training was not important in these jobs, but personality, experience and ability to communicate with upper middle class guests were mentioned as positive (and indeed necessary) traits. One of the 'museums' in the sample had similar experiences, that there were enough applicants, but not many suitable. Patience with visitors and the ability to communicate information were necessary in some of the jobs here. The other 'museum' did not have a great excess of applicants, but then they were often seeking voluntary workers where possible. This organisation did have difficulty in obtaining and keeping a cook (which was defined as a 'specialised' job) over any length of time. This had to do with what they could offer in the way of pay and training, which was relatively modest. On the whole, however, it did not seem a great problem to fill seasonal positions in the sample of employers, at least as far as numerical factors were concerned.

It does seem that where people possess some skills and alternative employment is available, they do sometimes manage to utilise the situation to their advantage. For instance, both hotels mentioned the problem of people arriving for a pre-arranged job, settling in and then finding better paid work with a different local hotel. This would usually be possible at the peak of the season when demand was high and the price of labour rose.
6.7 RECRUITMENT CHANNELS

The fact that only one organisation in the sample - a seasonal hotel - was found to recruit non-locals to any significant degree, may well have to do with the channels the employers use to attract labour. The mentioned hotel was the only organisation that made use of national channels, - a national magazine - to advertise for seasonal labour. This employer stated that he preferred local labour but that the number of employees needed were not available in the local market. Since this employer had tried local job centres, for instance, with poor results, this may indicate that seasonal labour is not very mobile within the area, in that recruitment could otherwise have been made from other areas of Devon, within daily travelling distance. One problem of mobility within the counties which was mentioned by all the employers situated in rural areas was that poor transportation set limits. The infrequency and cost of public transport combined with long distances and long working days made the area from which local seasonal labour could be hired quite limited. Even so, in some cases it was actually impossible to hire workers who did not possess a car, as the organisation was situated outside any public transport routes. This confirms the thesis that the geographical range within which manual workers usually seek work is very limited.

Goodman's (1970) evidence that blue collar workers largely
acquire their jobs by informal means, eg. through family and friends was largely confirmed in this study. However, the employer data showed that all the normal channels were used by the employers to obtain staff, often selectively so that some types of staff would be advertised for, while other types would be recruited by 'word of mouth.'

Advertisements in local newspapers had been used by all organisations in the sample at some time or other, but did not seem very much to be used by each employer and the results from this source were variable. Five of the employers said they used the job centre, four of these had very good experience with this. Three of them said that applicants were selected by people at the job centre who knew the firm's needs before being sent for interview, so this may explain why it worked so well. One hotel, though, was very disappointed with the job centre, as they for example had 'skinheads' sent as a result of a request for chambermaids.

Half the sample of employers used 'word of mouth' by permanent staff in their local communities, and recruitment through personal channels. This was much preferred when possible, as were local staff. One of the hotels, for example, had offers of seasonal workers in numbers of letters, but would not take on anyone without interview. This could prove difficult if applicants were not local. Employers also felt that local staff recommended by others
were more likely to possess the personal qualities they were looking for. In the terminology here, one might expect this category to be easier to 'control', as community norms themselves may provide the necessary control.

The half of the sample that used informal, personal methods of recruitment were also the ones that recruited from a small, local area. These were the organisations where staff returned for several summer seasons. Thus, in both 'museums' and both District Councils people tended to be rehired for seasonal jobs year after year. According to these employers a feeling of 'belonging' developed among many seasonal workers. In closed communities with few alternative jobs it is not unexpected, however, that people will return for several years.

In the hotels in the sample workers were seldom rehired in consecutive years. This may partly have to do with the recruitment of non-local labour here, but it also seemed that the turnover of labour was significant in this trade throughout the year. In the two motoring organisations people were seldom rehired either. This may have to do with their urban location, where job opportunities and offers of permanent employment are better than in more rural areas.
6.8 QUALITIES LOOKED FOR IN SEASONAL STAFF

As indicated above, most employers did not experience problems finding enough applicants for seasonal jobs, but three-quarters of the sample mentioned problems of finding applicants of the right personal calibre. Generally, most employers stated that the 'best' applicant for the job would get it, but what characterises the best applicant and which indicators were used to find these characteristics in the individual applicant was not always quite clear. In many cases the impression was left that whether the employer 'liked' the applicant or not was the decisive factor.

Education was not mentioned by any of the employers as important in itself, but two employers mentioned this as being important as an indicator of personal qualities, like intelligence, the ability to work hard, and adaptability. Social background was used as a similar indicator of certain qualities and two employers explicitly said that a middle class social background was necessary in order not to 'offend' customers and guests. Specific skills linked to job experience were mentioned in only two cases, that of a water safety officer needing maritime experience and breakdown recorders in a motoring organisation needing geographical and motor knowledge. In these cases, other qualities than those mentioned here were not necessary. Similarly, physical ability was important in some of the
District Council jobs, such as life guards and refuse collectors although other personal qualities were of little importance.

Apart from these exceptions, social and personal qualities were the ones mentioned most often. All employers except the District Councils mentioned social qualities and all employers mentioned personal traits as being important in their choice between applicants. Examples of social qualities indicate that the importance of this has much to do with the jobs being central in handling guests and customers. Thus, 'ability to communicate with upper middle class' (hotel), 'good with visitors' (museum), 'be able to smile' (museum), 'the right balance of pushiness' (selling membership in museum), and 'a communicator' (museum) were mentioned as important. In line with these 'social qualities' were personal qualities of importance towards clients: 'Friendliness', 'cleanliness', 'fairly smart, nice people', 'good manners', were examples of this category. Finally, personal qualities determining the ability to do the job well were 'ability to work hard', 'can settle in quickly, adapt', 'honesty', 'flexible', 'responsible', 'commitment', 'to be trusted', 'high standards' and 'dedication'.

It did seem that the customer-related personal qualities were somewhat different for women and men, mirroring traditional sex roles. An example of this was the qualities
given as important by one employer to two different job-types in this organisation. One type of job was a receptionist, where the employer wanted 'girls' 18-26 years of age. Qualities wanted were "presentation, age, girls, handwriting, intelligence, non-smoking, that they lived in certain areas of the city (family background) and general education". Qualities asked for in the other job-type, telephone breakdown recorder in a motoring organisation, were "experience, knowledge of local geography, talk, nerves, even-tempered, not weak, "a communicator", and quick writer". Needless to say, men were wanted to fill vacancies in the latter job-type.

The vague personal or social attributes of applicants dominate the qualities looked for by employers. This is perhaps reasonable in a service-industry where personal contact with customers is an important part of the job. It was, however, surprising that skills acquired through education or training were not mentioned more often. This may have to do with permanent staff holding the 'skilled' positions and that permanent staff was trusted to supervise seasonal staff and supply the necessary training 'on the job'. Reluctance to place specific demands regarding education and training may, however, also have something to do with the cost of labour holding specific skills. The connection between skills and rewards will be discussed further on the basis of worker information in the next chapter. Here, however, it is worth noting that little emphasis was placed
on formal skills.

While formal qualifications or previous training (clear and objective measures) decide between applicants in most professional or skilled jobs, applicants to unskilled jobs are often screened on the basis of the employers' subjective preferences for various personal characteristics. Furthermore, such personal 'qualities', although they may be important in the job, are not valued as high or as strictly as educational characteristics. The possibility of negotiating pay on the basis of, say, 'honesty' or 'good manners' may be much more difficult than to use job-related education to argue the case. With this in mind, discussion now turns to working conditions.

6.9 WORKING CONDITIONS

Naturally, most seasonal employers take on temporary staff because they only need them for a certain period of time and with business being slack in winter can neither afford nor need to have staff on with no work to do. The impression was given, however, on several occasions but most clearly with one district council, that the trend over the last few years, with cost-consciousness high on the priority list, was to make many jobs as possible seasonal and cut down as far as possible on full-time permanent staff. Not only will the latter category expect a reasonable yearly wage, but as was shown in the last chapter, there
are many other benefits the employee can claim as permanent that do not apply to seasonal or some categories of part time staff.

It was suggested in Chapters Two and Three that firms may establish a dual set of working conditions, where in this case seasonal workers provide a buffer of cheap and flexible labour. This was the basis for asking the employers about differences in working conditions between permanent and seasonal staff.

Information provided earlier in this chapter already gives an indication of this. It was pointed out that the seasonal jobs are made up of a combination of weeks, hours, part-time and casual that seems to indicate extreme cost-consciousness in the case of seasonal work. Seasonal workers were also expected to be more flexible than permanent ones in taking on shift-work, working longer than normal hours and working week-ends. Finally, it was pointed out that permanent workers would hold the supervisory roles while seasonal workers would be the supervised and that most seasonal jobs are unskilled insofar as formal qualifications are not demanded.

It seems that the cost of seasonal staff per worked hour must be considerably lower than the cost of most permanent staff. Comparisons are made difficult because in some cases permanent staff were not employed at all, in other
cases permanent and seasonal staff held different, and in wage terms, incompatible jobs.

One district council said the costs of hiring permanent and seasonal staff were the same and that it was all laid down in national agreements. The other district council suggested that seasonal workers were paid an hourly rate and the high number of working hours were taken into account, thus bringing about a "reasonable" wage per week. It is, of course, doubtful whether it is reasonable to take the amount of hours into account in such an assessment. The hours for seasonal staff, were 47, while permanent staff worked 39 hours per week. Further, seasonal staff must work weekends, and receive overtime rates of payment only after 47 hours. The "National Joint Council of Service - Seasonal Workers Employed at Coastal Resorts" - comment that,

"The rates of pay for seasonal workers, other than those determined specially by the National and Provincial Councils, shall be determined locally and subject to Paragraph 3, shall not be less than the minimum rate of pay prescribed by the National Council (i.e. Group A)."

This indicates that seasonal workers are placed in their own category when it comes to rates of pay, even in public service. To the extent that permanent workers doing the same job receive higher rates of pay, and the material above may suggest that, this indicates segmentation accord-
ing to the definitions arrived at in Chapter Two.

The hotels in the sample paid the same wage in principle whatever the length of contract. Turnover is great in this business at any time of year and wages are low overall. Factors that did affect wages were the degree of training, experience, age and whether employees lived in the hotel or not. Also, in one hotel, those that did a good job would be rewarded for that. As a result of probing on this question it was admitted that this would apply to permanent staff in key roles.

One of the museums in the sample paid their workers according to seniority and differences in skill levels. Since permanent staff had all the senior and supervising jobs, there was a clear difference between permanent and seasonal jobs here. A point was made here of applying a 'Japanese model' as the manager called it, by which he meant that all staff did the same work, on a rotating basis. Even so, permanent workers were better paid. The catering department here was covered by Wages Council agreements.

Wages Council agreements also applied to shop and restaurant workers in the second 'museum' in the sample. Apart from this, there were no rules about wages here. The proportion of voluntary workers in this organisation was quite high and the employer gave the impression that anything beyond the voluntary workers' wage level (petrol money) was really
too much.

The motoring organisations split on this question, as one paid lower wages to seasonal staff than to the permanent, while in the other the information was that wages were the same and based on national agreements.

Costs other than wages were mentioned by some of the sample. For example, all but two organisations give no formal training, and training costs would not apply. One of the museums run a training weekend for all staff at the beginning of the season, and in the 'equal' paying motoring organisation discussed above there was a training programme for all categories of staff.

No sick pay, National Insurance contributions, holidays or concessions were given in the motoring organisations. In fact, this was spelt out in the further particulars issued to applicants:

"Your employment with the ... as set out above does not exceed twenty five weeks and does not entitle you to any rights under the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974 (as amended) or the Employment Protection Act 1975 (as amended), nor do you qualify for any pension rights.

You will not be entitled to any holiday nor to any holiday pay during the period. If you are ill during the relevant period you must produce a valid Medical Certificate for any absence
exceeding four days. The ... will pay you for the first week of absence due to sickness but thereafter no further payments will be made until you resume your duties in accordance with this agreement".

The other type of organisation having formal procedures in recruiting and regarding conditions were the District Councils. With respect to sickness pay, the agreement here states that:

"No provision has been made for sickness pay since it is assumed that a seasonal worker is unlikely to be employed for the necessary minimum period of six months' continuous service in order to qualify for admission to the sickness pay scheme".

In fact, the District Councils do provide 'leave with pay' on termination of employment to provide for holiday.

The rest of the employers were very evasive on this point — however, the subject of non-wage benefits will be returned to in the next chapter, as the workers were asked explicitly about this. What the discussion above shows, however, is that formal procedures in recruitment and conditions are exceptions rather than the norm. It is only when such procedures and conditions are established in national agreements that they apply in the organisations. No local level collective bargaining was found in these organisations, although they were all quite large in size. The employers decided the wages and conditions as they considered right,
for instance on the basis of seniority. Since senior positions were held by permanent employees in most cases, it is reasonable to expect that most seasonal workers were paid minimum wages with no extra benefits and that the opportunity of individuals making changes in these when only employed temporary is not present. Actual wage rates will be returned to in the next chapter.

6.10 OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROMOTION

Opportunities for promotion was a factor mentioned in earlier chapters as something distinguishing primary from secondary labour market conditions. Jobs in the primary sector often give such opportunities, for instance through the job-specific training and promotion ladders built into internal labour markets. Jobs in the secondary market, however, do not give such opportunities. To the extent that seasonal workers are only interested in temporary work in the short run, opportunities and expectations of promotion may not have much significance. But if seasonal workers work temporary because that is all that is available to them in the labour market, it would be of great importance to them to be able to extract some training from the job that would help them to apply for better jobs later.

First of all, little formal training was given to seasonal workers in these organisations. The necessary minimum of
training to do the job at hand satisfactorily was provided by supervisors.

Further, the employers’ view of permanent and seasonal staff clearly disadvantaged the latter group. The employers who held views on differences between permanent and seasonal staff, pointed out that permanent staff were more motivated, able and reliable in the job. Along dimensions like flexibility, turnover and absenteeism, however, no differences were detected. In fact, seasonal workers were often expected to be more flexible than the permanent workers, since they were expected to work longer hours, weekends, Bank Holidays, shift-work and often on a part-time or casual basis suited to the employers' needs. For employers to make such jobs permanent, of course, would mean losing this flexibility.

Another indication of promotion opportunities was whether employers were interested in using seasonal staff for permanent positions if jobs became vacant. Three organisations indicated such interest, on the basis that seasonal staff are already trained and experienced. One of these in fact saw a seasonal period of employment as a trial period to see if employees were any good. The two hotels, experiencing a high turnover with their permanent staff were also interested in utilising the experience of seasonal staff, if possible. However, in all three cases, seasonal staff would be interesting for the same type of
work they were already doing, and would not be considered for other positions, at least not initially.

The question of whether employers thought that workers are interested in more permanent positions revealed an information gap between workers and employees, which will be discussed further in Chapter Eight. Only one employer found that most seasonal workers were interested in and tried to find permanent employment, while four employers thought that some seasonal workers might be looking for permanent positions, but that this was not normal. One of these stated that he "reckons the better ones usually find permanent jobs anyway", which indicates an attitude towards seasonal workers as being generally inferior in the labour market. The remainder of the sample thought seasonal workers were not interested in work other than in temporary jobs. Since a majority of seasonal workers were in fact interested in and looking for permanent jobs, there is either an information problem here or the employers are rationalising their use of labour.

Most employers had some plans regarding the future composition of their staff. This was, however, contradictory, as the same employers would say that they wished to make better provision for permanent rather than seasonal jobs, but also pointed out elsewhere that the flexibility and low cost provided by seasonal, casual or part-time labour was very beneficial to the running of the business. The
decisions made between different types of staff seemed in practice not to be one of principle, but one of short term decisions in the day-to-day running of the business. Opportunities for promotion and planned training in these organisations, then, seemed to be quite modest in the case of seasonal staff.

6.11 CONTROL

As expected, a direct, personal form of control was found in the organisations here towards seasonal workers. Supervisors in key positions would control the day-to-day work. An exception to this were, for instance, life guards who had full autonomy in doing their job.

Although conflicts between permanent workers in supervisory roles and seasonal staff were not mentioned to any significant degree, two employers did report such incidents. One hotel, where there had been an enormous turn-over of staff the preceding year, had seen such conflicts, for example, over how waiting should be done at tables. The manager put the problem down to persons in key positions not having a sufficient sense of diplomacy and seasonal staff sometimes not understanding the reasons for doing certain things in certain ways. The other example of conflicts was in a motoring organisation's "control room". This room could be very busy at times, with many phone calls
and people getting tense. Some clashes could then happen if mistakes were made. Seasonal staff tended to get the blame more often than not, but the (female) manager was not sure whether this was because seasonal staff was easier to blame or because they actually made mistakes more easily. Two organisations stressed that seasonal staff do require more supervision, while the others seemed to think that after an initial period of on-the-job training, no extra supervision was needed.

There are, however, control factors present here that are more subtle than the daily control of supervisors. First of all, there are few alternative employment possibilities open to seasonal workers. The example above that hotel workers will change jobs when better paid employment is available, is probably an exception, as in most local communities, work is more difficult to obtain. For this reason, many seasonal workers may be interested in being rehired for coming years, which would be an incentive for them to do a good job. Also, to the extent that they are hired as a result of recommendation from family or friends, it may be expected that the seasonal worker feels obligations towards these others that may serve as an important control factor. In the hiring phase, previous records also come into force, through references. One employer mentioned, for instance, that the "Plymouth old boy network among employers" would come into force if any problems with staff arose. Finally internal control mechanisms other than the
direct, supervisory ones apply. It was mentioned by several employers that customers sometimes complain. Also, the vague employment contracts give staff little job security if they do a poor job or do not adhere to expectations with regard to keeping time for example. Casual agreements may easily be terminated.

Management in these organisations gave the impression of adopting a 'unitary' view of labour relations, emphasising the sense of togetherness, common goals and objectives between management and workers. There was no union activity and employers seemed to have few control problems. Whether the seasonal workers share this view will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

6.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the data derived from interviews with seasonal employers. It has confirmed the suggestions put forward in Chapter Three that seasonal employment provides secondary labour market conditions.

Perhaps, however, it may be useful here to leave a dual system of labour market conditions, to suggest a finer segmentation taking place. Many permanent jobs display secondary labour market conditions, in terms of pay, job stability, job security and opportunities for promotion. But seasonal workers are in several ways worse off than this.
They are only offered employment temporarily and in some cases, job insecurity is appalling as day-to-day changes in demand leads employers to introduce a 'stand-by' system. With luck, work may be available throughout the season, but if, for instance, the weather fails, many seasonal jobs may simply disappear.

Seasonal workers are often employed on a part-time or casual basis, in unskilled jobs and given only a minimum of job-specific training, which gives little credit for future job applications elsewhere. This may, however, give opportunities of being rehired with the same employer in future years.

The employers expected seasonal staff to display flexibility in terms of long and/or irregular working hours that were not normally expected from permanent staff.

Large groups of applicants and competition for jobs may well keep wages down. The same applies to personal or social qualities generally being of greater importance in screening applicants than the more quantifiable educational qualities. The reserve army of labour thesis seems to be significant in this niche of the labour market.

This situation provides seasonal employers with a cheap, flexible and easily disposable work-force which seems to fit their needs very well.
A low potential for geographical mobility was found among seasonal workers. The local labour market was limited by travelling distances and available public transport. Most employers made use of local or informal means to recruit seasonal staff. But where large numbers of staff were needed that could not be recruited locally, non-local labour was considered. This was, in fact, only found in the hotels in the sample and may be due to the provision of accommodation for seasonal workers by these employers. Non-local labour was considered less reliable, however, as personnel sometimes changed employers mid-season if competitive offers were available. This points to two important deductions.

One is that it indicates that seasonal workers may, in fact, have some bargaining power and possibility of influencing their situation if the job market is tight and that alternative employment possibilities are therefore influential in determining working conditions for seasonal workers.

The other is that local labour were not found to utilise this sort of opportunity in the way that was done by non-local labour. This points to factors in the local community prohibiting such action. Where workers are recruited through the influences of family, friends or the local job centre, the norms here will probably apply. The local seasonal worker may also experience limited opportunity
for conflictual action because he or she may depend on the same employer for jobs in years to come. An employer network of exchanging information, as indicated by one employer, may serve the same purpose.

The employer survey shows a general level of satisfaction amongst employers with the current situation. There exists a large pool of available labour that can be tapped and untapped at will and that seems to raise few control problems for the employer.

How seasonal workers see their situation with regard to work and the strategies they use to cope with the situation will be examined in Chapter Eight. First, Chapter Seven will give further evidence on seasonal workers - who they are, what they do and the working conditions they experience - as this was presented through the interviews with seasonal employees.
CHAPTER SEVEN
SEASONAL WORK AND SEASONAL WORKERS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The last two chapters have examined seasonal employment in the light of existing material and interviews with seasonal employers respectively. In the two empirical chapters of this thesis yet to be presented, interviews undertaken with a sample of forty-six seasonal workers during the summer of 1983 will form the basis for discussion of seasonal work in the tourist industry.

The present chapter will focus on the personal characteristics of the sample to see whether seasonal workers are 'special' in terms of age, gender or education. The actual jobs held by the sample will be examined and the working conditions offered in seasonal jobs will be presented and discussed. In Chapter Eight, employment history and attitudes to work and leisure among seasonal workers will be examined.

7.2 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (1)

It can be seen from Table 6 that the sample is relatively young with nearly 60 per cent being aged under thirty-five. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the sample are elderly (made up of retired, semi-retired and those who have taken early retirement). It is interesting to note
that the 35-44 age group is represented almost entirely by women who have or have recently had child-care commitments.

Table 6: Age Distribution of Respondents

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<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
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<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 plus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The sample as a whole comprises 56.5 per cent female and 43.5 per cent male respondents. Although females are better represented than men in this sample, they may be under-represented compared to the role they play as seasonal workers in Devon and Cornwall, since figures in Chapter Five indicate that as many as 70 per cent of seasonal workers may be female.

If men and women are seen separately, it is interesting to note that the age group 45-55 is completely missing in the female sample and the age group 35-54 completely missing in the male sample. These groups may be more successful in obtaining permanent work. The fact that men are under-represented with such a large age-group may also mirror the different strategies they apply to unemployment. Thus,
the high figures for self-employed men shown in Chapter Five, may give some indication of this.

Three distinct groups are thus represented. First of all, young people under the age of thirty four years of both sexes, 22 per cent of whom are students. The others are recently out of school or have unsuccessfully been seeking permanent employment. The 'elderly' group comprises the retired, semi-retired, early retired and redundant people, many of whom have reluctantly retired from permanent employment. The final and third group are the middle aged women, 35-44, all but one of whom have recently had child care commitments. As can be seen in Table 7 below, a high proportion of the sample is single, with the second largest group being married. More interesting, perhaps, is that when marital status is shown separately for men and women,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>100.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Marital Status of Respondents
All the men in the sample are in these two categories, (single or married), while all widows, cohabiters and divorced/separated in the sample are women. These three last categories actually make up 20 per cent of the total sample. Although the sample is far too small to draw any conclusions from this, it could be suggested that the marital status of men affects their labour market position less than it does for women.

Not unexpectedly, most of the single persons are also young, under thirty four, with the majority under twenty four. The three cohabiters are also in this age group. The married respondents are found in all age groups over twenty five. The two divorced female respondents are both in the 35-44 age group.

Since very little is known about seasonal workers, it is difficult to say how representative this sample might be in terms of the characteristics mentioned so far. The higher proportion of women does fit in with what was found in the Torbay study, although women were even more dominant there. Given a traditional pattern of married men supporting their families financially, only eight persons in the sample (less than one fifth), were in this category. The age distribution towards the very young and the elderly, with the middle-aged group hardly represented at all, could mean that these are the only groups who can afford to accept seasonal work as their basic employment. Also,
they may be the only groups, with their relatively low bargaining power in the labour market, whom employers are interested in employing. The cost-consciousness of employers displayed in Chapter Six may well lead to certain groups of workers being singled out as attractive, while other groups demand more from a job than the employers here would be willing to give.

At an empirical level, this fits with the Low Pay Unit's comments:

"Marching across all the barriers which divide those who suffer most from low pay, such as skill, sex, disability, and origin, comes one other distinguishing characteristic of low pay: its high concentration at each end of the age spectrum. Young workers and old workers are particularly likely to be low paid"

At a theoretical level, the characteristics of the sample confirm indirectly the secondary job characteristics already referred to in the discussion of dual labour market theory and in Chapter Six on seasonal employers. As many seasonal workers pointed out, this situation had implications for the domestic and social areas of life far beyond the actual job linked characteristics for the worker.

The majority of seasonal workers in the sample were local, contradicting the idea that summer employment is largely taken up by the unemployed from other areas of the country.
This is supported by the previously mentioned Torbay Tourism Study, where it was found that approximately 22 per cent of seasonal workers in accommodation were normally resident elsewhere, but that the proportion of non-locals was negligible in other organisations.

In fact, the only industry where non-local labour was found in the present study, was within the hotel industry. Out of eleven interviewed staff, six were not normally resident in Devon and Cornwall (13 per cent of the total sample). One of these was Italian and the remaining five were young unskilled people who combined working with holidays. The attraction of holiday resorts to young people from other parts of the country, combined with difficulties in recruiting enough local labour so that advertisements in national magazines were used by the employer, is probably a sufficient explanation of this. Other employers had sufficient response from local recruitment channels to make it unnecessary to recruit nationally. As mentioned above, the hotel industry's possibility of giving non-locals accommodation may be an additional factor here.

As Table 8 shows, the sample as a whole is quite highly educated, with a third of the respondents having undergone higher or further education and three quarters having some educational or training qualifications.
Human Capital theory suggests that a failure to obtain good jobs is largely due to low educational investments. The data here contradict this to the extent that the better educated in the sample actually try to obtain better jobs than their seasonal job can offer. This question will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter Eight. However, the relatively high educational assets shown here indicate that factors other than education are important in determining labour market position.

Given that a good proportion of the sample are working on a seasonal basis because they are students, have child care responsibilities or have been forced to retire, their high educational distribution may not seem as surprising as at first sight. Their labour market status at present may be quite low due to their present life situation and the
situation of the job market, but these need not have been nor need they in the future remain the same. Having discussed this group within the sample, it must be remembered that approximately half of the sample did have very minimal or no education attainments. The question of father's/husband's occupation, as an indication of social class, proved difficult to answer consistently, the lack of information being mainly due to methodological factors. Some respondents would not answer this question and others had no family. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of the sample made it unclear whether fathers', husbands', cohabitators' previous husbands' (when divorced) or mothers' (where father was unemployed) occupations would be the best indication of social class. It is interesting to note, however, the very different occupations represented in the cases where the above problems did not apply (see Appendix 9). There are hotel owners and a lumberjack, pursers, marine officers, builders, a self-employed scaffolder, a pharmacist and a welder represented. Social background, then, does not seem significant as an explanation of becoming a seasonal worker.

Only six respondents (13 per cent) had received any government training. One of these, a waitress, presently held a job complementary to this training. Courses mentioned were typing, auxiliary teaching, farm work, training for foreign service and employment adviser. None of these seemed relevant for obtaining work in the
respondents' present situation with the obvious exception of the last one!

To sum up, the sample contains every category of worker, except what is normally considered the nucleus of the labour market: men and some women, aged about thirty-five to fifty-five without domestic responsibilities. It could seem, therefore, that seasonal workers are recruited from a 'rest' category of persons who, because of personal characteristics and time in the life cycle are available as a 'reserve army' for employers to use on a casual or temporary basis at will. It seems that gender, age and life situation have more effect on becoming a seasonal worker than education or social class. The young workers have the additional problem of entering a labour market with few available permanent jobs and no job-training to compete for the jobs that are offered. The working conditions offered for seasonal work will be discussed later in this chapter. First, the types of jobs and periods of employment will be examined.

7.3 SEASONAL JOBS

As seen in the list of occupations in the sample (Appendix 5), there is considerable variation in jobs with twenty-three job titles in the sample of forty-six respondents. As pointed out in Chapter Six, most of the jobs in the sample require no formal training and are often supervised
by others. Some jobs are still quite demanding, either physically (hard work, long hours), mentally demanding (catering for demanding tourists under pressure), or socially (suggesting the customer is 'right' in instances where he/she is not 'right'). All of the jobs in the sample are also extremely labour intensive.

i. Hotels

In the hotel industry, the jobs represented are 'room' attendant or 'chambermaid', waiter/waitress, hall porter, chef and pool attendant. The more supervisory roles were, in one hotel, filled solely by permanent staff. In the other, the supervisory roles seemed to be filled largely by the owner/manager.

A room attendant or chambermaid does general cleaning in hotels, for example, makes beds, vacuums and polishes guests' rooms and cleans the bathrooms. A waiter's job will usually include the laying and clearing of tables, as well as the serving of meals. It requires a reasonable amount of informal training to be done well and seems to hold a relatively high status among hotel staff. The title 'porter' is, it seems, wide. In one hotel, the 'porter' carried the luggage, cleaned the reception area, and did odd jobs. The 'kitchen porter' did odd jobs in the kitchen, while the 'hall porter' served drinks and coffee from a bar in the 'hall' (reception area) and also
laid tables and served cream teas in this area of the hotel. The porters would sometimes mention that their ambition would be to become a bartender or waiter. The chef is in charge of the kitchen or of one type of cooking, according to the size of the hotel. This is quite a highly qualified job. Finally, the pool attendants' work was, in addition to watching the pool, cleaning it and the area around it, and the serving of drinks from a poolside bar.

ii. District Councils

The jobs in the two District Councils included: carpark attendant and supervisor of carparks, road sweeper, obstacle golf course attendant and life guard. The interviewed carpark attendants all worked in the same carpark - one collected money whilst sitting in a small shed at the entrance to the carpark, the others directed cars and the supervisor helped out where needed in the rather large and busy carpark. The men directing cars did not need much supervising, as they all knew what to do very well, and most of them had worked there every season for several years. The obstacle golf attendant would collect fees for the use of the Course and hand out balls and clubs. This was a very quiet job except for a few busy moments very occasionally. The road sweeper's duties were, in addition to sweeping up dust and rubbish, to make sure no plants or grass had a chance to grow between paving slabs. This
was clearly illustrated when the researcher introduced
by the supervisor, who pointed at the pavement without a
word and looked sternly at the road sweeper. The lifeguard
led quite a pleasant life on days when the weather was
good, playing ball on the beach and enjoying himself.
His duties were naturally guarding the beach and, if
necessary, trying to save people in trouble. Wet weather
and people who ignored warning flags would sometimes make
sure that life as a lifeguard was trying!

These, then, are the jobs held by District Council
respondents of the study. In addition, it should be pointed
out that permission was not given to interview seasonal
employees in one of the two District Councils. The jobs
mentioned as seasonal there were: public convenience
cleaners, carpark inspectors (Pay and Display carparks),
lifeguards, boat park attendants (collecting fees),
recreation assistants (gardening etc.) and seasonal
'labourer' jobs (refuse collection, beach cleaning, street
sweeping etc).

iii) Motoring Organisations

The jobs in the motoring organisations were 'breakdown
recorders', touring clerk/typist, receptionist and insurance
adviser. The three latter were all reception work, giving
advice and selling memberships, tickets, insurance and the
like to customers. The former job, behind the title
'breakdown recorder', meant taking telephone calls from members with car problems and communicating between car owner and rescue service. The room where all this took place seemed to be very busy in the season, and tempers could fly giving the impression that seasonal staff were often blamed for any problems.

iv. Museums

Finally, the jobs in the two museums covered areas of 'assistant' work there and included the following: recruiter, shop assistant, guide, cook, assistant cook, waitress and cleaner. In other words, both of these quite large tourist attractions catered not only for the museum but also provided food, gifts, souvenirs and one of the two sold memberships (recruiter). The guides had quite demanding work, where historical knowledge and the ability to communicate and concentrate for long periods of time were important.

To sum up this section on seasonal jobs, it may be concluded that most of these jobs were supervised by permanent staff and held a relatively low status. The jobs were in labour intensive sectors and involved direct contact with customers or guests. Formal training was only occasionally required (chefs, for example), but general knowledge and personal skills and sometimes extensive on-the-job training, would often be needed to do these jobs well. As such,
they were surprisingly demanding.

In an attempt to classify the seasonal jobs in the sample, 'Classification of Occupations' (4) was applied to the sample of jobs. The main groups of social classes are as follows:

1. Professional etc. occupations
2. Intermediate occupations
3. Skilled occupations
4. Partly skilled occupations
5. Unskilled occupations

Jobs are allocated to the above 'Social classes' through a Manual containing all known job titles. Coding the jobs in this manner, no jobs were found in group 1 or group 2, seventeen in category 3 - skilled occupations, nineteen in category 4 - partly skilled occupations and ten respondents in group 5 - unskilled occupations.

It was perhaps surprising that such a high proportion of jobs were here considered 'skilled'. However, the term 'skilled' is somewhat vague, as

'The occupation groups...(show) people with similar levels of occupational skill...and no account is taken of differences between individuals in the same occupational group; e.g. differences in education or level of remuneration' (5)
Thus a receptionist, a shop assistant and a chef are all allocated to class 3, skilled occupations, although the latter job may require substantial periods of training and the former two, in many cases, can be done without much training at all. On the other hand, a Guide or Museum Guide was placed in category 4 - Partly skilled occupations, even though some of the holders of these jobs in this sample had to have both a considerable knowledge of the topic they were guiding, and an ability to communicate this knowledge. Knowledge, training and education comes into this classification only very generally and therefore such grouping is probably more useful on large sets of data where averages are more important than specific cases.

It is an important question in classifications such as this whether the same occupation has the same status for permanent workers as for seasonal, casual or part-time workers holding the same job title, and whether the same job in different types of organisations provides different social status. The latter is taken into account to some degree in Hope and Goldthorpe's classification of occupations (Hope and Goldthorpe, 1974). This classification is a ranking of occupations according to the 'general desirability' of occupations. Appendix 6 shows the categories in this scale that may be relevant for the sample here. The number of categories - or ranks - are 124.
First of all, Managers in Services (including hotels etc.) are given ranks varying from 43 to 84. Even though this great variation makes sense, since managing different types of hotels probably entails very varying demands on the manager, it makes for difficulties in the use of such classifications. Further, it is worth noting that the occupations which were found that are of relevance for the jobs here, vary in ranking from 99 (cooks) and 123 (kitchen porters) - in other words, quite low rankings.

The greatest relevance of this sort of status classification to working conditions may be expected to follow a similar pattern. If the general opinion is that being a 'kitchen porter' (rank 123) for instance, is an extreme 'low' regarding desirability or status, this may serve as a legitimisation for poor working conditions for this group. Such factors may help explain the poor working conditions in this sector. As such, however, such ranking systems may be of limited value in a study such as this, since detailed knowledge of the occupations in question gives rise to problems in accepting the classifications, as already indicated. Also, in Hope and Goldthorpe's grading, for instance, the scale applies to occupations as held by men in popular assessment. This is questionable in itself, as there is every reason to believe that the ranking would be different for women. It is, however, even more serious for the practical use of such scales, that occupations which are typical female would be omitted altogether.
Chambermaids, for instance, cannot be classified as "held by men in popular assessment." On this basis, such categorising has been omitted in the following analysis.

7.4 WORKING CONDITIONS

i. Pay

On the basis of the literature review as well as the cost-conscious outlook displayed by seasonal employers, it has been suggested that pay and other benefits with regard to seasonal work are probably not very high. That the groups who work on a seasonal basis are typically 'marginal' in a labour market sense, that the jobs are the supervised ones within the organisation, that they are hired for a limited period of time so that wage need not be used as an incentive to keep seasonal workers, that competition for the jobs is keen and that the jobs in question hold relatively low status are all factors referred to above that indicate low pay. As pointed out in Chapter Five, the South West is a region experiencing relatively low pay and the service industry, in particular, is renowned for its low wages.

The question of the actual amount earned by the seasonal workers in the sample was unfortunately not asked directly. Some employers and many employees volunteered such information, however. The median seemed to be £60 per week with a variation between £54 for a thirty-five hour week
and the highest £77.40 for a forty hour week. The latter had an additional shift allowance and seems relatively generous if the above definition of low pay is disregarded.

The hourly rate of pay would, within this, show an enormous variation, as a person who earned £60 a week could work between forty and fifty hours. In the first case the hourly rate works out at £1.50 per hour; in the other case £1.20 per hour! An extreme example was one of the groups of guides who earned 75p per hour. The hourly rates were generally between £1.20 and £1.90 per hour.

Compared to the definition of low pay arrived at by the Low Pay Unit and quoted in Chapter Five, at £90 a week (1982/83) or £2.25 per hour for a forty hour week, even the highest wages mentioned by the respondents here are significantly below what is considered to be 'low pay'. Since it was found that part of the sample were well educated, these wages go some way towards proving that the wage levels regarding seasonal work in tourist-related service industries in Devon and Cornwall are low in general, in all organisations and all occupations represented.

Some differences were found within organisations. For example, in one museum clerical work was on average better paid than guide work. The male guides, doing the same work as the women, apparently received about 50% more than the women - £1.85 and £1.25 respectively. It does not seem
that the legislation concerning equal pay for equal work was being applied in rural areas of the South West. Also, at such rates of pay, employers complaining of the quality of applicants rather than quantity is perhaps understandable as mentioned in Chapter Six. One waitress, paid £60 per week, for example, maintained that she would be £6 better off by being unemployed. A cook raised an interesting point when asked how she could possibly live on £60 per week. After tax and other deductions, she received £40 net. Because her place of work was not centrally located, she spent almost a third of that travelling and ended up with £25-£30 per week.

Only four out of the total forty-six respondents held a second job. Out of these, three were part-time workers who held another part-time job and the one full-time worker had a 'casual' (ten hours/week) second job. Nobody in the sample actually held two full-time jobs.

ii. Other benefits

Sometimes workers receive benefits other than pay. Whether such benefits are available or not will often depend on the type of business in which people are employed and thus which possibilities exist for such 'fringe' benefits. 22 per cent of the sample had free or subsidised meals and 9 per cent had some travel or car allowance, the latter
usually because the car was used for the actual work. A few mentioned that they were given working clothes and a few mentioned a bonus of takings or tips, usually paid out at the end of the season. Discounts in shops where they worked were mentioned by two and one mentioned that she was given food that would otherwise have spoiled, yet nobody seemed to see these things as extra benefits or bonuses associated with the work. Indeed, many seemed to have negative attitudes towards these benefits. One waiter, for example, said "Oh yes, we're given a free meal when we're on duty - that's if you can stand the sight of food that's been standing around for hours...", his attitude was not uncommon.

Another type of benefit often taken for granted by permanent workers, are the social benefits, like pensions, paid holidays and sickness pay as was mentioned in Chapter Five. Most seasonal workers interviewed in this study did not know what their entitlements were. In the cases where they did know, the situation was that no provision was made for seasonal workers. Only paid holiday was mentioned by some - 35 per cent of the sample - and the norm seemed to be one day paid holiday per worked month, or an equivalent of 12 days per year, had the workers been permanent. Since employers are not generally obliged by Law to give holidays (6) except when collective agreement or Wages Council order sets out otherwise, this 35 per cent of the sample are actually quite privileged, although 12 days per
year is very modest.

There are also more unofficial benefits that may be derived from a job, such as paper, pens and other office material and access to photocopiers and telephones in the case of office workers. Mars (1977) suggests that all jobs contain some fiddling, stealing and dealing and argues that particularly jobs in the service sector of industry encourage the development of 'fiddle-prone' situations. There was no evidence of non-official perks or 'pilfering' in the sample but then this would hardly be admitted in an interview situation. One hotel manager did mention that food had a tendency to disappear and that this sort of thing was discouraged. Seasonal workers may have less chance to supplement their wages in this way than permanent workers, as they are more closely supervised. Also, it may take some time in employment to learn the 'tricks'. There is reason to expect, then, that neither official nor unofficial benefits increase the rewards seasonal workers may get from work in the sense that they may for permanent workers.

The levels of pay found here, then, are extremely low and even the best paid workers in the sample are paid hourly wages well below the definition of low pay arrived at in Chapter Five. Except for three organisations where wage levels to some extent were decided through national agree-
ments (District Councils and one motoring organisation), the impression was that wages were set on an ad hoc basis and could vary within the same job, for instance between men and women. No collective bargaining took place at the organisational level and individual 'bargaining' would, in a situation with keen competition for jobs, be unrealistic. One example of individual bargaining serves to confirm the importance of the market situation for labour in this respect. As mentioned above, wages could increase in the hotel business at the peak of the season if employers were desperate for certain categories of labour, and this did lead to some 'turnover'.

The normal situation, however, seemed to be that management set the terms. The ease by which labour could be disposed of and replaced was given as a reason why women in the organisation mentioned above that paid different wages to male and female workers for the same work, did not complain to management or public authorities over this.

Figures referred to in Chapter Three showed that only 13 per cent of workers in hotel and catering belong to unions (Mars and Nicod, 1980). A few of the jobs in this sample were covered by Wages Council agreements, and there was no evidence that the rates of pay set there were not adhered to. But from the interviews with the employers, it seemed that this was relevant only for the occasional
shop or cafe worker. Overall, then, a market situation prevails that gives the employer a high degree of autonomy in setting wages at will. The result is an extremely low wage level. By 'working conditions' is meant not only pay and other benefits, but hours of work, period of employment and job security. These factors will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

iii. Hours of work

As shown in Chapter Five a major difference between permanent and seasonal work is that the former tends also to be on a full-time basis and the latter more often than not on a part-time or casual basis. Only 40 per cent of the seasonal jobs in accommodation in Torbay were on a full-time basis, while the equivalent figure for other seasonal jobs was 35 per cent. If full-time jobs were available in the labour market, giving people a choice of jobs, this would mean that casual jobs might be beneficial to those groups who choose to work only part-time or casually. But evidence of high unemployment and keen competition for seasonal jobs may indicate that seasonal workers would have been better off if full-time employment was offered. The high occurrence of part-time and casual jobs is likely to be a result of employers benefitting from the situation in the labour market to purchase only the minimum of labour that is needed at a minimal price.
The result is that great numbers of workers in the tourist-linked service industries can only obtain work on a casual basis and that this situation promotes segmentation in that these groups remain marginal in the labour market.

As Table 9 shows, the sample in the present study was made up by a higher degree of full-time work than the figure above would suggest. Thus, about two-thirds of the sample were full-time, while one-third were part-time and/or casual. In fact, the figures for part-time or casual work may well be under-estimated in this study, as the chance of these workers being selected for interview was less than that of full-time workers. Since only workers who were present at the time of interview had a chance of being selected to take part, and since part-time or casual workers may not have been working when the interviews were carried out, it would be a reasonable expectation that they are somewhat under-represented compared to their real numbers in the organisations here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Working Time among respondents
Another important feature of working time is the way work is divided over the day and the week. Thus, among full-time workers, some mentioned that the seasonal staff had to do shift-work, awkward hours or work weekends and on Bank Holidays. In fact, only two of the full-time workers in the sample had 'normal' working hours. This is another side of the flexibility involved for the employer in taking on other categories than permanent staff. Several employers confirmed that this was something they expected from seasonal staff but not from those in permanent employment.

The part-time workers were especially found among women aged 35-44 (two out of three part-time) and among men and women over sixty years of age. Private responsibilities and alternative means of financial support may be factors making these groups more prone to working part-time. The availability of work does, however, also play a part, as will be shown in Chapter Eight when the respondents' preferences for working time will be shown.

One further factor may influence attitudes to working time, namely travel distance from home. 89 per cent of respondents travelled less than thirty minutes one way, nearly half by car, and half on foot. The latter group includes those 'living-in' at the hotels. A further two of these respondents used bicycle and two public transport. This
gives a picture of fairly local employers, although the rather extensive use of private cars is a necessary feature, as some of the organisations in the sample, particularly the museums, are located in rural areas outside the reach of public transport and with little surrounding habitation. Travelling time would therefore not be a barrier against full-time employment.

7.5 Period of Employment and Job Security

Period of employment and job security are closely connected subjects. As mentioned in previous Chapters, job security is low among seasonal workers. Few have written contracts, and even though 'The general rule of English law is that contracts do not have to be in writing' (7) there is little doubt that this leaves the short term decisions open to the employers' choice. Thus, as mentioned in Chapter Six, many employers thought it quite legitimate to hire and fire people when it suited them as a result, for example, of weather conditions. As many seasonal workers have relatively little training on the specific job, the employer would often find this an optimal situation from a total cost point of view.

The 'Period of present employment' given by seasonal workers whilst actually 'on the job' must take this into consideration. The total period, then, that the respondents thought they
were employed for, was as shown in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than six weeks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six weeks - six months</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over six months</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Period of present Employment - Respondents

The majority of workers expect to stay in the job between six weeks and six months, while as many as 37 per cent have a seasonal job lasting over six months. The latter usually means that instead of the 'normal' April to end of September season, these employees are kept on until, say, the end of October. It is important to emphasise, however, that this is what the workers expect. The actual number of weeks or months that they did stay in employment is not known but could be considerably less.

As will be shown in Chapter Eight, many seasonal workers are looking for more permanent positions. Some will stay in their present jobs for longer than the season if opportunity arises, others will possibly find a permanent job and quit their present job before their expected period of employment comes to an end. For the latter group, the seasonal job may be just another job in a series of jobs.
As Doeringer and Piore (1971) indicate, such job instability is a typical feature of the secondary labour market. The preferences of seasonal workers in this respect will be returned to in Chapter Eight.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Consistent with the information provided in Chapters Five and Six, the present chapter has confirmed suspicions of seasonal workers being very firmly in a secondary labour market position. The personal characteristics of the sample, the type of jobs they hold, and working conditions collectively suggest this secondary position.

Since no other data exist on seasonal workers, there is no way of knowing how representative this sample is. In selecting organisations for inclusion in the study local planning departments' statements about the likely distribution of tourist-related work activities were taken note of. Within the organisations themselves employers were helpful in ensuring as representative a mix of respondents as possible.

Given these cautions it has been shown that a disproportionate number of women are engaged in seasonal work (compared with the distribution in permanent work in Devon and Cornwall); the age distribution is interesting, displaying skews towards younger and older workers with the 'middle-
aged' group being hardly represented. Furthermore, the level of education and training is higher than would have been anticipated.

It would appear that seasonal workers are largely drawn from the local pool of available labour and that, given the high unemployment figures in the Counties, this group of workers may be seen as part of a 'reserve army of labour' that has been marginalised from the ordinary labour market of permanent jobs.

Such marginalisation or casualisation of labour is made possible through a tight labour market and there is thus reason to believe that it may increase during recession. Seasonal workers have low bargaining power and a low degree of collectivism, but worker control over their labour probably decreases further when dispensability and replaceability are options open to employers.

Not only the high numbers of alternative workers, but also the lack of specific skills demanded in recruitment to seasonal work supports this situation. The security of internal labour markets obviously does not apply to temporary jobs. Close supervision and basic on-the-job training, combined with seasonal workers often getting the mundane tasks in the organisation support such a system of replaceability.
Pay and other job-linked benefits have been found to be extremely poor for seasonal workers. It seems a reasonable contention that 'the market' decides the pay, 'the going rate' being a product of supply and demand factors. But this rate seems to be linked to job rather than to workers' skills. For even among the well-educated, pay was at the same low level.

'Skills' demand some special attention here. As mentioned in Chapter Three, some of the jobs such as museum guides, life guards, cooks and waiters demand quite high skills for the work to be done properly. One waiter, who was in fact formally trained, mentioned that his work in other parts of the UK as well as abroad was paid significantly higher. This may have to do with market factors and the resulting 'accepted' wage, but it may also have to do with the formal skill requirements as set by the employer. The employer data here suggested that formal education is not an important screening factor. This may be deliberate in order to keep wages at a minimum.

Apart from market factors, the low degree of collectivism must also play a part in creating poor working conditions in this field. Even informal collectivism may have little chance in organisations where labour turnover is high - and certainly among groups like seasonal workers who are only employed for very short periods at a time. It is not only pay and benefits that are normally taken for granted
in permanent employment that show a disadvantage for temporary workers. Hours of work (part-time/casual) and expectations of working unreasonably long or unusual hours/days are also part of this pattern. Unions do not only bargain for reasonable wages for their members. Organised labour has generally secured the principle that labour is not a completely variable factor and that firms must provide job security in the form of a guaranteed week and lay-off provisions.

This lack of organisation in the tourist industry combined with little worker resistance and high competition for jobs, may encourage segmentation in that employer autonomy is high as regards organising the labour force to its benefit. It seems that cost-conscious employers thus see seasonal and other temporary and casual arrangements as buffers towards fluctuations in business demand. Both cheap and flexible labour is thus provided. The stability of permanent workers may be a condition for such a system, to provide basic knowledge and supervision to an otherwise shifting work-force. It seems that the dual set of employment conditions suggested above adds to the already weak position of seasonal workers in that seasonal work does not count in terms of claims for promotion nor from the point of view of providing a career for the individual. The lack of job security is a key characteristic of this secondary position.
It could be argued that the situation is even more complex. It has been suggested that organisations themselves may display dual characteristics and the simple distinction between management and seasonal workers certainly indicates these characteristics. Taking the argument further, it is possible that even within the non-managerial workforce as a whole there may be a duality operating. There may be, for example, far more in common between employers and full-time permanent employees than there is between the latter and seasonal employees. The suggestion is that neither full-time employees nor employers accept seasonal workers as being a true part of or internal to the organisation. In other words, within one organisation a system of internal job structures may prevail that goes beyond a simple duality of employment conditions. The supervisory roles held by permanent workers compared to the position of seasonal workers give some evidence of this.

Thus, seasonal employees may be seen as 'secondary' in a double sense. In addition to the typical effects from such a labour market position normally referred to in the literature, seasonal workers lack the employment linked benefits received by people in work on a more permanent basis. They have, in a sense, agreed to instability through accepting a seasonal job and cannot claim redundancy provisions. Also, there are no incentives for the employer to provide anything but the minimum of training as the employment relationship is defined as short-term from the
start. Finally, the jobs are more often on a part-time or casual basis than is the case for permanent workers.

In Chapter Seven, the more 'objective' traits describing the sample has been presented - who they are, what they do and under what conditions. Merely to describe a group of workers in this way is insufficient. In Chapter Eight, more 'subjective' data will be focussed upon and will include phenomena such as individual employment biographies and people's attitudes to their jobs and to work in general.
Notes

1) A full table of 'Personal Characteristics of the sample' is given in Appendix 8

2) Low Pay Unit Bulletin, February 1980, page 2

3) Unfortunately, this District Council, although taking part in the employer interviews, would not let us interview any of their seasonal staff, as they "found it inappropriate to interview seasonal staff" and later informed us that "it is the council's policy not to take part in any research, questionnaires etc. except with local authorities". This is a very rigid and disappointing attitude from a public body for whom the information from research into seasonal employment in their district should be highly relevant.

It was mentioned as a problem that the Council would have no influence on what was told by the seasonal workers, which is true, but perhaps negative information should also have been of some interest to the council, giving them a chance to better the working conditions of their employees.

4) "Classification of occupations", HMSO 1980, also used for analysis of Census data.
5) "Classification of occupations", HMSO 1980, page xi


7) Whincup, op.cit., page 26
CHAPTER EIGHT
EMPLOYMENT HISTORY AND ATTITUDES TO WORK OF SEASONAL WORKERS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The empirical chapters (Five to Seven) of this thesis have so far focussed on the demand side of the labour market, through statistics describing the labour market, employer interviews and the jobs and working conditions offered to seasonal workers. The personal characteristics of the sample have also been presented and discussed. In this chapter, less emphasis will be put on comparative features, for instance between permanent and seasonal labour. Rather, the seasonal employees' reasons for doing this work, their expectations from work, employment history and hopes regarding employment in future will provide the focus.

The aim is thus to find a core of reasons why people work seasonally, given the poor rewards that seem to be derived from such work. Is it out of choice, as indicated by the bulk of employers or is it due to the lack of alternatives, as the employment and unemployment data in Chapter Five might indicate? If a result of compulsion, are reasons located in the labour market or more personal reasons most important? The fact, as shown in Chapter Five, that some population groups are more prone to work seasonally than others could indicate the latter. On the other hand, it was indicated earlier how seasonal work or seasonal peaks
in the summer season seem to be more a rural than an urban phenomenon. This may indicate some rural 'deprivation' regarding access to permanent jobs. Evidence of high unemployment and the dependence on the Service industry in Devon and Cornwall supports the latter explanation.

With such a small sample and the hypothetical nature of some of the questioning (for instance what the respondents' choice would have been if their opportunities were different) causal analysis will not be attempted here. Rather, the attempt will be to suggest some interrelation or association between phenomena which may serve as a basis for discussion.

8.2 EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

i. Jobs held in the last five years

Poor or unstable work histories was one of the factors mentioned by Doeringer and Piore (1971) that contribute to confine disadvantaged workers to the secondary labour market. Nevertheless, it was indicated in the employer interviews that seasonal workers largely work on a seasonal basis as a 'way of life', i.e. on a regular basis, while others took seasonal work as a 'one-off' job. To the question 'Which jobs have you held in the last five years?,' the answers were distributed as in table 11:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Job</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No jobs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 or less permanent jobs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more permanent jobs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal only</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odd jobs (months/weeks)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Type/Number of jobs last five years by Respondents

Even though the largest category 'seasonal only' includes seven students, it remains the largest group when they are excluded and then represents about 30 per cent of the sample. While these would be the 'regular' seasonal workers, some of the respondents in the 'odd job' category - the second largest group - may also find the summer seasons easier regarding finding work than during the rest of the year.

This is likely, as twenty-nine respondents, or 63 per cent of the total sample, reported that they had worked on a summer seasonal basis with the present employer on previous occasion(s). This is near the sum of the two discussed categories 'seasonal only' and 'odd jobs'. Sixteen respondents or 34.8 per cent had earlier worked in the summer season with other than the present employer.
This confirms that seasonal work and occasional employment were very much the norm for the respondents, although it says nothing about whether this was a chosen 'way of life'. The replies also show dependence on few employers in the local labour market. To the extent that seasonal or casual work is regarded as inferior or unstable by permanent employers, this may raise difficulties for seasonal workers in entering the permanent labour market.

There are, then, quite regular patterns of seasonal work in the sample, although one third of the sample have worked on a permanent basis the last five years. The latter group is interesting, as ten persons out of fourteen who had been in permanent employment had held two or less permanent jobs the last five years. This group could hardly be accused of instability.

Various reasons were given why the last job came to an end. Although it was impossible to check the accuracy of responses 41 per cent claimed to have left their last job voluntarily and about a quarter left because of the end of the season. Whilst seven of the sample had been made redundant from their last job, none, in fact, claimed to have been dismissed.

Since some employers said that they sometimes had to dismiss workers mid-season if demand fell, it may be that the
workers for whom this applies did not appear in the sample. It may also be a question of interpretation, as a casual work contract, leading to days or weeks of interruption in the work may not be seen as 'dismissal'.

Among those who left their last job voluntarily, four did so because of a geographical move, three for medical or psychological reasons, but the majority (12) because they were dissatisfied with working conditions or had conflicts with management. This may indicate that for this group of workers, the response to either conflicts or lack of satisfaction is withdrawal, which again suggest little collective support in the organisations in question. Two of the young women interviewed, for example, had had a previous job with the same employer, which entailed long hours, six day week and poor pay. When in the end, pay was reduced to promises, the two girls left, not considering other means of action in solving the problem. To the extent that some groups of workers are considered unstable, therefore, the reason may well be found in job conditions offered in the secondary labour market rather than in personal inadequacies to remain in stable employment.

ii) Unemployment benefit and other financial sources

Although unemployment is no stranger to the seasonal worker, only 54 per cent of the sample had been registered as unemployed in the last five years and 72 per cent of these
were able to obtain unemployment benefit.

Even though almost half the sample had not registered as unemployed, this does not mean that they have not been out of work. Whether people see themselves as, and register as, unemployed or not, may have to do with their expectations of obtaining work through the job centre, whether they are eligible for unemployment benefit and attitudes regarding receiving unemployment benefit.

As only four of the sample had received their present job through the job centre\(^1\), one might expect that obtaining work through the job centre is not a main reason for registering as unemployed.

Eligibility for unemployment benefit would seem the main reason for registering unemployment. Almost half the sample here, however, work only on a seasonal basis. As shown in Chapter Five, one must have worked for six months and paid full National Insurance contributions to be eligible for unemployment benefit. Many workers do not work that long during the season, and if out of work during the winter, would not have rights to unemployment benefit during the summer season if they fail to find work. In addition to this, the Employment Benefit Office regard people who have worked on a seasonal-only basis during the last four years as regular seasonal workers. Given such a status, they are not eligible for unemployment benefit in their normal off-
season, regardless of whether their reasons for not working in the winter are chosen or not. During the season, however, they would in this case have benefit rights, but most of the respondents would probably be able to find work in the summer.

It may be expected that attitudes to receiving unemployment benefit may also vary. Some may thus see this as a basic right, while others may have 'moral' inhibitions to such a stigmatised position. The ability to overcome such inhibitions may well have to do with the financial necessity of obtaining such benefits as well as varying attitudes in different population groups.

Tables 12 and 13 show the variations by age and gender in registering unemployment. Comparisons here show that men register far more often than women. Thus, overall, 38.5 per cent of the female sample had registered as unemployed, compared to 75 per cent of men. Among women, none of the over 60 age group had registered, while half of other women had. Among the 'older' group of men, however, (over fifty-five) all but one had registered and in the group twenty-five to thirty-five years of age, 86 per cent had been unemployed, whilst for the youngest group (sixteen to twenty-four) the situation was similar to that of young women (50/50).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Registered unemployed in the last five years

Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>55-59</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Registered unemployed in the last five years

Male

As mentioned above, one reason leading to registration or not may be the extent to which a person has alternative means of financial support. In Chapter Three it was, in fact, argued that alternative means of financial support for such workers is a condition for the existence of seasonal or casual workers in the labour market.
Table 14: Respondents means of financing the 'off' season

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Jobs</td>
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<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants (Students)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Benefit</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other allowances (pensions, supplementary benefit etc.)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported by others</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>(46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 14, sixteen respondents said that they "finance the rest of the year" through unemployment benefit\(^{(2)}\). Seventeen respondents, or 37 per cent of the sample mentioned 'other jobs', which were either permanent jobs which had been lost or odd temporary jobs. Those presently looking for and expecting to take up permanent employment would also be included here; although the overlap between the above groups is so great that most of the seventeen respondents would be in both categories (sixteen were actively looking for permanent work).

The proportion of the sample receiving some form of allowance from other sources than work is quite large - 39 per cent. If this allowance had been mainly family income supplement or supplementary benefit, this could be seen as
a result of the poor job opportunities. Most of the respondents who mentioned this category, however, specified these as disabled, widow, old age, war or other pension or family allowances as a single parent. This seems to support the proposition that a large group of seasonal workers are people who are financially and perhaps socially disadvantaged regardless of present working status.

Since people in the sample financing the 'off' season through 'other allowances' were in the largest category, they were further investigated, controlling for age and marital status.

Both of the divorced/separated received 'other allowance', as did all four widows and half of the married respondents (nine of the seventeen). All but one of the latter were over sixty years of age (disabled, old age, company or war pensions). Only two of the single respondents (10 per cent), received any other allowance - both of these were over fifty-five years of age. None of the three 'cohabiters' had any 'other allowance'.

Twelve persons (26 per cent) were 'supported by others', which usually meant by a husband or parents. Finally, four respondents lived off their savings, apart from their seasonal jobs. Two of these called their situation 'the poverty trap' and described this as follows: they could not find permanent work. In the winter, they cannot, in the
long run, get unemployment benefit, as after four years of seasonal work they are only eligible during the season. Having worked for most of their adult life their savings exceed £2,000, so they are not eligible for supplementary benefit. As a consequence they have to live off savings and are gradually getting poorer.

To sum up this section, none of the respondents said that they had no alternative financial means, which gives some indication that to survive on the remuneration from seasonal work is not possible. The sum of ways to finance the 'off-season' shows that a large proportion of respondents had more than one source of alternative income.

It is clear from the rates of pay discussed in Chapter Seven and the limited period of the year that most seasonal workers receive pay that some support or other would be necessary for survival. It seems, in fact, that a large proportion of seasonal workers are people who are financially disadvantaged regardless of present working status. The fairly low degree of unemployment registration is partly due to the rules for obtaining such benefits, that render a good proportion of seasonal workers ineligible for unemployment benefit and, in some cases, supplementary benefit.
iii) Exchange of goods and services

Given the difficulties in obtaining permanent employment and the financial incentives to supplement low income from seasonal or casual employment, it might be expected that seasonal workers take part in the 'underground' or 'informal' and the 'household' economy to some degree. Pahl and Gershuny (1979), for instance, suggest that the latter two may be increasing in importance with higher unemployment and changing attitudes towards work, combined with more available free time.

Many of the respondents live in small communities with few alternative places of employment, but only two persons (4.3 per cent) exchanged goods or services 'quite a lot', whilst eleven respondents (24 per cent) did so occasionally. 72 per cent of the respondents, however, did not make such exchanges at all.

Looking more closely at the type of exchanges that were mentioned, it is clear that these are not exchanges that would make much difference financially to the respondent. The two who exchanged 'quite a lot', both used skills attained in previous permanent jobs in their exchanges. One, an early retired businessman, would do some consultancy work within finance, engineering and business and could occasionally swap favours through his hobby, photography. The other, a young woman who used to work for the Inland
Revenue, and later for a chartered accountant on tax matters, usually ended up helping 'everyone' fill in tax forms, but she pointed out that the 'exchange' tended to be somewhat one-sided.

Among the 'occasional' exchanges, one 'mechanically minded' life guard did car repairs for relatives. Other goods and services mentioned by respondents included garden produce, looking after children and animals, babysitting and cooking.

There was no significant difference between women and men regarding such exchanges - about a third of the women and a quarter of the men did occasionally make such exchanges. Both among women and men, though, exchanges did not occur under the age of twenty-four or over the age of sixty-four.

It is difficult to see whether education makes any difference to the propensity to exchange goods and services, as the number taking part in such exchanges is small and the educational categories many. It could be mentioned, though, that all three with higher degrees did make such exchanges. The type of 'occasional' exchanges mentioned above did mostly not require much specific skills, although those who did this 'quite a lot' clearly had such specialised skills to offer.

Generally, it would be expected that there are at least four conditions for taking part in an 'informal' economy.
First, that one has some specific skill to exchange which is in demand. Although, as seen in Chapter Seven, the sample is quite highly educated, education on its own does not necessarily provide the opportunity of involvement in an informal economy.

Second, opportunity may be limited in the sense of individuals not being aware of how they are to go about trading any skills they have to hand or of bartering any goods from, say, vegetable growing in a garden or allotment.

Third, a social network is needed. And fourth, enough time. The latter two factors may be expected to be present for seasonal workers in small communities, although the financial sources mentioned above could indicate some stigmatisation or social isolation on the part of the groups in question.

As Pahl (1980) has pointed out, the uneven access to employment is also relevant to the informal economy. It may be, then, that it is those who have skilled jobs in the formal economy who also take part in the 'informal' economy, but then as a second job ('moonlighting').

If the sample here takes little part in this sort of work, then, how do they use their 'free time'? After all, those who work 'seasonal only' (44 per cent) or only do casual jobs (24 per cent) must have time on their hands which has
to be filled somehow.

iv. Use of 'Free time'

Information was sought on what the sample did for the rest of the year when not seasonally employed. From Table 15 it can be seen that activities associated with home, garden, leisure and hobbies are most frequently mentioned, in part reinforcing the importance of activities in the 'household' economy mentioned above. The financial gains or savings from such activities, however, are unknown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Job</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for permanent work</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work at home, garden etc.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure/hobbies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 : Activities when not seasonally employed

On average, every respondent has mentioned 1.8 categories, so that the sum total is well over 46. It is especially the four last categories on the list which give 'overlap'.

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The 'other' category contains pursuits which could possibly have fitted in elsewhere, for example, travel, seeing grandchildren, church work, coffee mornings, cooking, showing dogs, evening classes, chickens, goats, cats, knitting and spinning. Many retired (and early retired) answered one or more of the four last categories, as did some middle-aged women with domestic responsibilities.

The nine doing 'other jobs' included those having done temporary or permanent work relatively recently, but not those straight out of school. The latter category would be included in those 'looking for permanent work'. Finally, it is worth recalling that seven respondents were full-time students the rest of the year.

The group 'looking for permanent work' will be looked into further below. As seen from Tables 16 and 17, there are no significant differences between men and women on this question. About 35 per cent of both men and women are thus looking for permanent employment.

None of those over sixty years of age were looking for permanent employment, neither among women nor men. From the discussion of preferences for type of work below, this elderly group seems to prefer having the winter off work. Whether this is a 'real' preference or one influenced by the lack of opportunities for permanent work is unknown.
Among both women and men, about 50 per cent of the age group sixteen to thirty-four were seeking permanent work, the rest of this age group either being students, people already holding a winter job, or those preferring taking the winter off for other things.

One third of the women from thirty-five to forty-four years of age were looking for permanent work. The rest were either tied up with domestic responsibilities, or had no hope of obtaining permanent work in their geographical area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Looking for permanent work</td>
<td>5(50%)</td>
<td>2(50%)</td>
<td>2(33%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>5(50%)</td>
<td>2(50%)</td>
<td>4(67%)</td>
<td>4(100%)</td>
<td>2(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10(39%)</td>
<td>4(15%)</td>
<td>6(23%)</td>
<td>4(15%)</td>
<td>2(8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Looking for permanent employment. Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>55-59</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Looking for permanent work</td>
<td>4(67%)</td>
<td>2(29%)</td>
<td>1(100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>2(33%)</td>
<td>5(71%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4(100%)</td>
<td>2(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6(30%)</td>
<td>7(35%)</td>
<td>1(5%)</td>
<td>4(20%)</td>
<td>2(10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Looking for permanent employment. Men
As seen in Table 18, in all educational groups there were some respondents 'looking for permanent work' during the off-season. It might have something to do with self-confidence or how 'marketable' people are whether they decide to spend time looking for such jobs or not. Thus, the largest group mentioning this in the present sample were those with a higher degree (two thirds of these) and those in the group 'CSE other, commercial, apprenticeship', the latter being people with specific skills, as opposed for example, to the more general category 'Higher education below degree' where only 12.5 per cent were looking for permanent work. The equivalent figure in the group with no education was also low - at 16.7 per cent.

These differences in the sample as to whether they spend time looking for permanent work or not may indicate two things. If the younger, better educated respondents seek work more often than others, this may have to do with their actual possibilities of obtaining permanent work. It may also mirror the younger groups' lack of alternative financial sources, such as pensions, unemployment benefit or private support. A large proportion of the younger respondents is single. It is also expected of them that they work for a living more so than pensioners are thus expected.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Higher Degree</th>
<th>Degree or Equivalent</th>
<th>Higher ed. below Degree</th>
<th>GCE A level</th>
<th>GCE O level</th>
<th>CSF other commercial apprenticeship</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Looking for permanent work</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>6 (55%)</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td>16 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>7 (88%)</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>5 (46%)</td>
<td>10 (83%)</td>
<td>30 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
<td>5 (11%)</td>
<td>8 (17%)</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
<td>4 (9%)</td>
<td>11 (24%)</td>
<td>12 (26%)</td>
<td>46 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Looking for permanent employment. Education
v. How Respondents found their present job

It might be expected that communication between people to be less formal in rural or small communities than in larger or more urban communities where the increased amount of information must often be channelled through more formal media.

In Chapter Five, it was suggested that seasonal employment is found mostly outside the large urban centres. As seen in Chapter Six, the employer channels for hiring seasonal workers would vary with different jobs in the organisation and naturally with whether it was local labour or other categories which were sought. Advertisements had been used by all employers, three employers' experience with the job centre was very good, (used by half of the sample), as was 'word of mouth' in the local communities (again used by half the sample).

If this is compared with the sources used by the workers to obtain their present job (see Table 19), newspapers/advertisements re-appear as an important source, while the category 'word of mouth' in the employer data would match the sum of 'friend/relative' and 'local hearsay' here. However, only four respondents had found their job through the Job Centre, which somewhat contradicts the relative popularity of this method among employers. It may be that
Job Centres are more useful for 'screening' applicants than actually for finding useful candidates. The friendly and familiar relationship some employers seemed to have with the local job centre and the contradicting figures above regarding employers' and employees' success with the job centre, could indicate that some of the latter are biased as to whose interests they set out to fulfil.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend/Relative</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted employer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Centre</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other *</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local hearsay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* through college, private staff agency, was contacted by employer

Table 19: Source through which respondents had found present job

Including the category 'other', 28 persons or 61 per cent of the respondents used 'informal' channels to find their present job. This confirms the tendency for seasonal labour to stay within the local and familiar labour market in the
search for jobs. The local limitations combined with a high degree of fairly passive methods of obtaining work, may to some extent help explain why the sample find it difficult to find permanent work where this was attempted. It may be, consistent with structural labour market theory, that geographical mobility is a condition for obtaining better jobs, in which case more formal and active methods of job-seeking would probably be needed.

In this section, the respondents' employment history, both as regards permanent and seasonal employment, has been discussed. Likewise, periods of unemployment, difficulties in finding jobs and alternative uses of time and sources of income have been examined. It has been found that a large proportion of the sample work regularly on a seasonal or casual basis, often with the same employer for several years. Nobody actually seems to depend on or be able to depend on seasonal employment for their living. The way people use their time in the winter, however, indicates that a third of the sample are actively seeking permanent work.

In the final section presenting the empirical data, the sample's attitudes to working on a seasonal basis will be examined further. Of special interest will be preferences regarding work and attitudes to working conditions in the present seasonal job.
8.3 ATTITUDES TO WORKING ON A SEASONAL BASIS

As seen in Chapter Six, most employers seemed to be quite satisfied with the system of drawing labour from the external market when peaks of business so demanded; labour which placed few demands on the organisation and could be easily dismissed. As long as the qualifications and specific training necessary to do the jobs in question are relatively low, the loss of training costs with a high labour turnover should be minimal for the employer. Besides, many seasonal workers (and all year casual workers) do come back year after year, diminishing the possible problem of lost investment in any training for the employer. Many employers gave the impression that seasonal workers were often a 'type of person', preferring to work on a seasonal basis, while the findings referred to above indicating that two thirds of the sample had previously worked on a summer seasonal basis with the same employer could as well indicate a lack of alternative employment possibilities in the area. Even though seasonal employment seems to be a 'way of life' for many, it is interesting to ask whether this is out of choice or because of lacking permanent work opportunities.

i. Seasonal Work: choice or necessity

It has already been indicated that a good proportion of the seasonal workers here are interested in working permanently rather than just on a seasonal basis. It was particularly
the young groups who were seeking permanent employment. With the fairly good educational qualifications of the sample and the poor earnings derived from seasonal work, this finding is unexpected. However, only one employer seemed to think it was 'normal' for seasonal workers to have preferred permanent work, while four employers thought that 'a few' might have such interests, but made it clear that this would only apply to a small proportion of seasonal staff. On the other hand, 35 per cent of the sample of staff mentioned 'looking for permanent work' as a way of spending time in the off-season.

When the sample was asked directly 'Why are you working on a seasonal basis?' (rather than a permanent), the answers were even more in support of such an hypothesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supply of jobs, would have worked permanently if work available</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer having winter off</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other commitments in winter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Respondents' reasons for working on a seasonal only basis

Almost two thirds of the sample say they work only in the summer season due to the poor supply of jobs and that they
would have worked permanently if jobs were available. The six with other commitments in winter are students, which leaves only eleven respondents or 24 per cent of the sample in the group doing summer seasonal work as a preferred 'way of life'. When controlling for age and gender (Tables 21 and 22) it became clear that only 15 per cent of the men preferred having the winter off - and these were old age pensioners - while 31 per cent of the women did. This is more usual among the women over sixty but also occurs amongst the sixteen to thirty-four age group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supply of jobs, would have worked permanent if available</td>
<td>5(50%)</td>
<td>3(75%)</td>
<td>5(83%)</td>
<td>1(25%)</td>
<td>1(50%)</td>
<td>15(58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer winter off</td>
<td>3(30%)</td>
<td>1(25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3(75%)</td>
<td>1(50%)</td>
<td>8(31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other commitments in winter</td>
<td>2(20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(17%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3(11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10(39%)</td>
<td>4(15%)</td>
<td>6(23%)</td>
<td>4(15%)</td>
<td>2(8%)</td>
<td>26(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Respondents' reasons for working on a seasonal only basis. By age and sex. Women
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>55-59</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supply of jobs, would have worked permanent if available</td>
<td>4(67%)</td>
<td>5(71%)</td>
<td>1(100%)</td>
<td>3(75%)</td>
<td>1(50%)</td>
<td>14(70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer winter off</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(25%)</td>
<td>1(50%)</td>
<td>3(15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other commitments in winter</td>
<td>2(33%)</td>
<td>1(14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3(15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6(30%)</td>
<td>7(35%)</td>
<td>1(5%)</td>
<td>4(20%)</td>
<td>2(10%)</td>
<td>20(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Respondents reasons for working on a seasonal only basis. By age and sex. Men

No-one between the ages of thirty-five and sixty (either sex) had seasonal work as a 'chosen way of life'. 70 per cent of all men and 58 per cent of all women would have preferred permanent work if they could get it. With the exception of women aged sixty to sixty-four (where only a quarter were of this opinion), all groups had a high proportion wishing for permanent work. Especially high scores were found in the 'middle aged' groups. Since there is none in the male sample between thirty-five and fifty-four, the age group quoted as 'middle age' is of women from thirty-five to forty-four and men of fifty-five to fifty-nine.

It is clear that the notion of seasonal work as a chosen 'way of life' is an 'ideal' with little root in reality. Quite the contrary, the lack of permanent work seems to be
the real reason for most of the sample taking on seasonal work. The reason for the much lower occurrence of people mentioning that they are actually looking for permanent work may have to do with the 'discouraged' worker concept (see Chapter Two). Unless workers expect to find work, they will be discouraged from looking for it. In small communities, with little work and a recognition of this fact, people may become 'discouraged workers' more readily than in an urban environment. Also, the personal characteristics of the sample indicate that the competitiveness may be rather low in a tight labour market. Early retired, pensioners, young people recently out of school and women with domestic responsibilities or several years' break in their careers tend to get a second priority in such a labour market. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the 'nucleus' of labour (aged thirty-five to fifty-nine) was hardly represented in the sample of seasonal personnel.

The relative financial hardship of the sample was indicated from the sources used to finance their living (Table 14) and would support the idea that financial incentives are important to explain the high preference for permanent work.

Table 23 shows the outcome when the sample were asked what their employment situation would be if the choice was theirs and a basic guaranteed income was available to those who chose not to work. Even when the financial incentive to choose work was taken away, almost two-thirds of the sample
would choose full-time or part-time permanent work (see Table 23). Most gave the explanation that not working was far too boring and sometimes stigmatising.

Personal and social incentives seemed important, then, for whether work was preferred or not. A chambermaid thus said that "it is demoralising being on the dole", a golf attendant that "I think you feel better when you're working" whilst an assistant cook emphasised that "I need to work. I would miss the company if I stayed at home".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work full time permanent</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work part-time permanent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work seasonal (6 students)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure/would not work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special interests</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 100

Table 23: Respondents' 'ideal' choice of activity if free choice and basic guaranteed income available when not working

Only a surprising nine respondents would choose leisure or pursuing special interests. Since only 35 per cent of the sample (as earlier mentioned) actually seem to look for permanent work, the discrepancy between these different
figures can only be seen as a resignation towards the present labour market situation.

An alternative interpretation for part of the sample could be that there are other, private or personal difficulties which stop them from actually taking the step into permanent employment even if this is what they would have preferred. Splitting the answers to the last questions on the sample groups by age, gender and education, may possibly give a clue to the likelihood of this.

More men than women would choose to work full time permanent (55 per cent of men, 38.5 per cent of women). A high proportion is found among all age categories of men, while no men choose part-time permanent. Among women it is especially those under thirty-five years of age who choose full-time permanent, while far more of the thirty-five to sixty-four year old women would have chosen part-time permanent work. It seems reasonable to put these differences down to the domestic division of labour and child care responsibilities among women, as well as the different expectations in society towards men's and women's participation in formal work. It is normally fully accepted, even encouraged, that women do not take permanent employment, while men could experience stigmatisation in a similar position.

Although more women actually do seasonal work,
seasonal work is slightly less popular among women than among men (15 per cent of the women, 20 per cent of the men, would choose this if free choice/basic guaranteed income was available). Among women as well as men these are found under the age of twenty-four and over the age of sixty, the former probably being students, the latter old age pensioners. On the basis of this sample, then, it seems that students and old age pensioners are the only categories who would choose to work on a seasonal basis. Other seasonal workers would have chosen differently, if possible. The lack of permanent job opportunities or the failure to utilise any such opportunities seems to be an explanation of why seasonal work is taken. The latter is particularly likely in a group who hold the characteristics of 'disadvantaged' workers in the labour market.

ii) Attitudes to working conditions

It has repeatedly been pointed out above how working conditions for seasonal workers seem less favourable overall than for permanent workers. They tend to receive the minimum of pay - without benefits of seniority often available to permanent workers, they only work part of the year even though most of them (in this sample, at least) would have preferred permanent employment. This, of course, does not make the annual income any better. Further, seasonal workers normally obtain the supervised roles, which leaves less autonomy and more routine tasks in some cases than the
conditions linked with supervising roles. Finally, many of the jobs on a seasonal basis involving shiftwork, working weekends and holidays and sometimes longer hours than would be expected of permanent staff.

In this section the attitudes of seasonal workers to their working conditions, as this came out in the interviews, will be discussed. The questions asked of the sample which form the basis of this discussion were: 'What do you like most about this job?' and 'What do you like least about this job?' (3)

From a long list of possible 'likings' (Table 24) of seasonal work, only two things were mentioned by more than five respondents. Thus, twenty-nine (63 per cent) mentioned 'meeting people' as the thing they liked most and twenty-two respondents (48 per cent) mentioned 'type of work' as being important. In the category 'other' was included 'not being supervised' (5) and enjoying the geographical area. Clearly, qualitative factors are seen as important in the work, whilst the more quantitative, objective features were barely mentioned.

When the question was posed round the other way in terms of what respondents liked least about their work, there was less overwhelming 'agreement' in the sample. Mentioned by most respondents were 'type of work' (16), the work being seasonal (7) and daily time arrangement (5). Ten of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mentioned</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet people</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily time arrangements</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination holidays</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel useful</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of work</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh air/view</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: What respondents liked most about the seasonal job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily time arrangements</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of work</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: What respondents liked least about the seasonal job
fourteen 'other' had to do with the variable workload, either too 'hectic' or too 'boring' or a variation of this through the day. The different categories of likes and dislikes will now be discussed in detail.

a) Pay

Since pay is normally seen as an important incentive for working and given the very low rates that many were receiving, it was interesting to note how few respondents mentioned this as a particular like\(^{(5)}\) or dislike\(^{(4)}\).

In fact, when specifically asked about their level of satisfaction with wages, 37 per cent expressed either dissatisfaction or extreme dissatisfaction but perhaps more significantly, 39 per cent were satisfied or very satisfied. As many as 24 per cent had no opinion on the matter (See Table 26).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very dissatisfied</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26: Respondents level of satisfaction with wages
Given that, overall, the levels of pay were extremely low, these respondents are most interesting. It would appear that expectations were not high and the mere fact of obtaining some money was sufficient. It is also probably a realistic attitude on the part of the respondents given that they knew full well that the probability of altering the situation was very low.

If some were indifferent about the wages, others, however, were not. Thirty-seven per cent of the sample did state dissatisfaction or extreme dissatisfaction.

A thirty-one year old woman, recently arrived from Manchester, who had several permanent jobs behind her and who was looking for permanent work described 'the wages' in the area as 'pathetic'. And this woman was working in the organisation in the sample which paid best of all. Also among the dissatisfied, some saw the wage relative to the type of work, in the sense that it was 'too hard work for the pay'. In one organisation the main complaint among the women - a complaint which was not made to the manager - was also of a relative nature, in that men doing the same job had a 50 per cent higher hourly rate than women. In fact, it was maintained that the women worked harder than the men, as in addition to their ordinary job of 'guiding' they also did cleaning and polishing. It is interesting that their main reason for not complaining was the fear of losing their
job, as there were many unemployed people willing to take over. This is a valid comment with regard to the lack of power to negotiate working conditions in a labour market with high unemployment. It is also interesting that the pay itself, being low (at £1.25 per hour), was not mentioned – only how it was low relative to men's pay.

Several respondents did indicate real financial problems when discussing wages. As mentioned above, several district council workers referred to 'the poverty trap', by which they meant that their low and short-time wages necessitated living off savings – which in the long run left them increasingly poorer. A cleaner whose only reason for working, she said, was that she needed the money, stressed the importance of being supported by others when seasonal work was all that was available. Her husband had been made redundant before being eligible for state old age pension. In the meantime she described their financial position as 'extremely difficult'.

b) Social value of work

Far more often than pay, the social value of working was emphasised by the sample. To 'meet people' was, in fact, what was mentioned by the highest proportion of the sample as what they liked most in the job. Meeting people would refer to both customers and colleagues and many said that the worst thing with the job coming to an end in the autumn
was the loneliness and social isolation experienced when out of work. So while only two persons gave the fact that the job was seasonal as a reason for liking it, seven (or 15 per cent) mentioned it as what they liked least about the job. Earlier figures of people's wishes for permanent work indicates that this figure is under-stated. Indeed, most of the disliked probably are, as some interviews took place in little privacy and respondents were cautious about saying anything negative.

It was shown in Chapter Seven that the seasonal jobs in this sample were mostly in supervised positions. While only three respondents mentioned supervision as a particular 'dislike', all three of which had personal conflicts with their supervisor, five persons mentioned it as a positive trait of the job to be 'unsupervised', 'autonomous', 'under no direct supervision'. These were the exceptions in the sample as they worked alone (life guards, golf attendants, car park attendant) but it is interesting how those in a more independent position appreciated this.

Although there were examples mentioned that seasonal staff, like any less trained staff, had a tendency to be blamed for things going wrong in the work, all but two respondents said they felt accepted by permanent staff where such staff existed. This does not necessarily mean that they are seen as an integral part of the organisation, but it seems that
there is little open conflict in these organisations.

c) Type and place of work

As mentioned in the last Chapter, part of seasonal employees' working conditions would often be to put up with awkward working hours, weekends, bank holidays and longer hours than normal in an organisation, even in cases where this would not be expected of permanent staff in a similar job. This sort of phenomenon existed in all the organisations in the sample. Perhaps the worst example was hotel workers who were on duty before meals, for example, and had time off in between meals. Although this suited those who combined working with holidays, others resented the fact that they had to keep within easy reach of the hotel in what was supposed to be their time off.

The 'type of work', though, seemed of great importance to many. It was mentioned by twenty-two respondents (almost half) as what they liked most about the job, while it was also the category mentioned by the highest number of respondents (16) as what they liked least!

Women more than men mentioned type of work as what they like most about the job - likewise the youngest and oldest groups rather than the 'middle-aged' groups. This could be due to lower ambitions or expectations, but perhaps also to what alternatives they have in other spheres of life.
Whether one sees the alternative as housework or compares work with other jobs, would probably colour one's relative attitude to this particular job.

Almost a quarter of the sample, however, saw working pace or a variable workload as a dislike. People seem to prefer a steady pace at work and whether it is too hectic, too boring or a variation of the two can be equally trying. A typical remark was - 'I dislike the variable work load - you're either bored to tears or rushed off your feet'. This seems to be a problem linked with the tourist industry almost of necessity. Tourists have a tendency to think alike and do the same things at more or less the same time of the day and dependent on weather.

The attitudes to working on a seasonal basis, then, show some variation, although quantitative features of work are given less importance than more qualitative features like 'type of work' and 'meeting people'. The fact that these two traits were the only ones mentioned by any number of people and that so many found the questions of what they liked most or least about their seasonal job rather uninteresting seems to indicate a certain resignation or indifference to their position at work. Few or no possibilities of alternative employment may make it meaningless to attempt to 'grade' their own job.

A final point worth repeating relates to the long term
prospects for work and financial security resulting from only working on a seasonal basis. As one respondent put it: 'Only women and students can work like this. You lose anything to do with career, pensions...I never get in the first six months of permanent employment necessary to get unemployment benefit'. And she added: 'There is a short term gain: the right to walk out, to choose and not to put up with anything from an employer'. It was seen above that 12 respondents (25 per cent) of the sample had left their last job because of conflicts with management or dissatisfaction with working conditions.

In the long term, however, the right to withdraw - or the necessity of this - may well turn against the employee when it comes to obtaining permanent employment. As pointed out by Doeringer and Piore (1971) chronic turnover is a characteristic of the secondary labour market which is often blamed on worker behaviour and which over time produces a barrier to entrance in the primary labour market.

8.4 CONCLUSION

In the light of the discussion in Chapter Seven of the characteristics of seasonal workers, the type of seasonal jobs they held and the working conditions experienced by seasonal workers, this chapter has examined the wider implications of seasonal work for employees, as well as
the attitudes they held towards work in general and to their seasonal jobs in particular.

At first sight the data suggest some contradictions. Unlike seasonal employers, seasonal workers did not find the statutory employment agencies helpful in gaining work, which could indicate that the latter are more useful for 'screening' applicants than for providing jobs. Great reliance was placed on the local network of friends and relatives in providing information together with local newspapers. It might be expected that this local network would extend to other areas of life. For example, it was interesting to discover whether such a network operated in the non-summer months to the extent of providing the basis of a local informal economy. In fact, there was little evidence for this. Although the respondents devoted much energy to home, garden and leisure activities 'out of season' there appeared to be little in the way of goods and services exchange occurring. Although opportunity is obviously important here, the information network indicated above might have been expected to cover aspects of an informal economy.

The data regarding alternative financial sources supports the proposition that a large number of seasonal workers are people who are financially and socially disadvantaged regardless of their present working status. Thus, odd jobs, unemployment benefit and state pensions as well as private support were the sources of income available to the sample
outside their seasonal jobs. The low pay in seasonal jobs makes it unlikely that savings could be made that would be of much benefit throughout the year.

Unemployment benefit was available only to one third of the sample, although two thirds were working regularly on a seasonal or casual basis. The basic condition for obtaining unemployment benefit is that six months' National Insurance Contributions need to have been paid prior to becoming unemployed. Not all seasonal workers work for such long periods. Also, after four years of seasonal work, workers are seen as regular seasonal employees and lose the right to unemployment benefit outside their normal working season.

Although there was little evidence of participating in the informal economy, there were exceptions among the well educated or those holding specific skills. The proposition is that the latter comprises a necessary condition for work in the informal economy, suggesting that inequality in labour market opportunities probably extends into the informal economy.

Seasonal and irregular work seemed to be a constant feature of the employment life of the sample. This is to be expected in a region that traditionally has experienced higher than national average levels of unemployment and where the opportunities for regular permanent employment have been very limited, especially for women. Perhaps it
is a feature of this traditional picture that leads to seasonal workers being resigned to their precarious position. It has been shown that the general attitude towards work was one of indifference: neither extreme satisfaction nor dissatisfaction tended to be expressed about the work. This indifference and resignation seems to be related to the low expectations and aspirations of the seasonal workers with regard to their work and work prospects. Amongst some respondents an attitude of gratitude was discernible insofar as some work was available even if the pay for such work was low and the work itself ephemeral.

Surprisingly few complained about the poor working conditions. The most important reasons why some of the sample liked their jobs were of a social character and the enjoyment of the work itself. This group of the sample fits poorly into Lockwood's (1966) 'privatised' worker category which was suggested in Chapter Three as possibly applying to seasonal workers. The characteristics of this category were that 'privatised' workers work for the short-term monetary benefits and that work is seen as a means to an end or even as a necessary evil. Although this no doubt applies to some seasonal workers in the sample, those who underlined the social and work-linked benefits from their seasonal jobs, may fit better into Lockwood's category of the 'deferential, traditional worker'. Such a worker is characterised by Lockwood (1966) as having a status, rather than a class view of society, recognises authentic leadership, has a work role
that brings him/her into direct association with his/her employer, hindering the forming of strong attachments to workers in a similar market situation of his/her own. The relationship between employer and worker is personal and particularistic. It is interesting how Lockwood points out that:

"These work conditions are most clearly present in the sorts of occupations that are to be found in small towns and rural areas..."

and how he, in comparison with the 'deferential voter', characterises the 'deferentials' more likely

"to be elderly, to be women, to have low incomes and to come from rural areas". (Lockwood, 1966, p.253).

Lockwood's typology is based on ideal types, not necessarily found in 'pure' forms in reality. Elements of both the 'privatised' and the 'traditional deferential' worker are found in this sample of seasonal workers. The traditional, 'proletarian' worker, however, characterised by a strong class consciousness, fraternity and occupational solidarity, is not found in this sample. Neither unions nor collective bargaining were found at the local level, although three organisations, two of which were district councils, had national wage agreements.

Contrary to what employers seemed to think, however, the worker data indicate that seasonal work is not a chosen
situation. Except for retired women and students, most seasonal workers would have preferred permanent work if it was available. What exists is a profile of seasonal workers who are dependent on this form of employment, who have few means of escape from their situation, whose resignation to the situation derives directly from the situation but which, equally, leads to them colluding in their own exploited position.
Notes

1) See 'How respondents found present job' below.

2) This is two less than the eighteen who earlier stated that they had been able to obtain unemployment benefit in the last five years. One would rightly expect the former figure to be smaller for two reasons:
   a) a person may be able to obtain unemployment benefit in the season, but not in the off-season, and 
   b) having obtained unemployment benefit some time during the last five years does not necessarily make this a principal means of financial support.

3) Some respondents would say 'nothing', while others would mention several different things. The sum of things mentioned will therefore be different from forty six.
CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This thesis has focussed on a group of workers who are employed in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall on a summer seasonal basis. Like other groups who are neither in full time employment nor registered as unemployed, relatively little information is available on the extent of seasonal employment and the implications of being a seasonal worker. As has been shown here, seasonal workers are 'hidden' in the sense that statistics are notoriously lacking to describe this group; their 'invisible' nature also leaves them unprotected, be it through trade unions or by statute. The lack of traditional workers' rights and protection is probably the most serious consequence of being employed on casual or temporary work contracts.

It would be inappropriate to generalise too widely from the data collected here, the empirical base for the study being a modest survey of seasonal employers and seasonally employed workers undertaken during the Summer of 1983. As an unfunded project, the sample is necessarily small and the study as a whole might perhaps be best thought of as a feasibility study. Nevertheless, the study has taken a small step towards providing knowledge that could spur further research into this and other forms of temporary, casual and part-time employment.
The general employment situation in Devon and Cornwall is characterised by low participation rates, especially among women, high unemployment, a dominating service industry and relatively low rates of pay in the area as a whole. There is thus a large labour reserve that employers may draw on when needed, at relatively low rates of pay. In an area with little manufacturing, the opportunities for choice of jobs may be especially limited for job seekers. The dominance, traditionally, of primary industries and, more recently, of service industries, and the corresponding low incidence of manufacturing industry is probably an important explanation for the low rates of pay generally experienced in the area. The former are low-paying industries where unions and collective bargaining have never made a significant impact, neither materially nor ideologically. The wages are therefore highly market-dependent.

The wider economic recession has lead to increased unemployment in Devon and Cornwall as in other areas of the UK. One effect of recession is that fewer permanent jobs are available in the area, especially, it seems, affecting male employment. That the rise in female employment in recent years is very much on a part-time basis may also be a reflection of the lack of permanent jobs. Recession may also affect the labour market by reducing turnover in permanent jobs, thus leaving fewer jobs available in the labour market at a given time. Another effect of recession is that a large labour reserve
contributes to keep wages down in a competitive market. This would also apply in the case of seasonal and casual work, which may become relatively more attractive when better alternatives are scarce. However, since most seasonal jobs are held by workers who are marginal in a labour market sense, it may well be that working conditions for these groups would not have been much better during an economic boom. There will always be disadvantaged workers who, due to discrimination or poor work histories, have few other options than to accept jobs that provide very poor working conditions. For groups with better resources and higher expectations from work, there may always be other alternatives available, for instance self-employment, which has shown a remarkable increase among men since the onset of recession.

Tourism employment affects a large number of workers in the area, a considerable proportion of which comprises seasonal jobs. Moreover, seasonal jobs are often part-time or casual. The industry is highly market dependent and vulnerable to competition. The dependence on the population's holiday habits may hit especially hard during recession, as foreign holidays may be found to be cheaper and large sections of the population may not be able to take holidays at all. Those that do take holidays in the area may have lower spending capacity than during an economic boom, which is reflected in a recent trend towards relatively more self-catering holidays. This places great demands for flexibility.
on the employing organisations. The composition of the labour force may therefore not be planned ahead, but is often a result of ad hoc decisions.

The tourist industry is also highly labour intensive. If the decrease in visitor numbers in recent years continues or if visitor spending decreases with further recession, this would therefore affect tourism employment considerably. It is not unlikely that cost-conscious employers would decide to rely even more on seasonal and/or casual labour instead of on permanent labour in such a situation, to ensure both flexibility and low labour costs.

Nevertheless, the importance of the tourism industry for the local economy at present should not be under-estimated. Tourist spending, revenue and employment are all benefits to the local economy. On the other hand, tourism also places demands for increased public spending in the summer months. The real benefits in terms of employment may also be questioned if the industry mainly provides seasonal, part-time or casual jobs with poor working conditions.

From the data presented here, there is considerable evidence of segmentation. First of all, workers in the South West overall earn lower wages than the average UK population, even though they are better educated than average. Since the industrial structure is made up of industries in the
low paying sectors, there is reason to believe that, comparatively, work is paid less in this region than in others. Evidence of segmentation was also found within firms. Even though good data are not available to compare different groups within firms, there were examples of permanent and seasonal workers doing the same or similar jobs. There were considerable differences in working conditions for the two groups. As well as in wage levels, these differences showed up in working time, flexibility, opportunities of promotion and job security.

The sample of seasonal workers here were firmly in a secondary position. Working conditions were poor along every dimension used to compare primary and secondary labour markets by writers on the dual labour market thesis. Thus, one third of seasonal jobs were part-time or casual and the full-time jobs mostly entailed especially long or flexible hours and/or working weekends and holidays. According to employers this was normally not expected from permanent staff. Pay was extremely low, in all cases well below the accepted norm for 'low pay', with few employment linked benefits, such as sick pay, pensions, paid holidays or unemployment benefit. The latter was normally due to the insufficient number of weeks worked per year, leading to insufficient National Insurance contributions being paid but also employer supplied benefits did not apply to temporary staff.

Unemployment benefit proved an interesting example of the insufficiency of public benefits for temporary workers. The
condition for obtaining unemployment benefit is that a person has worked - and paid National Insurance contributions - for at least six months prior to the period of unemployment. Many seasonal workers did not work for such a length of time. Those who did, would not be eligible for unemployment benefit in the winter if seasonal work had become a regular way of working. After four years of seasonal work, employees are regarded by employment benefit offices as working regularly on a seasonal basis and will then only be able to obtain unemployment benefit in the summer season. In fact, seasonal or casual work was a regular feature of the sample, thus limiting the possibility of obtaining unemployment benefit even if the reason for being out of work the rest of the year was that work was not available.

Furthermore, and consistent with the secondary position in the labour market, opportunities for promotion were few. Employers could normally not offer permanent positions and if they could, did not expect seasonal workers to be interested in such work. In fact, seasonal workers were seen to be in a different category altogether from permanent workers, the former normally expected to be working seasonally as a 'way of life'. With the exception of students and some of the old age pensioners in the sample, seasonal workers would have preferred permanent work if it had been available. Even given the hypothetical situation that a guaranteed allowance was paid if not working, equal to what these workers might expect to be paid in work, the majority of
the sample would have preferred to be in permanent work. Only one third of the sample were actually looking for permanent work, which may reflect a realism on the part of the remainder of the sample that such work was not available for them. One negative effect in this respect of the employers' expectations is that only the very minimum of on-the-job training was provided for seasonal staff. They did not benefit, therefore, from training and promotion characteristics of internal labour markets. This, in turn, would make it increasingly difficult over time to obtain entry into the permanent labour market.

On the basis of the working conditions experienced by seasonal workers, it may be argued that seasonal or irregular workers hold a secondary position in a 'double sense'. In addition to typical secondary market working conditions, the seasonal or casual factor places these workers in a worse position than permanent secondary workers. From a theoretical viewpoint it would be beneficial to treat the secondary labour market not as a 'rest' category with opposite working conditions from primary market conditions, but to find ways of distinguishing different secondary markets in line with what is done in the case of primary markets.

The neoclassical contention that workers fail to compete in the labour market due to their asking too high prices for their labour seems unlikely here. The rates of pay accepted
by seasonal workers were appalling. Their failure to obtain permanent employment must therefore be explained through factors other than wage demands. The human capital perspective points to insufficient education as an explanation of this. There is, however, little reason to believe that the poor working conditions are due to low efficiency or a low level of skills among the workers. In fact, the sample generally had achieved quite high levels of education and displayed a considerable range of skills in the work they were doing. It seems, however, that skills were not acknowledged for wage purposes. Personal characteristics and social qualities were the factors manifestly demanded by employers. Such qualities, however, are not normally remunerated in a fixed manner, in the sense that educational assets are when specifically demanded for the job.

General or irrelevant skills may not be sufficient to secure good working conditions. It seems, therefore, that a shortage of good quality labour in the labour market is not the problem here, but a shortage of good jobs, where workers may be rewarded for the skills they may possess and develop these skills further for career purposes. It seems, thus, that the emphasis by writers on segmentation theory on historical, social and institutional factors may carry more weight in explaining the market position of seasonal workers than the neoclassical focus on individual choices. The lack of collective bargaining and union activity may have even greater negative effects for seasonal and irregular
workers than for permanent workers. The former have fewer possibilities of forming or defending their labour market position through informal 'collectives' and are easier for the employer to replace due to the low training investments made in seasonal workers and the vague contracts applying to such jobs. Through irregular working patterns, seasonal workers also possess less general knowledge of how to manipulate what opportunities that may exist to their own benefit.

The sample of seasonal workers here held the typical characteristics of disadvantaged workers: more women were found to be seasonal workers than men; the young and the old were greatly over-represented; while the middle aged were hardly represented; people with handicaps and early retired people were also more often seasonal workers. The limited data on social background did not indicate a particular skew towards lower social class, neither did education appear to be especially lacking. Apart from the low overall demand affecting opportunities, personal characteristics and a regular seasonal work history appear to be the factors contributing most to the low opportunities in the labour market experienced by seasonal workers. However, there is little reason to believe that these are especially unstable workers per se. The part of the sample who had held permanent jobs previously, had held few jobs the last five years and a considerable part of the regular seasonal sample had worked for the same employer year after year. It is therefore
reasonable to conclude that discrimination of marginal groups plays an important role in limiting the labour market opportunities and working conditions for these groups. Irregular working habits may lead to expectations of poor working abilities, but labour market practices seem to be more important in forming irregularity than individual inadequacies.

There is some indication that seasonal workers are disadvantaged prior to their present labour market position. A high proportion of the sample were receiving state benefits independent of their working status. This may, for employers, be another basis for discrimination. The more closed the ordinary labour market is for a group of workers, the less demands they can place in the way of reasonable working conditions.

It is a contention on the basis of the material here that it is, in fact, impossible to make a living from seasonal work. Jobs are only offered for part of the year, and the low incomes, when work is available, do not give opportunities for saving. Private support is therefore a condition when public benefits are not available. It was suggested that the time, skills and local setting available to seasonal workers would facilitate the partaking in an informal economy in the local community, thus providing extra income. In fact, participation in an informal economy was only found to a very limited degree, and only among those with specific
and reasonably 'rare' skills in demand by ordinary people such as financial and tax skills and car maintenance. This suggests that it may be those who have specific skills that are well rewarded in the formal economy who may also benefit from the informal economy. It could further suggest that the sample lack the knowledge of how to go about trading any skills they may possess in the local community.

Paradoxically, while local contacts were important to the sample in obtaining their seasonal jobs, the former seemed of less importance with regard to the exchange of goods or services. However, the household economy was probably of more relevance to the sample. The way time was spent when the sample was not employed indicated that household tasks like gardening, decorating and hobbies were important ways of spending time.

In light of the widespread myth that seasonal workers are often workers that come from other parts of the country for the summer season, it was interesting to observe that the vast majority of the sample were locals. Nine tenths of the sample, in fact, lived less than half an hour away from their place of work, and half of these went by foot. Seasonal labour is therefore attracted from a more narrow radius than expected.

In view of the sample's close proximity to the place of work, it was interesting to discover that so few found the
local job centres helpful in providing jobs. The employers, however, were more pleased with the services of employment offices where these were used for supplying labour. What employers seemed to find most useful was the ability of the employment offices, knowing their specific problems, to screen applicants. Important questions are thus raised regarding the role of public employment offices in that they do not register seasonal workers; do not seem helpful in supplying either seasonal jobs or permanent jobs for seasonal workers who would have preferred this; and have rules that make unemployment benefit unavailable for large groups of seasonal workers. Furthermore, seasonal workers' lack of registration as such, help keep the official unemployment figures at an artificially low rate.

Although some seasonal workers expressed dissatisfaction with their present job whilst at the other extreme, some expressed gratitude towards being able to obtain employment at all, the impression gained when asked specifically about what they liked most and least about their present job, was one of indifference and low expectations and aspirations. From a long list of possible likings of seasonal work, only two items were mentioned by more than three respondents. Thus, 'meeting people', and/or 'type of work' were both mentioned by about half the sample. Clearly, qualitative factors are seen as important in the work whilst the more quantitative 'objective' features were barely mentioned. When the question was posed round the other way in terms of
what respondents liked least about their work a much greater variety of factors was indicated including the fact of seasonal employment, pay, the rhythm of the day and the type of work. These were all mentioned by only a few respondents. It is interesting to note how few respondents mentioned pay, given the very low rates that many were receiving. It would appear that expectations were not high and the mere fact of obtaining some money was sufficient. It is also probably a realistic attitude on the part of the respondents given that they knew full well that the probability of altering the situation was very low. Through regular seasonal or casual work the sample may have grown accustomed to this low rate of pay as being at a 'natural' level.

Part of the sample, then, emphasised the social contacts, relief of boredom and that work provided interests not available in their home lives. Even though part of the sample had a purely instrumental attitude to work and seemed to fit Lockwood's category of the privatised worker very well, those who emphasised the social and motivational factors in working came closer to the 'deferential, traditional worker'. As is the case among permanent workers, seasonal workers have varying expectations from and attitudes to work.

Although most seasonal workers claimed to have preferred permanent work and many were actively seeking such work, most seemed resigned to the fact that seasonal or casual jobs were all they could hope to obtain in the labour market. This
is based, probably, on a sense of realism regarding work opportunities, although ideological factors possibly operate with regard to explaining the acceptance of this situation. Workers in areas with few traditions of industrial conflict, in local communities and organisations where leadership is recognised as being on a direct employer-employee basis, strong attachments to a working community are lacking due to the temporary attachment, few questions would be asked, and indeed were asked, as to whether the situation might not be accepted. The importance of family and friends in mediating for jobs strengthens the loyalty to the employer.

From an employer's point of view such attitudes must be reassuring and, indeed, the employer survey shows a general level of satisfaction amongst employers with the current situation. There exists a large pool of available labour that can be tapped and untapped at will. This labour force is generally willing to work for low wages, minimal security and with a maximum of flexibility. Its low expectations make for a very malleable group who, if dissatisfied, can easily be replaced by others from the pool.

The risk and uncertainty experienced by employers in the tourist industry, with its reliance on visitor numbers, may be minimised as far as the work force and labour costs are concerned. At least during recession and high unemployment, it seems that few constraints are placed on employers in their strategies to compose a labour force which is both
flexible and cheap. The generally low participation rates (by national standards) of women in the work force in Devon and Cornwall, may make such strategies possible even with improved economic conditions.

The data confirm a pattern of central and peripheral workers, the former being a permanent group, into which training investments are made and who in turn may supervise and provide the necessary minimum of training for a shifting group of seasonal or casual workers. By varying the length of contract, hours, flexibility of the seasonal staff, employers may pay for the minimum of labour that is needed, may bypass formal regulations and save on training costs. The fact that many workers return from year to year increases the benefits of this to the employer.

Although formal qualifications were not manifestly demanded for seasonal work, they may have been used as an indication of qualities in applicants. The high skill level of the sample may thus be a result of employers skimming off the best of a secondary labour supply. Employers' claims of having problems finding good quality labour amongst a high number of applicants may support this assumption. Although the seasonal workers here may not have been in a position to ask a very high price for their labour under any circumstances, the competition for even the most menial jobs during recession would help keep working conditions to a minimum. In fact, workers did not 'ask' a specific price for their labour.
Both employer and employee interviews confirmed that the price setting was completely determined by the employer.

In this situation elaborate mechanisms of control are not necessary. Within the organisations, control was found to be personal and direct by management or supervisory staff through the exercise of daily routines. Another control factor at this level is the level of customer complaints, a corrective built into the system in service industries.

A 'unitary' view of relations in the organisations was widespread, underlining the common interests of management and workers. On the basis of the working conditions provided for seasonal workers it is questionable how common these interests are. The acceptance of this situation was seldom challenged. In the cases where conflict was admitted, this would either lead to worker withdrawal from the job or conflicts remaining latent. Several reasons have been mentioned why conflicts are not raised in the open. The most important is probably that seasonal workers are highly dependent on their seasonal or casual job in spite of the poor conditions offered, since there are so few alternative jobs. Those workers that were not happy with their jobs or working conditions had few means of escape from the situation and seemed to have resigned themselves to the situation. This resignation in a sense leads to them colluding in their exploited situation. Ideology is no doubt also an important factor contributing to consensus. In local communities where seasonal work is a traditional
activity and few organised attempts are made to change attitudes, there may neither be the incentives nor the knowledge to push forward changes. Radical theory's contention of status hierarchies serving to prevent collective action and change may well come into force in such communities.

Different theories on labour markets emphasise different factors as being most important in forming labour markets and therefore arrive at different types of policy suggestions to alleviate unemployment, underemployment or poor working conditions.

Macro-economic theory focusses on the overall level of demand. Although macro-economic measures at a national level may be beneficial, to the tourist industry if these measures result in more and better paying jobs and thus a higher spending potential among tourists, the benefit to seasonal workers would only be indirect and long-term. Such measures could give the tourist industry a basis for providing better paid, more secure and even more permanent jobs, but it is questionable what direct effects this would have on seasonal employment. To the extent that the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall remains seasonal and large groups remain formally unemployed or out of work in the area, it is doubtful whether macro-economic measures would have much impact on the conditions of seasonal workers.
A better economic climate in general, however, could give local authorities more flexibility with regard to the local industrial structure. Local authorities themselves could create more and better jobs within their own organisations, more money could be spent in the Manpower Services sector to give incentives for job creation and ensure that problems did not occur with mediating between jobs and workers. Better registration and control of existing organisations may also be beneficial. If better jobs cannot be created in the dominating service industry, incentives should perhaps be made to spur other types of industry. A more diverse industrial pattern, with more manufacturing jobs, could help utilise a wider variety of skills held by workers in the area, and perhaps introduce practices in working relations that are more democratic than what seems to be the tradition in the area.

The neoclassical contention of market dependent wages fits well with the situation for seasonal workers. The lack of intermediate institutions, such as unions, gives little reason to believe that the chances of better working conditions would improve much even during better economic conditions. Also, there is little reason to believe that permanent work would be available for seasonal workers if they decreased the price for their labour. There is hardly room for further decrease here. The human capital school suggests that poor working conditions could be explained by individual lack of
skills and efficiency. Since the sample here were quite well educated, however, and since variations in skills among the sample did not seem to result in wage differences, it is not likely that this is the problem. Those in the sample who had undergone government training courses, for instance, had not found these beneficial in acquiring permanent jobs.

It seems that the contention by writers on segmentation theory that the problem lies not with poor worker quality, but with the lack of good jobs carries more weight on the basis of the evidence from this study. It is therefore necessary to register and acknowledge the types of employment offered in the tourist industry and either seek to change the conditions offered here or provide incentives for alternative industry. In the words of radical theory it should be beneficial to encourage the core economy in the area rather than the peripheral or irregular economy, even if the present composition of industry may be beneficial to capital, for instance through optimal utilisation of labour.

Eliminating the unstable features of casual employment requires the development of considerable organisational resources. If such resources are not present in the tourist related service industries, public authorities have the choice between continuing to ignore the problem or making changes in the industrial structure that could lead to change. Since the groups of seasonal workers in this sample were mostly 'marginal' in a labour market sense and did not succeed in
obtaining permanent work (although this was of general interest and the sample was fairly well qualified) this points to discriminatory practices taking place in the labour market. The importance of breaking the vicious circle for these workers cannot be over-emphasised. Unstable jobs lead to certain groups getting 'stuck' in a secondary sector. The fact that instability may be due to labour market demand rather than individual morale should be emphasised. But if good, permanent jobs are not available, it remains a problem of dividing different types of jobs between different groups. The problem may therefore not be solved without increasing the number of good jobs offered in the market. It may be, that given the chance of good, permanent jobs, workers in the secondary sector could perform well. It is especially important that young workers find a way out of meaningless jobs that do not provide training, promotion or a decent living.

Possibly the most important short-term change that could benefit temporary and casual labour would be to provide public insight into and acknowledgement of the problems linked to this type of work. Legalised control could ensure that working conditions meet minimal requirements. Where legislation and statutory policies treat such workers in an unreasonable manner these could be changed. The government encourages 'Job Splitting' (Appendix 10) but does not see to it that full worker rights apply to workers who are not working full-time. Since public employment agencies were
unable to provide statistics of seasonal workers, have rules that make unemployment benefit unobtainable for most seasonal workers and did not prove helpful in finding jobs, much could be done at the local level.

In order to raise a debate about protection for seasonal, casual, part-time and other workers who do not fit the categories of full-time employed or unemployed, it is important that these groups do not remain 'hidden'. Both the extent of such work, trends and working conditions should be registered the way this is done for other workers. This is a political problem, as the employment statistics would probably look much worse after such registration and it is a practical problem, as present procedures for collecting employment statistics would have to be changed. To ensure reliable data, these categories of workers could simply be added to the Census. In the case of seasonal workers, surveys would have to be done at different times of the year, although this is not a large problem if the motivation exists. Small studies can never provide data good enough to be given any real significance where it is needed, among politicians, policy-makers and trade unions.

Nevertheless, more thorough organisational studies, for instance, on a comparative basis, may also be useful. One shortcoming of the present research is that it has provided very limited data on a wide variety of subjects at one point of time. Longitudinal data, larger and more representative
samples (provided on the basis of better registration) and more concentrated issues of study could prove useful in providing additional insight.

While the focus of this study was on large, fairly formal organisations, casual and seasonal work also takes place in smaller organisations, perhaps on a less formalised basis. Since conditions here may be even worse, due to these jobs being even less 'visible', it would be interesting to see some empirical investigation into this. At present, however, the problem is that it is almost impossible to track these employment situations down in a systematic manner.

This thesis has concentrated on a small group of workers in the tourist industry in Devon and Cornwall. In the South West such workers comprise a sizeable proportion of the total in employment in the summer months. Elsewhere in the country there are large numbers of workers engaged on an irregular basis not simply in tourist-related employment but in industries such as retailing, horticulture and home-working in manufacture. Whether or not such irregular work is likely to become more pervasive is a matter of debate but what is beyond dispute is the fact that remarkably little is known about such individuals and groups in such employment. This thesis has taken a small step towards providing such knowledge.
APPENDIX I

SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT AND TOURISM DATA

General:
- Census 1981 - County reports
- Department of the Environment (1976) Tourism in the South West Region: Methodological Report

Cornwall:
- Cornwall County Council (1976) County Structure Plan, Truro
  * Topic Report : Employment, Income and Industry
  * Topic Report : The Holiday Industry
- Cornwall Industrial Development (1977) The Economy of Cornwall, Truro
- Department of Employment (1979) Unemployment in West Cornwall. HMSO

Devon:
- Devon County Council (1978) Phase V: Draft County Structure Plan, Exeter
- Devon County Council (1979) County Structure Plan, Exeter
- Devon County Council (1981) County Structure Plan, First Alteration, 1981 Data Base, Exeter
- Devon County Planning Department (1978) The Household Questionnaire - an attitude survey of households in sample communities carried out for the Structure Plan, Exeter
- Devon and Cornwall County Councils (1975) Towards 2001 - the future of the Plymouth sub-region, Plymouth
- Torbay Borough Planning Officer and Devon County Planning Officer (1982) Torbay Tourism Employment and Investment, Torquay.
APPENDIX 2

Seasonal variations in Unemployment Rates in Devon, Cornwall and Great Britain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Devon</th>
<th>Cornwall</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 1981</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July - 81</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan - 82</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July - 82</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan - 83</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Comments: Figures are only included until Jan. 1983, as rules for unemployment registration were changed in April 1983, making later figures non-comparable.

A general upward trend is seen in both Counties and Great Britain as a whole. While no seasonal variation can be detected in the G.B. figures, County figures tend to be lower in July than in January.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1961 Male</th>
<th>1973 Male</th>
<th>Change Male</th>
<th>1961 Female</th>
<th>1973 Female</th>
<th>Change Female</th>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Horticulture</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>+104</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>+93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>+44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and Flour confectionery</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>+39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>+35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk and Milk products</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>+25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lottery</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>+60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>+83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>+475</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Water Supply</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>+35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>-265</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Road passenger transport</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Air transport</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>Air transport</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous transportation services</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>+32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postal and telecommunications</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>+95</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>+61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holesale distribution</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>1379</td>
<td>+1184</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal, scientific and professional services</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>+23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inemas, theatres, sport, betting</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>+25</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>+17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundries</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor repairs, garages</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>-182</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other miscellaneous services</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>+23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excluding welfare and charitable)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>+52</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4605</td>
<td>9486</td>
<td>-1381</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td>3286</td>
<td>-1674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and Catering</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>3660</td>
<td>+510</td>
<td>3600</td>
<td>4417</td>
<td>+817</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7755</td>
<td>10365</td>
<td>-2610</td>
<td>3272</td>
<td>5283</td>
<td>-2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** only changes greater than ± 20 are shown.

Figures are calculated to the last digit for arithmetical correctness.
APPENDIX 4A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE SEASONAL EMPLOYERS

1. Type of business (trade, one-off or part of larger unit, concentration on which category customers, e.g. business/tour)

2. Seasonal pattern - months most/least busy.
   Change last y years?

3. Number of permanent full-time staff. (Also permanent part-time if this is important category in company)
   Change last 5 years?
   If yes, more of fewer?
   If yes, why? PROBE: recession?, competition?, more capital-intensive?, other factors?

4. Number of extra staff at height of the season
   Full-time seasonal
   Part-time seasonal (part of week or day on regular basis)
   Casual seasonal (week-ends, on short notice etc.
   Any changes last 5 years? If yes, which?
   If yes, reason for such changes (demand or supply side?)
   How determine number of staff needed for the "season" beforehand? (Now, for example)
5. Are "seasonal staff" found throughout the organisation or are they taken on for certain types of work? If the latter, which types of work? Is this work which would qualify the worker for more demanding tasks later in this or other organisation?

6. Would you say that seasonal staff are different from permanent staff? Age - gender - marital status - where they live (local or summer residents) - what they do the rest of the year or anything else. If yes, are these categories picked deliberately or do they just happen to be the type of applicant for this type of work (i.e. seasonal work). If picked deliberately, why?

7. Is it difficult to find suitable staff on seasonal basis? How go about recruiting? (newspapers) To what extent are the same persons hired for the season every year?

8. What is decisive (apart from above) when selecting between applicants for seasonal work? PROBE: education, training, personal knowledge of applicant, what they look like or anything under 6. above
9. How would you consider seasonal staff from an employers point of view compared to permanent staff? 

   PROBE: (better - same - worse) : 
   - cost - direct: wages, sick-pay, pensions, N.I. contributions etc. 
     indirect: training, fringe benefits 
   - flexibility (regarding whole period of employment as well as during day/week etc.) 
   - loyalty, turnover/absenteeism, motivation, other 

10. Any difference in how wages and other conditions of employment are decided for seasonal/permanent groups of workers? 

   (Agreements collectively, individually) - Role of unions or staff associations - wages councils? 
   - Payment in kind? (room, meals) 

11. How do permanent staff get on with seasonal staff? 

   Do seasonal staff require more supervision? Examples! 

12. Do you consider seasonal staff as interesting for permanent positions? Actual cases of such a 'switch'? Are, on the other hand, seasonal workers generally interested in more permanent employment? 

13. Expected trend regarding use of different types of staff in future. For an ideal world, which category would you wish to depend on?
APPENDIX 4B

QUESTIONNAIRE EMPLOYEES/STAFF

Present Work

1. Type of work (job-title, description of work)
   ...................................
   ...................................
   ...................................
   ...................................

2. Period of present employment (eg, 1.4 - 30.9)
   ...................................
   ...................................

3. Is present employment:
   full time ..... 1
   part time ..... 2
   casual ..... 3

   (Part time is reduced weekly hours, but on regular basis, while 'casual' is on a 'stand by' basis)

4. Do you hold any other job at present?
   Yes ..... 1
   No ..... 2

   If yes, please describe:
   ...................................
   ...................................
   ...................................
   ...................................

Coding and coding instructions

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<tr>
<td>Card no</td>
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</tr>
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Engaged for

<table>
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<td>&lt; 6 weeks</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 weeks - 6 months</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 6 months</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>code</th>
<th>column</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5. Why are you working on a seasonal basis?

a) Supply of jobs, would have worked permanently if available

b) Prefer having winter off

c) Other commitments in winter

If (c), what are they?

6. How did you find this job? (only one tick)

Newspaper
Magazine
A friend, relative
Local hearsay
Contacted employer
Job centre
Other (please specify)

7. What do you like most about this job? (tick all mentioned)

Pay
Seasonal
Meet people
daily time arrangement
Combination holidays
Feel useful
Type of Work
Fresh air/view
Other (specify)
8. What do you like least about this job? (tick all mentioned)

- Pay
- Seasonal
- The customers
- Daily time arrangements
- Type of work
- Supervisors
- Other (specify)

9. How satisfied are you with the wages you receive for this job?

- Very satisfied
- Satisfied
- No opinion
- Dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

Comment: ...

10. Does your contract give any additional (financial) benefits to wage?
(tick all mentioned)

- Accommodation
- Meals
- Travel allowance
- Paid holiday
- Other (specify)

Code: 
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
11. Do you feel accepted by the permanent staff here?
   Yes ..... 1
   No ..... 2
   Don't know ..... blank
   Probe: mix out of work cliques lunch tables .. (index) 33

   Employment history

12. Which jobs have you held in the last 5 years, plus dates
   permanent seasonal
   full time .... ..... (index) dual 1.m. 34
   part time .... ..... dual 1.m. 34
   casual .... ..... dual 1.m. 34

   .................................
   .................................
   .................................

13. Why did last job end?
   Redundancy ..... 1
   Sacked ..... 2
   Left voluntarily ..... 3 35
   Other ..... 4
14. Have you worked on a summer seasonal basis before?
   Yes, with this employer .... 1
   Yes, with other employer .... 1
   No .... 2

15. Have you been unemployed in the last 5 years?
   Yes ..... 1
   No ..... 2
   Specify: when: ....................
   circumstances of becoming unemployed ........................
   ................................
   ................................

16. If you have been unemployed, (yes to 15) have you been able to obtain unemployment benefit?
   Yes ..... 1
   No ..... 2
   Reason, if given ....................
   ................................
   ................................

17. How do you spend your time the rest of the year, i.e., before job starts in spring/summer and after it ends in the autumn? (tick all mentioned)
   Other job .....  
   Casual work .....  
   Studies ..... code as ? 

When not employed

-338-
17 continued

Voluntary work  ......  44
Work at home,  ......  45
garden, house etc
leisure activities,  ......  46
(fishing, walking,  hobbies)
Other  ......  47

18. How do you feel about this?

Advantages:  .............. index  48
Disadvantages:  ..............

19. How do you finance the rest of the year?

Other jobs  ......  49
Grants  ......  50
Unemployment benefit  ......  51
code as 7
Other allowance  ......  52
Supported by others (private)  ......  53
Other  ......  54

20. Do you exchange things (services, allotment produce etc) or jobs with family, friends or neighbours?

Yes, quite a lot  ......  55
Yes, occasionally  ......  
No  ......  
Examples:  ..............

............................
............................
21. If given completely free choice and a basic guaranteed income of, say, £80 a week, what would your employment situation be?

22. I have asked you a number of questions about seasonal work. Is there anything else you can think of which might be of importance to describe seasonal employment?

**Background data**

- age
  - gender (F/M)  
  - main role in family
  - father
  - mother
  - son, daughter
  - live alone
- marital status
  - married
  - single
  - widow(er)
  - cohabit
  - Divorced/separated
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education (highest level)</th>
<th>61</th>
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<tr>
<td>Government training (Course type)</td>
<td>Yes=1, No=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of any father and/or husband</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distance home - work</td>
<td>code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 30 minutes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 minutes - 1 hour</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1 hour</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of transport</td>
<td>code</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 5

LIST OF JOBS REPRESENTED IN SAMPLE OF SEASONAL WORKERS

Grading

Room Attendant (- chamber maid) - hotel VM
Waiter/Waitress IVM
Car park attendant V M
Road sweeper V M
Obstacle (mini) golf attendant IV NM
Supervisor Car park III NM
Life Guard - beach IV M
Breakdown taker III NM
Touring clerk/typist III NM
Receptionist III NM
Guide/Museum guide IV NM
Cleaner V M
Assistant Cook IV M
Cook III M
Recruiter/Shop assistant III NM
Insurance adviser/reception III NM
Shop Assistant III NM
(Hall) porter - hotel IV M
Chef III M
Pool attendant - bar etc. hotel IV M
APPENDIX 6

DETAILS OF CODING PROCEDURES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

Questionnaires were precoded and provided few problems, except the attempt at social grading. The grades with job titles in Appendix 5 are based on "social class" in "Classification of Occupation" (HMSO - 1980) which is also used to code census data:

"Social Class
Since the 1911 Census it has been customary, for certain analytical purposes, to arrange the large number of groups of the occupational classification into a small number of broad categories called Social Classes as follows:

I Professional etc. occupations
II Intermediate occupations
III Skilled occupations
   (N) Non-manual
   (M) Manual
IV Partly skilled occupations
V Unskilled occupations

The occupation groups included in each of these categories have been selected in such a way as to bring together, so far as is possible, people with similar levels of occupational skill. In general each occupation group is assigned as a whole to one or another social class and no account is taken of differences between individuals in the same occupation.
group e.g. differences of education or level of remuneration. However persons of a particular employment status within occupation groups are allocated to the appropriate Social Classes as derived by the following rules:

(a) each occupation is given a basic Social Class
   - 1) where are these defined

(b) persons of foreman status whose basic Social Class is IV or V are allotted to Social Class III

(c) persons of manager status are allocated to Social Class II except for the following:

   Social Class I for group 007.1
   Social Class III for groups 039.4 and 057.3 and if the basic class is IV or V.

Hope and Goldthorpe's ranking list of relevant occupations gives the following results:


Table 6.4 - p.96

Rank orders = categories = 124

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Ref. No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 43   | 0608     | Managers in Services I (2)  
             (Hotel and restaurant managers) |
| 53   | 1403     | Managers in Services IV (S)  
             (Managers of hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, and cafes) |
| 84   | 1405     | Managers in Services X (S)  
             (Managers of hotels, bars, ballrooms, baths) |
| 99   | 2801     | Service Workers II  
             (Cooks) |
| 102  | 2601     | Service Workers III  
             (Head Waiters, head barmen, canteen superintendents) |
| 108  | 2304     | Service Workers IV  
             (Shop salesmen and assistants) |
| 112  | 2402     | Service Workers V  
             (Photographers, cinema projectionists, baths attendants, doormen, commissioners) |
| 121  | 2401     | Service Workers IV  
             (caretakers, guards and attendants, telephone operators) |
| 122  | 2901     | Service Workers VII  
             (Waiters, barmen, counter hands) |
| 123  | 3302     | Unskilled Manual Workers II  
             (General labourers, kitchen porters) |
APPENDIX 7

NATIONAL JOINT COUNCIL CONDITIONS OF SERVICE (MANUAL WORKERS)

SECTION 4

SEASONAL WORKERS EMPLOYED AT COASTAL RESORTS

1. DEFINITION

(a) Seasonal workers are employees engaged in coastal resorts on those services of local authorities which are not normally and regularly operated throughout the year.

(b) Employees engaged permanently all the year round shall not be directed to seasonal work but should such an employee choose to apply for, or accept, seasonal work he shall be subject to the general terms and conditions of employment.

Note:
Only those workers are covered who are engaged on a weekly basis on seasonal services at coastal resorts, such as beach attendants, beach patrols, boatmen, chair attendants, car park attendants, pier attendants and the like. The test is whether or not the service on which the worker is engaged is operated normally and regularly throughout the year. If it is, the agreement does not apply. If it is not, then the agreement does apply.
2. RATES OF PAY

(a) The rates of pay for seasonal workers, other than those determined specifically by the National and Provincial Councils, shall be determined locally and subject to Paragraph 3, shall not be less than the minimum rate of pay prescribed by the National Council (i.e. Group A).

(b) In the case of employees under eighteen there shall be the same proportionate abatement of the adult rate as is provided under National Section 1, Paragraph 3.

3. SPECIAL PAYMENT

Having regard to the conditions affecting seasonal employment, seasonal workers should be guaranteed payment for a working week of 39 hours; in addition a sum equivalent to eight hours at the grade rate for the job shall be paid in respect of any or all additional hours worked in excess of forty hours and up to and including forty-seven hours.

Note:
The special payment is payable in respect of the liability to work at the request of the employing authority over forty and up to and including forty-seven hours a week. So long as work is available, the employee shall, as a condition of payment, continue to work up to forth-seven hours. It is not intended, however, that, if for reasons of weather and the like, work is not available, the employee, having completed forty hours, shall be kept standing around for the balance.
4. WORKING WEEK

(a) The working week shall be spread over six days to meet the actual needs of the services - times of starting and method of working to be agreed locally.

(b) Sunday shall be regarded as part of the normal working week and as a normal working day, but time worked over eight hours shall be paid for at time-and-a-half.

5. OVERTIME

Overtime shall be paid for at the rate of time-and-a-half after forty-seven hours have been worked.

6. WORK ON REST DAYS

Employees shall be given a rest day in each week and shall be given reasonable notice thereof, which is not to be changed thereafter without consultation. Work on rest days shall be paid for at double-time rates.

Note:

Rest-day working does not form part of the working week and hours worked on the rest day will not, therefore, be included in the aggregate of hours worked during the normal working week.

7. GENERAL AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The working conditions of seasonal workers are those set out herein and not those prescribed in the National Scheme of Wages and Working Conditions.
8. SICKNESS PAY
No provision has been made for sickness pay since it is assumed that a seasonal worker is unlikely to be employed for the necessary minimum period of six months' continuous service in order to qualify for admission to the sickness pay scheme. This exclusion will not, of course, apply to any worker who may, in fact, qualify by service or to any permanent employee who chooses to apply for or to accept seasonal work.

9. PUBLIC AND EXTRA-STATUTORY HOLIDAYS
All hours worked on a recognised public holiday or an extra-statutory holiday (the timing of which has been determined by the local authority after consultation with the employees) shall be paid for at double time rates and time of in lieu equal to the normal working hours for that day shall be given at the end of the season.

10. ANNUAL HOLIDAYS
At the conclusion of the season, or on the earlier termination of employment by the authority, leave with pay shall be given in accordance with the table on National Section 7 Page 4.

11. COMMISSION
It is not intended to interfere with the arrangements for payment by commission which apply in certain places subject to such arrangements being not less favourable than those
set out in the agreement.

12. EMPLOYEES IN CATERING, THEATRICAL AND SIMILAR ACTIVITIES

Employees engaged in catering, theatrical and similar related activities at coastal resorts shall be dealt with locally.
APPENDIX 8(a) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (Women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Widow</th>
<th>Cohabit</th>
<th>Divorced Sep. (1)</th>
<th>Total Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
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<td>50.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34.6</td>
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<td>15.4</td>
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</table>

Notes to Table: The percentage here is the row percentage and shows the distribution of marital status within each age group. Each row totals 100%. The row totals and column totals shown, however, give the distribution of the total sample of women/men on age groups and marital status categories.

(1) The category divorced/separated may include some persons who also cohabit. When a person answered both of these, they were only registered in the former.
APPENDIX 8(b) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (Men)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Widower</th>
<th>Cohabit</th>
<th>Divorced September</th>
<th>Total Men</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>25-34</td>
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<td>57.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>45-54</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>All</td>
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<td>55.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
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</table>

Notes to Table: The percentage here is the row percentage and shows the distribution of marital status within each age group. Each row totals 100%. The row totals and column totals shown, however, give the distribution of the total sample of women/men on age groups and marital status categories.
FATHER'S/HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION

This proved a difficult subject for some, as widows, elderly men, divorced found the question embarrassing or irrelevant. I could, in the name of sex equality, have asked mothers/wives occupation, but since it is often the male occupation and wage which determines family social status, I decided on the latter. Answers given were:

Father's occupation (especially relevant for the young, unmarried part of the sample)

Hotel owner/manager, unemployed Engineer, Civil Engineer, Timber Man, Purser, Executive Officer Post Office, Sales Representative, Ex-navy Officer, retired Marine Officer, Welder, Petrol Station Owner, Electrician, Pharmacist, Catering Officer.

Husband's Occupation

Self-employed scaffolder, Royal Marine Officer, Naval Pensioner, Builder, School-master, small hotel owner.
TO YOUR EMPLOYEE, IT'S A MISTAKE.
TO YOU, IT'S ANOTHER REASON FOR JOB SPLITTING.

People can make mistakes. When they make them at the end of a long, boring day of monotonous, repetitive work, you can hardly blame them. There's a fair chance they're not exactly looking forward to the next day's work either.

So they're absent, or they leave.

As an employer, you're bound to be interested in ways of improving productivity by cutting down mistakes.

And your staff will welcome ways of being happier in their work.

What you need is the Job Splitting Scheme.

Quite simply, it means that two people take it in turns to do what was previously one job.

They can split everything—the pay, the hours, the holidays, the benefits.

Naturally you'll have some extra admin, but the Government gives you £750 for each split job to cover most, if not all, of your extra costs.

In any case, they'll be more than offset by increased productivity and fewer mistakes.

People in a split job can work a half day each. Or one week on and one off. Or part of a week. So they now have free time to look forward to.

That'll make many jobs more attractive. And so give you the chance to hold on to trained staff and reduce recruitment and training costs.

Job splitting allows working parents more time with their children.

It gives people the freedom to develop interests of their own.

Or to take up further education.

You can use job splitting to create the flexibility you need to arrange working hours in more productive ways.

Get a leaflet by filling in the coupon. Or ring Katherine Rennie on 01-213 4065. Because every day you'll get a few more reasons for job splitting.

### Appendix 10

**Dep. of Employment Advertisement for Job Splitting. Guardian 2.2.83**
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